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Abstract

This dissertation analyzes the early excavation, classification, and publication of Cypriot sculpture and its collection and display in European universal museums. The author argues that the events and intellectual climate of the nineteenth century profoundly and lastingly shaped the perception of the ancient Cypriot tradition, determining the island's conventional place—or more often, absence—in contemporary scholarship within the fields of art history and archaeology. Early treatments of Cypriot religious sculpture and classifications of its “style” and aesthetics launched a series of debates in which its material culture was used as a tool to measure “foreign” influence and interaction with both “East” and “West,” a fate reinforced by the political situations then (under Ottoman and British rule) and now (with the division of the island and its capital city into “Turkish” Cypriot and “Greek” Cypriot sectors).

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List of Abbreviations

AA: Archäologischer Anzeiger

AJA: American Journal of Archaeology

ArtB: The Art Bulletin

ArtJ: Art Journal

BCH: Bulletin de correspondance hellénique

BMCR: Bryn Mawr Classical Review

CCEC: Cahiers du centre d'études chypriotes

CR: (Cambridge) Classical Review

JHS: Journal of Hellenic Studies

JMA: Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology

NEA: Near Eastern Archaeology

PAPS: Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society

RA: Revue archéologique

RDAC: Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus

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Introduction

Cyprus was a flourishing and prominent cultural region in the ancient eastern Mediterranean. Located between Greece, Anatolia, the Levant, and Egypt, it was a center of passage and trade—a copper-rich island where populations mixed and shared their traditions. During the Early Iron Age (ca. 1050-500 BCE), periods of foreign rule were imposed on the island in turn by the Assyrians, Egyptians, and Persians.¹ Sustained by a variety of social and religious institutions, including the practice of dedicating votive sculptures in temples, Cyprus supported a fertile zone of interaction and intermingling and, in its own visual culture, remained open to inspiration from all sides. In particular, Cypriot votive sculpture from the Archaic period (ca. 750-480 BCE) reveals the latitude with which Cypriot sculptors incorporated and mixed iconographic elements, clothing, and other attributes, blurring the lines between what are traditionally identified as “local” and “foreign” components. Yet for this reason, since the mid-nineteenth century scholars have struggled to define and describe the chronological development

¹ Cypriot city-kingdoms paid tribute to the Assyrians beginning in 709 BCE. The Egyptians took control circa 570 BCE, and a subsequent period of Persian rule lasted from 545 BCE to 333 BCE. See chronology in Vassos Karageorghis, Gloria S. Merker, and Joan R. Mertens, *The Cesnola Collection of Cypriot Art: Terracottas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 275. New research suggests that Cypriots may have retained a certain degree of autonomy during these periods of rule, especially during the pre-classical periods. Glenn Markoe, *The Phoenicians* (London: Folio Society, 2005), 49–50: “As with Phoenician Kition and other Cypriot royal cities, all four mainland Phoenician centres—Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, and Arwad—were permitted to retain their dynastic autonomy.” See also A. T. Reyes, *Archaic Cyprus: A Study of the Textual and Archaeological Evidence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Maria Iacovou, “‘Greeks’, ‘Phoenicians’ and ‘Eteocypriots’. Ethnic Identities in the Cypriote Kingdoms,” in *“Sweet Land...”: Lectures on the History and Culture of Cyprus*, ed. Julian Chrysostomides and Charalambos Dendrinos (Camberley: Porphyrogenitus, 2006), 27–59; Sabine Fourrier, “La constitution d’identités régionales à Chypre à l’époque archaïque,” *Pallas* 73 (2007): 115–124; Anna Cannavò, “The Cypriot Kingdoms in the Archaic Age: A Multicultural Experience in the Eastern Mediterranean,” *Bollettino di Archeologia On Line*, special edition (2008): 37–46; Joanna S. Smith, *Art and Society in Cyprus from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Christina Ioannou, “The Political Situation in the Near East during the Cypro-Archaic Period and its Impact on Cyprus,” in *Ancient Cyprus Today: Museum Collections and New Research*, ed. Giorgos Bourogiannis and Christian Mühlenbock (Uppsala: Åströms Förlag, 2016), 325–32. For more on the Neo-Assyrian approach to empire and rule, especially on the fringes of empire, see Robert Rollinger, “Assyria and the Far West: The Aegean World,” in *A Companion to Assyria*, ed. Eckart Frahm (Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2017), 275–85.

of a “Cypriot style.”² The Cypriot tradition has nearly always been discussed and positioned in relation to those of other Mediterranean regions, especially the Phoenician and Levantine, or as a precursor to the classical Greek tradition. As a result, scholars have relied upon a series of shaky and unidirectional relationships and corresponding narratives of artistic progress and/or influence to define, describe, and classify Cypriot sculpture. In the process, they have missed the opportunity to appreciate the way in which Cypriot sculpture represents a compromise of elite populations and interests in the Iron Age eastern Mediterranean. Though such ideas are now gaining traction in the scholarly community, they are still met with resistance in certain contexts owing to long-standing notions about Cyprus as a derivative and passive peripheral zone rather than embedded in a cultural sphere and capable of supporting and inventing functional solutions to the demands of a cosmopolitan, multinational, and multilingual population.³ How then did such misconceptions about ancient Cyprus arise and gain traction?

Returning to the era of the initial large-scale discovery of ancient Cypriot sculpture (ca. 1860-1870) and the emergence of debates surrounding Cypriot art and archaeology that signaled the birth of this subfield (ca. 1870-1900), I explore how the social, political, and intellectual

³ For a discussion of relevant terms such as “assimilation” and “subordination,” and for an analysis of how difference is at times asserted and other times contained in the context of empire, see Myles Lavan, Richard E. Payne, and John Weisweiler, “Cosmopolitan Politics: The Assimilation and Subordination of Elite Cultures,” in *Cosmopolitanism and Empire: Universal Rulers, Local Elites, and Cultural Integration in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*, ed. Myles Lavan, Richard E. Payne, and John Weisweiler (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 1–28. For an example of how such ideas can be applied to the field of art history, see Ann C. Gunter, “Contemplating an Empire: Artistic Responses to the Neo-Assyrian World,” in *Assyria to Iberia: Art and Culture in the Iron Age*, ed. by Joan Aruz and Michael Seymour (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2016), 216–26, which foregrounds the importance of reevaluating the idea that the Neo-Assyrian empire was inaccessible to or wholly cut off from the Greek world.

trends of these decades determined the subsequent directions of scholarship.⁴ In analyzing the early excavation, classification, and publication of Cypriot sculpture, and its collection and display in European universal museums, my inquiry seeks to answer a variety of questions concerning the reception of ancient Cyprus in the modern West.⁵ I am most interested in how the aesthetics of Cypriot sculpture determined general perceptions of ancient Cyprus and its place in narratives of the history of ancient art and its “stylistic development.” How did contemporary views on the ancient Mediterranean and their associated vocabularies preclude a nuanced, consistent understanding of Cypriot art? How did the discovery of ancient Cypriot sculpture—neither “Greek” nor “Oriental,” nor fully independent—challenge nineteenth-century scholars and institutions? What solutions did individuals present to the difficulties of classifying and displaying this artistic tradition, especially within their published scholarship and in the universal museums in London and Paris? Why did Britain and France—both keen to acquire Cyprus as a strategic outpost in the eastern Mediterranean—develop such different perspectives on the island’s ancient material culture? What types of questions, themes, and organizations or societies prompted curiosity about and research on about Cypriot sculpture? What effect did the events and excavations on Cyprus have on the professionalization or shifts in practice of the disciplines of archaeology and art history more broadly? Finally, why should this matter for us today? To what

⁴ As Frederick N. Bohrer, *Orientalism and Visual Culture: Imagining Mesopotamia in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 22, observes, the nineteenth century offers particularly rich ground for an analysis of this sort: “The nineteenth century is an especially fertile field for the study of reception in terms of resistance and transformation. An age of burgeoning and competing constituencies, at the beginning of an explosion of visual media, of modes of communication and commodification, it offers a rich array for channels for communication and transformation of exoticist subjects.”

⁵ Though several museums—notably the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia and the Istanbul Archaeological Museum—in the eastern Mediterranean collected and exhibited Cypriot antiquities, my inquiry specifically seeks to explore how scholars and institutions in the West interpreted Cypriot antiquities. Though a fuller analysis incorporating all early museums would be desirable, I had neither the languages nor the time to pursue additional case studies in a responsible way.

extent do nineteenth-century perspectives on ancient Cypriot sculpture persist or hinder new ideas from entering the scholarly discourse? What can early treatments and constructs reveal about the politics of archaeology on a divided island and its implication in the debate surrounding the “Cyprus Problem?”

I argue that the events, publications, and intellectual climate in the nineteenth century profoundly and lastingly shaped three fundamental aspects of the study of Cypriot sculpture, guiding approaches that persist in today’s scholarship. First, this period saw the development of vocabularies and chronologies to describe and classify a Cypriot sculptural “style” that focused on “influences” and often offered trenchant critiques of its “derivative” aesthetic. Second, this scholarship initiated a tendency to label elements of dress and iconography attested outside Cyprus as “foreign,” linking them with periods of domination by various Mediterranean powers. Finally, nineteenth-century authors hoping to advertise the novelty of the Cypriot “style” identified symbols and costume unique to the island as representing a native Cypriot—or “Eteocypriot”—identity, somehow more in line with an essential Cypriot “spirit.” Early treatments of Cypriot sculpture and classifications of its “style” and aesthetics thus launched a series of debates in which its material culture was used as a tool to measure “foreign” influence and interaction with both “East” and “West,” a fate reinforced by the island’s fraught political circumstances both then and now. While my own understanding of “style” positions it as a diagnostic tool rather than a feature inherent to an object itself, I employ “style” throughout my

work with the meaning it carried in the nineteenth-century—that is, a series of aesthetic characteristics attributable to a certain time, region, or individual.⁶

The warring impulses to align Cyprus with Greece or the Near East, or instead to emphasize its special, independent nature, were activated in various and complex ways as the island moved from Ottoman rule (1571-1878) to British rule (1878-1959), claimed independence (1960), then became embroiled in a political division that persists today (1974-present). The Republic of Cyprus, a Greek-speaking country with an Orthodox Christian majority, accounts for the southern two-thirds of the island (fig. 1). The sovereignty of the northern third, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, is recognized only by Turkey. This state has a Turkish-speaking and Muslim majority that encompasses mainland Turkish migrants—colloquially and disparagingly referred to as “settlers”—not viewed by either population as “Cypriot.” Inquiries into the nature of the “Cypriot identity” and appraisal of “foreign” authorship so often introduced in the early scholarship on ancient Cyprus were therefore highly sensitive topics—and remain so when broached today, no matter the nationality or allegiances of the scholar.⁷ Try as scholars might to be “objective” evaluators or narrators of the past, antiquity is continually recrafted in the image of those who study it.⁸

⁶ When speaking of current issues and perspectives, I prefer to use “tradition,” which gestures toward the appearance of an object, group of objects, or an aesthetic particular to a certain culture or region without necessarily implying that the artist(s) themselves recognized their work as belonging to or characteristic of such a group.

⁷ Susan Duesterberg, *Popular Receptions of Archaeology: Fictional and Factual Texts in 19th and Early 20th Century Britain* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2015), 181: “Different connotations of the archaeological sites emphasise their potential to become sites of identity formation by seemingly providing what cannot be found elsewhere...As sites of memory, creation, and consummation they thus pose as projection screens for the cravings of the Western mind.”

⁸ Seymour Howard, *Antiquity Restored: Essays on the Afterlife of the Antique* (Vienna: IRSA, 1990), 9: “Each age reviews and restores Antiquity largely in its own image.”

Especially problematic in this regard were discussions surrounding the direction of cultural “influence”—whether argued in terms of the transfer of “style,” language, or entire populations—and studies that purport to analyze the nature of “native” populations, including their ethnicity and ethos. While my purview here is limited to the publications, displays, and attitudes that emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century, my conclusions have implications for studies appearing in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, especially those that seek to bolster a particular political agenda by asserting the island’s “Hellenization” or essential Hellenic nature in the ancient world.⁹

Cyprus: The View from the West

The perceived perfection of classical Greek art loomed large in the scholarly and public imagination of Enlightenment Europe. Collecting classical antiquities helped Europeans strengthen their claim to this ancient past. Preoccupied with ideas of “purity” and order, for the wealthy and educated classes who controlled the tides of taste, Cyprus was little more than a recurring footnote of history, an island on the periphery—rather than at the center—of greatness. It was little discussed and seldom visited, well outside the confines of a proper classical

⁹ I refrain from commenting specifically on nationally sponsored academic work appearing in the Republic of Cyprus after 1974 that is tinged with a tendency to argue for the island’s early “Hellenization.” Scholarship produced in the north of the island since 1974 has most often appeared in Turkish. Further, archaeological work in the north of the island is on hold, as it remains a disputed territory. In the south, digs are carried out by the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus as well as many foreign teams. For an analysis of how museums in Cyprus handle this complexity and tension, see Theopisti Stylianou-Lambert and Alexandra Bounia, *The Political Museum: Power, Conflict, and Identity in Cyprus* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 18: “Nations often use certain periods of their history to exemplify a sense of national identity...archaeology, the discipline that brings a nation closer to its distant roots, is used to support the Greek Cypriot claims on the land. The emphasis that the Greek Cypriot government and other bodies in the southern part of Cyprus place on archaeology...is justified within the discourse of Hellenism and its twin pillars: antiquity and Christianity.” Most scholars argue for a pronounced Phoenician presence on the island before what others would identify as a period of “Greek influence” or “Hellenization.” See Markoe, *The Phoenicians*, 32. There is, however, evidence that in later periods of antiquity, Cypriot populations were politically aligned to the Greeks and the West rather than favoring Persian rule. *Ibid.*, 52–53.

education or the prescribed path of the Grand Tour. The political and social upheavals of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Europe and America made room for new ways of understanding the ancient world. Post-Enlightenment scholars incorporated preclassical and nonclassical material into their studies, giving them a wider geographic focus while extending them further back into the past.¹⁰ Using the Bible as a primary historical document, scholars and amateurs, including Austen Henry Layard (1817-1894) and Paul-Émile Botta (1802-1870), traveled to the Ottoman Empire seeking traces of biblical kings and their empires, and hoping to prove the historicity of these accounts. After their magnificent finds from ancient Assyria were welcomed into European museums in the mid-nineteenth century, exploration of regions previously considered uninteresting, unappealing, or unworthy of study began in earnest.

Meanwhile, western European scholars hoping to discover and collect archaeological material elsewhere in the Mediterranean faced increasing limitations and restrictions. Antiquities laws in the hotbeds of archaeology, such as Italy and Greece, had successfully established policies whereby they more closely monitored and controlled the excavation and exportation of ancient material.¹¹ The enforcement of these laws effectively froze collections in both private hands and museums, which could no longer obtain the objects they deemed the most desirable. Archaeologists and collectors had several choices: they could participate in illegal excavations;

¹⁰ A. A. Donohue, *Greek Sculpture and the Problem of Description* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 37: “Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman statues have been known...since the Renaissance; preclassical statuary, in contrast, did not become known in any meaningful way until the nineteenth century.”

¹¹ Stephen L. Dyson, *In Pursuit of Ancient Pasts: A History of Classical Archaeology in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 75: “The complex negotiations and severe restrictions faced by the Germans as they attempted to excavate at Olympia were a reflection of this new Hellenic archaeological reality.” The first large-scale German excavations at Olympia commenced in 1875. Archaeologists were permitted to make casts of objects and bring back “duplicates,” but the vast majority of excavated material remained in Greece. See Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 84.

obtain works from older, so-called princely collections on the rare occasions they came available on the market; commission casts and copies; or transfer their efforts to new, unprotected frontiers. Cyprus, whose Ottoman officials did little to discourage exploration and treasure hunting, supported both the greed and curiosity that motivated early excavators.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Cyprus, which had been under Ottoman control since 1571, had become a point of interest in the context of the political tensions surrounding the the “Eastern Question.”¹² As the power and prosperity of the Ottoman Empire declined in the early decades of the nineteenth century, the nations of western Europe vied to fill the power vacuum left by the failing empire, hoping to prevent Russia from acquiring territory. After the Crimean War (1853-56), European nations relied on their appointed consuls on Cyprus to monitor developments in the Ottoman East. Foreign collecting and excavation, activities that had begun as pastimes, expanded quickly and were reinforced by the expectation that the consuls keep their countries abreast not just of political development, but also of cultural matters and opportunities. Cypriot antiquities—especially limestone sculptures, found in abundance across the island—offered illuminating visual comparisons to increasingly prized Greek, Assyrian, and Egyptian works.¹³ Cyprus’s distinctive material culture qualified it as a “new antiquity,” a civilization, like that of Troy or Assyria, attested in the Homeric epics or the Bible but not hitherto archaeologically visible.¹⁴ The result, beginning in the mid-1860s, was a sudden flurry of

¹² Rolf Ahmann, “Von Malta nach Zypern: Zur Entwicklung der britischen Politik in der Orientalischen Frage im 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Zypern und der Vordere Orient im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Sabine Rogge (Münster: Waxmann, 2009), 9–32.

¹³ Though Cypriot works were considered in relation to all three of these traditions, most scholars connected the Cypriot tradition to those of Assyria and/or Phoenicia or Greece rather than Egypt. It is for this reason that I leave Egyptology out of my title.

¹⁴ I borrow the term “new antiquity” from Bohrer, *Orientalism and Visual Culture*, where it is applied to Mesopotamian antiquities entering European collections at this same moment.

archaeological activity on the island. This promising new terrain and its abundant antiquities appeared to be anybody's to claim, its history anyone's to write. Its archaeological potential was exploited above all by a group of individuals employed on the island as foreign diplomats.¹⁵ The French, American, and British consuls were among the first individuals to take an interest in Cyprus's archaeological wealth. These pursuits followed in the tradition of collecting "ethnographica" and natural history specimens practiced since the earliest periods of European expansion and colonization of Africa and the Americas. The authority granted to such foreign officials enabled them to gather the resources and labor necessary to conduct excavations, and by devoting their free time to scientific research—considered an elite pursuit—they further advanced their social standing.¹⁶ They filled their pockets with profits made by selling their finds to Western institutions and private collectors, often investing the money right back into further digs or, in some cases, publications that ensured their finds' greater exposure.

Scottish amateur archaeologist Robert Hamilton Lang's (1836-1913) discovery of a rich group of votives at an open-air sanctuary in Dali in 1868, and Luigi Palma di Cesnola's (1832-1904) even more magnificent discovery of several hundred limestone statues at what he called the "Temple of Golgoi" in 1870, were transformative for the history of Cypriot archaeology (fig. 2). Following these events — and especially after their publication in 1877 and 1878—the heyday

¹⁵ Foreign officials in the Mediterranean were often active in archaeological explorations of these regions whether or not they had any official claim to the land they explored or the objects they uncovered. For example, both Layard and Botta had been employed in this capacity.

¹⁶ The excavation and study of antiquities had historically been limited to the upper classes. Members of the non-elite in western Europe had been barred from leading archaeological work because they lacked the funds and leisure time required to travel. Further, most did not have the means to acquire the classical education that would endow them with the qualifications and authority to pursue research in the fields of art history or archaeology. The number of scholars who came from the non-elite and can be considered self-taught, but who still rose to prominence in the field of Cypriot archaeology, is thus astounding for the time. Commercial collectors, even on Cyprus, were for the most part excluded from the more prestigious research circles, as their interests were judged to be pecuniary rather than scholarly.

for scholarship on Cypriot antiquities began. These artifacts were no longer viewed as simple souvenirs or curiosities; they were instead sought after as museum objects, even specimens of fine art. By this time, sites in Greece and Italy had become less accessible, with local authorities enforcing strict bans on exporting their treasures. Cyprus, by comparison, was a collector's dream. The first legislation to control archaeological activity on the island, the *règlement sur les objets antiques*, was not established until 1869 and had little practical impact. As the availability of antiquities from other regions continued to decline, interest in Cypriot antiquities surged.

Cypriot artifacts made their debut in the museums, magazines, newspapers, popular accounts, and scholarly publications of western Europe in the late 1860s and early 1870s.¹⁷ The Louvre was the first museum to display a marked commitment to collecting Cypriot objects, beginning in the 1860s, embracing the culture as a category of the "Oriental." The British Museum followed, increasing its pace of Cypriot purchases in the 1870s and leading its own excavations in the 1880s and 1890s, but generally viewing Cypriot art as belonging instead to the "Greek" tradition. The Cypriot sculptural tradition, which could productively be compared with that of almost any ancient Mediterranean culture, proved both useful and malleable.¹⁸ In

¹⁷ I include all of these categories of evidence in my analysis, following a perspective introduced by Duesterberg, *Popular Receptions of Archaeology*, 25–26: "Drawing on a postmodern approach to cultural studies, which assumes that a differentiation between 'high' and 'low' culture is no longer possible, I read popular archaeology as an inclusive culture in which concepts of 'high' and 'low' culture are redundant due to their overlappings and their blurring of boundaries."

¹⁸ Male votaries were often called upon for this purpose because their costume could be compared to that of male statuary in other regions. The clothing worn by female votaries tended to be less diverse and generated less interest. Further, female statues were simply less numerous. See Lone Wriedt Sørensen, "Cypriot Woman of the Archaic Period: Evidence from Sculpture," in *Engendering Aphrodite: Women and Society in Ancient Cyprus*, ed. Diane Bolger and Nancy Serwint (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2002): 121–32. For recent work on female terracottas, see George Papasavvas, "Oriental Luxuries and Elite Women in Archaic Cyprus," in *Ancient Cyprus Today*, ed. Bourogiannis and Mühlenbock, 285–97. Finally, the belief that males enjoyed greater power in society may have driven scholars to focus on male statues and male costume—and especially its supposed political symbolism. Mireille M. Lee, *Body, Dress, and Identity in Ancient Greece* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 230: "Dress is the medium through which the individual, biological body becomes a social body."

developing a classification system and chronology for Cypriot art, scholars drew attention to a native Cypriot style and a series of other styles expressed in the costume worn by the statues and corresponding to periods of supposed historical domination of the island by its neighbors.

Cyprus was tugged toward the West—understood as a “Greek and Roman” antiquity—or the East—viewed as an “Oriental” antiquity—as suited the aesthetic narrative of the museum in which it was displayed. Thus, at the Louvre, Cypriot sculpture was initially exhibited alongside Phoenician and Assyrian material (joining the Département des Antiquités Orientales upon its founding in 1881), while at the British Museum Cypriot works belonged instead to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities (established in 1860). These very different methods of classifying Cypriot culture can be best appreciated in the context of each museum’s collections. In the case of the Louvre, Cypriot works could be appreciated in context not only with other ancient sculptures, but also with the visual landscapes of nineteenth-century French Orientalist paintings. At the British Museum, the path Cypriot works took into the Greek and Roman Department had been paved by the East Greek monuments that the museum had previously acquired. Further, the installation of a British government on Cyprus (in 1878) affected western European perceptions of the island’s dominant cultural heritage. Often, scholars who evaluated the Cypriot tradition extrapolated from pseudo-anthropological observations on the political, religious, and ethnic identities of its inhabitants—not only in antiquity, but ultimately as they were understood in the contemporary period. For scholars—and especially those based in the UK—ancient Cyprus was thus an adaptable concept that readily shifted—more “Oriental” under Ottoman rule, and more “Greek” after the British arrived.

The perception of Cyprus's dominant cultural heritage was flexible, but its role as a "precursor" to classical Greece was relatively consistent.¹⁹ Scholarly and popular publications promoted a model of Mediterranean artistic development in which Cyprus acted a conduit between Assyria, Egypt, Phoenicia, and Greece, absorbing and passing on ideas, from east to west, with little or no agency of its own.²⁰ Most often, Cypriot sculpture was perceived as copying or imitating so-called foreign influences from Egypt and the Levant. The firm, fixed stance of Cypriot votives was thought to be a symptom leftover from the "rigid and blocky" Egyptian style, while a dependence on the model of Assyrian relief sculpture was blamed for the overall "flatness" of the works. The workmanship was considered "rude" or even "helpless." Moreover, because Cypriot votives were clothed in "foreign" costumes and attributes, they were considered artistically inferior to later works from the Greek mainland that were praised for their elegant, elastic, and naturalistic nude bodies.

Some authors suggested Cypriot art was related to the Etruscan or Mycenaean styles, a view that similarly did little to promote its popularity. Mycenae, which was in some publications considered a distinct region and in others grouped with the "Oriental" or "Greek," provides a useful Bronze Age foil to my study of Iron Age Cyprus.²¹ Writing in 1883, Arthur Alexander

¹⁹ In this way, Cypriot sculpture occupied a role similar to that of Egyptian art. Stephanie Moser, *Wondrous Curiosities: Ancient Egypt at the British Museum* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 57: "Ancient Egypt is expected to serve as a heuristic device, its purpose being to demonstrate the extent of the achievements of the ancient Greeks." Further, as Partha Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters: A History of European Reactions to Indian Art* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013) demonstrates, works of art from even farther afield were still measured against the classical Greek and Roman standard.

²⁰ On a related subject, Jane B. Carter and Laura J. Steinberg, "Kouroi and Statistics," *AJA* 114, no. 1 (January 2010): 103–28, have challenged the idea that Greek kouros were modeled on an Egyptian canon of proportion.

²¹ Interestingly, works from the Cypriot Bronze Age were often linked to Mycenae while those from the Iron Age were considered in the context of Phoenicia. See Louise Steel, "The British Museum and the Invention of the Cypriot Late Bronze Age," in *Cyprus in the Nineteenth Century AD: Fact, Fancy, and Fiction*, ed. Veronica Tatton-Brown (Oxford: Oxbow, 2001), 160–67.

Johann Milchhöfer (1852-1903), a German classical archaeologist, argued that Mycenaean art was a type of *Mischkunst*, “barbaric...not trusted to untangle itself.”²² Indeed, similar anxieties were expressed about Cypriot art, above all by scholars who were frustrated with what they perceived as a “mixing” of styles as they attempted to cleanly separate which elements belonged to which culture.²³ Still, efforts to “untangle” “Oriental”—including Cypriot—art actually drove further studies of the Near East, contrary to what might otherwise be assumed.²⁴ Explorations of “Oriental” art were to be made in the service of “Greek” art, and Cypriot art was in the perhaps unique position of being able to answer questions about both traditions.

²² Translation from Bryan E. Burns, *Mycenaean Greece, Mediterranean Commerce, and the Formation of Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 64. See also original source, Arthur Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1883), 7. Burns, in his consideration of how this region has been discussed historically and how we might best understand it now, explores ways “foreign” or “out of place” elements can become integrated into a new cultural system or, alternately, remain “strange.” The way we view the material culture of ancient Mycenae rests on whether or not we see it as having tamed these “foreign” elements—having made them “Greek” (or “pre-Greek”). Ultimately, Burns argues that we should abandon the idea of a cohesive and independent “Mycenaean Greek” identity as invented by nineteenth-century scholars and “instead consider the spheres of interaction that helped ancient consumers make their own meaningful assessments of familiar and foreign, local and external. The association of objects with ethnic categories is neither self-evident nor stable.” Burns, *Mycenaean Greece*, 42. A similar case could be made for Cyprus and “Cypriot” art in general, a point I return to in my conclusions.

²³ This problem persists today. Lone Wriedt Sørensen, “Creating Identity or Identities in Cyprus during the Archaic Period,” in *Attitudes towards the Past in Antiquity: Creating Identities*, ed. Brita Alroth and Charlotte Scheffer (Stockholm: Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, 2014), 33: “Although the sculpture may be classified according to certain types and stylistic criteria, the different categories tend to blend together in various ways, rendering classification and interpretation less straightforward than it is sometimes assumed to be.”

²⁴ In 1863, an article by classical archaeologist Karl Bernhard Stark (1824-1879) treating the celebrated Cypriot “Ross Torso,” discussed in detail in Chapter One, called for scholars to carry out this type of “untangling” work and research into “Oriental” art, lest “Greek” art come to be understood as a mosaic of Oriental art forms. “Je mehr eine Reihe von archäologischen Reisen...neben Griechenland die Länder altorientalischer Cultur in weitestem Umkreise eröffnen und mit jedem neuen Material neue Anschauungen aber auch rasch gesteigerte Hoffnung auf eine zusammenhängende Kunstgeschichte der alten Welt erregen, je massloser von gewissen Seiten eine flüchtige Denkmälerbetrachtung ohne bestimmtere geschichtliche Kritik die neuen Anschauungen dazu benutzt alles unter einander zu mischen und die griechische Kunst zu einer rein äusserlichen Mosaik orientalischer Kunstformen zu stempeln, um so wichtiger ist es, die Denkmälerfunde derjenigen Landschaften, in denen erweislich Griechisches und Orientalisches in alter Mischung der Bevölkerung und mannigfacher Cultur- und religiöser Berührung sich begegneten, möglichst vollständig zu überschauen und an dem einzelnen Denkmäler, soweit möglich, die zusammenwirkenden Faktoren, das Kunstwerk und das Hinzugekommene, Assimilirte, zu schneiden.” Karl Bernhard Stark, “Der Cyprische Torso des Berliner Museums,” *Archäologische Anzeiger: Denkmäler und Forschungen* 21, no. 169–171 (1863): 1–2.

Certain attempts to classify Cypriot art in the mid-nineteenth century were informed by the desire to locate a precise moment when “Eastern” art became “de-barbarized.” As Glenn Most reminds us, even eighteenth-century scholars were aware that there had been extensive contact between Greece and the Near East in the Early Iron Age. But Most identifies a shift during the nineteenth century, when some authors sought to “tame” these “influences” and argue for the complete originality of the Greek style: “The Philhellenes tended to have recourse instead to a different, weaker, and far more interesting claim: that the Greeks had indeed borrowed much from other cultures, but that they had transformed so completely whatever they had borrowed that they had succeeded in turning it into something thoroughly Greek. That is, they had debarbarized it.”²⁵ Cyprus, initially exciting for its “mixed” style, eventually fell victim to this type of logic, which drew a firm boundary between “Greek art” and any preclassical, non-Greek art that had preceded it, even if the two appeared to have been stylistically related.

Some of this more aggressive “boundary work,” meant to keep any Oriental origins firmly in the preclassical past and disallow “influence” on classical Greece, resulted from a preoccupation with ethnic “purity” and Orientalist perspectives that sought to demonstrate the superiority of “West” to “East.”²⁶ Even when scholars had evidence to the contrary—that is, even when their excavations and research revealed impressive feats of engineering and artistic achievement in “eastern” regions, in order to preserve their modern national identities—firmly

²⁵ Glenn Most, “Philhellenism, Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism,” in *Multiple Antiquities—Multiple Modernities: Ancient Histories in Nineteenth-Century European Cultures*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay, Michael Werner, and Ottó Gecser (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2011), 41.

²⁶ Christopher Whitehead, *Museums and the Construction of Disciplines: Art and Archaeology in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Duckworth, 2009), 61, defines this scholarly activity as “the development of arguments, practices and strategies to justify particular divisions of knowledge and the strategies used to construct, maintain and push boundaries.”

grounded as they were in the model of classical Greece—they turned a blind eye. Thomas

Scheffler’s analysis of this phenomenon is applicable here:

Among nineteenth-century European scholars, writers, and politicians, exploring the Babylonian ‘roots’ of Western civilisation had become part of a soul-searching exercise in re-negotiating Europe’s identity and mission: The impressive size of ancient Oriental palaces, temples and cities was congruent with the era’s sense of imperial grandeur. Conservative audiences were fascinated by the idea that the authoritarian monarchies of ancient Asia and Egypt had been capable of building much bigger monuments than the democratic city-republics of Greece and Rome.²⁷

Nineteenth-century scholars, writing histories of ancient art in order to affirm their own crowning place of the “Great Chain of Art,” were troubled by objects, styles, or cultures that encouraged them to dwell too long on the magnificence of “Oriental” cultures.

Scholars’ increasingly confident rejection of Cypriot art as a type of Greek art served to dull the initial excitement that had surrounded the excavation of material in the 1860s and 1870s, providing justification for both veiled criticisms and outright attacks. By the 1880s, after the initial excitement for the “new” Cypriot style had fully worn off, scholars began to rely on problematic, loaded vocabulary that emphasized the “foreign”—by which they meant “non-Greek” and “non-Western”—nature of the ancient Cypriot people and their artistic traditions. Cypriot art was labeled “un art plus préoccupé d’imiter que de créer,” a sentiment that would endure for the rest of the century.²⁸ The logical underpinnings of the “precursor” model slowly

²⁷ Thomas Scheffler, “‘Fertile Crescent,’ ‘Orient,’ ‘Middle East’: The Changing Mental Maps of Southwest Asia,” *European Review of History* 10 (2003): 256.

²⁸ Reinhard Senff, “Exotischer Reiz und historischer Wert—Veränderte Perspektiven der Betrachtung antiker Kunst Zyperns im 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Zypern und der Vordere Orient*, ed. Rogge, 267: “‘Un art plus préoccupé d’imiter que de créer’ ist das Verdikt, das für die nächsten Jahrzehnte die Einschätzung der Kunst Zyperns bestimmen wird.” Here, Senff hints at the great and long-lasting influence of Perrot and Chipiez, who rarely spoke of Cypriot art in a positive light.

fell away, leaving Cypriot sculpture as a problematic rather than useful legacy, a nuisance that made highlighting the potential Eastern origins of the Classical Greece an awkward task.

That Cypriot sculpture failed to gain traction as a branch of “Greek” art should come as no surprise. After all, discussions of Cypriot art were, at their root, discussions about what Greek art was *not*, rather than what it was, or even what it had been. As British classicist Jane Ellen Harrison (1850-1928) plainly stated in her 1885 survey of Greek art, “We can only see what was really original in Greek art when we have eliminated what was borrowed from others.”²⁹ In discussing the Cypriot tradition, authors thus carefully signposted the traits that separated this style from the Greek. The Cypriot style offered a convenient way to delineate the aesthetic border between East and West. Still, the very fact that scholars were interested in investigating this border meant that they gave Cypriot sculpture attention it might not otherwise have received, had it been studied “for its own sake.” Indeed, Most has argued that “Oriental studies” flourished in its early days because of—and not despite—the prevailing Hellenistic mindset.³⁰ Scholars of Greek art searching for ways to prove Greek exceptionalism carefully followed and sometimes contributed to developments in Near Eastern art and archaeology because they viewed the field as a type of primitive counterpart to their own. The more knowledgeable they were about Near Eastern art, the more numerous and persuasive their arguments about the “unique” and “pure”

²⁹ Jane E. Harrison, *Introductory Studies in Greek Art* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1885), 1–2. Later, in the context of a discussion of perceived shortcomings of Assyrian and Egyptian art, she elaborates, “It is only by seeing where other nations artistically failed that we can thoroughly realize and appreciate how the Greeks triumphed.” *Ibid.*, 39. For more on Harrison, see Mary Beard, *The Invention of Jane Harrison* (Cambridge, Ma., Harvard University Press, 2002).

³⁰ Most, “Philhellenism, Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism,” 41–2: “So it is not accidental that the tradition of Philhellenism coincided with the extraordinary growth in knowledge about the ancient Near East through the course of the nineteenth century...For most of the Orientalists who made these discoveries were trained as Classicists and were hoping...to shed more light thereby upon the Greek achievement. So far from Philhellenism being opposed to the search for Asian and Egyptian roots, as Bernal and other have suggested, the heritage of Philhellenism was one of the prime impulses towards the development of Oriental Studies.”

Hellenic spirit appeared. Cypriot art was thus used to emphasize the aesthetic boundary scholars wanted to see between “Greek” and “Oriental” art.

Indeed, one of the core assumptions of this type of “boundary work” is that knowledge is socially constructed, that disciplinarity is an attitude to organizing, managing, and controlling knowledge whose work is exclusionary by nature, defined by arbitrary boundaries. I thus consider how the art historical canon was—and continues to be—constructed in the “disciplined” spaces of the university, the survey text, and the museum. Curators worked alongside amateur archaeologists, displaying finds for a curious public before they had been satisfactorily sorted and explained by university scholars. Both types of professionals sought to organize knowledge in such a way that it could be instructive, theorizing the past and creating modern educational narratives and models. As Christopher Whitehead says, “cultural actions such as collecting, classification, conservation, and display are in fact ways of theorizing the world, so that museum representations such as collections and display are, in a sense, embodied theory.”³¹ My study considers both types of practices—publication and exhibition—treating them as two sides of the same coin. Museum professionals and university scholars, art historians and archaeologists, Orientalists and classicists (among them, amateurs) all participated in the “boundary work” of carving out a space for the ancient Cypriot style in their presentations of ancient culture, somewhere between East and West.

Despite Cyprus’s repeated use as a type of aesthetic and cultural boundary, there were obvious flaws with scholarship that placed Cypriot sculpture as an intermediary between East and West, and by 1900, scholars had found a substitute for Cyprus—they looked elsewhere for

³¹ Whitehead, *Museums and the Construction of Disciplines*, 20.

“styles” or traditions that could perform “boundary work.” The especially problematic nature of models that named Cyprus as an inferior precursor to classical Greece ultimately led to the island’s replacement with more convenient preclassical cultures: Mycenaean Greece and Minoan Crete. Scholars’ ability to demonstrate *indigenous* Aegean development meant there was no longer a need to look eastward for “origins” or “intermediaries” that set Greek artists on the path to perfecting the art of representing the human form. Heinrich Schliemann’s discovery of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae in 1876 had first indicated the possibility of following yet another new trail of the preclassical past, this time into the Bronze Age (ca. 3000-1200 BCE).³² Arthur Evans’s excavations in Minoan Crete proved even more important to this developing narrative, as they simultaneously ushered in new, more rigorous approaches to archaeology.³³

The nineteenth century saw the shift from antiquarianism to “scientific” archaeology as the driving force behind the recovery and collection of antiquities.³⁴ By 1880, Cypriot material recovered in the 1860s and 1870s had come under increasing scrutiny due to the “unscientific” nature of its excavation—and its excavators. Further, the same “flaws” that characterized the Cypriot sculptural tradition continued to pose a problem for scholars even after 1880, as aesthetics remained central to “professional” archaeological projects and publications. Finally, as they crossed the threshold of the twentieth century, scholars and museum professionals adopted

³² Burns, *Mycenaean Greece*, 62, outlines how Mycenaean art was institutionalized as the “first chapter” of “Greek” art, connecting this event with the simultaneous rise of the “Aryan model.”

³³ For a recent treatment of the impact of Evans’s work, see Ilse Schoep, “Building the Labyrinth: Arthur Evans and the Construction of Minoan Civilization,” *AJA* 122, no. 1 (January 2018): 5–32.

³⁴ Ian Morris, “Archaeologies of Greece,” in *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies*, ed. Ian Morris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 26, further locates a moment circa 1880 when archaeology began to break away from the confines of Hellenism: “On the one hand, it was in the interests of archaeologists to make their subject as distinct as possible, and to emphasize skills such as knowing how to control stratigraphy, to classify pottery sequences and to date artefacts; on the other, it was in their interests not to cut themselves off completely from classics, which held vastly higher professional prestige than archaeology.”

higher standards for their field, preferring to discuss and display newly excavated material whenever possible. Thus, after 1900, when Evans commenced his excavations at Knossos, interest in Cyprus began to fade. There was room for only one Mediterranean island, space enough for just one preclassical precursor to Greece to star in museums and surveys of ancient art. Minoan Crete was decisively older, more impressive, and more “Greek” than Archaic Cyprus, which returned to its former status as a “peripheral” culture. My study analyzes how the field of Cypriot archaeology came to tell the stories it tells, and how it came to employ certain types of objects in the construction of such narratives. It is a reflection on the development of the discipline and its continued entanglement with the era during which it emerged.

Previous Research

My work builds on a range of monographs, catalogues, and essays that treat early excavations on the island, the formation of Cypriot collections across Europe and America, and early publications of Cypriot sculpture. The most significant of these contributions remains a collection of essays edited by Veronica Tatton-Brown exploring the reception of Cypriot material in a wide range of contexts, focusing primarily on the activities of Westerners on the island.³⁵ With articles devoted to archaeologists, travelers, ethnographers, and artists, as well as museum collections and antiquities laws in formation in the final quarter of the century, this volume served as a starting point for this project.³⁶ Another volume, edited by Sabine Rogge, offers a historically contextualized consideration of events on Cyprus in the same period.³⁷ Other studies

³⁵ Tatton-Brown, ed., *Cyprus in the Nineteenth Century*.

³⁶ See especially Claire Balandier, “Cyprus, a New Archaeological Frontier in the XIXth Century: The Struggle of European Museums for Cypriot Antiquities,” in *Cyprus in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Tatton-Brown, 3–12.

³⁷ Rogge, ed., *Zypern und der Vordere Orient*, also includes analyses of early French and German archaeology on Cyprus.

have appeared regularly in the *Cahiers du centre d'études chypriotes*, especially in the form of detailed histories of the major French and British collections.³⁸ Catalogues produced by museums in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and New York have included useful essays about the history of their Cypriot collections, utilizing local archival sources.³⁹ Antoine Hermary's historiographical essay considers a wide range of scholarship on Cypriot sculpture and was an essential source for the present study.⁴⁰ A contribution by Derek B. Counts likewise compiles a rich bibliography and summarizes scholars' impressions of Cypriot sculpture from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁴¹

Still, these analyses deal almost exclusively with specialized sources and publications on Cypriot art and archaeology by amateur archaeologists. My own work mines discussions from a broader range of nineteenth-century survey literature, placing treatments of Cypriot sculpture by university and museum scholars in the broader contexts of the development of Greek and Near Eastern art. Many scholars working on Cypriot historiography trace the roots of current scholarship back to what are considered the first semi-professional excavations—those undertaken by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in the 1920s and 1930s—but my work

³⁸ Antoine Hermary and Olivier Masson contributed most extensively, but other excellent work related to the Louvre's collections was undertaken by Annie Caubet and Elisabeth Fontan.

³⁹ Antoine Hermary, *Les antiquités de Chypre: sculptures* (Paris: RMN, 1989); Sylvia Brehme, *Ancient Cypriote Art in Berlin* (Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation, 2001); Alfred Bernhard-Walcher, ed., *Die Sammlung Zyprischer Antiken im Kunsthistorischen Museum* (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1999); Vassos Karageorghis, Joan R. Mertens, and Marice E. Rose, *Ancient Art from Cyprus: The Cesnola Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000); Antoine Hermary and Joan R. Mertens, *The Cesnola Collection of Cypriot Art: Stone Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

⁴⁰ Antoine Hermary, "Histoire des études sur la sculpture chypriote," *CCEC* 14 (1990): 7–28. A weak point of this otherwise conscientious work is Hermary's claim that nothing of note was published between 1885 and 1905. I hope my second chapter, which treats important sources from this period, will demonstrate that Hermary was mistaken in this case.

⁴¹ Derek B. Counts, "Prolegomena to the Study of Cypriote Sculpture," *CCEC* 31 (2001): 129–81. Similarly, Dimitris G. Mylonas, *Archaische Kalksteinplastik Zyperns: Untersuchungen zur Ikonographie, Typologie und formgeschichtlichen Entwicklung der kyprischen Rundplastik der archaischen Zeit* (PhD Diss., Mannheim, 1998) tackles the historiography of Cypriot sculpture in its first chapter.

demonstrates that the roots extend much further back in time. In addition to considering the nineteenth-century scholarship, I analyze how even earlier discoveries and publications (especially travelogues) influenced modern perceptions of Cypriot art.

Similarly, few previous studies have reached across linguistic and national boundaries to reconstruct and analyze networks and relationships that existed among key individuals and institutions concerned with Cypriot art and archaeology. The comparative and transnational nature of my topic—involving people, places, and ideas from Austria, Cyprus, France, Germany, Greece, Russia, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States—thus allows me to draw new parallels between the varied approaches taken to marketing, collecting, contextualizing, and displaying Cypriot sculpture, telling a more complete story of its early reception. I do not treat events, exhibitions, and publications in isolation, but instead attempt to better appreciate and reconstruct the complex network of individuals, ideas, and scholarship that bound them together. For instance, European universal museums were linked not only by competition for objects on the market, but also by individuals, including archaeologists, amateurs, diplomats, and scholars, whose relationships reached beyond institutional or national boundaries. In retracing these complex networks, I provide a comprehensive and integrated investigation of the assumptions that drove early scholarship and museum practices in the developing discipline, highlighting what Andrea Meyer and Bénédicte Savoy have termed “transnational cross-fertilizations” that occurred between European scholars and museums in the nineteenth century.⁴² Reconstructing and making visible a transnational and interdisciplinary intellectual network, and better defining and

⁴² Andrea Meyer and Bénédicte Savoy, “An Introduction,” in *The Museum is Open: Towards a Transnational History of Museums 1750-1940*, ed. Andrea Meyer and Bénédicte Savoy (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 1.

elaborating key points of interaction and exchange among archaeologists, scholars, and museum professionals is a major goal of this thesis.

In addition to the published sources mentioned above, I consider new information from previously untapped archival material housed in institutions central to my inquiry, including the British Museum, the Louvre, and the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. These sources provide a wealth of contextual information in the form of committee meeting minutes, personal correspondence, and early photographs that answer questions about informal perceptions of Cypriot sculpture, the nature of relationships between amateur and professional archaeologists, and in some cases, suggestions for display that could not be realized due to budgetary constraints. By bringing this new material to light, I demonstrate the flexibility and interconnectedness of nineteenth-century scholarly networks, both in their tolerance of amateurs and in their ability to bridge disciplinary divides such as “Oriental” and “Classical” studies to shed light on the “new” subfield of Cypriot art and archaeology, which fit somewhere between the two. Further, my analysis of the archival material reveals a fuller range of perspectives on Cypriot art than is otherwise visible in the published sources.

Finally, unlike previous studies, which have traditionally focused on comparing the approaches and views of Cypriot specialists, I bring the nineteenth-century reception of ancient Cyprus into dialogue with broader social trends and political questions that extend from the period in question to the present day. By placing sources—both scholarly and popular—that discuss Cypriot sculpture in the context of specialists of other (especially the “classical” traditions), I seek to flesh out the social and intellectual context for models that supported the classification, publication, and display of Cypriot works—in particular, theories and vocabularies

of stylistic development preoccupied with “foreign influence,” “evolution,” and “purity.” Cyprus was claimed as a “Greek” or preclassical antiquity in some cases, and as an “Oriental” variety in others, thereby showing its significance in relation to Classicism and Orientalism in turn, and the ease with which scholars molded the Cypriot tradition as best fit their agendas and narratives.

In considering how we might best approach Cypriot sculpture today—a theme addressed more fully in the conclusion—I acknowledge exciting new ideas and theoretical models that have recently emerged in the specialized literature of Cypriot archaeology. Rather than considering sculptures as tools for establishing a chronology or illustrating external domination, these novel approaches instead suggest that the works functioned as a sort of social glue, promoting cohesion within the community and linking past and present in a sacred space. The most promising recent investigations have rejected old classification systems, acknowledging the futility of assigning close dates when so few sanctuary sites preserve reliable and undisturbed stratigraphy.⁴³ This type of research instead addresses the social function of votive sculptures as ancestor galleries or spaces intended to showcase and support the cosmopolitan diversity and cooperation that likely existed in ancient Cyprus, especially in the politically prominent territories or kingdoms. Cypriot votives’ costume or dress is now understood to reflect social stratification rather ethnicity or political allegiances.

Recent work by Counts is especially valuable for reconsidering what it means for a given tradition or iconography to be “hybrid,” and for artists to work in a so-called middle ground or

⁴³ Works that propose a revised chronology for Cypriot sculpture include Pamela Gaber-Saletan, *Regional Styles in Cypriot Sculpture: The Sculpture from Idalion* (New York: Garland, 1986); Joan Breton Connelly, *Votive Sculpture of Hellenistic Cyprus* (Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 1988).

third space.⁴⁴ Cyprus provided artists with a fertile middle ground in which to develop a sculptural tradition that carried new meaning with the local audience.⁴⁵ Similarly, Reinhard Senff has dealt with the historiographic legacy of Cypriot scholarship while also suggesting new ways of interpreting the social significance of Cypriot religious sculptures, especially their dress or costume.⁴⁶ While the nude—traditionally the most celebrated category of ancient sculpture—still accounts for many canonical works of ancient art, new attention is indeed being given to clothed statues.⁴⁷ Karin Nys and Matthias Recke offer a variety of new perspectives in their discussion of the social importance of the Cypriot figures' dress.⁴⁸ Following Nys and Recke, I see the costume

⁴⁴ Derek B. Counts, "Exploring Cultures in Contact: Postcolonial Models and Votive Religion in Ancient Cyprus," in *Zypern—Insel im Schnittpunkt interkultureller Kontakte: Adaption und Abgrenzung von der Spätbronzezeit bis zum 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, ed. Renate Bol, Kathrin Kleibl, and Sabine Rogge (Münster: Waxmann, 2009), 35: "The acknowledgment of a *middle ground* or *third space* redirects attention away from the sources of influence to the places where agents acquire, translate, and often transform symbols and ideas." See also Derek B. Counts, "Master of the Lion: Representation and Hybridity in Cypriote Sanctuaries," *AJA* 112 (2008): 3–27. See discussion of "hybridity" in Greek culture, especially as pertains to Western Greece, in Carla Antonaccio, "Hybridity and the Cultures within Greek Culture," in *The Cultures within Greek Cultures*, ed. Carol Dougherty and Leslie Kurke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 57–74.

⁴⁵ Counts argues that though the particular divinities or iconographies present in Cypriot sacred spaces may well have originated elsewhere, these elements adopted a new significance and could have entirely new meanings for a local Cypriot audience. Counts, "Exploring Cultures in Contact," 43: "The presence of hybrid forms in the archaeological record of multiple Cypriote sanctuaries reflects the predisposition of Cypriote artists to appropriate foreign symbols into a local religious tradition... The success of these images over time and the relevance of the divinity they embody is tied directly to the context of a Cypriote sanctuary and its patrons, regardless of any original significance."

⁴⁶ Reinhard Senff, *Das Apollonheiligtum von Idalion: Architektur und Statuenausstattung eines zyprischen Heiligtums* (Jonsered: Åströms Förlag, 1993); Reinhard Senff, "Dress, Habit and Status Symbols of Cypriote Statuary from Archaic to Roman Times," in *Cyprus: Religion and Society. From the Late Bronze Age to the End of the Archaic Period*, ed. Vassos Karageorghis, Hartmut Matthäus, and Sabine Rogge (Möhnesee: Bibliopolis, 2005), 99–110; Senff, "Exotischer Reiz und historischer Wert"; Reinhard Senff, "Remarks on Some Freestanding Archaic Limestone Sculptures in Berlin," in *Cypriote Antiquities in Berlin in the Focus of New Research*, ed. Vassos Karageorghis, Elena Poyiadji-Richter, and Sabine Rogge (Münster: Waxmann, 2014) 137–51. Giorgos Papantoniou, "Rethinking the Portrait-like Sculpture of Hellenistic Cyprus" in *Ancient Cyprus Today*, ed. Bourogiannis and Mühlenbock, 339–50, builds on Senff's work in considering the social impact of the arrangement of figures within the temenos.

⁴⁷ Donohue, *Greek Sculpture*, 155: "Clothing and other features of costume are now recognized as no less significant than the body itself for the investigation of issues such as gender, ethnicity, and social and economic class."

⁴⁸ Karin Nys and Matthias Recke, "Craftsmanship and the Cultural / Political Identity of the Cypriote Kingdoms. The Case of Idalion and Tamassos," *CCEC* 34 (2004): 213–14: "Elites were undoubtedly also seeking ways to overtly display their status on a more permanent level and, for this purpose, erecting medium-size and life-size effigies of themselves as votaries in the *temene* of sanctuaries would seem an obvious choice. It is noteworthy though, that pre-Hellenistic, Cypriote anthropomorphic sculptures never betray the features of individuals and that inscriptions never

worn by Cypro-Archaic votives as evidence of an elite presence in Cypriot society. As Archaic Cyprus hosted an international community of both residents and visitors, local elites were likely exposed to an astounding variety of adornment and dress. Perhaps locals wanted their images to be legible to these foreigners as displays of wealth. Senff's work has been particularly important here, challenging the notion that these different "styles" originated in different centuries, and instead suggesting that they may all date to the sixth century.⁴⁹

Theoretical Perspectives

My study is positioned between the fields of classical reception studies and art history as well as between the ancient and modern worlds. Stephanie Moser defines reception as "an *active* and selective engagement with the subject of the past, reflecting the concerns of those audiences

identify a statue with a particular donor. Consequently, the donors' objective was not...to indicate their personal status but instead to emphasise their affiliation to the upper stratum in society. This would be embodied by the display of paraphernalia of their high status on the statues." The idea that the statues were not individualized, but that it was rather their *clothing* that set them apart from one another actually has nineteenth-century roots: "As M. Perrot has well pointed out, in none of these figures do we find any serious study of nature, in none do we find the attempt to represent either movement or emotion. There is not even any attempt at the portraiture of individuals. The rich robes and the abundant jewelry of the natives are represented rather than themselves." Percy Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History: Historical Results of Recent Excavations in Asia Minor* (London: Macmillan, 1892), 183.

⁴⁹ Senff, "Remarks on Some Freestanding Archaic Limestone Sculptures in Berlin," 140: "During the course of the sixth century, Cypriote sculpture develops a large variety in the differentiation of ornaments and details of clothing, which most likely are directly related to different strata of the society." Among the first to suggest the possibility—which is now widely accepted—that sculptures displaying wildly different styles of costumes might in fact be contemporaneous was Cornelius C. Vermeule, "Cypriote Sculpture, the Late Archaic and Early Classical Periods: Towards a More Precise Understanding," *AJA* 78 (1974): 289: "These statues and heads must not be 'strung out,' however, in a pseudo-chronological sequence, just because one man dressed as an Assyrian, others as Egyptians, a number as Cypro-Anatolian priests, and ultimately, all as Greeks of various sorts." Vermeule argued that the bulk of Cypro-Archaic statuary should be dated between 520 and 480 BCE. Today, scholars may agree that the majority of Cypro-Archaic sculptures come from a relatively narrow chronological spread, but they push the date back, especially when considering terracottas. For example, Jan-Marc Henke, "New Evidence for the Definition of Workshops of Cypriot Terracotta at East Aegean Findspots and its Chronological Background," *CCEC* 41 (2011): 221, argues, "The entire group of Cypriot terracottas in the East Aegean belongs to the seventh century and to the so-called Orientalizing period." Sabine Fourrier, *La coroplastie chypriote archaïque. Identités culturelles et politiques à l'époque des royaumes* (Ann Arbor: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2007), likewise suggests further modifying chronology.

who consume it.”⁵⁰ I attempt to engage Cypriot sculpture in a similarly active way. In particular, I demonstrate the usefulness of reception studies to other bodies of material that consist largely of decontextualized objects. The tendency of Cypriot material to fall through the cracks of standard histories of Greek and Near Eastern art is not due solely to its failure to be granted membership in either category. Cyprus was among the last playground for amateur archaeologists in the Mediterranean, and its material culture was eagerly claimed with devastating efficiency by opportunists seeking to capitalize on its relevance to contemporary debates surrounding the “origins” of Greek art. The majority of works comprising the world’s major collections of Cypriot sculpture—in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Louvre, the British Museum, the State Museums of Berlin, and even the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia—came from pre-1900 excavations that are now recognized as problematic for their unreliability and inattention to details of context, among other ethical concerns. As a result, these objects—which include many of the most significant finds on the island to date—have been largely ignored by scholars today, who prefer to examine securely excavated finds. I seek to reengage with nineteenth-century material, approaching it from a new perspective and with a series of new questions.

I draw support from recent literature in art history and classical reception studies that likewise blends diverse elements, methods, and questions, and bridges traditional regional and

⁵⁰ Stephanie Moser, “Reconstructing Ancient Worlds: Reception Studies, Archaeological Representation and the Interpretation of Ancient Egypt,” *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 22, no. 4 (December 2015): 1265, emphasis original. Further, reception studies, offers scholars a way “to escape from the tyranny of the last resting place” and consider what “work” artifacts do in their working lives, even after they are (re)discovered. See Robin Osborne, “De-contextualising and Re-contextualising: Why Mediterranean Archaeology Needs to Get out of the Trench and Back into the Museum,” *JMA* 28.2 (2015): 241–61.

chronological divisions. The reception of Greek antiquities—and, to a lesser extent, of Near Eastern and Egyptian cultures—in modern Europe has been well documented.⁵¹ I hope to offer a new perspective and a complementary form of investigation, shedding additional light on the complex reception of ancient Mediterranean material culture in modern Europe. As A. A. Donohue and Mark D. Fullerton argue, “the study and interpretation of ancient art reflect contemporary ideas and practices.”⁵² Debates about ancient Cypriot culture were indeed fraught with purely modern political complications. Nineteenth-century tensions about ancient Cyprus as Oriental or Greek were tangled up in questions about the island’s perceived modern identity as European or Asian, Christian or Muslim. The precarious relationship between the Cypriot and Greek styles in museums and survey scholarship, and its ultimate designation as a “foreign” rather than “Greek” or “classical” tradition, was thus determined by its ever-shifting political, racial, and religious profile. Broadly, in museums and texts, European scholars strove to promote a version of events in which the aesthetic preeminence of the classical style of the Greek

⁵¹ In addition to the titles cited above by Bohrer and Moser, see Can Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin’s Pergamon Museum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Dyson, *In Pursuit of Ancient Pasts*; Jean M. Evans, *The Lives of Sumerian Sculpture: An Archaeology of the Early Dynastic Temple* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Thomas Harrison, “‘Respectable in its Ruins’: Achaemenid Persia, Ancient and Modern,” in *A Companion to Classical Receptions*, ed. Lorna Hardwick and Christopher Stray (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 50–61; Ian Jenkins, *Archaeologists and Aesthetes in the Sculpture Galleries of the British Museum, 1800–1939* (London: British Museum Press, 1992); Yannis Hamilakis and Nicoletta Momigliano, eds., *Archaeology and European Modernity: Producing and Consuming the ‘Minoans’* (Padua: Bottega d’Erasmus, 2006); Sally MacDonald and Michael Rice, eds., *Consuming Ancient Egypt* (London: UCL Press, 2003); Elizabeth Prettejohn, *The Modernity of Ancient Sculpture: Greek Sculpture and Modern Art from Winckelmann to Picasso* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012); Donald Malcolm Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2003). Finally, Burns employs a similar approach to Mycenaean culture, which “arose and developed in dialogue with foreign lands” and was manipulated, institutionalized, and presented to the public in the nineteenth-century as an independent and early “Greek” civilization, an idea heavily shaped by modern political geography. Burns, *Mycenaean Greece*, 2; 42–3. Instead of continuing this discourse, he proposes a new type of analysis: “To locate a specifically Mycenaean perspective, I have analyzed the artifacts not in terms of their origins of manufacture or means of transport, but rather their existences as traded objects in a new environment.” *Ibid.*, 3.

⁵² A. A. Donohue and Mark D. Fullerton, abstract, *Ancient Art and Its Historiography*, ed. A. A. Donohue and Mark D. Fullerton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

mainland was the model, thereby affirming the inherent “superiority” of contemporary continental Europe. Authors sought to bolster their views and assuage fears of Eastern “contamination,” implying the desirability of Christianity rather than Islam, and the West’s strength against Eastern cultural or religious “influence.”⁵³

While tracing the heritage of a Christian Europe to a pagan classical Greece required impressive feats of mental gymnastics, the place that ancient Greece occupied at the heart of modern European identity was anchored in its indisputable physical attachment to the land mass of mainland Europe. Further, because of the successful outcome of the Greek War of Independence (1821-32) and the influence of the Greek Orthodox church, nineteenth-century Europeans could comfortably consider Greece a Western nation.⁵⁴ Ottoman Turkey, however, was in a more ambiguous situation. As Debbie Challis suggests, during the nineteenth century “the Orient was on the whole defined by the geographical limits of the Ottoman Empire.”⁵⁵ In addition to being the center of the Ottoman Empire, Constantinople’s connection to mainland Europe was interrupted by the Bosphorus, effectively cutting it off from the West. Ottoman-turned-British Cyprus represented an even more perplexing geographic puzzle: how to decide whether it fit best under the cultural umbrella of the “West” or the “East.”

“For both Christians and Muslims,” Scheffler notes, “the most important pattern of spatial classification beyond the confines of narrow dynastic and territorial rule was the distinction between the realm of the true faith...and the pagan rest of the world...‘Europe’

⁵³ Duesterberg, *Popular Receptions of Archaeology*, addresses this fear as it played out in contemporary literature.

⁵⁴ Greece received crucial support from Western European countries—in the form of both intellectuals and soldiers—in this war.

⁵⁵ Debbie Challis, *From the Harpy Tomb to the Wonders of Ephesus: British Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire 1840-1880* (London: Duckworth, 2008), 12.

became a synonym for Christianity and the ‘East’ a synonym for the world of Islam.”⁵⁶ Yet, again, the classification was not so simple when it came to Cyprus and other border regions, which supported both Christian and Muslim populations.⁵⁷ Some authors insisted that Cyprus, as long as it remained under Ottoman rule, belonged to the Eastern tradition. Others took a more flexible view. The continued Christian presence on the island provided an opening to tug Cyprus into arguments where it served as a proto-Western culture. The corresponding outlook, which saw an ancient Cyprus that was predominantly “Hellenic”—if tainted by modern Ottoman rule—was sloppy and unsatisfying, fully illogical to those who considered Cyprus an Oriental island. After all, nineteenth-century critics wondered, how could an Ottoman land (with a substantial Muslim population) hold the keys to Western (and Christian) civilization? Questions such as these ensured an additional level of complexity in arguments naming Cyprus as a precursor to Greece.

That Cyprus’s transfer to British administration in 1878 did not result in a surge of discussions of Cyprus as a “Hellenic” island reveals that the tensions lay deeper than political administrations or allegiances. There was, after all, an additional problem with the British eliding differences between Cypriot and Greek culture—encouraging the Cypriots to form a pro-Greek national identity threatened their shaky claim to the island. Their answer to these challenges was to support a view of Cyprus as an independent tradition, perhaps related to Greece, but above all the result of native, so-called Eteocypriot innovations and inventions. Though the term

⁵⁶ Scheffler, “‘Fertile Crescent,’ ‘Orient,’ ‘Middle East’: The Changing Mental Maps of Southwest Asia,” 260–1.

⁵⁷ “The shores of the eastern Mediterranean and its hinterland resembled a rag rug of shifting Christian and Muslim suzerainties.” *Ibid.*, 261. Specific census figures from 1881 are given in Chapter One. Assuming most Greek Cypriots identified as Christians and most Turkish Cypriots as Muslims, the island was roughly 75% Catholic and 25% Muslim.

Eteocypriot emerged in the twentieth century, already in the nineteenth century scholars conceived of a local and distinct Cypriot tradition, molding perceptions of the aesthetic as they saw fit and using the “Cypriot” category to their political advantage, as a stepping stone from East to West, or again, as a “boundary” between the two.⁵⁸

Yet, as Ann C. Gunter demonstrates, the traditional divide (so often assumed by nineteenth-century scholars) between “Greek” and “Oriental” fails to accurately describe either region or style in antiquity. The rigid boundary these terms imply does not reflect the reality of the ancient Mediterranean, where borders and movements of people and objects were fluid. As Gunter writes, “Despite their ubiquity and seeming timelessness, the categories of ‘Greek’ and ‘Oriental’ are modern constructs that impose an artificial homogeneity and polarity not substantiated by ancient sources.”⁵⁹ My own study of Cypriot art—variously classified as “Greek,” “Phoenician,” “Egyptian,” and “Assyrian”—responds to the challenges these authors present, both in documenting the way nineteenth-century biases shaped its original reception, and in suggesting new approaches to understanding or classifying these sculptures.

⁵⁸ Michael Given, “Inventing the Eteocypriots: Imperialist Archaeology and the Manipulation of Ethnic Identity,” *JMA* 11, no. 1 (1998): 3–29.

⁵⁹ Ann C. Gunter, *Greek Art and the Orient* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 50. Gunter thus challenges scholars to reframe their thinking about material that falls between these two problematic categories—such as works from Cyprus—and to reconsider reliance on a fraught “center-periphery” model. Importantly, she demonstrates that our current approach to such material results from our modern experience, and of nineteenth-century Orientalist perspectives. Further, as Margaret C. Miller, has argued, the tendency of scholars—above all in the nineteenth-century but even in the present day—to present civilizations such as classical Athens and Achaemenid Persia as cultural opposites, uninterested in the styles and traditions of the other—rests on a deeply flawed narrative. In fact, Athenians were fascinated with objects produced and used in the East. Margaret C. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC: A Study in Cultural Receptivity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1: “On analogy with the early modern European cultural phenomenon of Chinoiserie and especially Türkerei, the response in classical Athens can be termed ‘Perserie.’”

The contemporaneous Western view of Ottoman Cyprus was largely negative, with much of that bias due to Orientalist perspectives.⁶⁰ The assumed stagnation of Oriental culture was a defining tenet of Orientalism. The East was considered a “living Pompeii,” “alien yet safely distant, enchanted yet frozen in cultural immobility.”⁶¹ Such a description also fit Cyprus, which was thought to hold the clues to a more ancient way of life, preserved in a modern casing. Life in the “Orient” was assumed to reflect the circumstances of biblical times, and by studying it nineteenth-century scholars hoped to develop a more intimate understanding of biblical texts, personages, and the Holy Lands. This was especially true for the French who visited Cyprus. Colonialist views often accompanied Orientalist perspectives, and Western visitors competed to unravel the “mysteries” of these “exotic” regions while vying for political opportunities.⁶² Yet Hellenism, defined by Ian Morris as “idealisation of ancient Greece as the birthplace of the

⁶⁰ Orientalism can arguably be traced back to antiquity, but a very specific brand of it emerged at the end of the eighteenth century that was intimately connected with British and French imperialism. Stefan R. Hauser, “Orientalism (CT),” in *Brill's New Pauly*, ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider (Brill Online, 2011). Cyprus was further perceived as a peripheral island and backwater. A. Bernard Knapp, *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus: Identity, Insularity, and Connectivity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 13: “As an archetype...islands typically are viewed as remote, and portrayed in romantic imagery as backwaters, untainted by the ills of modern civilizations, places where life is lived at a slower pace, closer to nature.” *Ibid.*, 67 also comments on the impact of such biases on modern scholarship: “[Early British professionals’] negative attitude toward the Ottoman Empire, and then Turkey, sustained a long-standing philhellenic bias that has always affected the structure of archaeological research on the island, and remains one of the main burdens born by the archaeology of Cyprus today.”

⁶¹ Steven H. Holloway, “Introduction: Orientalism, Assyriology and the Bible,” in *Orientalism, Assyriology and the Bible*, ed. Steven H Holloway (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2006), 1; 6. The clearest example of this tendency to project ancient practices onto modern people can be found in two observations (by Cesnola, and Colonna-Ceccaldi, respectively) about the headgear of ancient Cypriot statues. Cesnola, discussing the caps on male statues, argued that the same type could be found in the Cyprus of his day. Luigi Palma di Cesnola, *Cyprus: Its Ancient Cities, Tombs, and Temples* (London: John Murray, 1877), 180. Colonna-Ceccaldi made a similar observation about veils on female statues, seeing a parallel in those worn by modern Cypriot women. Georges Colonna-Ceccaldi, *Monuments antiques de Chypre de Syrie et d'Égypte* (Paris: Didier et Cie, 1882), 303.

⁶² Anna Marangou, *The Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola 1832-1904: Life and Deeds* (Nicosia: Cultural Centre of the Popular Bank Group, 2000), 14, writes of early research on the island: “A common philosophy and a basic guideline were obvious: the civilization of the ‘conquered’ country was at the disposal of the European erudite for full investigation.” Indeed, the cultural side of consular work became more important following significant discoveries on the island in 1868 and 1870.

European spirit,” is likewise a key part of the story of the reception of Cyprus, caught as it was between Orientalism and Classicism but falling short of both.⁶³ Again, as British scholars vacillated in the final quarter of the nineteenth century between classifying Cyprus as a “Greek” and “independent” tradition, they guaranteed a difficult reception of Cypriot art throughout the twentieth century—and even to the present day—in which Cypriot scholarship could find its footing neither in Oriental nor in Classical studies. In his work on the reception of Mesopotamian art, Frederick Bohrer uses the phrase “visual logic of imperialism” to denote the hierarchical, schematic, and largely aesthetic evaluation of the artistic works of past and foreign cultures designed to promote the image of the nations that possessed those works.⁶⁴ Ancient Cyprus serves as a further example of a visual culture whose neglect stems from this brand of logic. Cypriot art upset carefully crafted versions of cultural evolution, threatening to undermine the logic of the universal museum itself. The complex style demonstrated that there was more than one way to tell the story of ancient art, more than one way to interpret style, exchange, and influence. The challenge presented by the Cypriot style was uncomfortable and significant, for curators and the public alike.

My analysis of these threads of logic runs through each of my chapters and again builds on the work of Donohue and Fullerton, who remind us “that the study of ancient art has reflected destructive aspects of its social intellectual matrices such as nationalism, imperialism, and racism is beyond doubt.”⁶⁵ Indeed, nineteenth-century discussions of Cypriot sculpture were complicated by the fact that they attempted to account for two different aspects of the sculptures: the style of

⁶³ Morris, “Archaeologies of Greece,” 11. *Ibid.*, 20, further clarifies that Hellenism formed in much the same way as Orientalism—that is, in the context of “European military adventures in the East Mediterranean from 1798 to 1829.”

⁶⁴ Bohrer, *Orientalism and Visual Culture*, abstract.

⁶⁵ Donohue and Fullerton, *Ancient Art and Its Historiography*, 4.

the carving and its inferiority to mainland models, and the physical characteristics or race of the individuals the statues were thought to represent and their inferiority to western European types. In her book on the reception of Sumerian sculpture, Jean Evans demonstrates that in the absence of well-preserved human remains, nineteenth-century scholars used sculpted representations of the human form as an index for the missing specimen.⁶⁶ Similar applications of these ideas were projected onto Cypriot sculpture, which was carefully dissected for traces of “ethnic” identities. In the age of phrenology, the promise of the stone statue to substitute for the physical body of a long-deceased individual was indeed exciting. These aspirations were evident from the vocabulary scholars used to describe the sculptures, which mirror expressions used to describe human features.

Most discussions of Cypriot sculpture revolved around identifying its component parts, supposed to have been lifted from a variety of other traditions. The ensuing vocabularies that nineteenth-century scholars developed were complex and inconsistent, but were nevertheless extremely influential, to the extent that some are still with us today. Labels, whether stylistic or racial, determined the tone of the reception of ancient sculpture. Donohue has explored the extent to which the modern study and perception of Greek sculpture has been molded by the language and vocabulary used to describe, evaluate, and interpret these works in the past.⁶⁷ identifies a “problem of description” in relation to the study of Greek sculpture, meaning the issues surrounding the language we employ to discuss these works of art, and specifically, how this language predetermines our interpretation and evaluation of the works. She demonstrates that the

⁶⁶ Jean M. Evans, *The Lives of Sumerian Sculpture: An Archaeology of the Early Dynastic Temple* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 10: “Because of the materialization of the classical ideal in human taxonomies, nineteenth-century Western scholars understood sculpture in general as an authenticating document of the body.”

⁶⁷ Donohue, *Greek Sculpture*.

words scholars choose to describe and classify objects have a significant impact on how these objects are perceived by other scholars and the public: “It is thus not the case that a consistent empirical description has furnished information capable of varied readings; rather, the explanatory models are lenses through which the statue becomes visible in meaningful ways. What the statue ‘looks like’ is determined by the interpretive contexts.”⁶⁸

The perceived appearance of statues is thus inseparable from the language used to describe them, and the context—whether “Greek” or “Near Eastern”—in which they are considered. Indeed, certain words appeared often in relation to Cypriot sculpture, attaching themselves to the works in powerful ways. In the cases where Cyprus was considered under the umbrella of Phoenicia, or identified as a culture that facilitated transfer but did not generate any unique ideas, its creative force was downplayed and denied, resulting in descriptions such as “primitive,” “rude,” and “helpless.” When scholars viewed Cyprus as a precursor to classical Greece, or as a missing link between the “Oriental” cultures and Greece, they tended to rate the sculpture more generously: still “primitive” perhaps, but also “promising,” or, more neutrally, “conventional.” Authors who perceived the Cypriot “style” as an independent tradition employed a different set of vocabularies, often noting its “peculiar” spirit, born at the “crossroads” of civilization.⁶⁹ The effect of these labels was even more significant in an age when words

⁶⁸ Ibid., 54.

⁶⁹ Manolis Mikrakis, “The ‘Originality of Ancient Cypriot Art’ and the Individuality of Performing Practices in Protohistoric Cyprus,” in *Cyprus and the Aegean in the Early Iron Age: The Legacy of Nicolas Coldstream*, ed. Maria Iacovou (Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, 2012), 372: “This complex of assumptions was further institutionalised through the division of the discipline into Aegean, Near Eastern, Egyptian, prehistoric and classical archaeologies and also through the struggle between colonial powers and emergent states in the area. For such a struggle, the acceptance or the denial of a distinct cultural past was often decisive. I would argue, therefore, that the dominant crossroads paradigm of Cypriot archaeology owes much to these assumptions, their institutionalisation and their political implications.”

circulated more easily than images due to limitations imposed by cost, technology, and the accuracy of drawings. Once a word was attached to a work of art, it was often repeated, even by scholars who had never seen the work. Some words, such as “primitive” or “childlike,” became shortcuts for effectively dismissing certain works of art. Similarly, for universal museums seeking to narrate in a neat, linear manner the march of human progress and artistic achievement from the “Fertile Crescent” to the capitals of western Europe, Cypriot antiquities were often viewed as hybrid curiosities, confusing Oriental objects with Greek aspirations that fell short of genuine Hellenism.⁷⁰

My investigation highlights how certain arguments and observations—not necessarily the most accurate or astute—were repeated, gaining unwarranted scholarly weight and attention with each occurrence, with the result that they persist even in contemporary debates and publications. Sometimes, the longevity of ideas is the result of what might be termed a “historical accident.” Mariana Giovino, analyzing interpretations of Assyrian iconography, writes, “An historiographic study of this kind is not merely a useful research map; it can also develop our awareness of how certain ideas survive and others succumb to the process of scholarly evolution.”⁷¹ Historical accidents in the field of Cypriot archaeology, caused by the spread of misinformation—or the unfortunate omission of information—had already emerged in the mid-1500s, with the misattribution of the Amazon Sarcophagus, the first major work of ancient art unearthed on the island, to a variety of sites outside of Cyprus. I trace the effects of this and numerous other

⁷⁰ The term “Fertile Crescent” was coined by James Henry Breasted (1865-1935), an American archaeologist, and first appears in 1916. Thomas Scheffler, “‘Fertile Crescent,’ ‘Orient,’ ‘Middle East’: The Changing Mental Maps of Southwest Asia,” 253.

⁷¹ Mariana Giovino, *The Assyrian Sacred Tree: A History of Interpretations*, *Orbis biblicus et orientalis* 230 (Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg, 2007), 3.

misattributions and misconceptions, demonstrating just how much power early and authoritative sources can exercise over all subsequent research.

Similarly, considering scholarship from written publications *and* the museum—sources that are normally treated independently—in conjunction with one another allows me to pinpoint and untangle common issues that arise from the types of “grand narrative” schemes prevalent in both realms.⁷² The goals of the museum and the art historical or archaeological survey were complementary, but not identical. Like scholarly surveys, museums relied on a process of selection, arrangement, and editing to form a logical narrative. Museums did not, however, simply aim to illustrate with real artifacts the type of scholarship that appeared in print; they sought to communicate a series of sweeping morals about world civilization. While Cyprus’s ability to fit into many cultural boxes made it intriguing in the survey scholarship, where it could be discussed and even illustrated across multiple chapters, it proved unwieldy in the museum setting. Cypriot sculpture challenged standard narratives and divisions, as it did not consistently and securely belong to a single traditional field or museum department. While authors of art historical surveys could discuss the “hybrid” nature of Cypriot works without confirming or denying the fundamental “Greek” or “Oriental” nature of the Cypriot style, museum scholars were forced to be more exclusive and decisive in their labels, displays, and publications.

Moreover, scholars at universal museums had greater stakes than amateurs or university scholars in promoting certain narratives and aesthetic values, as their version of events had to match those required by their nations. The nationalistic quality of the logic behind the histories

⁷² Here, I follow the example set by Johannes Siapkas and Lena Sjögren, *Displaying The Ideals of Antiquity: The Petrified Gaze* (London: Routledge, 2014), 79: “The main purpose of this book is to bridge the divide between scholarship and museums.”

presented in museums should not be underestimated: laid out in the space of the universal museum, an empire's perspective on a particular culture could be as rigid as it was calculated. In the mid-nineteenth century, when Cypriot sculpture first began to arrive in western European museums, the idea that these objects and their spaces should be public and open to all was still quite novel. Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, museums had existed not simply to educate the public, but rather, chiefly to demonstrate the sophistication of the elite, shape the tastes of an emerging middle class, and train artists to work in the most esteemed historical traditions. Most collections had been assembled by a monarchy or empire and its military might (as in France), wealthy private citizens (in Britain), or by the "princely elite" (as in Germany). Thus, even into the nineteenth century, museums were makers of taste and shapers of style, playing grounds for an educated upper class who visited mainly to display—rather than acquire—knowledge about classical history, mythology, and culture. Long after these museums had opened their doors to the wider public, they were far from neutral—or, truly "universal"—cultural zones.

By collecting, ranking, and exhibiting art from around the world, a nation's universal museum was in a particularly powerful position to cement cultural, social, and political hierarchies that sheltered and justified their positions of dominance in the world. This dominance was further enacted and emphasized in the modes of organization and display within the museum. This burden was felt most acutely in the realm of ancient art. As Johannes Siapkas and Lena Sjogren argue in their volume on the display of ancient sculptures in modern museums, "The teleological schemes that are presented in museums tend to cast antiquity as the origin of a

tradition in which the contemporary nation is the end.”⁷³ The public that visited universal museums in the nineteenth century invariably emerged with a feeling of their own country’s superiority. A museum’s central concern was to structure both history and the presentation of cultural artifacts in such a way that promoted the cultural superiority of northern or western Europe, and an “Aryan” race, thereby supporting conditions of inequality inherent in imperial identity, colonial endeavors, and the pursuit of pleasures by an ever-growing middle-class. As Daniel J. Sherman summarizes, “ruling elites derive power from the sphere of high culture they define.”⁷⁴

Originally published in the eighteenth century, the German scholar Johann Joachim Winckelmann’s (1717-1768) narratives continued to be employed in nineteenth-century survey scholarship and museums to explain the historical trajectory and development of ancient cultures. Universal museums sought to arrange their collections in a way that best conveyed Winckelmann’s ever-seductive account of the rise and fall of the arts and culture of ancient Greece.⁷⁵ Sustaining the arc of this myth in a manner that made sense both chronologically and geographically became increasingly difficult as museums incorporated works of other civilizations—including those of ancient Egypt, Etruria, and Assyria—into their galleries. Winckelmann’s model was thus modified slightly so that the “progress” of man and the development of civilization from its “primitive” origins could be tracked alongside aesthetic categories, such as naturalism and emotional vigor, which—for those loyal to the spirit of

⁷³ Ibid., 91.

⁷⁴ Daniel J. Sherman, *Worthy Monuments: Art Museums and the Politics of Culture in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1989), 5.

⁷⁵ Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, 10: “Winckelmann conceived of human (and art) history as a cyclical rather than progressive evolution; cultures appear as isolated, autonomous organisms, passing through successive stages of birth, flowering, and decay.”

Winckelmann—found their most convincing expression in classical Greek statues. By placing Cypriot sculptures alongside those from the Levant, Anatolia, and Greece with these connotations in mind, both surveys and museums offered a new, “hybrid” culture in their concrete, visual demonstration of an aesthetic gradient in which depictions of the human form became less stylized or schematic and more purely European in terms of both emotional expression and facial characteristics—or, in other words, race. Using Aristotle’s “Great Chain of Being” as a model for constructing a “Great Chain of Art,” their systems of artistic taxonomy appear to have been modeled on a marriage of Aristotelian and Platonic ideas that sought to rank and classify life on earth and in the heavens.⁷⁶

The nineteenth-century universal museum served as a perfect stage for such ideas to be presented to the public. After all, these institutions, supported by the nation ostensibly for the benefit of its citizens, also operated as a tool for its glorification and the perpetuation of colonial exploitation—including the plundering of natural resources, antiquities, and cultural patrimony.⁷⁷ By elaborating the conditions under which Cypriot sculpture entered the art historical literature and the universal museum in the nineteenth century, I seek not simply to identify the associations and judgments imposed on the island by early scholars, archaeologists and museums, but to

⁷⁶ For more on the application of this concept to the British Museum, see Jenkins, *Archaeologists and Aesthetes*, 13; Bohrer, *Orientalism and Visual Culture*, especially 121, for a discussion of the place of Assyrian antiquities in the “Great Chain of Art.”

⁷⁷ The issue of looted cultural patrimony is not a contested issue in Cyprus as it remains in other places. Cyprus’s Department of Antiquities has made peace with the fact that ancient Cypriot material is spread all over the globe, viewing the wide exposure as a positive outcome. In what many have praised as a proactive gesture, the Department of Antiquities, with the support of private foundations such as the A. G. Leventis Foundation, has focused its effort on sponsoring publications and new, modern museum installations for Cypriot objects that found their way more or less legally off of the island.

dissect these initial interpretations for what they reveal about the development of the field and nineteenth-century Europe's understandings of "civilization," "progress," and heritage.

Chapter Summaries

My project unfolds in three chapters, each with a different central theme: recovery, publication, and display. Chapter One narrates the story of the Western "discovery" of ancient Cypriot culture and describes how key individuals located, excavated, and sold antiquities, especially sculpture. I consider how they alternately stalled and propelled the professionalization of archaeology and the development of "scientific" methods of excavation.⁷⁸ No individual did more to drive interest in Cypriot sculpture than Cesnola, and, for better or worse, his role as an amateur archaeologist, antiquities dealer, and author make him an inescapable figure in the literature treating Cypriot archaeology during its founding years. Correspondence between Cesnola, other amateur archaeologists, scholars, and curators illuminates the logistics of financing digs, the purchase of Cypriot lots, and the spread of information about finds, sites, and theories. More broadly, I relate trends in the field of Cypriot archaeology to a series of broader changes occurring in the structure of learned societies, museums, and universities, all of which had a profound impact on the production and dissemination of art historical and archaeological knowledge. I provide social context for archaeologists' impressions of Cyprus and explore to what degree their interest in the island's ancient past was motivated by biblical, classical, or Homeric history. Finally, I consider the effects—often minimal—of various antiquities and export laws, and outline the complex political situation that defined relations between the western

⁷⁸ Archaeology on Cyprus was by no means fully professionalized by 1900, but I point out some important shifts in methodology (both in terms of excavation and recording) that show how the field was changing and that knowledge gained on site gradually become more important than the material finds themselves, which were viewed as accessories to knowledge rather than trophies or marketable goods.

European nations and the Ottoman Empire throughout the nineteenth century. I analyze how archaeological practices changed after June 1878, when Cypriot administration was transferred from Ottoman to British authorities, and how digs sponsored by the British Museum ushered in new priorities and standards for fieldwork in the late 1880s.

Chapters Two and Three treat the reception of ancient Cyprus in two closely intertwined contexts: scholarly publications and museums. I identify major trends that emerged as two distinct types of individuals—the amateur archaeologist and the trained scholar—began to publish Cypriot material culture, devoting special attention to discussions of limestone votives from the Cypro-Achaic (ca. 750-480 BCE) and Cypro-Classical (ca. 480-310 BCE) periods. I consider how these statues were used as compelling evidence to promote a new timeline and understanding of style during the Achaic period and how they were positioned to promote certain assumptions about the relationship between Greece and the Near East in the Early Iron Age. Chapter Three turns to universal museums in Paris and London. I explore the ways these museums, which offered very different possibilities for organizing knowledge than did survey texts, presented visual arguments that differed from those expressed in written form. Neither “Oriental” nor “Greek,” Cypriot sculpture drew attention to the inherent cracks and inconsistencies within the framework of the museums’ grand, nationalistic narratives. In addition to investigating the ways in which theories of “cultural evolution” and “aesthetic morals” were deployed in galleries, I foreground practical challenges the museums faced such as restraints determined by space, storage capabilities, existing departmental divisions, staff, and finances. Importantly, the conditions that determined the treatment and arrangement of Cypriot sculpture in these museums were often simply a result of extraneous circumstances. Rather than locating

embedded institutional bias against Cypriot or “Oriental” antiquities, I found overwhelming evidence that finances, institutional politics, and a lack of space for display were the most significant factors affecting the reception of Cypriot art in each institution.

By analyzing the numerous—and even conflicting—roles Cypriot sculpture served in museums and scholarship in the second half of the nineteenth century, I highlight the limitations inherent to the structure of a traditional survey narrative, and the difficulties posed by a canon that seeks to narrate it visually. As I will demonstrate, rather than being perceived as a truly “new antiquity,” ancient Cyprus provided scholars with a way of talking about what other antiquities (including Greece) were—and what they were not. Cypriot sculpture offered nineteenth-century scholars a convenient place to pause and offer a discussion of the “Eastern debts” of “Western” (and especially Greek) art. Yet these detours effectively disappeared with the discovery of Mycenae and Minoan Crete, demonstrating to nineteenth-century scholars that artistic genius had already inhabited the Aegean during the Bronze Age. The relative merit or significance of cultures was thus never stable.

After all, antiquities do not automatically provide their own context. In describing objects, arguing for their merit, developing chronologies, and narrating stories of their development, scholars necessarily impose their own judgments on these works. Any given analysis is thus just as much a product of its own time and context as the ancient works are of theirs. Similarly, all “scholarly activities”—including excavation, restoration, display, and publication—are undertaken not only in the service of the ancient world, but rather in service to what they can

contribute to the modern one.⁷⁹ By fashioning our own stories about objects that come down to us, across centuries, and often across great distances, from any region of ancient world, we tame them, incorporating them into our own worldview, thereby rendering them safe, instructive, and worthy of interest. We use ancient objects as anchors for our modern preoccupations and identities. In the case of Cyprus many of the hotly debated questions that so preoccupied nineteenth-century individuals still surface—unanswered—in our own work. It is not always that these questions are the wrong ones to ask, but that in some instances we would benefit from enhanced introspection—about our curiosities, our vocabularies, and our stories.

Writing in 2005, Glenn Markoe noted Phoenician civilization created “serious problems for the art historian. The Phoenicians’ wide-ranging trade contacts and their interest in catering for foreign markets resulted in the creation of a truly eclectic art style, perhaps the most outward-looking of all contemporary Near Eastern cultures. How do we set about defining the parameters of this unique and geographically encompassing art style?”⁸⁰ His language is remarkably similar to that used by nineteenth-century authors attempting to make sense of the Cypriot style. Though Markoe’s phrasing betrays a level of self-awareness not found in the earlier scholarship on Cyprus, in his consideration of the Phoenician style, he nevertheless runs into the very same stubborn barrier that Cypriot scholars encountered countless times between 1860 and 1900: how should one classify the Cypriot style, or, to which civilization did Cyprus owe its particular artistic tradition? Nineteenth-century scholars answered these questions in a variety of ways, but most settled on classifying Cypriot culture in one of the following four ways: as a derivative of

⁷⁹ Duesterberg, *Popular Receptions of Archaeology*, 482, argues, “Collecting, classifying, narrating: these are all ways of putting something in its proper place, of affirming that it belongs—ultimately to us.”

⁸⁰ Markoe, *The Phoenicians*, 145.

the Phoenician; as a precursor to the Greek; as a missing link or mediator between “East” and “West”; or as an independent tradition. My goal is not to determine which answer is the most satisfying, but rather, to determine why certain individuals promoted a certain version of the Cypriot stylistic narrative, and why some of these narratives have survived to the present day in iterations almost unchanged. As Markoe and other contemporary scholars who work on “peripheral” regions or do so-called boundary work well know, the “serious problems” we may perceive in the history or style of a given ancient culture are not inherent to that culture, but rather are symptomatic of the fragility of our own systems of classification, scholarship, and restrictions imposed by our disciplines—or even our own imaginations.

Chapter One

Collecting Cyprus: Early Cypriot Archaeology and the Marketing of a Cypriot Style

How did nations and individuals developed an interest in Cypriot antiquities during the nineteenth century? And how did they excavate, evaluate, and sell Cypriot sculpture? Here I investigate these processes and analyze how these factors changed during the 1860s to 1880s—a period of immense growth for the discipline of archaeology which the concerns of archaeologists shifted from antiquarian to scholarly, their methods from amateur to professional.⁸¹ In addition to introducing the major players in nineteenth-century Cypriot archaeology, I offer a glimpse into the associated antiquities market, demonstrating how amateur archaeologists navigated the changing legal and political landscape while attempting to solicit interest from collectors and museums. Drawing on correspondence and publications by early archaeologists who made significant discoveries of Cypriot sculpture, I elaborate their hopes, experiences, perspectives, and personalities. I explore how these individuals shaped the reception of the objects they uncovered, and in a larger sense, the emerging field of Cypriot archaeology.

The production and dissemination of knowledge in the discipline is another key theme. I address how new understandings of the Cypriot tradition were canonized in literature and museums, not only through traditional research institutions and learned societies, but instead through networks of individuals with very different skills and training who—without their shared interest in Cypriot art—might otherwise never have exchanged ideas. In general, Cypriot

⁸¹ David M. Wilson, *The British Museum: A History* (London: British Museum Press, 2002), 153: “Archaeology was also achieving respectability at British universities, although its real power-base until the end of the century and beyond rested in the societies and museums (and particularly the British Museum). Although there were ten chairs of archaeology in Germany (and one in France) in the middle of the century, they were all concerned with Greece and Rome.”

archaeology remained welcoming to amateurs until the 1880s, and scholars and amateurs carried on an enthusiastic correspondence with one another about sites and finds that flowed easily across typical divides of class, education, language, and national allegiances. A detailed consideration of their correspondence underlines just how deeply the course of study, acquisition, and display of Cypriot sculpture was directed by a few, memorable characters. The most compelling evidence surrounds Cesnola's life and work. Despite his blatant dishonesty and abrasive personality, his finds, letters, and publications attracted the attention of some of the greatest scholars of the day and changed the nature of the debate concerning the "origins" of early Greek sculpture.

I begin with a brief account of Western exploration of the island before 1860. From the sixteenth through early nineteenth centuries, archaeological activity on Cyprus was conducted solely for profit or curiosity's sake, and mostly by locals, who sold their finds to European travelers. Explorers, rather than scholars, were the first to be drawn to Cyprus, and they published early and influential volumes on its geography, history, and culture. Alongside an analysis of these works, I investigate how several key objects unearthed before 1860 set the tone for the later reception of Cypriot antiquities. Establishing what was known about Cypriot visual culture before Cypriot archaeology, collecting, and scholarship took off in the 1860s and 1870s allows us to define the expectations that accompanied western European visitors to the island. It also helps us appreciate why the French and British, who both hoped to bring Cyprus under their control as a strategic outpost in the eastern Mediterranean, developed such different perspectives on Cypriot art and its relative "Greekness."

A more focused—but by no means professional—interest in Cyprus’s archaeology emerged in the 1860s in Cyprus itself, taking root in the European consular community and flourishing due to the relaxed nature of consular life on the island. Arriving in force in the 1860s, these pioneering amateur archeologists picked up tips from locals on where to search for antiquities and applied methodologies from popular books on archaeology. When a promising discovery was made, local farmers or peasants quickly reported it to European rather than Ottoman officials. Upon receiving such a report, officials often vied to purchase the land in question to prevent others from excavating there.⁸² Thus, competition was generated among the foreign consuls on the island, speeding up the pace and scale of excavations, which peaked around 1870. During these years, digs remained disorganized and small in scale. Contextual information about objects of interest such as findspot, or even city of origin, was only rarely recorded. Practices transformed, however, as both the quantity and quality of the results increased and as the scale of exploration expanded. After 1870, the foreign consular community adopted a more united front, sharing information and rights to publication to attract the attention of the professional scholarly community at home in western Europe—especially in the museums to which they hoped to sell—and thereby advancing the field. Certain individuals—including Charles T. Newton (1816-1894), a classical archaeologist in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum—had accepted consular positions elsewhere in the Mediterranean with the expectation that they would collect antiquities and perhaps have the chance to enhance the glory of their national collections.⁸³

⁸² The purchased land was often returned to the original owner after excavations were terminated.

⁸³ “In accepting the appointment of British Vice Consul, Newton had had to resign from his previous appointment at the British Museum, but his passion for archaeology and his attachment to the Museum were such that, on informing the Trustees of his new appointment he wrote: ‘In the new career on which I am about to enter, I shall probably have

Though many of the early archaeologists on Cyprus were initially employed as consuls, they did not work solely in the interest of their respective nations.⁸⁴ They were most patriotic when it served their own interests. They boldly initiated correspondence with foreign institutions, hoping to generate interest in and sell the antiquities they had unearthed. In tracing the response of museums to Cypriot stone sculpture, I briefly move beyond western Europe—the center of the reception of Cypriot antiquities—to consider the commercial dealings of archaeologists with individuals and institutions in the United States and Russia. I consider successful proposals and those that were not ultimately accepted. Chapter Three, in turn, introduces complementary evidence of sales to the Louvre and British Museum, comparing how these institutions accommodated and displayed Cypriot sculpture. Evidence from these proposals and negotiations reveals a group of curious and competitive individuals, whose competence varied greatly.⁸⁵

It was not unusual for amateurs to cultivate relationships with trained scholars and museum professionals, who served as mentors and followed—and in some cases, directed—activity on the island from afar. Some amateurs wrote directly to respected museum professionals, describing the importance of their finds and enclosing sketches—and later, photographs—of recently excavated objects. The role of photography in the developing market for Cypriot antiquities was significant. In comparison with other forms of reproduction such as

many opportunities of rendering service to the British Museum, not only by collecting antiquities and works of art in the island in which I am destined to reside but by examining and reporting on collections and discoveries in the neighborhood, whenever I may have the opportunity.” Letter of 31 January 1852 from Newton to the British Museum as quoted in Lucia Patrizio Gunning, *The British Consular Service in the Aegean and the Collection of Antiquities for the British Museum* (London: Routledge, 2016).

⁸⁴ British consuls in other regions did most often act on behalf of their nation, bringing antiquities back to their national museum, especially in the early to mid-nineteenth century.

⁸⁵ For instance, decisions by museum employees to sponsor certain the work of individuals—and ignore others—were often informed by rumor and personal bias, the result of positive or negative experiences in these working relationships. These personal disputes had a significant impact on the development of the field, museum collections, and perceptions of Cypriot sculpture.

drawings, engravings, lithographs, or even casts, photography was an efficient and reliable medium through which knowledge about antiquities circulated.⁸⁶ The exchange of photographs strengthened international networks and supported professional relationships between individuals and institutions, making possible new types of comparative analysis and exchange—both of goods and knowledge—even from great distances.

The effects of the June 1878 shift from Ottoman to British administration on the island, and the British attitude toward archaeological work, were lasting. A series of antiquities laws had been promulgated by the Ottoman authorities to protect Cypriot sites and objects, encourage scientific or systematic excavations, and inspire local interest in cultural heritage, but had achieved only minimal success.⁸⁷ Archaeological activity was thus further restricted under British rule, which aimed to stem the flow of “cultural resources.” More material remained on the island, and local museums were founded to house, study, and promote the history of Cyprus. Yet even as the pace of excavations slowed, the heavy involvement of western European and American scholars remained the norm, even into the twentieth century. The Cyprus Museum in Nicosia, whose founding (in 1882), collections, and publications resulted from the initiatives of European scholars, illustrates a continued exertion of colonial control.

In the 1880s, the market for Cypriot antiquities became more firmly regulated. At this time, the British Museum adopted an active role, directing the activities of individuals on Cyprus

⁸⁶ Before they fell out of fashion following the widespread use of photography—and the later obsession with original works—many people’s only encounter with classical works was through copies, and “the wide circulation of plaster casts was decisive for the dissemination of the classical legacy.” Siapkas and Sjogren, *Displaying the Ideals of Antiquity*, 96.

⁸⁷ For a detailed summary of the laws, see G. R. H. Wright, “Archaeology and Islamic Law in Ottoman Cyprus,” in *Cyprus in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Tatton-Brown, 261–66; Nicholas Stanley-Price, “The Ottoman Law on Antiquities (1874) and the Founding of the Cyprus Museum,” in *Cyprus in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Tatton-Brown, 267–75.

out of scholarly interest while pursuing attractive acquisitions for the museum. The role of the archaeologist and agent became less about pushing antiquities on the museums than about controlling quantity and pricing. Simultaneously, as European archaeological schools and societies grew and gained clout, more representatives from these organizations traveled to Cyprus to study and excavate, replacing the foreign consuls who had played archaeologist in their free time.⁸⁸ This professionalizing trend was further assisted by new antiquities laws that aimed to stamp out excavations motivated purely by commercial interests. By the 1890s, Cypriot archaeology was largely carried out by professional organizations, with the British Museum and the Cyprus Exploration Fund, formed in 1888, directing nearly all formal excavations. Another, more restrictive antiquities law was passed in 1905, and with the construction of a new, permanent building for the Cyprus Museum, Cypriot scholars were at last given the opportunity to contribute in a meaningful way to the direction of excavations and publication of new research.⁸⁹

Broadly, this chapter considers how political and archaeological conditions affected the reception of Cypriot art during the period, a thread I follow into Chapter Two. Here, I examine a selection of popular literature, including travelogues and newspaper and magazine articles, which tended to predate the more formal published literature treated in the next chapter. A consideration

⁸⁸ These institutions include the *École Française d’Athènes* (established in 1846); the Athens branch of the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* (established in 1873, after the foundation of the DAI in 1829); and the *British School in Athens* (established in 1886, following the formation of the *Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies*—or, the *Hellenic Society*—in 1879). Additionally, though none of these groups was active on Cyprus, the *Archaeological Institute of America* was founded in 1879, the *American School of Classical Studies at Athens* in 1882, and the *Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft* in 1898. For details, see Dyson, *In Pursuit of Ancient Pasts*.

⁸⁹ For more on this development and the successful establishment of the Cyprus Museum on its current site, see Despina Pilides, *George Jeffery: His Diaries and the Ancient Monuments of Cyprus* (Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 2009). For an account of the museum’s earlier history and the conditions of its prior locations, see Robert S. Merrillees, *The First Cyprus Museum in Victoria Street, Nicosia* (Lefkosia: Moufflon, 2005); Robert S. Merrillees, “Towards a Fuller History of the Cyprus Museum,” *CCEC* 35 (2005): 191–214.

of popular interest with a view to the wider public is thus indispensable, especially in seeking to define the factors that motivated the search for and publication of Cypriot finds. For, in addition to the pursuit of profit and prestige, early archaeologists were driven by their curiosity, and a real desire to answer questions about the ancient world. Excavation—especially in Asia Minor—involved risk, both physical and financial.⁹⁰ The results were lackluster for the most part, but the few, highly publicized finds of the time—some exaggerated or even fake—offered rich fuel for the imagination. Early Cypriot archaeologists found inspiration in reading—and in some cases corresponding with—the giants of the field, such as Layard and Schliemann.

The biblical significance of Cyprus and the Levant, and the recent success of expeditions in Ottoman lands, provided especially rich motivation for research. In the 1840s, magnificent Assyrian palaces had been unearthed at Nimrud, Nineveh, and Khorsabad, demonstrating that the lists of kings and toponyms mentioned in the Bible had historical grounding.⁹¹ Encouraged by these discoveries, some early archaeologists on Cyprus set their sights on better defining the island's biblical connections, hoping to find material connecting it with the languages and cultures of the Near East, especially during the Iron Age.⁹² Others sought to uncover firmer evidence of the island's "Hellenic" past, thereby aligning Cyprus with Greece. Finally, certain scholars—especially the French—hoped to highlight the glory of their nation's past. These scholars were eager to locate, record, and describe medieval and early modern architecture built

⁹⁰ Challis, *From the Harpy Tomb to the Wonders of Ephesus*, 5, discusses the prevalence of malaria and other diseases.

⁹¹ Wilson, *The British Museum*, 154: "As early as 1853 Layard had been able to list some fifty-five rulers, cities and countries which appeared in both the Bible and the newly discovered Assyrian texts."

⁹² Steel, "The British Museum and the Invention of the Cypriot Late Bronze Age," 160: "The emphasis of early archaeological activity on the island...was on its Iron Age heritage, especially the tombs and sanctuaries, and on the island's oriental, mainly Phoenician, connections."

by the island's Frankish and Venetian residents during periods of Lusignan (1192-1489) and Venetian (1489-1570) rule, but often allowed their interest to be captured by reports of antiquities.

Before 1860: Early Visitors

The First Published Travelogues and Discoveries

The first verifiable reports of European digging on the island date from the sixteenth century, when Cyprus was under Venetian rule. In these accounts, Salamis received the most attention for its archaeological potential. For example, Joseph de Meggen, a Swiss traveler, wrote in 1542 that treasures and jewelry could be found there, explaining, "These things are discovered by sieving the earth and observing it very carefully."⁹³ Italian cartographer Tomaso Porcacchi Castilione highlighted the riches available to those who could locate ancient tombs.⁹⁴ Oldrich Prefat, a Czech who visited to the island in 1546, described "many trenches and pits dug in the ground" in Salamis, perhaps indicating efforts to reach such tombs.⁹⁵ In 1548, Italian explorer Gian Matteo Bembo was reported to have "discovered" a marble sculpture, finding it among the antiquities displayed in the citadel at Famagusta.⁹⁶ The most significant find of this century, however, was the so-called Amazon Sarcophagus, unearthed at Soloi in 1557 (fig. 3). This extraordinarily well-preserved Hellenistic marble sarcophagus was brought to Venice in 1558, where it was acquired by Hans Fugger (1531-1598).⁹⁷ For the next three hundred years, it rotated

⁹³ Elizabeth Goring, *A Mischievous Pastime: Digging in the Cyprus in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, 1988), 1–2.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Marangou, *The Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola*, 27.

⁹⁶ Hermary, "Histoire des études sur la sculpture chypriote," 7.

⁹⁷ It was discovered in the necropolis by Hieronimo Attar and taken to Venice by Florio Bustron and Leonardo Donà. *Ibid.*, 8.

through the royal collections of Germany and France—including the Louvre—before it was acquired by the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.⁹⁸

The sarcophagus received a fair amount of attention in the early eighteenth century.⁹⁹ Yet due to widespread confusion surrounding its place of origin—variously reported as Jerusalem, Rome, Palmyra, Ephesus, Sparta, and Attica—this work, separated from the known corpus of Cypriot antiquities, had no measurable effect on the early reception of ancient Cypriot sculpture.¹⁰⁰ Thus, while the sarcophagus was the first widely circulated antiquity found on Cyprus, no literature linked it to the island until 1896, when its Cypriot origin was discovered anew. This misattribution and others that followed shaped the field in a significant way. Had Europeans been aware that they might find imported Hellenistic marble monuments on Cyprus, they may have flocked there much sooner, seeking confirmation of Alexander’s empire rather than evidence of considerably earlier occupation by Phoenician or Near Eastern cultures. As it happened, the next major sculptural find to capture European attention came nearly three hundred years later, with the so-called Kition or Sargon Stele, a decidedly un-Greek work.

⁹⁸ Displayed for a time in the Musée Napoléon III, it was subsequently purchased by the Kunsthistorisches Museum before it opened to the public in 1891, and remains in Vienna today. For an overview of this museum’s Cypriot collection, see Bernhard-Walcher, ed., *Die Sammlung Zyprischer Antiken im Kunsthistorischen Museum*. Much of the material now in Vienna came from Cesnola and Ohnefalsch-Richter, discussed in detail below.

⁹⁹ For instance, it was illustrated, with no mention of its origin, in Bernard de Montfaucon, *L’antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures. Tome IV, Partie 1: La guerre, les voitures, les grands chemins, les ports, les aqueducs, la navigation* (Paris: Delaulne, Foucault, Clousier, Nyon, Ganeau, Gosselin, Giffart, 1719). It appeared again in J. B. Fischer von Erlach, *Entwurf einer historischen Architektur. In Abbildung unterschiedener berühmten Gebäude des Alterthums, und fremder Völcker; umb aus den Geschicht-büchern, Gedächtnüß-müntzen, Ruinen, und eingeholten wahrhafften Abrißen, vor Augen zu stellen; auch kurtzen Teutschen und Frantzösischen Beschreibungen* (Vienna, 1721), but was said to be from Ephesus.

¹⁰⁰ See Georg A. Plattner, “The Amazon Sarcophagus from Soloi in Vienna,” in *The Northern Face of Cyprus: New Studies in Cypriot Archaeology and Art History*, ed. Lâtife Summerer and Hazar Kaba (Istanbul: Ege Yayinlari, 2016), 177–90.

Although early scholars missed this opportunity to publicize what they surely would have promoted as evidence of the splendor of Hellenistic Cyprus, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a small but increasing number of travelers and antiquarians passed through the island to document its history, traditions, and antiquities. These individuals, members of an educated elite, fashioned a view of the island that would prevail for several decades. Their scholarship focused primarily on collecting ancient testimonia rather than classifying material culture.¹⁰¹ They wrote at the same moment that Cypriot sculpture was being discovered by European scholars; there was no reference work devoted to the island's antiquities before 1870. Thus, the Cypriot "style" had not yet been recognized and was not included in general surveys of ancient art or archaeology. Still, these early sources were consulted by later authors attempting to build an interpretation of the so-called Cypriot style, and are therefore essential to any analysis of subsequent literature.

Overwhelmingly, early travelers were exposed to small, poorly preserved specimens of terracotta sculpture, leading them to argue that Cypriot sculpture was "derivative," an "imitation" of either Egyptian or Phoenician statues. Further, the paucity of Cypriot inscriptions and literary sources necessitated reliance on sources from Greece, Egypt, and even Assyria, to build a skeleton for their historical narratives of Cyprus. Cypriot history was thus defined by external events and foreign rule, and its chronology arranged in a series of periods of external "domination." These authors' ideas, and their brief, dismissive descriptions of Cypriot sculpture, would be recycled for decades before being disputed and finally reworked in the twentieth century.

¹⁰¹ For a summary of the earliest European travelers to Cyprus, see Lucie Bonato, "Chypre, Cyprus, Zypern, Cipro, Cypren, Κύπρος...Les Voyageurs européens du XIXe siècle," *CCEC* 42 (2014): 25–86; Annie Gilet, "Chypre au XVIIIe siècle. Témoignages écrits et iconographiques de quelques voyageurs européens," *CCEC* 35 (2005): 137–68.

Eighteenth-century accounts most often aligned Cyprus with the Near East and Egypt. For example, in 1745, Richard Pococke a British traveler and clergyman, included Cyprus in the second volume of his *Descriptions of the East*.¹⁰² At the same moment, the French antiquarian Anne Claude Philippe de Caylus (1692-1765) began the enormous task of publishing his private collection in a seven-volume set. Caylus's treatment of Cypriot art is limited to one Archaic stone sculpture in volume six, published in 1764 (fig. 4). Caylus seems to have relied on visual comparisons with other objects in his collection to understand the Cypriot style.¹⁰³ Detecting a marked Egyptian influence in the figure, he treated it in a section on Egyptian antiquities.¹⁰⁴ This thin figure appears further elongated beside a seated Egyptian figure, and the profile view emphasizes its flatness compared with the fully modeled Egyptian statue. Caylus criticized the proportions of the Egyptian statue, outlining flaws in its style and execution. This text reveals the complicated beginnings of an attempt to describe and classify the Cypriot style.¹⁰⁵ The Cypriot statue is Egyptian, but not fully, copied from an Egyptian model, but imperfectly. Caylus's evaluation thus emphasized the figures' perceived shortcomings, mapping them against the

¹⁰² Richard Pococke, *Descriptions of the East, Volume II Part I, Observations on Palæstina or the Holy Land, Syria, Mesopotamia, Cyprus, and Candia* (London: Bowyer, 1745). See also section on Pococke in Claude Delaval Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), 251–70. Pococke explored Cyprus extensively over a period of six weeks. His interest was primarily anthropological, and he included only limited references to ancient Cypriot culture. The volume's illustrations include a rough map of the entire island, plans of the sites of Kition and Salamis, and transcriptions of Phoenician inscriptions from Larnaca. These finds must have excited scholars of Near Eastern languages and culture. Scholars whose primary interest lay in the Greek and Roman worlds, however, would have found relatively little to hold their interest. Hermary, "Histoire des études sur la sculpture chypriote," 7, suggests the possibility that one of the sculptures Pococke writes about is the same noted by Bembo in the citadel at Famagusta.

¹⁰³ Caylus never traveled to Cyprus, but rather commissioned excavations by the French consul Benoît Astier, who collected objects on his behalf. For more on Astier, see Gilet, "Chypre au XVIIIe siècle," 137–68.

¹⁰⁴ Anne Claude Philippe de Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités, égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques, romaines, et galoises, Tome VI* (Paris: N. M. Tilliard, 1764), 57: "Les autres figures de Chypre sont, comme je l'ai déjà dit, placées, coëffées et disposées absolument comme celles de l'Égypte."

¹⁰⁵ "La tête de cette figure est d'un bon caractère et l'ensemble en est juste; mais toutes les autres parties du corps ne présentent qu'une réminiscence Égyptienne, sans aucune idée de proportion. Tout est imité... tout est conformé à l'Égypte, excepté la proportion trop maigre ou trop svelte." *Ibid.*, 61.

slightly superior Egyptian model. In 1801, Reverend Edward Daniel Clarke (1769-1822), an English mineralogist and clergyman, visited Cyprus and remarked that ancient figurines like the one included in Caylus's volume could be purchased at Larnaca.¹⁰⁶ His praise for these objects, and his assertion that "these [antiquities], if any person had leisure and opportunity to search for them, would amply repay the trouble" seems to foreshadow events in the second half of the century.¹⁰⁷ Still, the early nineteenth century was relatively quiet for Cypriot archaeology. There were no major excavations, and it was not until mid-century that the first travelogues appeared, providing foundations for the work and exploration that followed.

W. H. Engel, *Kypros, eine Monographie*, 1841

The first influential volume of this kind was written by W. H. Engel (1812-1875), a German high-school teacher who harbored (unfulfilled) aspirations to travel to Cyprus. His 1841 monograph was consistently cited by visitors in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁸ Cesnola, for example, identified Engel as the author to whom he was "most indebted" and praised him for having collected "all the best and most reliable information that could be had about the island in classical times."¹⁰⁹ Indeed, Engel's study was a lengthy compilation of mythological and historical sources. He divided Cypriot history into periods of external domination, followed by a period of full Hellenization.¹¹⁰ He thus popularized a scheme that generated, in the second half of the nineteenth century, a periodization of the island's art according to "styles" defined first

¹⁰⁶ Anastasia Serghidou, "Imagining Cyprus: Revisiting the Past and Redefining the Ancient Landscape," in *Cyprus in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Tatton-Brown, 22. For details on Clarke: Hermery, "Histoire des études sur la sculpture chypriote," 8; Marangou, *The Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola*, 29–30; Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 378–90.

¹⁰⁷ Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 380.

¹⁰⁸ Selections of his account also appear in *Ibid.*, 461–63.

¹⁰⁹ Cesnola, *Cyprus*, ix.

¹¹⁰ Wilhelm H. Engel, *Kypros, Eine Monographie* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1841), discussed Phoenicians, Sicilians, Egyptians, Phrygians, Telchineans, Cretans, and finally, Carians, each of which made a mark on Cypriot history.

according to a variety of external “influences,” and later—for art produced after the fourth century BCE—by a period of complete Hellenization. His treatment of Cypriot art was otherwise limited. He noted that Cypriot craftsmen—but not artists—had a positive reputation in antiquity, just like the Phoenicians, whose style and technique he presumed they copied. This statement appears to be the first instance of a tentative slotting of Cypriot art under the label of “Phoenician” or “Phoenician-inspired.”

Ludwig Ross, *Reisen nach Kos, Halikarnassos, Rhodos, und der Insel Cypern*, 1852

Ludwig Ross (1806-1859), a German classical archaeologist, published a volume on Cyprus and the Greek islands roughly ten years later.¹¹¹ Although his book, like Engel’s, did not have an archaeological focus, it included a limited discussion of Cypriot sculpture and an illustration of a limestone sculpture from Idalion (fig. 5), a region rich in ancient temples that in the 1860s became crucial to the story of the reception of Archaic sculpture. Following Engel, Ross cautiously suggested that Cypriot statues, such as those found in Idalion, could be understood as “Phoenician,” but he qualified this label by enumerating several factors that made it problematic.¹¹² First, he explained, because the Phoenician style was not well known or recognized, there was insufficient evidence to argue the nature of the artistic relationship and any perceived similarity between the arts of Cyprus and Phoenicia. Second, he emphasized that

¹¹¹ For more on Ross and his time in Cyprus, including his itinerary, see Andreas Mehl, “Der Archäologe Ludwig Ross 1845 in Zypern auf den Spuren der Antike,” in *Zypern und der Vordere Orient*, ed. Rogge, 153–87, with discussion of Ross’s dependence on Engel’s text.

¹¹² Ludwig Ross, *Reisen nach Kos, Halikarnassos, Rhodos, und der Insel Cypern* (Halle: C.A. Schwetschke & Sohn, 1852), 100–1: “Unbedenklich halte ich diese Statuetten für phöniciſch; aber aus dem Styl laeſst ſich kein Beweis dafür hernehmen, theils weil mir einen beſonderen phöniciſchen Styl noch nicht kenne, theils weil die Erfahrung der letzten fünf bis zehn Jahre gezeigt hat, daß die nationalen Unterſchiede in der Behandlung plastiſcher Werke (z.b. im Assyrien und Lucien, verglichen mit den älteren Werken der Hellen und Etrusker) weniger groß waren, als man ſonſt anzunehmen geneigt war.”

scholars had recently (during the 1840s) begun to realize that “national” differences among sculptural styles were less significant than originally suspected.¹¹³ Indeed, scholars’ perspectives on Phoenician material culture were shifting at this moment. As Senff reminds us, many scholars writing in the 1840s still classified the earliest decorated Greek pots as Phoenician.¹¹⁴

Misidentification of artifacts due to ignorance of the characteristics of early Greek styles was commonplace. Neither had the so-called Phoenician style been well articulated. In 1846, German archeologist Friedrich Wilhelm Eduard Gerhard (1795-1867) cautioned, “Bei näher Erwägung fehlt jedoch viel, um jene hochgestellte Ansicht über die Kunst der Phönicier und ihren Einfluss auf griechische Kunst durchführen zu können.”¹¹⁵ Confusion about instances in which the two styles seemed to have been mixed were thus understandable.

Though Ross’s identification of this figure as a Phoenician object is guarded, the fact that Ross considered it worthy of study set him apart from his contemporaries, who disparaged the Phoenicians and preferred to deal with the purely “Greek” art of mainland Greece. Andreas Mehl highlights the progressive nature of Ross’s deep fascination with the Phoenicians.¹¹⁶ Ross was among the earliest to recognize the true potential that a study of Cypriot works and styles offered—namely, an aid to scholars in clarifying the origins and development of the Greek style. After his encounters with artifacts on Cyprus, Ross became convinced that the Greeks, rather

¹¹³ He alludes to Assyrian and Lycian sculptures and their similarity to Hellenic and Etruscan specimens. Ibid., 101.

¹¹⁴ Senff, “Exotischer Reiz und historischer Wert,” 259, names the following scholars: Raoul Rochette, Adrien de Longpérier, François Lenormant and Theodor Panofka.

¹¹⁵ Quoted in Ibid., 260.

¹¹⁶ Mehl, “Der Archäologe Ludwig Ross,” 174, emphasis original: “Anders als die Griechenland-Reisenden seiner Zeit befand er, der Griechenland und die dortigen Spuren der antiken Griechen seit Jahren durch dortige Berufsausübung gut kannte, sich auf der östlichen Mittelmeerinsel nur bedingt ‘auf der Suche nach dem Land der Griechen.’ Wesentliches Anliegen war ihm vielmehr die Bedeutung der nah-östlichen Völker und Kulturen und vornehmlich ihres am meisten westlichen Zweiges, der Phönizier, für die griechische Kultur- und Kunstentwicklung. Nirgendwo sonst haben vor dem Hellenismus Griechen und Phönizier in so großer Zahl so dicht beieinander, nicht nur Stadt neben Stadt, sondern auch Tür an Tür, gelebt wie auf der östlichen Mittelmeerinsel.”

than inventing their art, picked up and modified existing models created originally by Egyptians, Phoenicians, and other Eastern cultures. Mehl draws attention to an earlier specialized publication, “Weitergabe der Kunst von Volk zu Volk,” which, in title alone, offered a stark contrast to the ideas of Winckelmann and his followers.¹¹⁷ Ross’s discussion suggests that he appreciated the fluidity with which ancient sculptors worked in a variety of styles and traditions, using motifs and iconography that they did not necessarily invent, but that were nevertheless desirable for certain contexts. Such a thoughtful analysis of artists’ intentional mixing and mingling of styles would not reappear in the scholarship for another twenty years. Most researchers were content to suggest that one region “copied” or “imitated” the art of another, keeping the boundaries between regional styles fixed and firm.

The Berlin Museums Acquire Ross’s Finds

Ross acquired several Cypriot antiquities for Berlin’s Antikensammlung. Though the earliest to purchase a Cypriot object of real significance, the Royal Museums of Berlin were the slowest to react to and display Cypriot sculpture. As a result of institutional organization and practices, avoided classifying it as either “Oriental” or “Greek.”¹¹⁸ The Berlin Museums—of which the Altes Museum (completed 1830 and known as the Königliche Museum until 1841) and Neues Museum (completed 1855) are the most relevant here—did not have geographic divisions

¹¹⁷ See *Ibid.*, 175, for more on this 1841 publication and a detailed discussion of Ross’s views on Phoenicia culled from his publications from the 1840s to 1860s.

¹¹⁸ The Berlin Cypriot collections are also less well documented than those in Paris and London, but certain valuable evidence is preserved in the form of correspondence, purchase records, and collection guides. Though museum staff were not, as in Paris or London, forced to slot Cypriot antiquities into a department of either Greek or Near Eastern antiquities, their opinions were nevertheless made clear in the museum’s guidebooks. Cypriot sculpture was viewed as a relatively unimportant variety of the Greek tradition.

or departments until the twentieth century.¹¹⁹ Indeed, until 1911, the Antikensammlung was divided between only two collections—the Antiquarium (for small objects) and the Collection of Sculpture and Casts—and across the two museums (Altes and Neues). Cypriot antiquities were most often included in sculptural collections, which with few exceptions, emphasized the classical works from Greece and Rome that had been the strength of the original Prussian royal collection.¹²⁰

Ross's most important contributions to these collections were the Sargon Stele and the "Ross Torso," originating from Kition and Idalion, respectively (figs. 6 and 7).¹²¹ The initial reception of the stele, which was displayed in the Altes Museum, was lukewarm. Carved with an image of the Neo-Assyrian ruler Sargon II (721-705 BCE), the monument was erected in 707 BCE, as Karen Radner explains, "to mark the extreme edge of the 'officially existing world' from the viewpoint of the king of Assyria."¹²² Perceived to have a greater historical than artistic value, it attracted the attention of Orientalists, linguists, and biblical scholars rather than antiquarians, museum professionals, and classicists.¹²³ While one might assume this object affected opinions of

¹¹⁹ For example, the Vorderasiatische Abteilung of the Berlin Museum was founded in 1899. For details, see Hans Neumann, "Orientalistik im Spannungsfeld von Politik und Wissenschaft—preußisch-deutsche Orient-Politik und der Beginn der Altorientalistik in Deutschland," in *Zypern und der Vordere Orient*, ed. Rogge, 198–224.

¹²⁰ Much like the Louvre, the Königliches Museum (later Altes Museum) had its roots in royal—in this case Prussian—collections. An expanded collection, intended for the public, began forming in the 1820s, significantly later than the major public collections in Paris or London. For more on the history of the Cypriot collections in Berlin, see Andreas Scholl, "Three Museums-One Collection: The Antikensammlung Berlin as a Research Institute," in *Cypriote Antiquities in Berlin*, ed. Karageorghis, Poyiadji-Richter, and Rogge, 19–28.

¹²¹ He purchased the Sargon Stele for 50 pounds. The British Museum had also made an offer, but of just 20 pounds, revealing their relative lack of interest. Balandier, "Cyprus, a New Archaeological Frontier in the XIXth Century," 4.

¹²² Karen Radner, "The Stele of Sargon II of Assyria as Kition: A Focus for an Emerging Cypriot Identity?" in *Interkulturalität in der Alten Welt: Vorderasien, Hellas, Ägypten und die vielfältigen Ebenen des Kontakts*, ed. Robert Rollinger, Birgit Gufler, Martin Lang, and Irene Madreiter (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), 429. Smith, *Art and Society in Cyprus*, 10, boldly identifies the stele as "the first prominent life-size human image displayed in public, outside a building, ever in Cyprus."

¹²³ This tendency to perceive Assyrian objects in terms of their "historical" rather than "aesthetic" value is also attested in Britain in the early 1840s, but such perspectives had begun to shift by the end of the same decade. See Challis, *From the Harpy Tomb to the Wonders of Ephesus*, 52–3.

Cypriot art at the Berlin Museums, creating the expectation that Cypriot art might be “Assyrian” and encouraging curators to align Cypriot and Assyrian traditions—as later happened at the Louvre—this was not the case. Indeed, it seems to have had opposite effect: the Sargon Stele was viewed as a powerful symbol of “foreign” domination and assumed to differ significantly from “local” visual traditions.

The “Ross Torso,” which Ross had called a “Torso einer phönikischen Statue aus Idalion,” was published by Karl Bernhard Stark, a German classical archaeologist, who stated that the sculpture was displayed in one of the seven recently opened rooms of the Altes Museum, where “griechische und griechisch-römische Kunst mit assyrischen Sculpturen sich begegnet.”¹²⁴ Apart from the Sargon Stele, this torso was apparently the only other Cypriot antiquity on display in Berlin in the early 1860s.¹²⁵ During his visit in 1861, Stark’s interest had been piqued because the object displayed “sehr eigenthümlicher Bekleidung und Ornamentirung.”¹²⁶ Like Ross, he highlighted this sculpture’s potential to clarify the earliest periods of Oriental and Greek art, paying particular attention to the aesthetics of dress and adornment.¹²⁷ Stark focused on the Egyptian aspects of the costume, however, using comparanda published by the German

¹²⁴ Stark, “Der Cyprische Torso des Berliner Museums,” 1. Though Stark refers to this museum only as the “Königliches Museum,” we can safely assume he meant the Altes Museum. The Sargon stele was also on display in these rooms. Stark’s footnotes specify that Ross referred to the statue in this manner at the time he donated it to the museum. Material from the French mission had been treated by a different author in the same issue of the newspaper: Eduard Gerhard, “Ausgrabungen aus Cypern.” AA 169 (January 1863): 5–9. See also Senff, “Exotischer Reiz und historischer Wert,” 260.

¹²⁵ Stark remarked that, to his knowledge, Berlin possessed only these two objects from Cyprus. Stark, “Der Cyprische Torso des Berliner Museums,” 3. However, a footnote, added by another author with the initials A. d. H specifies that the museum did indeed house other artifacts from Ross. Whether these were ever displayed remains unclear.

¹²⁶ Stark, “Der Cyprische Torso des Berliner Museums,” 1.

¹²⁷ Ibid. Though, according to Stark, at the time of his visit that object was still incorrectly listed in a guidebook under “Etruscan and Roman works.”

Egyptologist Karl Richard Lepsius (1810-1884) to interpret the iconography of the Cypriot statue, which he identified as an Cypriot priest-king.¹²⁸

Because of his scholarly contributions and collecting, Ross was the most important figure in the early reception of ancient Cyprus. As prominent French archaeologist Georges Perrot (1832-1914) wrote in 1879 of Ross's trip, "Malgré sa rapidité, cette excursion ne fut pas sans profit; elle contribua beaucoup à tourner vers Cypre les yeux de savans."¹²⁹ Ross indeed inspired the French to take an interest in Cyprus in the next decade, effectively setting in motion the burst of archaeological activity that began in the 1860s and continued for the next two decades. In addition, he indirectly furnished the Louvre with its first "Cypriot" sculpture—a cast of the Sargon Stele he had discovered in 1844. Soon after the Berlin Museums acquired the stele, they sent a cast of the monument to the Louvre in recognition of its relevance to the French Assyrian collections.¹³⁰ The Louvre's standard policy—less invested than the Berlin Museums in displaying "copies"—was to quarantine casts in certain limited galleries, perhaps to prevent their being mistaken for originals. In this case, however, the Louvre made an exception, exhibiting the cast in the Musée Assyrien alongside reliefs from Sargon's palace at Khorsabad, so that images of the ruler could be appreciated side by side. The Louvre's warm reception of the cast had a significant impact on subsequent collecting and display of Cypriot material, a theme I explore further in Chapter Three.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 6–10.

¹²⁹ Georges Perrot, "L'île de Cypre, son rôle dans l'histoire, ii," *Revue des Deux Mondes* (February 1879): 568.

¹³⁰ This cast was produced in Berlin's Gipsformerei, which was founded in 1819 and, from 1830, operated under direction of the Königliches Museum. Hans Georg Hiller von Gaetringen, ed., *Masterpieces of the Gipsformerei: Art Manufacture of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin since 1819* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2012).

1860s: The First Excavations

An Organized Approach to Cypriot Archaeology Emerges

During this decade, Cyprus hosted numerous diplomats, archaeologists, scholars, and tourists from western Europe. Foreign diplomats, with abundant spare time and ample private funds, their appetites whetted by incredible tales of adventure and discovery reported in popular archaeological accounts, were among the first to excavate, collect, and sell Cypriot artifacts. That their initial results were astounding should be no surprise. Even today, Cyprus is casually referred to as an archaeologist's "playground." This fertile archaeological terrain gave the nineteenth-century amateurs ample opportunity and space to explore, fostering a spirit of friendly competition and exchange. These individuals came into frequent contact with each other on the small island, sharing information and promoting their finds as they explored, exploited, and published accounts about its antiquities. Cyprus thus presented a rare combination of circumstances and opportunities for amateur archaeologists: the promise of antiquities that were easy to find and export; the availability of cheap, local labor; a tightly knit community of foreign residents engaged in the same activity; and a curious and receptive network of potential buyers across Europe and the United States. The result was, depending on one's perspective, a golden era of exploration on the island that filled western European and American museums with tens of thousands of Cypriot objects, or a period of unprecedented looting from which the island would never recover.

In these early years, before Cyprus had captured the attention of a more professional group of scholars, digs were most often carried out by locals and directed by amateur

foreigners.¹³¹ Locals treated these foreigners—especially those with diplomatic posts—with a cautious respect.¹³² Westerners, on the other hand, considered Cypriots to be naïve and ignorant of the significance of the traces of antiquity in their midst. Taking advantage of widespread poverty, the consuls provided low wages for the difficult labor of locating, unearthing, and cleaning antiquities. Few Cypriots spoke out against this system, and Europeans had little regard for the local population and their relationship to the antiquities being removed before the idea to found the Cyprus Museum at Nicosia surfaced in 1882.¹³³ Because Cypriots had neither political independence nor a single national identity—encompassing Greek- and Turkish- speakers, Orthodox Christians and Muslims—they were little motivated to unite in support of a common cultural heritage or enforce even the most lenient of antiquities laws imposed by foreign governments.¹³⁴ The same was true of the Ottoman officials in Constantinople, whom early archaeologists found they could easily smooth-talk, bribe, or even trick.

Though most of the individuals discussed in this chapter considered ancient Cypriot material culture—and especially sculpture—valuable for the information and knowledge it could impart to emerging professional circles, this perspective was by no means universal in the 1860s. Antiquities were also approached as natural resources, and because they were not protected by

¹³¹ Although one would not immediately group the two together, amateur archaeologists and professionals in the military sometimes worked side by side. For example, archaeologists used maps developed by the military to locate, plan, and organize digs.

¹³² Despina Pilides, “‘Welcome, Sir, to Cyprus’: The Local Reaction to American Archaeological Research,” *NEA* 71, no. 5 (2008): 6–15.

¹³³ See Stanley-Price, “The Ottoman Law on Antiquities (1874) and the Founding of the Cyprus Museum,” 270.

¹³⁴ For population figures from the 1881 census, see Anastasia Yiangou, “Cyprus under the British, 1878-1945,” in *Introduction to the History of Cyprus*, ed. George Kazamias, Antonis K. Petrides, E. Koumas (Nicosia: Open University Cyprus, 2013), 166, which puts the Greek Cypriot population at 73%; Turkish Cypriots at 25%; and other (including Latin, Armenian, and Maronite) at 2%. The total population was estimated to be 186,173.

The Greek Cypriots did nevertheless hope for *enosis*, or political union with Greece, even—and especially—under British Rule: “Greek Cypriots considered the British a great philhellenic power that would liberate them from the ‘barbaric’ Turkish rule and let them unite with Greece.” Stylianou-Lambert and Bounia, *The Political Museum*, 77.

law, they could be mined for profit. Perrot compared the excitement for archaeological activity on Cyprus in the 1860s to the California gold rush of the 1840s.¹³⁵ There was widespread looting across the island, both under the guise of scholarly pursuits and otherwise. Amateurs and archaeologists alike achieved particularly good results from digging in tombs and temples, which became the primary targets for archaeological investigation.¹³⁶

Many highlight the mid-1860s as a turning point on Cyprus, a time when the excavation of antiquities became more organized and strategic, if not yet exactly “scientific.” Claude Delaval Cobham (1842-1915), District Commissioner at Larnaca, observed,

Until about 1865 the soil of Cyprus had pretty well concealed the treasures, artistic and antiquarian, which her older inhabitants had buried with their dead. Tombs, no doubt, had been laid bare and robbed, especially during the Arab invasions, but when in friendly rivalry, MM. T. B. Sandwith, R. H. Lang, G. Colonna-Ceccaldi and L. P. di Cesnola excavated between 1865-75 on the well-known town sites of Idalium, Golgoi, Curium, Citium, Amathos and Paphos, the finds were many and precious.¹³⁷

Still, those who consider that Cypriot archaeology began in 1865—a time when the best-known figures began to dig—gloss over the earlier, predominantly French activity of the early 1860s that significantly shaped the development of the field. Investigating how the French acquired an interest

¹³⁵ Perrot, “L’île de Cypre, son rôle dans l’histoire, ii,” 584: “De 1866 à 1869, tout le monde à Cypre donnait des coupes de pioche et remuait la terre avec une activité fiévreuse. On se serait cru en Californie, le lendemain du jour où on y avait signalé la présence de l’or.” Perrot was writing in 1879, by which time Cyprus was under British administration and had revised its antiquities laws. The comparison between antiquities and gold is a valid one if we consider that both are often found below ground, are at the center of imperialist desires for expansion, and are highly sought after by colonizers to strengthen their national positions and economies. Further, these activities attracted similar personalities. As Duesterberg, *Popular Receptions of Archaeology*, 278, reminds us, “Before his archaeological career, Schliemann had also profited from the California Gold Rush.”

¹³⁶ Anja Ulbrich, “An Archaeology of Cult? Cypriot Sanctuaries in 19th Century Archaeology,” in *Cyprus in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Tatton-Brown, 93–106.

¹³⁷ Quoted in Goring, *A Mischievous Pastime*, 3. Cobham himself worked to supply the British Museum with Cypriot finds, first as a sort of agent, and later directing the excavations of Ohnefalsch-Richter. He also published an exhaustive compendium of references to Cyprus, *Excerpta Cypria*, in 1895, with an even fuller revised edition following in 1908.

in Cyprus helps explain how Cypriot archaeology came to fall under different disciplinary umbrellas in different countries.

Renan's Mission to Phoenicia

In contrast to German scholarship of the mid-nineteenth century, French work on Cyprus was more firmly rooted in nationalistic goals. French travelers to Cyprus in the 1850s aimed to record the extensive traces of Lusignan rule, which had lasted nearly three hundred years. French historian Louis de Mas Latrie (1815-1897) sought to document the island's magnificence during this period.¹³⁸ Albert Gaudry, a geologist who had visited Cyprus in 1853, chronicled Mas Latrie's four-volume work and included his own speculations—namely, that the Cypriot population might be amenable to another period of French rule.¹³⁹ He concluded with a powerful expression of hope that the French might one day reclaim Cyprus: “Puissent un jour de courageux enfants de la France aller aussi planter en Chypre leur tente, et montrer sur cette terre des voluptés antiques ce que peut le génie actif des temps modernes!”¹⁴⁰ Though French scholarship

¹³⁸ Louis de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan* (Paris: Imp. Impériale, 1852). Mas Latrie had been on Cyprus just after Ross, from 1845 to 1846, collecting evidence for medieval French occupation, but became distracted by more ancient finds. In 1845, he purchased a group of Cypriot terracottas and limestone statues for the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris. See Annie Caubet, “Les antiquités chypriotes au Musée du Louvre / Cypriote Antiquities in the Louvre,” *Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée* 22 (1993): 23–37. Hermary, “Histoire des études sur la sculpture chypriote,” 9, elaborates on the reception of these works, which were never exhibited but were nevertheless available to specialists: “Dans une communication faite devant l'Académie des Inscriptions le 5 juin 1846 Charles Lenormant établit une distinction, parmi les statuette de la collection Mas Latrie, entre ‘une grossière idole’ et les ‘figurines de la seconde période’ où il ‘reconnaît avec évidence les traces de l'influence phénicienne et assyrienne.’” See also Michel Amandry, Antoine Hermary, and Olivier Masson, “Les premières antiquités chypriotes du Cabinet des Médailles et la mission Mas Latrie en 1845-1846,” *CCEC* 8 (1987): 3–16.

¹³⁹ Albert Gaudry, “L'île de Chypre: Souvenirs d'une mission scientifique,” *Revue des Deux Mondes* (November 1861) 212–37.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 237. Earlier, he wrote, “On trouve en Chypre plusieurs vestiges du passage des Français, et c'est une opinion généralement répandue qu'un jour nous reprendrons la domination de l'île; cette idée est sympathique à une partie de la population.” *Ibid.*, 217. This passage appears after a description of certain Christian Greek Cypriots as light-skinned, blond, and blue-eyed, and Gaudry's observation that they might be the descendants of French Lusignan princes. While the *vestiges* to which Gaudry refers are thus best understood as contemporary physical characteristics

of the 1860s did not otherwise attempt to push such charged politicized messages, Gaudry may nevertheless have provided a patriotic drive for work on the island. This perspective was certainly relevant to Napoléon III's decision to sponsor Cypriot exploration missions.

In May 1860, the emperor proposed that the French scholar Joseph Ernest Renan (1823-1892), a specialist in Semitic languages and culture, embark on a mission to Phoenicia. Undoubtedly aware of its importance to his empire's image, the emperor had a demonstrated, wide interest in ancient culture, and sought to better understand Phoenician language, art, and culture. Thus, funded by the emperor himself, Renan took a series of trips to the Levant in the early 1860s. This mission aimed to find inscriptions and locate potentially fruitful sites to excavate. Though Cyprus was originally included on his itinerary, his sister's death forced Renan to return to France sooner than anticipated, and he was unable to visit Cyprus. Another team was thus assembled to explore the island, and Renan gave his full support to the project.

In 1864, Renan published an account of his explorations and excavations, *Mission de Phénicie*. Though his treatment of Cyprus was limited due to his inability to visit the island, the book nevertheless outlined how Cyprus, though not by any means completely Phoenician, had at least one fully Phoenician town—Kition—and was a good place to find small Phoenician objects and inscriptions.¹⁴¹ This publication remained influential for scholars digging on Cyprus over the

of the population, one can see how a study of French ruins remains would bolster the argument and strengthen France's connection to Cyprus.

¹⁴¹ Ernest Renan, *Mission de Phénicie* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale 1864), 12. For more on Renan and his Phoenician Mission, see Corinne Bonnet, "Ernest Renan et les paradoxes de la *Mission de Phénicie*," in *Ernest Renan: la science, la métaphysique, la religion et la question de leur avenir*, ed. Henry Laurens (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2013), 101–19. For more on scholarly interest in the Phoenicians, see Josephine Crawley Quinn, *In Search of the Phoenicians* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018).

next several decades.¹⁴² The plates supplied them with Phoenician comparanda from Levantine sites, such as Byblos, Tyre, and Sidon, for the inscriptions, monuments, and objects they found on Cypriot soil. On these early missions, though scholars were instructed to collect objects of “scientific interest”—which in most cases meant inscriptions—the emperor surely had other, political aspirations related to Cyprus and the Levant. He hoped to highlight the fact that France had ruled Cyprus in the past, and perhaps provide justification for a desire to rule it again in the future.¹⁴³ Thus, nineteenth-century research in the region was not only informed, but indeed made possible, by the imperial aspirations of European powers. All travelers, whether amateur or professional, arrived on Cyprus expecting to be reassured of Europe’s grandeur and the Orient’s baseness.

The First French Missions to Cyprus

Charles-Jean-Melchior de Vogüé (1829-1916), a Phoenician specialist, was sent to Cyprus in 1862 along with classics enthusiast and future statesman William Henry Waddington (1826-1894), and architect and student of Viollet-le-Duc, Edmond Duthoit (1837-1889).¹⁴⁴ Like Renan, they were sent by the emperor, with the objective to study the languages and cultures of the Orient. Encouraged—and to some extent, directed—by Renan, they explored Cyprus

¹⁴² It is also partially through Renan’s work that anti-Semitic sentiments first took root in early scholarship on Cyprus. An expert in Semitic languages and culture, Renan nevertheless felt that this region’s people were inferior to those of Europe: “One sees that in all things the Semitic race appears to us to be an incomplete race, by virtue of its simplicity. This race—if I dare use the analogy—is to the Indo-European family what a pencil sketch is to painting: it lacks that variety, that amplitude, that abundance in life which is the condition of perfectibility.” Translation and quote from Marangou, *The Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola*, 13. Such convictions encouraged later scholars to approach Cyprus and the Levant with a degree of anti-Semitic prejudice or even outright distaste. The art of these regions—as well as the “race” that had produced it—was dismissed as “primitive” or “childlike,” especially when compared to works by the “advanced” Greeks of “superior” Indo-European lineage.

¹⁴³ Antoine Hermay “Die Franzosen und die Archäologie,” in *Zypern und der Vordere Orient*, ed. Rogge, 101–13.

¹⁴⁴ Waddington’s political career included roles as the French ambassador to the UK (1883-1893) and a few months as the Prime Minister of France in 1879.

superficially on their way to Syria.¹⁴⁵ Renan encouraged the team to find inscriptions and establish which sites could best be excavated, but not to buy unnecessarily.

Notre mission est une mission d'exploration, non une mission d'achat. Je n'ai donc acheté qu'avec réserve et seulement des objets ayant un vrai intérêt scientifique. Si de bonnes occasions s'offrent à vous, vous y donnerez suite...J'ai cherché autant que possible à rapporter les inscriptions en original, même les inscriptions grecques et latines, quand elles avaient quelque intérêt spécial. Vous ferez de même l'acquisition de toutes les pierres d'un caractère original que vous rencontrerez.¹⁴⁶

Thus, de Vogüé and Waddington were directed to collect epigraphic evidence rather than objects of artistic merit.¹⁴⁷ De Vogüé was to photograph the mission, and Duthoit was charged with sketching objects, ruins, and landscapes of interest.¹⁴⁸ Though the mission was in some ways directed by Renan, the original impetus for including Cyprus came directly from the emperor's interest in documenting the island's Frankish past—and, possibly, clarifying how the island might be useful to France in the future. By better defining a prior period of Lusignan rule on the island, Napoléon III stood a better chance of establishing—or “reclaiming”—territory in the eastern Mediterranean. Thus, while some French scholars who traveled to Cyprus in the 1860s sought traces of a Phoenician presence, others likely continued—in the tradition of the previous decade—to document monuments and sites from the Frankish period. Indeed, de Vogüé emphasized the island's importance by claiming that, from the perspective of medieval historians,

¹⁴⁵ See letter from de Vogüé to Renan, 17 December 1861, reproduced in Lucie Bonato, “Melchior de Vogüé et alii and Cyprus,” in *Cyprus in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Tatton-Brown, 189.

¹⁴⁶ Letter addressed to de Vogüé quoted in Rita C. Severis and Lucie Bonato, eds., *Along the Most Beautiful Path in the World: Edmond Duthoit and Cyprus* (Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Group, 1999), 141.

¹⁴⁷ Hermary, “Die Franzosen und die Archäologie auf Zypern,” 105: “Ziel der Expedition war nicht, die Sammlung des Louvre zu bereichern.”

¹⁴⁸ None of these photographs has survived. See Lucie Bonato, Haris Yiakoumis, and Kadir Kaba, eds., *L'île de Chypre: Itinéraire photographique du XIXe au XXe siècle* (Nicosia: En tipis, 2007). Duthoit's drawings and personal letters provide some of the only surviving evidence for these missions. While Waddington began a publication associated with the mission, *Fastes des provinces orientales de l'empire romain*, it was never completed. Similarly, regular reports were to be sent to the Emperor, but these, if they were ever completed, have since disappeared. Perrot, “L'île de Cypre, son rôle dans l'histoire, ii,” 575.

it was simply *une province française*.¹⁴⁹ This perspective explains why the French team energetically explored and sketched medieval ruins but initially paid little attention to antiquities.

Two defining discoveries, at Amathus and Golgoi, pulled their focus toward the ancient world. The so-called Amathus vase, one of two colossal, twin Cypro-Archaic limestone vessels “discovered” by Duthoit, was impressive mostly for its colossal size, though this caused complications—described in Chapter Three—when it was installed in the Louvre (fig. 8).¹⁵⁰ The mission’s Golgoi finds, a series of small limestone votive sculptures, were also proudly acquired by the Louvre. Still, they were meager compared with Cesnola’s spectacular finds at the same site just eight years later. As Perrot wrote of the French team’s relative misfortune, “Si la tranchée...avait été poussée quelques mètres plus loin, vers l’intérieur de l’édifice, le Louvre se serait enrichi dès lors de quelques-unes des figures les plus intéressantes et les mieux conservées que possède aujourd’hui le musée de New-York.”¹⁵¹ Cesnola later admitted that his path to success had been cleared by Waddington and de Vogüé.¹⁵² Though less significant than Cesnola’s bounty, the French team assembled a relatively large collection of sculpture—mostly fragmentary, including some 500-600 heads and thousands of other fragments.¹⁵³ The fact that art from so many periods—and tinged with so many varieties of “Oriental influence”—could be

¹⁴⁹ Lucie Bonato, “Chypre dans les archives de Melchior de Vogüé: III: Impressions de Famagouste et de Bellapaïs,” *CCEC* 30 (2000): 95.

¹⁵⁰ The second of the pair was left in Cyprus. Duthoit *claimed*, rather than *discovered* the vase, as it was already a popular attraction on the island and had even been published several times in European accounts, including Ross’s. See Senff, “Exotischer Reiz und historischer Wert.”

¹⁵¹ Perrot, “L’île de Chypre, son rôle dans l’histoire, ii,” 575.

¹⁵² Luigi Palma di Cesnola, *A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Volume I* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1885), 9: “Their explorations, although conducted on a small scale, and only for a short time, produced sufficient results to draw the attention of other scholars, and to suggest the possibility that, if excavations were conducted for a longer period, and more systematically, they might bring to light greater and more important discoveries.”

¹⁵³ Along with finds from Malloura, Trapexa, Paphos, and Arsos, the finds from Golgoi make up most of the material in the Louvre’s collection today. See Caubet, “Les antiquités chypriotes au Musée du Louvre,” 28.

found in one temple earned their warm reception as “Oriental antiquities” at the Louvre in Paris, the capital of Orientalist research. In a letter to Renan, de Vogüé described the first group to reach the museum as “une série de fragments plus ou moins considérables qui établissent d’une manière complète l’histoire de l’art chypriote depuis l’époque phénico-égyptienne jusqu’à l’époque romaine.”¹⁵⁴ Writing about a second, later group, he noted that the heads found at Golgoi had an “intérêt particulier; tous les styles sont représentés, l’art primitif gréco-asiatique, l’art grec archaïque, grec, gréco-romain.”¹⁵⁵ De Vogüé was thus among the first scholars to recognize the unique potential of Cypriot votive sculpture to narrate an extensive history of foreign styles on the island. De Vogüé and his team, having been on the hunt for evidence of Frankish architecture, coins, and settlements—all attesting to Lusignan rule—were likely predisposed to view even the presence of ancient styles as evidence of earlier periods of foreign “domination.”

The ancient material recovered by the French team reached a broad public thanks to two articles that appeared in journals in France and Germany.¹⁵⁶ In 1864, the first illustrated article appeared in the French weekly *L’illustration, Journal Universel*. Written by Pierre Paget, a French art critic, the piece treated the “deux savants explorateurs”—Waddington and de Vogüé—and their archaeological discoveries in Cyprus. Following the successes of various archaeologists at sites in Egypt, Assyria, Phoenicia, and Lycia, Paget positioned Cyprus as the next logical territory for exploration. The island was thus set in the context of these “exotic,” Eastern sites, which had furnished scholars with “écriture nouvelle, étrange... caractères cunéiform bizarrement

¹⁵⁴ Herymy, “Histoire des études sur la sculpture chypriote,” 9.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.* Interestingly, neither of these letters classified the Cypriot works as “Phoenician” as we might have expected, given the mission’s connection with that of Renan’s Phoenician expedition.

¹⁵⁶ Eduard Gerhard, “Ausgrabungen aus Cypem,” was the first of these articles, but was not illustrated.

groupés,” and other philological mysteries.¹⁵⁷ Most of the illustrations were devoted to Archaic limestone sculpture (fig. 9). While the text contained little information about individual finds—and no explicit reference to Cypriot sculpture—the illustrations would have given a wide readership, scholars and amateurs alike, its first exposure to Cypriot antiquities.

In 1865, Duthoit returned to Cyprus, this time alone. He wrote a series of letters to his friends and family that reveal details about the conditions of his mission. He was directed, from afar, by Henry Adrien de Longpérier (1816-1882), head of the Louvre’s Département des Antiquités, and his salary was arranged by Émilien de Nieuwerkerke (1811-1892), director of France’s national museums (including the Louvre).¹⁵⁸ The Louvre’s involvement in this mission was not simply to support research. In contrast to Renan’s advice to the first mission to buy sparingly, Longpérier instructed Duthoit to collect objects in great number for the museum. It is at this point, argues Hermary, that intensive plundering of the island—which continued for a dozen years—began.¹⁵⁹ Indeed, the pace of exploration of ancient sites accelerated, and in July 1865, Duthoit made a second discovery of sculptures at Golgoi. These finds—again, fragmentary and consisting mainly of heads—joined those from the first mission in the Louvre. Though the French had initially been instructed to focus their efforts on inscriptions, their work in this domain was eventually overshadowed by the excitement over limestone sculpture. Over a decade later, when Perrot analyzed the importance of these early missions, he highlighted their contribution to a developing understanding of Cypriot sculpture, including its subtypes and chronology.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ Pierre Paget, “Chypre et Paphos,” *L’illustration, Journal Universel*, 1864, 59–61.

¹⁵⁸ Jacques Foucart-Borville, “La correspondance chypriote d’Edmond Duthoit (1862 et 1865),” *CCEC* 4 (1985): 39.

¹⁵⁹ Antoine Hermary, “Die Franzosen und die Archäologie auf Zypern,” 107.

¹⁶⁰ Perrot, “L’île de Cypre, son rôle dans l’histoire, ii,” 575.

The Colonna-Ceccaldi Brothers

Dominique-Albert Édouard Tiburce Colonna-Ceccaldi (1832-1892) was French consul to Cyprus from 1866 to 1869. His brother, Georges Colonna-Ceccaldi (1840-1879) visited Cyprus at least once each year from 1866 to 1871.¹⁶¹ For these brothers, Cyprus was full of archaeological potential: “Chypre est une terre pour ainsi dire vierge, qui réserve à l’archéologue les découvertes les plus intéressantes et les plus inattendues. Centre d’un admirable culte, toutes les nations du continent voisin s’y sont donné rendez-vous et y ont laissé leurs traces. Au milieu de tant de débris divers, les monuments de style chypriote se reconnaissent à leur originalité typique, et font désirer de connaître davantage une île si peu explorée.”¹⁶² In his 1882 book, Georges recounted how the archaeological excitement began by chance, with villagers bringing random finds to the foreign consuls, who soon took an interest in them and initiated explorations of their own. The brothers eventually had their greatest success in Idalion. Tiburce failed to persuade the British Museum to acquire these objects, which were later bought by the Louvre. Still, his 1868 letter to the British Museum is interesting for its description of his methodology:

Le consul de France en Chypre a l’honneur d’adresser à Messieurs les Directeurs du BM trois cartes photographiées, représentant les principaux objets de sa collection d’antiquités Chypriotes. Ces objets, tous en pierre calcaire, ont été trouvés, sous ses yeux, au village de Dali...On les a découverts principalement sur deux collines dénudées situées à six cents mètres au S.-E. du village et dont l’une porte le nom d’Ambelleri...Les temples étaient toujours sur des lieux élevés, ce qui porte à croire que les objets trouvés proviennent d’un de ces monuments, nombreux jadis des statuettes, et fragments trouvés jusqu’ici l’ont été à un mètre, ou deux au plus, de profondeur. Les objets intacts sont fort rares; la plupart des statuettes qu’on découvre sont mutilées et fragmentées. M. Colonna-

¹⁶¹ Both were amateur archaeologists, but Georges was the better known of the two.

¹⁶² Georges Colonna-Ceccaldi, “Découvertes de Chypre,” *Revue Archéologique* 21 (January-June 1870): 35. This quote reappears in Colonna-Ceccaldi, *Monuments antiques*, 33.

Ceccaldi serait disposé à céder les objets dont il envoie la représentation photographiée avec une note explicative.¹⁶³

Colonna-Ceccaldi's emphasis that the antiquities had been discovered "sous ses yeux" reveals that he prided himself on being present as the dig was conducted: a contrast with the practice of other early archaeologists, some of whom "directed" digs from entirely different cities, even into the late 1870s. Unfortunately, because they moved at a slower, more careful pace, the Colonna-Ceccaldi were less skilled in locating the most appealing items and promoting their finds to the various national museums. They thus excavated a good deal of limestone sculpture, but never made a major discovery that rivaled those of Lang or Cesnola. The brothers instead followed in the tradition of the French missions of the early 1860s, in which the investigators had been more directly involved in explorations and less in promoting the resulting finds as commercial objects. Likewise, they also published a series of articles in the *Revue Archéologique*.¹⁶⁴ These articles, many of which were incorporated in Tiburce's book, treated in the next chapter, betray a sincere interest in the historical value of the finds.

Lang's Discovery at Dali

Lang arrived in Cyprus in 1861, initially as manager of the Imperial Ottoman Bank and later, British vice consul.¹⁶⁵ He was first introduced to the island's archaeological wealth by Demetrios Pierides (1811-1895), a Greek Cypriot banker (also at the Imperial Ottoman Bank), antiquities collector, and dealer who also served as British vice consul to Cyprus. In his 1878

¹⁶³ Letter of January 1868 quoted in Olivier Masson, "Diplomates et Amateurs à Chypre vers 1866-1878," *Journal des savants* 1 (1992): 137–38. Olivier Masson, "Correspondances chypriotes: Lettres des frères Colonna-Ceccaldi et de L. Palma di Cesnola à W. Froehner," *CCEC* 14 (1990): 35, reproduces the same letter.

¹⁶⁴ Tiburce was responsible for the articles appearing in 1867 and 1869, and Georges was the author of the articles appearing 1870-1879, which he was reworking at the time of his death and which appeared in a volume published posthumously, discussed in the next chapter.

¹⁶⁵ He held the position of vice consul on and off from 1861 to 1869. See Goring, *A Mischievous Pastime*, 8.

volume, Lang—confirming Georges Colonna-Ceccaldi’s story featured above—described how he and other foreign consuls became interested in antiquities almost accidentally.

In 1868, after a torrential rain, some peasants of Dali were passing along the base of a hillside...They found, evidently washed down from the hillside, a few pieces of ancient pottery in ancient condition...The peasants at once thought that more might be found where these came from, and they set to work to turn over the ground on the hillside. To their surprise they got into tombs, and extracted pieces of pottery in great number, and some lances in bronze. News of the discovery soon spread...Sunday after, when walking with Mr. Pierides...I heard of these discoveries and without loss of time we arranged to send an intelligent *employé* to the seat of the find, with orders to acquire some objects and send them for inspection. This agent found Mr. Ceccaldi already on the spot. The objects were new and varied, and nearly all of them came to Mr. Ceccaldi or myself. This mine led to the discovery of many more, and the peasants of Dali came to spend all their time in searching for tombs and rifling them...My friend Mr. Sandwith, the British vice-consul, began to acquire, and after him another friend came into the field, who although he began last, was destined to carry on his explorations longer than any of us, and with the most brilliant results.¹⁶⁶

This anecdote is revealing for what it tells us about the state of archaeology on the island in the 1860s. Though those resident on Cyprus in the late 1860s often described themselves as indebted to Waddington and du Vogüé, the activities of this second round of early enthusiasts were much less regulated than those of the 1862 French mission or even Duthoit’s 1865 mission. Instead, in these early years, amateurs relied on locals to report on and retrieve antiquities. Lang does not write that *he* “spent all [his] time searching for tombs and rifling them”—that was the work of local “peasants.” This practice stands in sharp contrast to the way Lang operated in later years, as he became increasingly competent and knowledgeable, eventually making important contributions to the emerging field of Cypriot archaeology despite a lack of formal training.

¹⁶⁶ Robert Hamilton Lang, *Cyprus, Its History, Its Present Resources and Future Prospects* (London: Macmillan, 1878), 331–32. His other friend, likewise destined for greatness, was Cesnola.

Because he had no special quarry in mind—that is, he was not looking for Frankish, Phoenician, or Greek material—Lang traveled and excavated widely. In 1868, he made a major discovery at Dali, a site within the ancient city-kingdom of Idalion, where he uncovered an open-air sanctuary dedicated to a male deity.¹⁶⁷ Though his 1878 account of his excavation reads like an adventure novel in which he is the heroic male protagonist, he balances descriptions of his hardship (“the resistance of a chalky grit, a personal exposure to an August sun”) with measurements of the temple and a more “scientific” vocabulary.¹⁶⁸ The inclusion of details and descriptions of physical hardship was typical of early archaeological publications.¹⁶⁹ Here, however, such details also serve to convince his reader that he was present when his finds were uncovered. We cannot be sure how closely his reports reflected reality. We do know, however, that the excavations were by no means legal. He admitted that he was “in the awkward position of possessing no firman or Imperial authorisation to excavate” and that “how to get the objects out of the island was a puzzle.”¹⁷⁰ His official position, though not in any way academic or

¹⁶⁷ Though Lang and others have discussed this site as a temple of Apollo, scholars now refer to it as a temenos dedicated to Adonis. For more on the site, see Gaber-Saletan, *Regional Styles in Cypriot Sculpture*; Senff, *Das Apollonheiligtum von Idalion*; Nys and Recke, “Craftsmanship and the Cultural / Political Identity of the Cypriote Kingdoms,” 211–22; Pamela Gaber, “The History of History: Excavations at Idalion and the Changing History of a City-Kingdom,” *NEA* 71, no. 1-2 (March 2008): 52–63.

¹⁶⁸ Lang, “Narrative of Excavations in a Temple at Dali,” 31–32: “In the spring of 1868...the Dali men whom I employed to search for antiquities came upon a mine of statues. Several of these statues were of colossal proportions, a circumstance which convinced me that their position was the site of an ancient temple. Under this conviction, I resolved upon entirely uncovering the site, and was induced the more to do so, notwithstanding the labour and expense, as on no previous occasion had any temple in Cyprus been systematically explored. Those who have undertaken such works, will easily understand the amount of labour which was involved in excavating and transporting to a sufficient distance the contents of a space of about 130 feet square, and of a depth varying from 9 to 11 feet. Add to the resistance of a chalky grit, a personal exposure to an August sun of 130°, and some faint idea may be formed of the stain upon my antiquarian passion during nearly two months. The discoveries, however, were so important and varied, that the labour was fully compensated, and I can now regard the site as the scene of some of my happiest although hottest hours.”

¹⁶⁹ Challis, *From the Harpy Tomb to the Wonders of Ephesus*, provides a rich analysis of the writings of traveler-archaeologists, noting how their authors assumed a heroic, masculine tone.

¹⁷⁰ Robert H. Lang, “Reminiscences, Archaeological Researches in Cyprus,” *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* 177, no. 75 (May 1905): 628.

archaeological in nature, nevertheless allowed him to dig, as he was eager to stress.¹⁷¹ That he encountered no real opposition was typical of the experience of foreign consuls digging on Cyprus before 1870. He was thus plagued only by the problem of export. As he reflected on how to accomplish this task without upsetting authorities, he simply stored objects in his house to avoid attracting attention.¹⁷² Cesnola later used this same tactic, turning his house into a veritable museum and even encouraging tourists to traipse through and admire his collection.¹⁷³

While there are many parallels between Lang and Cesnola's behavior, Lang's reputation was superior, and he was better able to integrate himself into the scholarly community. For example, Lang enjoyed the advantage of a range of backers in the British Museum. He was supported to a limited extent by Newton, and more firmly by Reginald Stuart Poole (1832-1895), an Orientalist in the Department of Coins and Medals, and Samuel Birch (1813-1885), an Egyptologist in the Department of Oriental Antiquities. Further, Lang is often credited with having authored the first "scientific" excavation report, treated in the next chapter. Lang's superior scholarship may have helped him succeed where Cesnola failed: selling his finds to the British Museum. Though making a large sale to the museum required patience, Lang eventually convinced the museum of the value of objects he unearthed at Dali, which were, along with

¹⁷¹ Lang, *Cyprus*, 330: "Fortunately, my position in the island sufficed to secure that I should not be molested, and when the governor told me one day, during excavation at Dali, that he ought to stop me because I had no firman, I answered him jokingly that he needed a firman to stop me, which he had not."

¹⁷² Eventually, he learned to handle export in a similar underhanded manner: "The shipment out of the island was attended with considerable difficulty, but it was somehow managed. *Cela se fait mais ne se dit pas.*" Ibid., 330.

¹⁷³ Georges Colonna-Ceccaldi praised this museum for its accessibility, noting that Cesnola had given him keys to the vitrines and permission to publish anything he liked. Other visitors seem to have taken advantage of the museum's accessibility: "When great numbers were admitted to inspect my discoveries, it was not always possible to keep visitors from handling the small objects...and I am sorry to say that sometimes the objects did not always find their way back to their legitimate places." Cesnola, *Cyprus*, 171.

several inscriptions, acquired by the British Museum between 1871 and 1873 after repeated failures in negotiation in 1869-70.¹⁷⁴ Other finds went to the Louvre and Berlin Museums.

In February 1868, Lang made the first, informal offer of his collection to the British Museum. Newton informed him that while the museum was low on funds and could not pursue such a purchase, he would be grateful if Lang could report on any archaeological activities on Cyprus. Lang was not daunted by Newton's initial refusal, and the two continued to correspond. In August 1869, Newton offered Lang professional advice about his finds at Dali, of which Lang had sent him photographs. First, he compared them to figures on display in the Louvre's *Salle Asiatique*—"some decidedly archaic, others, apparently, as late as the Macedonian or even the Roman Period."¹⁷⁵ He added, encouragingly, "I should like very much when you have completed your excavation to have the refusal of all which you wish to part with and with this view I should include your antiquities in my estimate for the [upcoming] financial year."¹⁷⁶ Newton further advised Lang to continue digging along the foundation wall of the "temple" he was exploring, advising him to lay it bare and adding, "a photographic view of the ruins will be very valuable."¹⁷⁷ Newton thus assumed the role of director of Lang's excavations, although he himself did not visit Cyprus for another ten years.

¹⁷⁴ Rather than the Dali sculptures, it was Lang's discovery of a bilingual inscription that ensured his relevance. Philologists from all over Europe expressed interest in the object, and several travelled to the island to inspect the find. It was finally—via Birch—acquired by the British Museum.

¹⁷⁵ Correspondence, 18 August 1869, Letter Book 1861-1879, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

In November 1869, Lang offered his collection, this time naming a price—1,600 pounds.¹⁷⁸ Though Newton failed to provide a definite answer, others at the museum took a serious interest. In the context of a larger “Eastern tour,” Emmanuel Deutsch (1829-1873), one of the museum’s librarians and an assistant scholar who specialized in the Middle East, traveled to Cyprus to evaluate Lang’s collection.¹⁷⁹ Lang and his collection were also championed by Birch, who—not for the first time—fought harder than Newton for the museum to purchase a Cypriot lot.¹⁸⁰ In November 1869, Birch brought the matter before the trustees, informing them of “an offer made by Mr. Lang of Cyprus, of a collection of antiquities and coins discovered by him on the site of a temple at Dali (Idalion), the value of which collection Mr. Lang estimated at 1,600 pounds.”¹⁸¹ The trustees responded by immediately sending Poole to Cyprus to report on the collection.

Poole was on the island from 8-22 December 1869. Near the end of Poole’s visit, Lang wrote to Newton, in high spirits, believing that, after sending two experts, the British Museum

¹⁷⁸ Committee Report, 13 November 1869, C 9 (vols. 33-35) June 1869- June 1875, Central Archives, British Museum, London.

¹⁷⁹ Correspondence 5 October 1869, Original Papers 101 (vols. 100-102) September 1869-December 1869, Central Archives, British Museum, London.

¹⁸⁰ Though Newton had offered his support and professional opinion, he had not taken the matter to the trustees, nor had he arranged for two museum employees to travel to Cyprus to inspect the collection, as Birch had done, sending both Deutsch and Poole. Newton’s involvement did not end with his letters to Lang in 1868-69, however, and he eventually did urge the Trustees to acquire Lang’s objects, though there was a long period of uncertainty that proved difficult for Lang to bear. In 1868, after Newton offered Pierides only 18 pounds for a lot of vases and “other objects from Cyprus,” Birch purchased the same lot for the slightly higher sum of 20 pounds. Correspondence, 1 July 1868, Letter Book 1861-1879, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London; Correspondence, 10 October 1868, C 8 (vols. 30-32) July 1862-1869, Central Archives, British Museum, London. Of course, Newton had not been completely unenthusiastic about Lang’s Dali terracottas, expressing his approval in November 1868 but adding that his department already had similar ones so he was not sure if he would be able to purchase further objects of the same type. He did add, however, that Lang’s figures were better preserved than those already in the museum’s collection. Correspondence, 17 November 1868, Letter Book 1861-1879, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

¹⁸¹ Correspondence, 13 November 1868, C 9 (vols. 33-35) June 1869- June 1875, Central Archives, British Museum, London.

would not hesitate much longer to purchase his collection. His letter communicates his satisfaction with the visits, and he offers to suspend negotiations with Karl Friederichs (1831-1871), a classical archaeologist and director of Berlin's Antiquarium, who, during a visit with Cesnola, had also shown interest in obtaining Lang's Dali finds.¹⁸² Poole was similarly pleased with his trip, and the promise of Lang's collection.¹⁸³ He prepared a report that was eventually incorporated into Lang's 1878 publication. This report contained his initial ideas about classification and dating of Cypriot sculpture, and a sketch of Lang's "Temple."¹⁸⁴ Poole was most excited by the "series" of identifiable styles in the limestone and terracotta sculpture found by Lang, which he viewed as valuable in tracing the extent of foreign influence in early Greek art.

Here we have the effects of the earliest contact of Greek barbarism with the semi-Phoenician civilization of northern Egypt, and see indications of that subsequent movement of the Hellenic race which for the time almost tolerated the old culture, while founding a stronger precursor. Here too we have a long series of Greek archaic works, showing more clearly than any other like collection the slow advance by a chain of delicate gradations which have led to maturity and decline, without ever losing the distinctive peculiarities of this style.¹⁸⁵

Yet he remained cautious and Hellenocentric, adding, "A Greek temple containing monuments of every style of Greek art would furnish an incomparably more valuable art collection."¹⁸⁶ The

¹⁸² In this letter, Lang disclosed that Friederichs has been on Cyprus and had shown strong interest in his Dali collection. Lang, however, promised that would not deal with Berlin before the British Museum had formally rejected his offer. He wanted—much like Cesnola—his collection to be kept together rather than separated. Correspondence, 20 December 1869, Original Papers 101 (vols. 100-102) September 1869-December 1869, Central Archives, British Museum, London.

¹⁸³ Correspondence, 22 December 1869, Original Letters (vol. 2) L-Z 1869-1872, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

¹⁸⁴ Poole's work was later refined and included in Robert H. Lang, "Narrative of Excavations in a Temple at Dali (Idalium) in Cyprus," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* Second Series 11 (1878): 30–54.

¹⁸⁵ Internal Report, 9 February 1870, Original Papers 102 (vol. 1) January 1870-February 1870, Central Archives, British Museum, London.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

report also included an inventory and valuation of works, providing interesting details about how objects were evaluated. Poole specified that he had “endeavored to give due weight to excellence of art, archaeological interest, and rarity.”¹⁸⁷ The total valuation of the collection—which consisted of 384 objects—was given as 1626 pounds, 5 shillings, just above the price (1600 pounds) that Lang had sought.¹⁸⁸ Though the news must have been encouraging to Lang, it did not lead to a swift end to negotiations, which continued into the 1870s.

1870s: Consular Explorations Expand; British Administration Bans Excavations

The First Efforts to Regulate Archaeological Practices on Cyprus

The effects of the first Ottoman law regulating excavation and exportation, enacted in 1869, can best be measured in the 1870s.¹⁸⁹ The founding of an archaeological museum in Constantinople, also in 1869, and the ambitions of Ottoman authorities to create a museum rivaling those in western Europe undoubtedly provided the impetus for its establishment.¹⁹⁰ Though the law attempted to curb the pace of archaeological work—and especially to reserve export for Ottoman authorities attempting to fill the museum in Constantinople with national treasures—it was not respected by foreigners, and failed to prevent antiquities from leaving the

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. Poole also remarked on the objects’ condition, which could be “determined by the preservation of surface, not by completeness.” Each sculpture was valued at about 5-10 pounds, the marble statues significantly more and the terracottas slightly less than the limestone.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ This law required would-be excavators to obtain official permission, and granted that any finds automatically belonged to the owner of the soil in which they were found. See Stanley-Price, “The Ottoman Law on Antiquities (1874) and the Founding of the Cyprus Museum,” 273.

¹⁹⁰ Upon visiting the Louvre in 1867, Sultan Abdülaziz I (1830-1876), who ruled from 1861-1876, wondered why his own empire had no such institution. The vision for the Imperial Museum, founded in 1869, was to showcase the region’s rich history. This aspiration required that the region’s antiquities remain on Ottoman soil, with the best shipped to the capital for exhibition. For more on Ottoman collecting, see Wendy Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Ottoman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

island in large quantities. In 1874, Ottoman authorities revised and expanded the law.¹⁹¹ The new *règlement sur les antiquités*, which contained thirty-six articles—a major increase from the seven articles of the 1869 version—reinforced the necessity of obtaining permits to carry out archaeological work.¹⁹² Under the new law, individuals with permits were entitled to keep one third of their finds, but were required to give one third to the government. The last third became the landowner's property.¹⁹³ This law successfully slowed the furious pace of archaeological activity that had characterized the previous decade.¹⁹⁴

Even though most archaeological work continued to be carried out by foreign consuls, the access granted to individuals and parties on the island seemed to depend much less on political relationships between the Ottoman Empire and the consuls' employing nations than it did on the archaeologists' personalities. It was up to the consuls themselves to convince—and often mislead—authorities on Cyprus and in the central administration at Constantinople that their excavations were, if not fully legal, not overly invasive or extensive. Rather than fulfilling official legal requirements, their “gifts” to the Sultan and his new museum were more often of a symbolic nature. Thus, though the 1874 antiquities law successfully regulated excavations to some extent, it was not until 1878, when a new, British administration was established, that the island's most chaotic period of widespread excavation—official and unofficial—truly ended. From this point forward, private excavations were forbidden.

¹⁹¹ This law was, in part, a reaction to Schliemann's excavations at Troy, Dyson, *In Pursuit of Ancient Pasts*, 146. It was upheld by British administration (on behalf of the Ottomans) for 20 years. See Stanley-Price, “The Ottoman Law on Antiquities (1874) and the Founding of the Cyprus Museum,” 273–275.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ Often, excavators simply acquired land they considered potentially valuable, and could thus keep—and export—two thirds of the objects they recovered.

¹⁹⁴ A new article of the revised law also forbade the excavation of temples, cemeteries, aqueducts, and public roads, but this portion does not appear to have been respected.

The goal of the Congress of Berlin, which met in 1878, was to establish a stable and peaceful political geography in the aftermath of the Russo-Turkish War (1877-78). The Ottomans ceded Cyprus to Britain, transforming it into a protectorate of Great Britain.¹⁹⁵ In exchange for administrative control of this strategically placed island, Britain agreed to provide military support to the Ottoman Empire should Russia attempt to encroach upon any of its territory in Asia.¹⁹⁶ From the British perspective, a benefit of this new possession was its proximity to new infrastructure in the East, including expanded railways and the Suez Canal.¹⁹⁷ Still, the incorporation of Cyprus into the British Empire did not come without its skeptics. Lang, for example, made a case for the necessity of a strong and “good [British] government,” but expressed the view that the Cypriots might not be well suited to their new administration:

Cyprus, as a British possession, must become a model of good government, an oasis in the surrounding desert of unenlightened administrations. To attain this will not be easy, and our first attempts may be costly and humiliating... The plain fact is that, as a nation, we are too insular, and, as we think nothing good born outside of our contracted home-sphere, we seek to impose our British notions upon peoples brought up under circumstances entirely different. We cannot, except at the cost of great discomfort and considerable grumbling, put Oriental feet, accustomed to the simplest covering, into tight-fitting Western boots; and the inhabitants of an Oriental clime would not find close-fitting Western boots administer to their comfort.¹⁹⁸

Lang’s concerns were well founded. Although the British public was initially excited by the new acquisition, Cyprus soon became an enormous and recurrent problem in British foreign policy,

¹⁹⁵ Outright possession began in 1914, and in 1925 Cyprus was declared a Crown Colony. Until 1914, the island was still formally part of the Ottoman Empire, and under Ottoman, not British, law.

¹⁹⁶ Lang, *Cyprus*, 197: “In view of the serious responsibility which England has undertaken, her Majesty’s Government seem to have considered it necessary to move British influence near the scene of action- more in evidence before both rulers and ruled in Turkey, and more at hand in case of need. The scene chosen was Cyprus, and the sultan was induced voluntarily to cede it to Great Britain.”

¹⁹⁷ See Ahmann, “Von Malta nach Zypern,” especially 12.

¹⁹⁸ Lang, *Cyprus*, 199–200.

earning the reputation of an “an administrative backwater.”¹⁹⁹ The island’s diverse population, which included both Turkish and Greek speakers, Christians and Muslims, made the position of the distant foreign government especially precarious.²⁰⁰ Instead of easing into their position of dominance, Lang and other British officials viewed Cyprus as incapable of self-government, and the British sought to establish themselves as even more involved leaders than the Ottomans had been.²⁰¹ While England could have used this opportunity to gain a privileged position in exploring and exploiting the island’s antiquities, curiously, no such strategy was immediately adopted. The British administration was indeed limited by its obligation to preserve the Ottoman Antiquities Law of 1874, which specified that one third of antiquities automatically belonged to the Ottoman authorities. Yet rather than expand excavations, the British initially stopped them altogether. When digging recommenced in the following year, objects continued to leave the island illegally.²⁰² Thus, though the 1870s saw a much more efficient, tighter control of excavations and increased restriction of exported material, amateur archaeologists retained the ability to make a profit from their digs.

Though the British Museum eventually emerged as the leading agent in the more professional type of excavations (with appointed head archaeologists) that would characterize the 1880s and 1890s, it encountered a series of obstacles in the late 1870s that stalled, rather than

¹⁹⁹ Goring, *A Mischievous Pastime*, 17.

²⁰⁰ Lang, *Cyprus*, 202, estimated the island’s population at 180,000, with two thirds being Christian (Greek Orthodox) and one third being Muslim.

²⁰¹ Michael Given, “The Fight for the Past: Watkins vs. Warren (1865-6) and the Control of Excavation,” in *Cyprus in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Tatton-Brown, 256: “An Oriental ancient Cyprus presupposed an Oriental modern Cyprus, and it was conventional wisdom that Orientals could not rule themselves. By argument that was careful, if inconsistent, any European or classical remains that did survive could be made to demonstrate the need for European guardianship which local people could not give.”

²⁰² Léon Fivel, “Ohnefalsch-Richter vendeur d’antiquités chypriotes (1895),” *CCEC* 25 (1996): 29: “On voit en outre que l’administration britannique, malgré ses rigeurs, ne pouvait pas empêcher les pillages, ni la dispersion des objets.”

launched, more scientifically motivated digs on Cyprus. In July 1878, Newton suggested that “the right to all treasure or antiquities should be reserved” by the British government and that “it would be well to reserve the right to explore all ancient sites, as was done by the Greek Government after Greece was given up by the Turks.”²⁰³ Newton clearly saw the Greek government and its antiquities laws as a relevant precedent, potentially applicable to the British situation on Cyprus. His suggestions were approved in the following month by the trustees, the Principal Librarian, and the Foreign Office. High Commissioner of Cyprus Garnet Joseph Wolseley (1833-1913) proposed that an archaeologist go to Cyprus to excavate on the government’s behalf.²⁰⁴ Newton agreed to the plan, and the architect Richard Popplewell Pullam (1825-1888) was introduced as “a competent archaeologist to be sent to Cyprus,” with the understanding that the mission should cost no more than one thousand pounds for the first twelve months.²⁰⁵

After requesting permission from the treasury in January 1879, they were promptly rejected, with the explanation that the “Lords Commissioners admit to the full the value of the proposed archaeological mission to Cyprus, but regret that they are not prepared to sanction the expenditure that would be entailed by it in 1879-80.”²⁰⁶ Newton nevertheless proposed that initial excavation efforts might begin, and he named several possible sites, asking if he himself could

²⁰³ Internal Report, 27 July 1878, C 10 (vols. 36-38) June 1875-December 1879, Central Archives, British Museum, London.

²⁰⁴ Internal Report, 12 Oct 1878, C 10 (vols. 36-38) June 1875-December 1879, Central Archives, British Museum, London. Encouraged by the trustees of the British Museum, Wolseley eventually banned excavation in 1878, but it continued when he left in 1879.

²⁰⁵ Internal Report, 14 Dec 1878, C 10 (vols. 36-38) June 1875-December 1879, Central Archives, British Museum, London.

²⁰⁶ Internal Report, 11 Jan 1879, C 10 (vols. 36-38) June 1875-December 1879, Central Archives, British Museum, London.

visit. The trustees ordered “that application be made to the Treasury for a grant of 300 pounds to enable Mr. Newton to visit Cyprus, and to direct tentative excavations.”²⁰⁷ The proposal was again rejected, but Newton was eventually allowed to go to Cyprus, not to dig, but to inspect a collection for potential purchase.²⁰⁸

French scholars were surely unaware of the difficult position of Newton and the British Museum and found much to criticize about Cypriot archaeology under the new administration. In 1878, directly after British administration was put in place, Edmond Pottier (1855-1934)—later a curator at the Louvre—and Mondry Beaudoin (1852-1928), both members of the French School at Athens, visited Cyprus, marking the first professional French exploration of Cyprus since Duthoit’s. Though they were not permitted to collect antiquities, they hoped to document ongoing site research and other archaeological developments. Their report was exceptionally critical of the state of archaeology on the island: “Les fouilles manquaient totalement de direction; les ouvriers creusaient des trous au hasard sans aucun indice scientifique...Il en résulte que la science n’a rien profité de ces excavations; il serait à désirer que des fouilles plus méthodiques fussent exécutées, dans un but archéologique, et non pour le commerce d’antiquités.”²⁰⁹ This sentiment was echoed in 1878 by Perrot, who argued that the British Museum should take advantage of the new British position, even if it did not appreciate the aesthetics of Cypriot antiquities:

Est-ce que vous n’allez pas profiter de l’acquisition de Cypre pour y entreprendre sur quelques points, de grandes fouilles méthodiquement conduites, qui nous en apprendraient plus sur cette civilisation complexe et si fortement marquée d’une couleur locale que toutes les trouvailles fortuites de M de Cesnola, si mal racontée? Le MB a-t-il déjà envoyé quelqu’un à Cypre? M Newton est-il parti pour l’Orient, ou attend-il l’hiver prochain? Vous êtes là tout à fait maître de vos mouvement, il me semble que vous devez

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ This collection belonged to Louis Castan-Bey, an Italian living in Cyprus.

²⁰⁹ Antoine Hermary, “L’école française d’Athènes et Chypre: 135 ans d’histoire,” *CCEC* 42 (2012): 230. See also Olivier Masson, “Deux ‘Athéniens’ à Chypre en 1878, M. Beaudoin et E. Pottier,” *BCH* 119 (1995): 405–13.

bientôt avoir une collection d'antiquités Cypriote plus riche que celle même de New York. Vous paraissez ne pas tenir en grande estimée les antiquités Cypriotes. Au point de vue de beau, je suis de votre avis; mais au point de vue de l'histoire, c'est autre chose.²¹⁰

Newton did indeed visit Cyprus in 1879, but remained unable to launch the desired projects without the support of the treasury. The British response was to limit excavation until such missions envisioned by Newton could be organized, and, more importantly, funded.

Still, the French complained. In 1879, Perrot criticized the British decision to forbid all digs.²¹¹ From 1879 onward, however, the British Museum successfully adopted a more active role in sponsoring and directing excavations, as detailed in the last section of this chapter. The French indignation at the British Museum's delay may have resulted more from disappointment that France—the nation that had pioneered archaeology on Cyprus in the early 1860s—was suddenly barred from further exploration. The British and American discoveries of the late 1860s and early 1870s had overshadowed the earlier French achievements, and without access to Cypriot sites, the French had no hope of competing with the other nations' discoveries, scholarship, or collections.

Like the political situation, the perceived significance of Cypriot antiquities was changing in significant ways. After witnessing the success in the 1850s and 1860s of those relying on biblical texts as historical sources, archaeologists turned to an even more ancient source—Homer. Thanks to Schliemann's excavations at Troy (begun 1871) and Mycenae (begun 1876), Homeric

²¹⁰ Correspondence, undated, likely soon after August 1878, Original Letters 1876-1878, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

²¹¹ Perrot, "L'île de Cypre, son rôle dans l'histoire, ii," 604: "Il peut paraître utile d'arrêter ce gaspillage; des fouilles méthodiques, dirigées par des hommes tels que M. Newton pour le compte du Musée britannique, seraient sans doute d'un bien autre profit pour la science."

poetry enjoyed success in being used to document a historical reality.²¹² With this development, Cyprus thus became the attractive crossroads not just of Mediterranean geography, but also of the Greco-Roman and biblical worlds. German archaeologist Max Hermann Ohnefalsch-Richter (1850-1917) promoted Cyprus for its unique ability to contribute to biblical and Homeric history.

So stehen wir auf Kypros auch mitten in der vom alten Testament geschilderten altkanaanäischen Cultur. Der Cult der Aphrodite, der König Kinyras, die Waffen der archaischen Helden, des Agamemnon Panzer, des Achilles Schild führen uns von einem ganz anderen Culturkreise her zur Insel. So wies mich zwölfjährige eigene Ausgrabungs- und Forschungsthätigkeit auf Cypern einerseits nach der griechisch-homerischen, andererseits nach der semitisch-biblischen Welt.²¹³

The potential for Cypriot antiquities to furnish archaeologists with evidence of both of these periods, or “worlds,” was exciting to many archaeologists. Especially tantalizing was Homer’s praise of Phoenician craftsmen, which to some suggested that rich metalwork lay buried on Cyprus, awaiting discovery.²¹⁴ The suspicion had indeed been confirmed in the 1850s with the discovery of the first “Cypro-Phoenician” metal vessels. These objects, collected by Orientalist traveler Louis Félicien Joseph Caignart de Saulcy (1807-1880) and Honoré Théodoric d'Albert de

²¹² Burns, *Mycenaean Greece*, 41: “The recovery and classification of artifacts from across the prehistoric Aegean came to support a concept of Mycenaean Greece as a cultural area distinct from other regions of the Bronze Age Mediterranean. Yet before the finds from Mycenae came to represent an independent civilization, they were presented as evidence for the historical existence of mythic heroes.” Burns deconstructs and interrogates the nineteenth-century understanding of Mycenaean Greece as “representative of a common Greek identity.” *Ibid.*, 42.

²¹³ Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, die Bibel und Homer* (Berlin: Asher, 1893), vii.

²¹⁴ Homer attributed objects of particularly fine craftsmanship to the Gods, Sidonians, or Phoenicians, and several metal items (especially bronze bowls) unearthed on Cyprus seemed—to nineteenth-century scholars—to fit Homer’s descriptions of such objects. Still, as Gunter, *Greek Art and the Orient*, 70, cautions: “Homeric poetry does not establish that ‘Phoenician’ or ‘Sidonian’ were designations that corresponded to any widely recognized visual category. Nor do these references support the view that Greeks entertained a vague or homogenized notion of ‘the Orient,’ unaware of regional or other distinctions among works of art produced in Egypt or the Near East. These sources have been much misused on both counts.” Further, Susan Langdon, *Art and Identity in Dark Age Greece: 1100-700 BCE* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 3, defends the following thesis: “Seeing Geometric art as the visual counterpart of epic poetry is no longer supportable.” For other recent work on these types of objects, see Nicholas Vella, “‘Phoenician’ Metal Bowls: Boundary Objects in the Archaic Period,” *Bollettino di Archeologia On Line*, special edition (2010): 22–37; Christian Vonhoff, “Phoenician Bronzes from Cyprus Reconsidered: Intercultural Exchange in Ancient Cyprus from a Pan-Mediterranean Perspective,” in *Ancient Cyprus Today*, ed. Bourogiannis and Mühlenbock, 273–84.

Luynes (1802-1867), became some of the first Cypriot originals to enter the Louvre's collection between 1851 and 1853.²¹⁵ Several, including the celebrated “Dali cup,” were quickly incorporated into the galleries of the Musée Assyrien, strengthening the the connection between Cyprus and Assyria and cementing the French view of Cyprus as part of the “Orient” (fig. 10). In 1875, Cesnola's supposed discovery of the so-called Kourion Treasure included another Cypro-Phoenician bowl (fig. 11).²¹⁶ Though nineteenth-century scholars suspected what we now know—that Cesnola's “treasure” came from several different assemblages rather than a single tomb, so as to create a bigger impact and rival Schliemann's “Treasure of Priam”—the individual objects displayed an indisputably high level of craftsmanship and technical skill, encouraging future treasure hunters and archaeologists to continue digging on Cyprus, especially in areas with demonstrated Phoenician occupation.

The British Museum Acquires Lang's Collection

Though Lang had every reason to be optimistic that the British Museum would purchase his collection for an excellent price after it was praised and valued by Poole at 1,600 pounds, Newton—whose opinion was the deciding factor—did not see the collection in the same light as Poole. In February 1870, Newton stated that the prices named by Poole and Lang were “considerably too high” and that he was not prepared to offer more than 1,000 pounds.²¹⁷ A further report, prepared by Birch, recommended that the trustees acquire the collection, but

²¹⁵ Caubet, “Les antiquités chypriotes au Musée du Louvre,” 25; Elisabeth Fontan, “Chypre au Louvre: Présentation des collections dans les galeries du musée,” *CCEC* 37 (2007): 53–70. They were originally purchased on Cyprus by the French Consul Tastu—see text to plate 10 in Adrien de Longpérier, *Musée Napoléon III. Choix de monuments antiques pour servir à l'histoire de l'art en Orient et en Occident* (Paris: L. Guérin et Cie., 1867).

²¹⁶ For details see Cesnola, *Cyprus*, 239.

²¹⁷ Internal Report, 11 February 1870, Original Papers 102 (vol. 1) January 1870-February 1870, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

likewise set its value at 1,000 pounds.²¹⁸ Negotiations thus stalled. In March 1870, after postponing for several additional months a decision on the offer, originally made over two years earlier, the trustees reviewed reports from Birch, Deutsch, Poole, and Newton and decided to decline Lang's collection.²¹⁹ After learning of this setback, Lang wrote to express his frustration, reminding the museum that he had turned down other offers while awaiting the British Museum's decision. Still, he was prepared to sell for less, and he offered to do so in March 1870 (and again in April 1871).²²⁰ Yet the Principal Librarian and trustees remained firm, declining each time.

Sensing that the affair had been poorly handled, Newton apologized to Lang in a July 1870 letter, expressing his regret that negotiations were terminated.²²¹ Newton's disappointment seems to have been genuine, and there can be no doubt that Poole's was.²²² Meanwhile, other museum staff had remained in contact with Lang. Certain of his finds—namely, inscriptions—had taken an alternate path into the museum's collection.²²³ In November 1871, after Birch

²¹⁸ Internal Report, 18 February 1870, Original Papers 102 (vol. 1) January 1870-February 1870, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

²¹⁹ "The Trustees had before them the several reports with reference to Mr. Lang's collection of antiquities at Cyprus, for which he asked the sum of 1,606 pounds, - the consideration of those reports having been postponed by the Standing Committee at their Meetings of the 12th and 26th of Feb. Resolved / That the purchase of the collection be declined at the price at which it is offered." Internal Report, 12 March 1870, Original Papers 102 (vol. 1) January 1870-February 1870, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

²²⁰ Correspondence, 18 March 1870, Original Papers 103 (vol. 1) February 1870-March 1870, Central Archive, British Museum, London. He specified that he preferred a response by telegram so that if the answer was negative, he could move quickly to deal with other interested parties.

²²¹ He further explained that the trustees were at the mercy of the Treasury, which had just made huge cuts, unanticipated at the moment of Poole's visit to Cyprus. Correspondence, 4 July 1870, Letter Book 1861-1879, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

²²² Speaking to the Royal Society in 1871, Poole excitedly described how the Dali Temple contained every style of Cypriot art known: "In statuary he finds specimens from archaic Greek down to the early Roman age, showing in that Long period, consecutively, Egypt, Assyrio-Persian, Greco-Macedonian influences—in fact, he shows traces of all the various dominations to which Cyprus during these centuries was subjected." Lang, "Reminiscences, Archaeological Researches in Cyprus," 627.

²²³ Deutsch provided an initial analysis of the twelve inscriptions acquired by museum from Lang's Dali collection: Internal Report, 28 February 1870, Original Papers 102 (vol. 1) January 1870-February 1870, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

prepared a report on these inscriptions, the museum decided to make Lang an offer for a group of stone and terracotta sculptures. Though the offer—800 pounds—was half the amount that Lang had originally sought, it was nevertheless a success.²²⁴ Birch had at last won a place for Lang's material in the British Museum. From this moment on, Lang corresponded almost exclusively with Birch.²²⁵ In March 1872, Lang informed Birch that he was trying to send rest of his Dali material abroad, and that he would donate some objects to the British Museum.²²⁶ After having failed to obtain another permit to excavate, he added, he had accepted the position of director of the Imperial Ottoman Bank at Alexandria. Lang thus left the island, but continued his research on Cypriot antiquities.²²⁷

Cesnola's "Temple of Golgoi"

Cesnola, who served as American consul to Cyprus from 1865 to 1876, began exploring sites in "a mere amateur way" in 1866, but after witnessing Lang's success at Dali in 1868, he began to pursue his newfound passion in a more serious way, even acquiring "a little

²²⁴ Two payments appear to have been made for two parts of the collection, arriving at separate times. "Resolved that a sum of 800 pounds be provided in the Estimate for the year 1872-73 for the purchase of Mr. Lang's collection of antiquities." Internal Report, 11 Nov 1871, C 9 (vols. 33-35) June 1869- June 1875, Central Archive, British Museum, London. Internal Report, 13 July 1872, C 9 (vols. 33-35) June 1869- June 1875, Central Archive, British Museum, London: "authorized to complete the purchase (for 800 pounds) of Mr. Lang's collection of Cypriote antiquities so soon as the Museum Estimates for the current year should have been passed by the House of Common."

²²⁵ Cesnola had also found Birch to be more sympathetic and encouraging than Newton, with whom he had a very troubled relationship.

²²⁶ "I really scarcely know how I shall get smuggled away all the pieces which I destined for you, but little by little, and under various pretenses must try to do so during the next three months...Last week I sent 30 men to work at the Dali Temple on pretense of clearing away stones. My diggings have not been largely successful but one large head (colossal) of a very ancient type richly satisfies me for my weeks labour...the finest head in the collection as a work of art. The chisel of the sculptor has been incised to produce a magnificent face so full of expression as to be worthy of the belle epoque Grecque—and yet strikingly Archaic and Cypriote...I shall present it to the Museum for it would be unbecoming to bargain over the money value of such a worthy fellow." Correspondence, 25 March 1872, 1868-1881 Jones W- LE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London.

²²⁷ In 1873, Birch and Newton recommended the purchase of a "further portion" of Lang's sculptures from Dali, for 200 pounds. Internal Report, 11 January 1873 C 9 (vols. 33-35) June 1869- June 1875, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

archaeological library” for himself.²²⁸ He initially found locating antiquities to be difficult work, and he believed that the challenge of using ancient sources to explore modern territory hampered others from attempting to excavate on the island in the early years of its exploration.²²⁹ Cesnola’s use of often unreliable ancient authors is typical of amateur archaeologists of the period, with Schliemann as the most famous example.²³⁰ It was only natural that these individuals, who were by no means trained scholars, turned to ancient authors whose voices were authoritative. Relying heavily on classical authors as well as stories stemming from the Bible and Homeric poetry, they did not distinguish between historical sources, literary sources, legends, and inscriptions.²³¹ Most were taken as historical fact, and all were used to construct the outlines of a Cypriot history. Still, Cesnola was realistic about the limitations of relying on ancient accounts, which “mislead as often as they assist.”²³² Cesnola conceded that he succeeded in finding fruitful sites mainly because of the work carried out by scholars—especially the French—who had surveyed the land before him. Still, Cesnola—like Lang—had more help from locals than from any ancient sources or traces left by other modern digs.

By 1870, Cesnola had acquired enough material to hold his first major European auction. Though he often claimed he sold his entire collection to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in two lots, this was not the case. Before his major sales to the New York museum in 1873 and 1876, he

²²⁸ Cesnola, *Cyprus*, 52. He also acted as Russian and Greek consul to Cyprus.

²²⁹ Cesnola, *A Descriptive Atlas, Volume I*, 1. “Of the numerous cities and temples existing in the island two thousand years ago, very few vestiges now remain above the ground to serve as landmarks. Still worse, the notices in ancient writers are scarce and indefinite. There has been therefore little temptation for explorers in this direction.”

²³⁰ Cesnola corresponded with Schliemann, both admiring and detesting him for his greater success. For more on this troubled relationship, see Olivier Masson, “L. Palma di Cesnola, H. Schliemann et l’éditeur John Murray,” *CCEC* 21 (1994): 7–14.

²³¹ Other important authors included Herodotus, Hesiod, Strabo, Pliny, Virgil, Tacitus, and Pausanias.

²³² Cesnola, *Cyprus*, ix.

held three smaller sales—one in Paris in 1870 and two in London in 1871.²³³ The Louvre obtained works from each of the auctions. In 1869, Cesnola had also sold objects to the Berlin museums via Friederichs, whom he hosted at his consular residence in Larnaca.²³⁴ European scholars and museums had thus clearly demonstrated an interest in collecting and studying Cypriot antiquities. Cesnola's remarkable finds from Golgoi would soon fan the flame of excitement for Cypro-Archaic sculpture.

Golgoi had previously been explored by the French team in 1862, but with only mild success.²³⁵ Duthoit, returning in 1865, had again failed to locate a temple at the site, instead digging just outside its walls. Cesnola's excavations inside the temple began on 6 March 1870, when a team of locals employed by Cesnola unearthed a colossal head (fig. 12). When Cesnola,

²³³ Cesnola summarized his profit as follows: "Between 1867 and 1871 I sold at auction at different times 2,700 pieces. The product of my different sales was about \$14,000 which I spent all in my subsequent diggings." From a letter to Hitchcock reproduced in Marangou, *The Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola*, 183. For details of the auctions, see Olivier Masson, "Correspondances chypriotes," 29–44. The sale took place on Rue Drouot. German antiquarians Henri Hoffmann (1823-1897) and Wilhelm Fröhner (1834-1925) helped with the Paris sale, which took place on 25–26 March 1870. All three sales featured objects discovered by Cesnola in 1868. The first Sotheby's sale was 9-10 January 1871, and featured finds from Paphos, Idalium, and Golgoi, and the second occurred on 1-2 May of the same year and included finds from Kition, Idalium and Salamina. For more, including details about the publications that accompanied these auctions, see Marangou, *The Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola*, 186–88.

²³⁴ Friederichs stopped in Cyprus for two months before undertaking a bigger trip around Sicily, Egypt, and the Near East. According to Cesnola, the visit was not a great success, for Friederichs was ill much of the time, and the Cesnolas felt overwhelmed by their hosting responsibilities. See Mathias Recke, "Deutschland und das antike Zypern: Beiträge zur Geschichte einer archäologischen Disziplin," *CCEC* 42 (2012): 86–116; Marangou, *The Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola*, 176–77. Friederichs's own account of his time in Cyprus, including his visits to Larnaca, Dali, Nicosia, Paphos, and Limassol—always accompanied by Cesnola—is much more positive: Karl Friederichs, *Kunst und Leben: Reisebriefe aus Griechenland, dem Orient und Italien* (Düsseldorf: Verlagshandlung von Julius Buddeus, 1872): 32–50. He acquired Cypriot material for the Berlin and Vienna Museums. See *Ibid.*, 36–37 and 143–44. However, he did not, according to Cesnola, pay in a timely manner. This episode may explain why Cesnola did not pursue selling his Golgoi finds to Berlin, but instead focused on the museums in St. Petersburg, Paris, London, and New York.

²³⁵ For more on the history of Golgoi, including excavations and votive sculpture found there, see Joan Breton Connelly, *Votive Sculpture of Hellenistic Cyprus* (Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 1988). For recent excavations in the area, see Michael K. Toumazou, P. Nick Kardulias, and Derek B. Counts, eds., *Crossroads and Boundaries: The Archaeology of Past and Present in the Malloura Valley, Cyprus* (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2011).

then at Larnaca, heard the report, he rushed to the site to purchase the land, securing it for his excavations and ensuring that he would not have to send any finds to Constantinople, as required by the 1869 antiquities law.²³⁶ In the days that followed, he ordered his team to dig at a second location near the spot where the head had been found, and twelve days later they found another trove of stone sculpture. Over the next weeks, Cesnola amassed a collection of hundreds of sculptures dating from the Archaic to Roman periods, proudly declaring in an 1871 report his discovery of the “Temple of Golgoi.” He was later heavily criticized by both Lang and G. Colonna-Ceccaldi, who insisted that Cesnola’s finds came from two separate temple precincts.²³⁷

Regardless of the true archaeological and architectural nature of the temple(s)—today located in the United Nations “green line,” or buffer zone, and inaccessible to scholars—the sculptures that Cesnola retrieved from Golgoi were the most influential and widely discussed Cypriot objects of the nineteenth century.²³⁸ Cesnola’s discovery guaranteed fame for himself and his sculptures. The richness of the finds drew attention from scholars and a wide public, ushering in a new era for Cypriot scholarship, as explored in the next chapter. In 1870, Cesnola wrote to the major European museums, attempting to sell various finds, even turning his home, the American Consulate in Larnaca, into a makeshift museum, which he referred to as the

²³⁶ Nicholas Stanley-Price, “The Ottoman Law on Antiquities (1874) and the Founding of the Cyprus Museum,” 267–75.

²³⁷ The issue of whether there were one or two temples at this location, and whether Cesnola uncovered a *bothros*, will not be discussed here. Refer instead to the early discussion in Georges Colonna-Ceccaldi, “Découvertes de Chypre,” *Revue Archéologique* 24 (July-December 1872): 221–8 and the following more recent works: Derek B. Counts, “A History of Archaeological Activity in the Athienou Region” in *Crossroads and Boundaries*, ed. Toumazou, Kardulias, and Counts, 45–54; Joan Breton Connelly, *Votive Sculpture of Hellenistic Cyprus* (Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 1988), 77. The controversy surrounding the site(s) received a great deal of attention in the nineteenth century as well. In the 1880s, Golgoi attracted distinguished visitors such as Dümmler, Furtwängler, and Dörpfeld.

²³⁸ Hermery, “Histoire des études sur la sculpture chypriote,” 7: “Ce sont en effet les découvertes du consul américain sur le site de Golgoi-Athiénou, aujourd’hui encore le plus grand ensemble mis au jour dans l’île, qui marquent le véritable départ des études sur la sculpture chypriote.”

“Phoenician Museum.”²³⁹ Cesnola’s museum, and his efforts to secure a permanent home for his growing collection, quickly overshadowed his consular work: “I studied the art of photography, and sent representations of the most important objects of my collections to the museums of Paris and London.”²⁴⁰ That same year, a Spanish scientific mission visited the island and admired the museum. One of the travelers, an archaeologist named Juan de Dios de la Rada y Delgado (1827-1901), who had a very favorable opinion of Cesnola, lamented Spain’s lack of funds, which prevented them from obtaining the collection.²⁴¹ Cesnola was a skilled salesman, encouraging his potential buyers to imagine the objects on display in their museums, and assuring them that they were his first choice.

Examining Cesnola’s exchanges with museum professionals about the sale of these finds provides further insight into his motivations, methodologies, and character. Cesnola was a notorious self-promoter, a demanding, often desperate, and emotionally fragile individual. The tone of his letters ranges from manic to violent. He wrote to several institutions at once, becoming involved in multiple negotiations simultaneously, searching for the largest and swiftest profit by pressuring each museum to come to a speedy decision or risk losing the sale to a competitor. To this end—from 1870 to 1872—he corresponded furiously with staff at museums

²³⁹ The source is an 1868 letter to Hitchcock, reproduced in Marangou, *The Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola*, 164.

²⁴⁰ Cesnola, *Cyprus*, 170.

²⁴¹ “Had we had sufficient amounts of money...the Cesnola Collection would today embellish the rooms of the Archaeological Museum of Spain...because at that particular moment its lucky owner was trying to sell it so as to meet...with the exorbitant expenses that occurred and were due to his pure love for science. At that particular moment, the Consul did not hide his preference for Spain.” Source quoted and translated in Marangou, *The Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola*, 41. This note indicates Cesnola’s double-dealings, in this case, with Russia and Spain, both of whom he promised was his first country of choice for the sale. Later, he would pursue negotiations with the British Museum and the Louvre simultaneously, similarly claiming to representatives of each institution that their museum was his first choice.

in London, Paris, Berlin, and St. Petersburg. He hoped to encourage quicker action by giving the impression that these institutions were competing to acquire his collection.

Studying the correspondence also gives us an idea of the perceived value of Cypriot art, and especially Cypro-Achaic sculptures—the jewel of Cesnola’s first collection. Even before the Golgoi excavations, in January 1870, Cesnola had written Stepan Alexandrovich Gedeonov (1816-1878), director of the Hermitage, enclosing photographs of objects he had recently found in Dali and adding that the museums in London and Berlin had just purchased similar items.²⁴² Several months later, Cesnola wrote again, this time with news from Golgoi. His letter claimed that Gedeonov was the first to be informed of his new finds, but cautioned that the Berlin, British, and Louvre museums might very well buy his collection once they knew of it.²⁴³ Two months later, Cesnola wrote yet again, this time proclaiming his discovery of the “Temple of Golgoi” one of the best finds of the century.²⁴⁴ He admitted that he would love to see the collection in America, but feared that the Americans did not have sufficient taste to buy it. After America, he claimed to prefer Russia to all other places, adding that he was sure that the other museums would be quite jealous to see his collection go to St. Petersburg.

These letters do appear to have sparked Russia’s interest. The Hermitage asked Cesnola to cease negotiations with the Louvre and sent an archaeological agent, Johannes Doell, to Cyprus

²⁴² “Excellence, je viens de faire photographier une petite partie des objets d’art que j’ai découverts dans des tombeaux anciens à Dali (l’ancien Italium). Je crois que Votre Exc. aura lu dans les journaux scientifiques comment par hasard j’ai découvert une nécropole Phoenicienne contenant plus de 4 mille (sic) tombeaux...Ma collection compte plus de 5,000 objets...Les Musées de Londres et Berlin viennent d’acheter chacun une collection de vases Phoeniciens et un choix d’aturs objets. Je me prends la liberté de vous envoyer ces photographies avec l’espoir que l’Hermitage voudra bien acheter aussi une portion de ma collection.” Letter reproduced in Masson, “Diplomates et amateurs d’antiquités à Chypre vers 1866-1878,” *Journal des Savants* 1 (1992): 139.

²⁴³ Letter from 17 March 1870 reproduced in *Ibid.*, 140–41.

²⁴⁴ Letter from 25 May 1870 reproduced in *Ibid.*, 141–42

to produce a catalogue of the collection as they considered its acquisition. This publication, treated in the next chapter, was the first of its kind devoted entirely to Cypriot antiquities. Feeling that the Hermitage would surely follow through in buying the collection, Cesnola began to specify the conditions of the sale, expressing his wish that “when the collection arrives in the Museum it will be named ‘The Cesnola Collection,’” and adding—a bit defensively—that “I have worked hard enough throughout my life to deserve a little vanity.”²⁴⁵ Unfortunately for Cesnola and his vanity, it was at this apparently secure moment that Russia pulled back and declined the collection.²⁴⁶ Nor were the French, embroiled in the Franco-Prussian War (July 1870-January 1871), any longer in a position to buy. Worse yet, Cesnola’s efforts to attract buyers had instead attracted the attention of the Turkish authorities, who attempted to prevent him from exporting his finds.²⁴⁷ With mounting pressure to sell, and the future of his collection in peril, Cesnola set his sights on the British Museum.²⁴⁸

In January 1871—when Cesnola was in London and Newton in the Near East—Cesnola wrote to Newton with details of his discovery at Golgoi, making sure to highlight the Louvre’s prior interest.

The site where I found so many statues, I believe to be, the famous Temple of Golgos; and this belief was corroborated by the eagerness, the Louvre Museum displays, in

²⁴⁵ Translation of this letter (dated 16 August 1870) with further details of Cesnola’s conditions of sale in Marangou, *The Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola*, 196–97.

²⁴⁶ See *Ibid.*, 198.

²⁴⁷ Further evidence comes from an 1870 letter from Sandwith to the British Museum, where he observed that “Since leaving in September, the Turkish authorities at Stanbul have prohibited the export of antiquities from that island...the cause of it all is probably the noise which Mr. Cesnola made about his findings.” Correspondence, 21 June 1870, Original Letters (vol. 2) L-Z 1869-1872, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

²⁴⁸ Cesnola’s collection had by this point attracted the attention of the Grand Vizier of Constantinople, who, apparently seeing its value, attempted to prevent the exportation of the collection. As always, Cesnola found a way around these orders, which forbid the export of the American consul’s collection, but not that of the Russian consul. Cesnola, of course, held both positions and simply moved the objects off the island for London as property of the Russian consul.

endeavoring to purchase the entire collection; and if not for this war, it would have been since months, at the Louvre Museum. This spot so luckily found by me, was for several years at different times, the object of fruitless searches conducted by distinguished French Savans... It will not be surprising, that they took such a great interest in the purchase of my collection; and that Mr. Nieuwerkerke had obtained from the private purse of the Emperor, what the little budget of the museum, was unable to pay—The war however spoiled everything; and there is a splendid chance for the BM, to purchase it; and you should not fail (being so near to Cyprus) to go and examine it in person; being well worth the trouble of doing so, and the collection deserves to be visited by such a savan as you are.... every connoisseur, who has seen it, acknowledges that there does not exist in any museum of Europe, statues of that kind, which represent more the early Cypriot art than of any other nation.²⁴⁹

Cesnola's tone was desperate; he pressured Newton to visit and attempted to manipulate him into purchasing the collection by threatening to sell to Paris.²⁵⁰ Moreover, Cesnola devoted more space to outlining the French response to his collection rather than to any scientific details or descriptions of the site or the objects themselves.²⁵¹ Newton's response—now lost—was apparently not encouraging, as Cesnola was forced to clarify in his next letter that he had not intended to offer Newton a bribe.²⁵² Thus, by February 1871, after Newton had declined Cesnola's invitation to visit, accused him of bribery, and returned to London, the British Museum

²⁴⁹ Correspondence, 9 January 1871, Original Letters (vol. 1) A-K 1869-1872, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

²⁵⁰ After the United States offered Cesnola a higher consular post, he claimed to plan to leave Cyprus, but assured Newton he would still receive him there, should he come quickly.

²⁵¹ Perhaps assuming the images would speak for themselves, Cesnola instead referred to photos of the “principal parts of the Cesnola Collection” that had been sent to Newton, as described by Birch. Correspondence, 12 January 1871, Original Letters (vol. 1) A-K 1869-1872, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London. Even so, Cesnola could not restrain himself from discussing the French response at length, writing that the photos “will at once give you an idea of my discoveries; and perhaps a clue to the reason, why so little has yet been said, about this collection, as the French Louvre people desired me not to spread the news of my discovery, until the contract was signed, and the collection in Paris—I am assured even now, by some of those French gentlemen, if I have only patience, that no matter what will be the New Government in France, as soon as peace is made, and order restored, they will obtain in some way, or other the sum agreed upon under the Empire, for the purchase of my collection; but I rather doubt, their early hope of doing so; and if I have a good chance of selling it at a reasonable price, I will do so without waiting any longer.” Correspondence, 9 January 1871, Original Letters (vol. 1) A-K 1869-1872, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

²⁵² Correspondence, 15 January 1871, Original Letters (vol. 1) A-K 1869-1872, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

no longer appeared to Cesnola to be a promising place for his collection. Jealous of the attention the staff was giving Lang and his Dali finds, and employing his characteristically petulant tone, he wrote,

What Mr. Lang had, was a mere nothing compared to my discovery. However, since you are no more in the East, I see very little hope to see my collection one day in the BM and at my return to Cyprus which will be at the end of the month I shall pack it up and send it to the US...It is true that I have several offers for the sale of my collection; but I am as yet free to act as I think best; and no doubt, I would prefer to see my collection placed in the BM, where it could be properly appreciated than in Russia or in America where few would have an opportunity to study it.²⁵³

Newton, unconvinced, remained firm in his refusal.

Nevertheless, just three months later, Cesnola again tried to push the collection on the British Museum—this time through Birch, attached to the museum’s Department of Oriental Antiquities. Despite his desperate position, Cesnola attacked the museum for its failure to raise adequate funds for his important collection or, at the very least, send Newton over for a visit: “I have given up the hope that your Museum would buy my collection, on account of always being without funds...If I had been lucky enough to get Mr. Newton to visit my collection in Cyprus I am sure he would have been struck by the important of my discovery, and would not have allowed the collection to escape from his hands.”²⁵⁴ He even threatened to keep the entire collection for himself should he remain unable to find an institution that would purchase it in its entirety. This claim was undoubtedly false, for Cesnola had quite literally dug himself into financial ruin.

²⁵³ Correspondence, 4 February 1871, Original Letters (vol. 1) A-K 1869-1872, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London. The jealousy was not necessarily well founded—by this time, the British Museum had not yet agreed to purchase Lang’s collection. The Lang sale was finalized in November 1871.

²⁵⁴ Correspondence, 12 May 1871, 1868-1881 CA-CHE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London.

Birch, who had been viewed as a second port of entry for Cypriot objects entering the British Museum's collection after he had advocated for Lang, was more encouraging to Cesnola than Newton. He declined to advise Cesnola on matters of sale, but added encouragingly that Félix Feuardent (1819-1907), to whom Cesnola was considering entrusting his collection, had previously sold antiquities to the British Museum. In August 1871 Cesnola wrote to Birch again, apparently unable to resist exaggerating the state of negotiations with the Louvre in a last effort to elicit the British Museum's interest:

You are right when you say that a sale by auction in London would bring as high a price as in America, perhaps even higher; and besides it would attract attention...Dr. Friederichs of the Berlin Museum, Mr. Stephany of the Hermitage, Dr. Bergmann of Vienna, all have asked me to let them have a selection out of my Golgos collection, and if I send it to London they will send agents at the sale or come themselves...I have just received a letter from Paris in which they say, that the Louvre also will purchase a portion of my collection, and they even go so far as to invite me to send it all there with a French man of war, and that two large rooms at the Louvre will be put at my disposal for exporting it free of expense!!!— what do you think?²⁵⁵

Cesnola's repeated efforts to force the British Museum to consider losing the collection to the Louvre may indeed have pained certain individuals at the museum—and no doubt, some of the trustees—but Birch, like Newton, remained unmoved. Without any response from Birch in September 1871, Cesnola was forced into action. Sensing that the Turkish authorities would confiscate and claim his finds if he did not move them off the island, he agreed to display them in London until a price could be negotiated with one of the museums. By February 1872, Cesnola's collection was in the charge of Feuardent and Claude Camille Rollin (1813-1883) and installed in London, directly opposite the British Museum.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁵ Correspondence, 7 August 1871, 1868-1881 CA-CHE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London.

²⁵⁶ Further details are outlined in an unprompted letter from Cesnola to Birch: "The Turkish Government has forbidden further excavations in the island and wants also to prohibit the exportation of antiquities from Turkey. I

The museum was not eager to acquire the whole collection, but repeatedly expressed interest in purchasing a selection of the objects, working with the dealers to arrange the details.²⁵⁷ In September 1872, Cesnola wrote to Birch rejecting another such offer to purchase a selection. The letter details how perceptions of Cypriot art were shifting at the museum, which was considering creating a dedicated room for Cypriot antiquities.²⁵⁸ At this point, recognizing that the British Museum would not be forced into purchasing the entire Cesnola Collection because of the ever-declining possibility that the Louvre would purchase it, Cesnola shifted tactics. Seeking to align himself more closely with the professional community, he claimed that he had the support of the heroic figure of Layard: “Mr. Layard from Madrid has begged me not to sell in lot the Golgos collection because it represents in itself the complete history of Cyprus.”²⁵⁹ Cesnola

have therefore decided to forward all my collection to Messers Rollin and Feuardent...in your city...They made me the following offer: If I could send to them my entire collection they would advance to me upon it 800 pounds and then if the offer they make me for it is not accepted by me, the collection will be sold at auction within 18 months and I will then refund them the money advanced with 6% per annum interest. They will put at my disposal free of charge two large rooms to expose my collection and by refunding them the 800 pounds with interest I can take away my collection and have it sold by other persons.” Correspondence, 15 September 1871, 1868-1881 CA-CHE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London.

After the collection was installed, Cesnola informed Birch that he could visit and publish whatever he liked about it. He also requested an estimate of the collection’s value, taking the opportunity to include several estimates given by other museum professionals for reference. At the Hermitage (by one of the directors), it was valued at 60,000 roubles; at the Berlin Museum (by Friederichs), at 350,000 francs; and other scholars named figures of 12,000, 14,000, and 20,000 pounds. Birch responded with an estimate of 30,000 pounds. Correspondence, 24 February 1872, 1868-1881 CA-CHE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London.

²⁵⁷ Internal Report, 8 July 1871, C 9 (vols. 33-35) June 1869- June 1875, Central Archive, British Museum, London. These agents made their first offer of objects from the “Cesnola Collection” for 14 pounds (and 10 shillings, 9 pence), which the museum accepted. This early sale took place before the votives from Golgoi (March 1870) had been cleaned and catalogued for sale. This transaction demonstrates that although Cesnola gave the impression in later letters that he had full control over how and to whom he would sell his objects, Rollins and Feuardent may also have exercised a certain amount of power in such decisions. It also confirms that while Cesnola was adamant about selling his collection in one lot, to one institution, he had made exceptions, selling objects in smaller lots early on.

²⁵⁸ “You spoke today in earnest that the BM is going soon to have a Cypriot Room and that you and Mr. Newton would like to acquire a selection out of my very large collection of Cypriot antiquities if I agree to let you make such a selection out of the whole. It is needless for me to tell you that if a selection is made (and of course it will be of the best pieces) the remainder of my collection would if not become worthless at least of very little value.”

Correspondence, 25 September 1872, 1868-1881 CA-CHE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

clearly aimed to promote his collection by using Layard's fame, position, and opinion to convince others of its importance. In his next letter, Cesnola continued, "Mr. Layard...says that my discoveries form a most complete chapter in the history of art and archeology and trust that some frequented museum will purchase all the statues and a set of vases etc. to have a complete history of Cyprus."²⁶⁰ That same month, Cesnola formally offered his collection to the British Museum for 10,000 pounds, as mentioned by Newton in a letter to Layard.²⁶¹ Newton had indeed warmed to the collection, calling it "wonderful" and saying that it would throw "great light on the early relations between Egypt, Cyprus, and Assyria," but could not agree to the price.²⁶² He did collaborate with Cesnola on a photographic album, however, later published in 1873 and discussed in the following chapter.

Hiram Hitchcock, "The Explorations of Di Cesnola in Cyprus," 1872

Despite Cesnola's boast that each of these museums was eager to purchase his collection, by late 1872, he was becoming increasingly frantic. The sale to Russia had turned sour, the Franco-Prussian War had interrupted his plans to sell to the Louvre, and the British Museum, unable to afford the entire collection, wanted only a "selection" of objects. Thus, he was forced to look elsewhere for a buyer. His focus sharpened on America. Here, he was helped along by his close friend Hiram Hitchcock (1833-1900), archaeology enthusiast and owner of New York

²⁶⁰ Correspondence, undated, though likely written in October 1872, 1868-1881 CA-CHE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London. Layard's enthusiasm for Cesnola's collection seems to have been genuine, and came several years before that of other scholars of his rank, perhaps indicating he had seen Hitchcock's *Harper's* article.

²⁶¹ "Cesnola has brought a wonderful collection of figures in calcerous stone, vases, and terracottas from Cyprus, a Graeco-Phoenician Museum throwing great light on the early relations between Egypt, Cyprus, and Assyria. He asks the small sum of 10,000 pounds for this, and talks of selling it to the Americans." Correspondence, 1 November 1872, Letter Book 1861-1879, Archive of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London. Cesnola also wrote to Birch of selling the collection to Boston.

²⁶² *Ibid.*

City's Fifth Avenue Hotel. In the summer of 1872, Hitchcock had published a piece in *Harper's*—with almost as many illustrations as pages of text—intended for a wide readership (fig. 13).²⁶³ The fact that this article was “popular” rather than “scholarly,” was no accident. As the public became increasingly engaged with archaeological discoveries, amateurs seized their chance to promote their finds—and themselves—in newspapers and journals.²⁶⁴

Hitchcock categorized Cesnola's Golgoi finds of 1870 as largely Greek and Phoenician. Still, as Ross had indicated twenty years earlier, the identification of a Phoenician style remained problematic. Alluding to this gap in knowledge and emphasizing the significance of the material to help bridge it, Hitchcock wrote, “The importance of the discovery now under consideration will be more fully realized if we remember that, at the time Di Cesnola opened these tombs, no specimen of Phoenician sculpture and no ancient works of purely Phoenician art were known to exist.”²⁶⁵ This phrase echoes Engel, who had linked Cypriot and Phoenician art, and offers a response to Ross. Hitchcock hesitated in the body of his article to classify the Cypriot finds as belonging to specific national traditions, but his illustrations readily label figures according to perceived influence or general type.²⁶⁶ We see, for example, “Greek” heads and a “Colossal

²⁶³ The article was prepared after a lecture Hitchcock had given on Cesnola's discoveries in New York. For more on the relationship between Cesnola and Hitchcock, see Marangou, *The Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola*, 77–80. For another analysis of this article, as well as excerpts from several other newspaper and magazine articles published around the same time, see *Ibid.*, 221–35.

²⁶⁴ This trend would only increase throughout the 1870s, with Schliemann's discoveries: “In the new world of publicity, others did Schliemann's work for him. Back in Winckelmann's time, to be stirred by his enthusiasm for classical Greece you had to read his books. But now, with Schliemann's own shrewd assistance, every turn of the archaeologist's spade became news. The reading public did not have to wait for heavy tomes to enjoy the adventures of excavation.” Boorstin quoted in Duesterberg, *Popular Receptions of Archaeology*, 111.

²⁶⁵ Hiram Hitchcock, “The Explorations of Di Cesnola in Cyprus,” *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* July (1872): 201. Similarly, he wrote that Cesnola “conducted a series of explorations and excavations among the remains of Phoenician and Greek antiquity.” *Ibid.*, 188–89.

²⁶⁶ As no explanatory text accompanied these images, most elements of Hitchcock's grounds for classification remain unclear. However, we can assume that Cesnola guided his essay and suggested classifications for certain sculptures, and a consideration of Cesnola's later publications of the finds, treated in the next chapter, provides a fuller picture of these classifications.

Phoenician” head, both in limestone (figs. 14 and 15).²⁶⁷ The division between these “Phoenician” and “Greek” specimens corresponds to differences in treatment of the headdress and hair. The “Greek” heads have short hair and laurel wreaths, while the “Phoenician” head displays a long hairstyle and cap. The presence of a headdress seems to have been the primary factor determining Hitchcock’s labeling of the sculptures as belonging to a “foreign” tradition. For example, when an “Egyptian” head is illustrated to the right of a “Greek” head, the “Egyptian” figure wears a headdress, while the “Greek” does not (fig. 16). In another illustration, an “Assyrian” torso appears next to an “Egyptian” one (fig. 17). The dress is similar but the headdresses are distinct: the “Assyrian” figure wears a pointed cap and the “Egyptian” figure has a covering over the hair, which otherwise falls loosely behind the shoulders.

A difference in headdress may also have justified separating an “Assyrian Hercules” from a “Phoenician Hercules” (figs. 18 and 19). In this instance, the “Phoenician” statue holds a club and wears a lion skin around his head and body, while the “Assyrian” figure lacks the standard attributes of a Hercules. A second bias seems to be at play here: figures that displayed a high degree of craftsmanship and were relatively intact were often classified as figures of gods, priests, and heroes. Because the Cypriot works could not be attributed to particular artists, scholars invented different names or roles for them—as deities, priests, or portraits of kings, for example—in order to elevate their status. Consider the difference between a group of “Greek heads” and a “Greek priest”—the “priest” has an elaborately constructed beard and is the best preserved specimen, but in all other ways resembles the typical “Greek” heads (figs. 20 and 21).

²⁶⁷ Hermary and Mertens, *The Cesnola Collection of Cypriot Art*, 14, identifies the “Greek heads” as being from Lang’s excavations rather than Cesnola’s.

Hitchcock's decision to label the figure as a priest was not based on any specific evidence, instead representing an early example of a scholar giving more weight and importance to well-preserved figures displaying a high level of craftsmanship.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Acquires the Cesnola Collection

This article showcasing Cesnola's collection had the desired effect on its American audience. After further lobbying through Hitchcock, Cesnola convinced the banker J. S. Morgan (1813-1890; J. P. Morgan's father), and industrialist William T. Blodgett (1823-1875), both Americans, to visit London, where his collection was on display—still in the hands of Feuardent and Rollins—in September 1872. The visit of these New York giants was engineered to prompt their interest in acquiring the collection for their city and newly founded museum, notably lacking in antiquities. Founded in 1870, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York had opened its doors to the public in February 1872. Despite support from the city's richest citizens, its collection had little hope of rivaling the antiquities collections in Europe. Cesnola's collection thus represented a possibly unique opportunity for the Americans to acquire ancient works of art displaying a wide range of styles.

In October 1872, Cesnola described to Hitchcock his excitement at the exhibition of the collection: "It is a month that I work hardly from 9 to 5 pm at 61 Great Russell Street to put the collection in order and I don't know what I would give to have you here to see it. It looks magnificently. It occupies *four* large rooms. The walls at my request have been painted dark red with pedestals and shelves of the same color and the statues make a grand and striking aspect

indeed being all of a whitish stone.”²⁶⁸ Finally accepting that the British Museum would not be tempted, Cesnola sold to the Americans. By the end of 1872, the Metropolitan Museum had agreed to the purchase Cesnola’s entire collection, and in 1873, the sale was formalized.

Just before the collection left London, Newton asked Cesnola whether the New York museum would consider leaving behind part of the collection—in particular, the “duplicates”—for purchase by his own museum.²⁶⁹ This request was essentially the same that the British Museum had attempted earlier, when it expressed interest in making a “selection” from the collection before it was sold. Unsurprisingly, Cesnola again declined, adding in his fiery manner:

You spoke to me that it would be desirable that the NY Museum instead of packing all the duplicates of my collection and sending them to America, to allow you (on behalf of the BM I suppose) to select duplicates from it before the collection goes away...I have always said that money would be for me a secondary object in selling my collection but that I wanted that the collection bear my name and be kept together and not scattered through every department of the museum.²⁷⁰

His argument was a fair one: Cypriot antiquities did indeed face the threat of being scattered across departments, as will be investigated in Chapter Three.²⁷¹

²⁶⁸ Masson, “Diplomates et amateurs d’antiquités à Chypre vers 1866-1878,” 147. Cesnola’s allusions to his own gallery design—and his passion for this aspect of the care of his collection—seem to foreshadow his future role as director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

²⁶⁹ “Would you ask the Trustees of the NY Museum whether they would be willing to leave some of the duplicates of your collection here with a view to their being offered for purchase in England. This arrangement would save packing and freight of these articles.” Correspondence, 27 November 1872, Letter Book 1861-1879, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

²⁷⁰ Correspondence, 24 November 1872, 1868-1881 CA-CHE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London.

²⁷¹ I return to this theme in Chapter Three, furnishing evidence that Birch and Newton made offers on the same objects—out of their respective departmental budgets (Assyrian and Egyptian, and Greek and Roman)—for inclusion in these departments.

By 1875, Cesnola was ready to sell two additional collections.²⁷² The first was relatively small, and after he had shipped it to Paris, he allowed the British Museum to select certain objects for purchase. In October, Birch reported on Cesnola's latest offer, requesting that an authority be sent to Cyprus to deal with negotiations on the spot, and advising that this individual also obtain permission from the Turkish government for the objects' export and shipment. The trustees thus encouraged George Smith (1840-1876), an Assyriologist working under Birch, to stop in Cyprus on his way to Assyria. Once again, the museum opposed purchasing Cesnola's entire collection in bulk, and was eager instead to negotiate a selection, proposing that some antiquities be sent to England, where the trustees would select desirable objects. The plan was not carried out successfully, however. Perhaps Smith (who died shortly after, in August 1876), failed to visit Cyprus, or simply failed to visit Cesnola, who was greatly offended, as he made clear in a letter from February 1876: "I read in the Academy that our friend Mr. George Smith had visited Cyprus on his way home! If so he must have been invisible!"²⁷³ In June 1876, still seeking a buyer, Cesnola went to Paris with a portion of his antiquities.²⁷⁴

²⁷² Because these were not as rich in limestone sculpture, I do not provide as much detail as with the first sale to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. For a thorough account of the negotiations that led to the second sale to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, see Marangou, *The Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola*, 273–83.

²⁷³ Correspondence, 26 February 1876, 1868-1881 CA-CHE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London.

²⁷⁴ The following month, he sent six cases of antiquities (vases, terra-cottas, and bronze objects, about 350 pieces in all) to the British Museum, asking 1,000 pounds for them. The offer was, unsurprisingly, declined, as the museum had, again, as with the first collection, expressed interest in a selection (at Birch's or Smith's discretion) rather than buying in bulk and purchasing objects they had not seen. "The Trustees further authorized Mr. Smith to visit Cyprus for the purpose of examining the antiquities offered by General di Cesnola- Mr. Smith to report thereon for the information of the Trustees, and to inquire, should he consider the antiquities desirable for the Museum, whether General di Cesnola would be disposed to send the objects to England with a view to a selection being made from them on the part of the Trustees." Internal Report, 8 July 1876, C 10 (vols. 36-38) June 1875-December 1879, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

Cesnola was not at all satisfied with the way the British Museum had handled the negotiations for this selection from this collection, and wrote to Birch expressing years' worth of frustration, revealing more about his legal position in Cyprus.²⁷⁵ Still, Cesnola agreed to sell a small selection to the museum.²⁷⁶ Though he claimed to be acting honestly and legally, he nevertheless requested that the purchase not appear in the press.²⁷⁷ Clearly, he did not want to anger the Metropolitan Museum, with which he had promised to deal exclusively. That he did not honor this promise is demonstrated by his offer to Newton, in August 1876, of a new—and very large—collection. Cesnola hoped the British Museum would be interested in purchasing it for 20,000 pounds, specifying that the Louvre was also interested and that he would accept the offer of the museum willing to pay in cash, and up front, rather than in installments. He further tempted the British Museum by declaring, “I will add that in my opinion this new collection is greatly superior and more important as illustrative of the ancient Cypriote art than the one

²⁷⁵ “You say that if I had followed your advice and send the sarcophagus to London, I would have found long ago that business is quicker, and it is easier to arrange matters in Great Russell Street than in Cyprus... You forget, my dear friend, that I had a taste of Great Russell Street in 1872, when following the advice of Gaston Feuardent and (which he wrote to me was that of Mr. Newton) I sent my first collection there for the BM to purchase, and after having been there for nine months, I had to pay the enormous charges of nearly 42,000 francs and take away my collection to America, without having done anything with the BM. Besides there was the other reasons why I did not like to send from Cyprus anything to England; one of which is, that no vessels ever touch that island; and the boxes must be sent to another Turkish port, for reshipment, and they would be liable (as antiquities) to be confiscated; there being very severe standing orders, against the exportation of antiquities from the Turkish Dominions. I sent lately to NY over 40 tons of antiquities from Cyprus, without the slightest trouble, or even remark from the Turkish Authorities; but they went direct to NY- and as the Governor General there always called me ‘the King of Cyprus’, nobody would dream to interfere with my Royal privileges while residing in Cyprus.” Correspondence, 14 July 1876, 1868-1881 CA-CHE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London.

²⁷⁶ Birch and Newton—rather than Smith, as was originally agreed—selected 114 objects for 300 pounds. Internal Report, 22 July 1876, C 10 (vols. 36-38) June 1875-December 1879, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

²⁷⁷ “The reason I have for not wishing to have such a sale of mine published in the papers is the smallness of the transaction, which might make jealous my NY friends; and besides I dislike to be considered as a ‘Merchant of Antiquities’ and still less treated as such (as I was once by Mr. Newton.)” Correspondence, 30 July 1876, 1868-1881 CA-CHE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London.

purchased in 1872 by the NY Museum.”²⁷⁸ In October 1876, having lost faith that the museum would acquire the entire lot, Cesnola made one last effort to sell to London, sending a report on the objects comprising his so-called Kourion Treasure and asking 12,000 pounds for them. This offer was also turned down after the Lords Commissioners failed to approve it.²⁷⁹ Cesnola thus wrote to Newton in November 1876 hinting that he would attempt to find another buyer in England. In the end, Cesnola failed, and this collection was also acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Cesnola’s Network

After reviewing Cesnola’s wild and desperate attempts to sell his collections, it should come as no surprise that not everyone believed in the strength of his word, his connections, and especially, his methodology. Many archaeologists—even other amateurs—were quick to attack Cesnola’s lack of professionalism. For example, despite Cesnola’s claim that his account was written “from notes written by me on the spot at the time of the excavations,” Ohnefalsch-Richter countered that “Die Fundortangaben beruhen einfach auf heillosem Schwindel des Cesnolas und sind aus der Luft gegriffen.”²⁸⁰ Cesnola positioned his 1877 book, discussed in the next chapter, as a defense against criticisms he faced about his archeological methods and record-keeping abilities. He admitted that his digs “were perhaps not conducted in all their details according to

²⁷⁸ 14 August 1876, 1868-1881 CA-CHE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London. This collection included the ill-fated Kourion objects.

²⁷⁹ The trustees waited to hear about the lot from Birch, and were not prepared to offer more than 10,000 pounds. The Lords Commissioners, however, refused to approve the purchase of Cesnola’s antiquities. They had been required to decide within 48 hours, which they considered insufficient time. Further, though they admit that “the collection contained rare and interesting examples of ancient art,” there was not enough evidence that 10,000 pounds was a reasonable price to pay. Internal Report, 9 December 1876, C 10 (vols. 36-38) June 1875-December 1879, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

²⁸⁰ Cesnola, *Cyprus*, x–xi; Ohnefalsch-Richter quoted in Senff, “Exotischer Reiz und historischer Wert,” 264.

the usual manner adopted and advocated by most archaeologists,” but claimed that he was constrained by the conditions of his firman, which required that he leave his excavated fields in the same state as he had found them.²⁸¹ But most scholars today doubt that Cesnola was present at “his” excavations. Still, he and his finds were at the center of scholarly debate about the Cypriot sculptural tradition, and, despite his lack of credentials, he himself played an important role in these discussions. Though Cesnola stayed mostly in Cyprus from 1865 to 1877, when he left to install his collection in New York, he made several trips to Paris and London, both to promote his collection and to meet with scholars. His correspondence with these men provides further evidence of his aggressive commercial ambitions—but also a genuine interest in serious scholarly archaeological discourse and opinion. He often invited professionals to contribute introductions and additions to his publications, thereby bolstering his own shaky reputation with those more qualified.²⁸²

Cesnola was on significantly better terms with scholars in London than with those in Paris.²⁸³ His relationship with French archaeologists often seem to have been strained. Specifically, he took offense at Perrot’s opinions of him and his finds. Cesnola reveals details of the feud in a letter to Schliemann in 1879:

²⁸¹ Cesnola, *Cyprus*, viii. He also finds an excuse in the fact that he was not provided with staff or public funds to sponsor his digs.

²⁸² Schliemann employed the same tactic, as Duesterberg, *Popular Receptions of Archaeology*, 297, points out: “Since Schliemann paid men like Sayce, Mahaffy, and Smith for their contributions to his work, he could at least for a certain time be assured of having them on his side and verifying and legitimising his findings.”

²⁸³ The differing national responses to amateur archaeologists—especially Schliemann—is discussed in *Ibid.*, 222: “Unlike other countries, Britain was much more liberal and open to amateurs in general and in the fields of antiquarianism and archaeology in particular. Consequently, public opinion about amateurs was positive, especially as the amateur was closely linked to the self-made man. This also has to be seen as one of the major reasons why Schliemann enjoyed such wide popularity in Britain...while in Germany he had to struggle hard to obtain acceptance.” Cesnola’s relatively warm reception in Britain as compared to his rejections in France and Germany add validity to this observation. Although Duesterberg is not concerned with American receptions, judging by Cesnola’s experience, one might add that the United States was similarly open to amateurs.

Do you know Ernest Renan, the greatest Savan of Europe? ...he is one of my *dearest* and *best* friends...As to Mr Perrot, if you meet him, tell him that his last or *third* article in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, on the discoveries in Cyprus, is both *untrustful*, *unjust*, and undeserved! That *I* say so. He regrets that my discoveries have not been made by an *architect*, an *archaeologist*, or a *man of science*! ...The men of sciences à le [sic] Perrot stop at every stone they meet, measure it carefully, but they pass by entire cities without seeing them!²⁸⁴

While Renan may not have considered Cesnola as one of *his* “dearest and best friends,” the two did keep an active correspondence in 1879, exchanging letters as they readied their respective publications—Cesnola his *Atlas* and Renan his major work on inscriptions.²⁸⁵

1880s: The British Establish New Archaeological Standards

Cypriot Archaeology Emerges as a Professional(izing) Field

The pace of archaeological activity slowed in the 1880s due to the British administration’s strict enforcement of new regulations. Amateur archaeologists arriving during this period were confronted with a different situation, and could no longer expect to profit from unauthorized digs. In an 1882 book, Cesnola’s brother, Alessandro Palma di Cesnola (1839-1914), described his difficulties getting antiquities off the island and explaining that “it is on this account that the reader will not find in the Lawrence-Cesnola collection many large monuments of the statuary class, such as my predecessors had been able to obtain. It was not because I did not find any, or made no researches for them; but I was unable to treat them like small articles which are easily

²⁸⁴ Correspondence reproduced in Masson, “Diplomates et amateurs d’antiquités à Chypre vers 1866-1878,” 152. Cesnola’s fight with Perrot did not escalate as Perrot simply refused to acknowledge Cesnola’s criticisms. Perrot and Chipiez’s 1885 book, which treated Cesnola’s material, contained no hint of malice. Marangou, *The Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola*, 130, provides further insight into Cesnola’s strained relationships: “Cesnola’s behaviour towards friends or others depended on how much he needed them. With the authorities of the British Museum and the Metropolitan he was always very correct, there was a continuous flow of praise and flattery; whereas his relations with the French often turned sour.”

²⁸⁵ See Olivier Masson, “Lettres de L. Palma di Cesnola à Ernest Renan (1879),” *CCEC* 9 (1988): 11–18; Olivier Masson, “Lettres de L. Palma di Cesnola à Ernest Renan (1879) suite,” *CCEC* 11 (1989): 41–44.

removed.”²⁸⁶ Indeed, comparing the experiences of the Cesnola brothers illustrates how significantly the field of Cypriot archaeology had changed from the 1870s to the 1880s.

Alessandro Cesnola had come to Cyprus from 1873 to 1874 to assist his brother, and though we can assume his duties were more concentrated on antiquities than on official governmental business, he was subsequently given the honorary title of American vice consul at Paphos. After studying in London, he returned to Cyprus, where he hoped to continue his archaeological research—this time, with scholarly credentials. But his activities were interrupted by the arrival of the British in the summer of 1878, at which point Alessandro gave up further efforts to form his own personal collection. He decided instead to lend his services to professionally sponsored digs—offering to excavate, for example, on behalf of the British Museum. Birch informed the trustees of Alessandro’s offer in August 1880.²⁸⁷ Birch viewed Alessandro as a useful agent, as he provided the museum with a means to complete Lang’s collection, but Birch had no departmental funds for excavations. In 1882, Alessandro appealed to Newton, again offering to excavate for the museum. Insisting on his qualifications, he reminded Newton that he he had lived on the island for some years (1873-79), was Luigi’s brother, knew the land and customs and many workmen, would try to get an “exhaustive and representative collection,” and would find statues equal to those his brother found at Dali and Athienou (Golgoi). Further, he wrote that on the north of the island he was “already finding headless statues almost similar to those in the New York museum.”²⁸⁸ He proposed to report to the

²⁸⁶ Alessandro Palma di Cesnola, *Salamina: The History, Treasures, and Antiquities of Salamis in the Island of Cyprus* (London: Trübner and Co., 1882), xviii.

²⁸⁷ Alessandro had also written directly to Newton with his proposal to excavate for the museum.

²⁸⁸ Correspondence, 18 September 1882, Original Letters 1879-1882, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

museum through journals and photographs, to begin excavations in October, and to finish in April. He also insisted on having an official position, perhaps to ground himself more firmly as a “real” rather than “amateur” archaeologist.

Still, the British Museum turned down his offer, again demonstrating—as they had already hinted in the late 1870s—that their vision of future archaeological research looked quite different from that proposed by men such as the Cesnolas. Rather than relying upon eager volunteers who happened to offer their services, the British Museum instead moved to enlist the expertise of individuals selected from archaeological societies and universities. Though the museum continued to face financial obstacles, in October 1881, when Newton encouraged trustees to apply to the treasury for funds to excavate at Sardis, he specified that if they should receive funds, some of the money should be allocated excavations in Cyprus.²⁸⁹ The trustees agreed to apply for 2,000 pounds. Though the funds took several years to gather, in 1886, Alexander Stuart Murray (1841-1904), a Scottish archaeologist and Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, reported on the state of excavations in Cyprus, “recommending provisions of 1,000 pounds in the estimates for 1887-8 for excavations in Cyprus.”²⁹⁰ In 1887, Murray, “recalling attention to the desirability of making excavations in Cyprus,” ensured that the same amount was provided in the estimates for the 1888-89 budget.²⁹¹ From this point onward, the British Museum regularly allocated money to Cypriot excavations, which were systematically published in reports and monographs beginning in the 1890s.

²⁸⁹ Internal Report, 8 Oct 1881, C 11 (vols. 39-41) January 1880-October 1883, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

²⁹⁰ Internal Report, 14 December 1886, C 12 (vols. 42-44) November 1883-April 1889, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

²⁹¹ Internal Report, 12 November 1887, C 12 (vols. 42-44) November 1883-April 1889, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

Indeed, with Britain's—and especially the British Museum's—initiative, the field of Cypriot archaeology underwent a series of important changes. Cypriot material that reached European museums in the 1880s arrived, more often than not, with a secure context. Reputable scholars thus developed a lasting interest in Cypriot antiquities. Scientifically motivated excavations were carried out by the British Museum and the newly established Cyprus Exploration Fund, and the founding of the Cyprus Museum at Nicosia in 1882—and its formal establishment in 1883—were turning points for the local relationship to antiquities. Pierides was instrumental in this development, though members of the Cypriot Muslim community who had followed similar movements in the Ottoman Empire to highlight local culture also served on the island's first Museum Committee.²⁹²

Though normally not considered in discussions of Cypriot archaeology—which instead revolve around Birch—Newton was, as Thomas Kiely has demonstrated, “by far the more dynamic figure...especially...when viewed from the perspective of museum-driven excavation which then dominated the emerging discipline of classical archaeology.”²⁹³ Newton's interest in Cyprus stemmed above all from an interest in locating the origins of the Archaic Greek sculptural style, but he also saw the potential for the British Museum to acquire significant material: “There is a corner of the Levant where no such obstacle would stand in the way of exploration

²⁹² Pierides's residence in Larnaca “was a living museum, as he exhibited there all his finds, and his opinion on archaeological matters was much respected.” Marangou, *The Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola*, 23. Pierides began collecting for his family's own private museum in 1839. Educated in London, he returned to Cyprus as a leading intellectual and, working with Lieutenant Horatio Herbert Kitchener (1850-1915), was responsible for establishing the Cyprus Museum in 1882. Ohnefalsch-Richter took credit for founding the museum, but Kitchener's role was likely more instrumental. See Stanley-Price, “The Ottoman Law on Antiquities (1874) and the Founding of the Cyprus Museum,” 270; and for the role of the Muslim community, see Stylianou-Lambert and Bounia, *The Political Museum*, 75–76; 81.

²⁹³ Thomas Kiely, “Charles Newton and the Archaeology of Cyprus,” *CCEC* 40 (2010): 233

undertaken by the British Government. That corner is the island of Cyprus, an island which, though as yet only cursorily examined, has proved so rich in antiquities that the Museum of New York has already been created out of its spoils.”²⁹⁴ Throughout the early 1880s Newton continued to take an interest in Cypriot stone sculpture donated to the museum and considered financing further excavations.²⁹⁵

The involvement of the British and Berlin museums in excavations improved the quality of research, but the responses of the British public—and above all, the French public—remained critical. Throughout the 1880s, the French and British spoke out against British scholars’ techniques and methods of excavation—or, as above, the lack of such work. These individuals felt that the British leaders were not doing enough to take advantage of their position on the island. In 1887, Cecil Harcourt Smith (1859-1944), a British archeologist and member of staff at both the British Museum and South Kensington Museum, and later director of the British School at Athens, voiced his concern about the British Museum’s supposed inaction.

Even where we have the opportunity of digging on our own soil, our impecunious condition is a hopeless bar. The instance of Cyprus is the most striking case in point. Ever since the British occupation of that island, application has been made again and again to the Treasury for a grant to excavate, but all to no purpose. In 1881 a small private subscription was placed at Mr. Newton’s disposal, which enabled him to procure an important representative collection of Cypriote pottery, but with this small exception

²⁹⁴ Charles T. Newton, *Essays on Art and Archaeology* (London: Macmillan, 1880), 372. We detect a hint of national competition in Newton’s words. Expressing dissatisfaction with England’s lack of initiative to explore major archaeological sites, he also wrote, “Why has England no Schliemanns?” *Ibid.*, 245.

²⁹⁵ In 1883, Newton reported on terracotta and stone figures from Ackna, given by Cobham. The same year, Sinclair, who had employed Ohnefalsch-Richter for excavations, asked the museum to finance the work instead. Newton did not give the matter much consideration, but Sinclair continued to write letters about the matter into 1884 and admonished Newton for failing to visit the island (though he had in 1879): “You have never done anything more about excavations for local English museums in Cyprus as you talked of doing when I saw you last year. You will remember that I told you that Government would waive all considerations if digging was undertaken by the BM, so that you have no excuse for not coming here.” Correspondence, 10 November 1884, Original Letters 1883-1885, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London. One explanation for Newton’s relative lack of interest was his impending resignation. Indeed, in 1885, he resigned, and was granted the maximum benefits for a former employee of the museum.

nothing was for a long time done. We neither dug ourselves nor permitted others to dig. At length in despair at this dog-in-the-manger policy the local government arranged to issue permits to private individuals to dig under certain conditions, and from that time till now the ancient sites have been scratched at by all kinds of speculators with whom scientific results were as a general rule neglected in favour of commercial considerations.²⁹⁶

Smith's frustration at the fact that "commercial considerations" were being placed above "scientific results" illustrates the shift that had taken place in archaeologists' priorities, but had not yet reached Cyprus, where amateurs, dealers, and agents were still active.

In November 1881, there was another complaint that the museum had not been doing enough digging on the island. Waddington, a member of the original French Mission to Cyprus in 1862, wrote: "How is it that since you are Lord and master of Cyprus, you have not begun excavations there? You ought to have dug up all the antiquities of the island by this time. We intend to do better than that in Tunis."²⁹⁷ Later, in 1885, Salomon Reinach (1858-1932), archaeologist and curator of France's national museums, compared the French situation in Tunisia to the British situation in Cyprus, casting an unfavorable opinion on the latter: "Tandis que la France a déjà dépensé plus de 100,000 francs pour entretenir des missionnaires en Tunisie et y faire exécuter des fouilles, l'Angleterre n'a presque rien fait pour Chypre. Elle n'y a même pas envoyé un archéologue chargé de relever les ruines qui sont à la surface du sol. Le Musée Britannique et le Musée de Kensington ont subventionné quelques travaux de peu d'importance."²⁹⁸ Reinach also supported others' critiques of the British, concluding that the

²⁹⁶ Cecil Smith, "Reports. Archaeology," *CR* 1, no. 1 (March 1887): 25.

²⁹⁷ Correspondence, 29 November 1881, Original Letters 1879-1882, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

²⁹⁸ The quoted text comes from a report published in 1885 and later compiled with others in Salomon Reinach, *Chroniques d'Orient: Documents sur les fouilles et découvertes dans l'orient hellénique de 1883 à 1890* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1891), 169.

“pillage” on Cyprus should end.²⁹⁹ Meanwhile, some focused their attacks on Cesnola, his methods, and even the authenticity of the objects themselves.

The Cyprus Exploration Fund I

From its inception in 1860 to the implementation of a temporary ban on excavations in 1878, Cypriot archaeology was the domain of amateur archaeologists. Even after 1880, self-proclaimed “professional” Cypriot archaeology had several false starts. In 1887, in response to a public and scholarly consensus that Britain had not accomplished sufficient archaeological investigations on Cyprus in the decade since obtaining administrative control of the island, the Cyprus Exploration Fund (CEF) was founded by English geographer Francis Henry Hill Guillemard (1852-1933). Conceived as a professional archaeological society in every way opposed to the amateur nature of the missions that had preceded it, the CEF promptly established contact with the British Museum’s trustees, enclosing a circular announcing the fund’s establishment, advertising its aim to carry out “regular and scientifically conducted researches,” and seeking the museum’s support and collaboration.³⁰⁰ The fund’s leaders argued that new “systematic archaeological researches” would be of the “greatest importance for the study of both Greek Art itself, and [its] foreign influences.”³⁰¹ The letter accompanying the circular indicated

²⁹⁹ “[H. Bulwer] se déclare opposé aux fouilles de speculation, entreprises par les particuliers: il signale la nécessité de les placer sous la conduite de savants de profession, et reconnait que l’intérêt de la science et de l’histoire doit, pour le moment, légitimer la cession d’une partie des antiquités que l’on pourra découvrir aux musées étrangers et aux institutions scientifiques qui voudront supporter la dépense des fouilles...Le pillage du sous-sol de Chypre doit prendre fin.” Ibid., 422. Reinach was pleased by the founding of the CEF. After 1888, the official digs carried out by the CEF were the focus of Reinach’s reporting, though he did continue to discuss some of Ohnefalsch-Richter’s excavations.

³⁰⁰ Correspondence quoted in Internal Report, 10 December 1887, C 12 (vols. 42-44) November 1883-April 1889, Central Archive, British Museum, London. The CEF was founded under the umbrella of the Society of the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, and several of the British Museum’s keepers were among its founding members.

³⁰¹ Correspondence, 10 December 1887, Original Papers 181 (vols. 83-85) November 1887-February 1889, Central Archive, British Museum, London. The letter continued, “Private and casual excavations at various sites have

that the British Museum would “naturally be regarded as having the right to a first choice” of objects unearthed by the CEF.³⁰² The trustees were enthused, responding,

The Trustees of the British Museum very much approve that effects should be made...to turn to account the opportunity now offered for carrying out systematically an exploration for antiquities in the island of Cyprus. The island is known to be rich in ancient monuments of various kinds, representing Phoenician as well as Greek art and history. They feel confidence that the sites selected for exploration by the Society will be carefully examined, with proper regard to the security of the objects brought to light, and that the objects themselves will be disposed of with due consideration for national interests...³⁰³

Gone were the days of haphazard digging and treasure hunting. The CEF’s emphasis on words such as “scientific” and “systematic” was echoed by the trustees, who emphasized their concern for the “security of the objects.” With financial support from the British Museum, the CEF appointed Ernest Gardner (1862-1939), an English classical archaeologist who had recently been named director of the British School at Athens, to direct excavations on Cyprus beginning in 1888.³⁰⁴ The British Museum acquired, studied, published, and displayed finds from this and subsequent seasons. Notably, the team published a series of reports in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, discussed in Chapter Two. Gardner’s older brother, Percy Gardner (1846-1937), an Oxford professor of classical archaeology, was also on the CEF committee and published important works likewise treated in the next chapter.

already yielded results of the greatest importance for the study both of Greek art itself and of the foreign influences which surrounded its cradle.”

³⁰² Source is a portion of the circular reproduced in “Explorations in Cyprus,” *Athenaeum* 3149 (March 3, 1888): 282, which introduced ongoing work on Cyprus and included an extract from the circular of the Cyprus Exploration Fund, “privately issued under sanction of the Council of the Hellenic Society.” The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies had initially formed the CEF (with funds given by the Hellenic Society and Oxford), and the British School at Athens wanted to contribute as well, on the condition that their current director, Ernest Gardner, was named leader of CEF’s excavations.

³⁰³ Draft of response quoted in Internal Report, 10 December 1887, C 12 (vols. 42-44) Nov 1883-April 1889, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

³⁰⁴ His brother Percy Gardner (1846-1937), an Oxford professor of classical archaeology, was also one the CEF committee.

While these developments would suggest that the CEF and the British Museum had ushered in a new era of professional archaeology on Cyprus, the amateurish habits of the previous decades continued to seep into the CEF's proclaimed "scientific" missions. For instance, interest in Cypriot archaeology still depended on the assumption that Cypriot art could reveal information about the origins and influences of Greek art. The CEF was, in other words, a Hellenocentric venture born of a philhellenic philosophy. Further, Cypriot antiquities were approached from an aesthetic and imperialist perspective, and objects were to be collected with an eye to "national interests," in consideration of the "opportunity now offered," as the trustees of the British Museum had clearly indicated. The CEF was expected to exploit British control of the island, locating museum-quality specimens that would enable the British Museum's Cypriot holdings to stand out from the other excellent national collections in New York, Paris, and Berlin that had been acquired in the 1860s and 1870s.

Cesnola's Restoration Scandal

Word of the British Museum's support of the CEF travelled quickly. In January 1888, Cesnola wrote to Murray: "I see that an exploration fund has been started for digging on Cyprus, and that you are one of its subscribers...I am happy to hear that, at last, an English Gentleman and a Scholar has been sent to Cyprus to excavate."³⁰⁵ Cesnola's comment reads as both praise and insult—while he was genuinely glad that British professionals had taken an interest in Cyprus, he was unhappy that it had taken so long. Although Cesnola doubtless considered himself both a professional and an expert in the field of Cypriot archaeology, his controversial

³⁰⁵ Correspondence, 11 January 1888, Original Letters 1888, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

restoration of his finds did much to damage his credibility. The unreliability of Cesnola's restorations meant that his finds—among the very best Cypriot sculpture ever recovered—were seen by some scholars as amateur trickery, pieced together from several different statues, or even outright forgery.³⁰⁶

Indeed, there is likely truth to both charges. Nearly all of the most “complete” or “exciting” works of Cypriot sculpture Cesnola found were in a fragmentary state.³⁰⁷ Cesnola's active imagination, along with his desire for fame and fortune, led him into problematic territory when it came to performing restoration work. In an effort to present the most magnificent statues, he was dishonest, manipulating parts as he saw fit to create the desired effect. The temptation to manufacture his own statues from many separate examples likely resulted from the aesthetic preferences of Cesnola's period—and simply reflected what types of ancient works of art did well on the market. In fact, the effects of this period aesthetic were already at play when Cesnola was collecting objects in the field. As an archaeologist working before the discipline in the modern sense existed, Cesnola's method of gathering or excavating finds was predictably and heavily biased.³⁰⁸ Instead of listing Cesnola's well-established faults, I highlight just one particular selection bias: his interest in heads and faces. Judging by their prevalence in the archaeological photographs, his publications, and the material both now and formerly housed at

³⁰⁶ Catherine Olien, “The Cypriot Fragment at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the Late 19th Century,” in *Ancient Cyprus Today*, ed. Bourogiannis and Mühlenbock, 31–41 provides further details.

³⁰⁷ The fragment, it seems, is especially fertile ground for scholars with a receptions-based methodology because it reveals a great deal about the process by which we react to and mold antiquity in order to construct our histories, our nations, and ourselves. See Elizabeth Pettejohn, *The Modernity of Ancient Sculpture: Greek Sculpture and Modern Art from Winckelmann to Picasso* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012); William J. Diebold, “The Politics of Derestoration: The Aegina Pediments and the German Confrontation with the Past,” *ArtJ* 54 (1995): 60–66; Evans, *The Lives of Sumerian Sculpture*; Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display*.

³⁰⁸ His methods have since been intensely and repeatedly criticized. For instance, see Balandier, “Cyprus, a New Archaeological Frontier in the XIXth Century.”

the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cesnola's collection method was skewed toward acquiring the heads of votaries from the temples and associated pits he excavated.

Here, he followed a practice established by his contemporaries digging on the island, whose behavior was similarly driven by aesthetic evaluations and preferences. In his first archaeological publication, Cesnola wrote, "The head, as my friend Mr. Ceccaldi remarked, is the only portion of the body to which the sculptor gave his particular attention."³⁰⁹ Cesnola collected stone heads above all, describing making his selection of those that were especially "magnificent," "colossal," and "fine." He paid little attention to describing—and presumably, collecting—other fragments, either in stone or terracotta. In his major publications, he consistently illustrated near complete specimens of limestone votary heads, but only rarely included other types of fragments. Finds such as pottery sherds, and portions of arms, torsos, and legs were not deemed important, or perhaps more accurately, they were not deemed valuable. Heads were easier to ship and quicker to sell, and Cesnola—on the hunt for the intoxicating, direct encounter with antiquity as well as treasure and profit—took what was most recognizable and most saleable to potential buyers.

There is truth to Cesnola's judgment that Cypriot sculptors focused above all on the heads or faces of their figures, often leaving the backs flat, rough, and unworked (fig. 22). Cypriot sculptural heads escaped the harsh criticism that scholars saved for the flat Cypriot torsos and could even stand alone (without bodies), much like Greek and Roman portrait busts, which doubtless also had a role in shaping taste for, and interest in, ancient faces. Cypriot heads were collected independently as well as in conjunction with fragmentary bodies, to which they were

³⁰⁹ Cesnola, *Cyprus*, 130.

later (re)joined. In order to make a statue truly stand out, it had to be repaired with its head or—as in many cases with objects in the Cesnola Collection—one that fit it reasonably well. We get a sense of this logic from the following passage, in which Cesnola addresses the imperfect state of preservation of a votary: “As with many of the others the head was found to be detached, but this was a small matter, since in course of time it could be firmly replaced.”³¹⁰ His confidence in repairing such “small matters” is perhaps troubling by today’s standards, but was—at first—a practice accepted among excavators, dealers, and those interested in buying or displaying Cypriot art in the period.

In 1873, the Metropolitan Museum of Art purchased the first of Cesnola’s two collections of antiquities and subsequently employed him to oversee their cleaning, restoration, and installation in the galleries. According to Cesnola, the trustees “spared no expense” in allowing him to reconstruct objects and prepare them for display. His restoration efforts, which had up until this point been limited to minor sculpted additions and joins, carried out in an effort to make his finds more attractive to potential buyers, began to be undertaken on a wider scale, in a workshop, with several assistants.³¹¹ It was at this time that he sought the advice and approval of museum professionals in matters of joining fragments and restoring their surfaces. He maintained an especially active correspondence with Birch at the British Museum, parts of which are

³¹⁰ Ibid., 143.

³¹¹ Closer inspection of several objects in the Cesnola Collection that were acquired by the Istanbul Archaeological Museum has since furnished additional evidence that Cesnola carried out some restoration work while still on Cyprus: “When closely examined, it becomes clear that some of the Cypriot material was wrongly restored by Cesnola. Cesnola made similar errors in his other collections. However the mistakes in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum were recognized and collected while he was still alive. Faults of restoration noticed in the Istanbul material are as follows: heads of some statues were combined with torsos of others; some hands were placed on wrong statues; the defects resulting from wrong restoration were covered over with plaster and paint.” Haluk Ergüleç, *Large-sized Cypriot Sculpture in the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul* (Göteborg: Åströms Förlag, 1972), 8.

instructive with regard to restoration as well as the treatment of fragments. For instance, in 1873

Cesnola wrote,

I have nearly finished the arrangement of my collection here...I have followed your advice, and joined the limbs to the statues, especially the feet...the great Priest (a Venus with beard) which holds the patera and bird, looks on this pedestal with its feet very handsomely. I do not believe that the climate of New York, has any bad effect upon the stones at all—at least so far—A German savan who was here a few days ago suggested to me the idea of oiling the statues; as it would preserve the surface and bring out the colors; I have done nothing however of course, and I would like to have your opinion about it. Upon a fragment I made this experiment, and no doubt so far as I can see, there would be a great improvement if is durable but I will do nothing until I have your valuable opinion whether it would be right to do so or not.”³¹²

Cesnola’s anxiety, or an eagerness to follow norms set by an institution such as the British Museum, is palpable. Yet, although the treatment of the “priest” or “Venus” mentioned here would become a major focus of critics in the next decade, judging from the tone of his letter, Cesnola was simply carrying out rather typical reconstruction practices—ones that may well have been endorsed by professionals at major institutions.

The results of these restorations were initially well received by at least one important member of the Cypriot archaeological community. In May 1872, Lang wrote a letter directed to the attention of the British Museum’s Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, praising Cesnola’s unique talents for transforming his statues in a way that would appeal to an American buyer: “He is busy making noses for the heads which want them and bringing all into an attractive statue for the Yankee antiquarian!! In this repairing pieces he is uncommonly clever and deserves richly all the profits which he makes.”³¹³ This crafting of noses, details of which

³¹² Correspondence, 28 June 1873, 1868-1881 CA-CHE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London.

³¹³ Correspondence, 10 May 1872, Original Letters (vol. 2) L-Z 1869-1872, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

emerged over a decade later when Cesnola was on trial for libel in 1884, is particularly fascinating for what it reveals about the diverse classification of Cypriot statues by ethnicity. One of Cesnola's assistants, a German carpenter named Thomas Gehlen, described the team's conception and creation of "national noses," or additions made to suit Cesnola's diagnostic categories of "Cypriote, Greek, Egyptian, or Assyrian" votives. Gehlen explains, "I made the nose to correspond to the nation of the figure to be restored...I adapted them as well as I could to the fragments on which I was working; if the fragments were of a Greek figure I put on a Greek nose."³¹⁴ More details about which type of figure called for which type of "national nose" are not available, but one might guess that the assignments were made based on clothing and head-gear worn by the statues.

In any case, Cesnola's work continued to impress Lang, who, in 1873, again wrote to the British Museum, this time to Birch, in praise of Cesnola's efforts: "The doctoring of the pieces was Cesnola's great talent but he inherited that gift with his Italian blood."³¹⁵ This is not to say that these efforts were "responsible," even by 1870s standards. Cesnola was above all concerned with the visual impact of the sculptures, not hesitating to pair fragments (or invent entirely new ones) that were visually convincing when joined, but in fact completely unrelated in terms of their archaeological context. He claimed to have excavated systematically, but because he was not consistently present at the digs he directed—and despite his claims to the contrary—one has to assume that specific findspot and other details would not have been recorded. His team of excavators, whom he employed as laborers rather than as fellow researchers, had no role in

³¹⁴ Elizabeth McFadden, *The Glitter and the Gold: A Spirited Account of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's First Director, the Audacious and High-handed Luigi Palma di Cesnola* (New York: Dial Press, 1971), 219–220.

³¹⁵ Correspondence, 1 February 1873, 1868-1881 Jones W- LE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London.

record keeping. The reality was, that back in New York, Cesnola solved the problem of abundant fragmentary material by simply joining statues that fit reasonably well, attempting to disguise his work as much as possible. Still, the antiquities had a relatively peaceful public reception—at first.

As the years went on, Cesnola faced increasingly harsh criticism. The results of his restorations were disappointing to many critics, and Cesnola's dishonesty about his actions made matters worse. He was attacked in a variety of publications and subjected to ridicule in cartoons.³¹⁶ Foremost among his critics were the French antiquarian and antiquities dealer Gaston L. Feuardent (1843-1893), and the American art critic Clarence Cook (1828-1900), who not only criticized his restorations, but even called into question the authenticity of many major works in the Cesnola Collection. The significance of these charges, cartoons, and pamphlets that accused Cesnola of trickery and forgery becomes clearer in the context of the processes of the professionalization of archaeology and archaeological restorations.

Beginning in the early nineteenth century, scholars, museum professionals and archaeologists began to place new value and emphasis on archaeological context and accuracy in reconstruction. By the end of the century, ideas concerning the appropriate “scientific” approach to excavation, restoration, and display had become widespread among American and European scholars. Seen against the backdrop of these new professional standards, Cesnola's work represented that of an amateur. Archaeology was no longer a place for amateurs—it was a professional pursuit. Cesnola is thus useful in the sense that he is a benchmark for indexing changes in the field. He boldly and heavily restored his collection of fragments at a time when the

³¹⁶ See Marangou, *The Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola*, 297–329. For a robust bibliography of the “Cesnola Controversy,” see Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 517–18.

trend was to leave objects unrestored—the most relevant example here being the Parthenon marbles, which, even after a parliamentary review in 1857 were left alone to exist in their fragmented, incomplete state of perceived perfection.³¹⁷ When joins or reconstructions were made, celebrated artists were often employed, as had been the case with the Aegina marbles, reconstructed in 1816 by the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen (1797-1838). The resulting work, a combination of ancient and contemporary, was thus seen to have merit in its own right.³¹⁸ As E. Gardner summarized, “Until within quite recent years, the first thing to be done, upon the discovery of any portion of an ancient statue which seemed considerable enough to be worth preserving at all, was to hand it over to a restorer. Many excellent sculptors, from Michel Angelo to Thorvaldsen, have undertaken this work. But though the result may in cases be of high artistic value, from the point of view of the students of art history the process is in all cases equally disastrous.”³¹⁹ The shift in approach to restoration had thus changed a great deal in the nineteenth century—and was intimately tied to similar shifts taking place inside the museum, whereby the fragment began to be treated as a source of archeological information rather than a collector’s item or an incomplete artwork. As Göran Blix writes, “Overall, this shift in perception can be

³¹⁷ See Jenkins, *Archaeologists and Aesthetes*, 29. Artists did continue to produce “hypothetical reconstructions,” however—though these were simply imaginative drawings and did not have an impact on the actual state of the object. These suggestions could nevertheless cause controversy. See Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display*, especially 115, for a discussion of the real and hypothetical restorations of the Pergamon Altar by French and German scholars and artists. Evans, *The Lives of Sumerian Sculpture*, 78, adds that even after certain hypothetical reconstructions have been disproven, “visual reconstructions of the past survive longer than the ideas that they were originally meant to support.” Cesnola’s restorations fit within the norms of his time, but because of their invasive and irreversible nature, survive to the present day and cannot be undone, though they have since fallen out of favor. Elizabeth Prettejohn, “Reception and Ancient Art: The Case of the Venus de Milo,” in *Classics and the Uses of Reception*, ed. Charles Martindale and Richard F. Thomas (Malden: Blackwell, 2006), 235, argues that the decision to leave the Venus de Milo unrestored “helped to initiate a new taste for the fragmentary and time-worn.”

³¹⁸ “These creations, bearing the stamp of both ancient and modern tastes, were highly charged objects, unique signs of wealth, power, and social position—in a word, virtù.” Howard, *Antiquity Restored*, 21.

³¹⁹ Ernest Gardner, *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture* (London: Macmillan, 1897), 9. This publication is treated in detail in Chapter Two.

characterized as the transition from a purely aesthetic gaze to a historicizing gaze: the excavated fragment—be it a ruin, a statue, an inscription, a coin, or a vase—was formerly viewed chiefly as an art object, to be appreciated for its aesthetic merit...In the nineteenth century, the fragment began to be viewed increasingly as a monument, a document, or clue, in short, as a memorial device which furnished historical evidence about the past.”³²⁰

It was against this backdrop that, in 1880, Feuardent issued his first major charge against Cesnola, in a piece entitled “Tampering with Antiquities,” run by the *Art Amateur*. Feuardent outlined what he considered to be standards for honesty and authenticity in handling restorations. These were, nevertheless, relatively new principles. For instance, he drew attention to the necessity of transparency and signage when restorations had been made to objects on display in museums: “It is indeed a fundamental principle that no matter how or where a restoration is made, it must be indicated without reserve on the antique object.”³²¹ Considering that object labels were by no means universal in Western museums by this date, this was a bold request. He was likewise clear and firm when it came to the role ancient objects should play in the construction of knowledge: “Antiquities, especially of this class, need not be ‘beautified;’ they are only valuable because they teach us the customs and manners of the people who made them, and they must be absolutely trustworthy in the information they give.”³²² To borrow the language of Ian Jenkins in his analysis of the contemporary, similarly tension-ridden situation in the British Museum, it seems that Feuardent took the side of the more serious, emerging “archaeologist,” rather than the “aesthete,” who believed the museum was a place to appreciate, promote, and

³²⁰ Göran Blix, *From Pompeii to Paris: French Romanticism and the Cultural Politics of Archaeology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 9.

³²¹ Gaston L. Feuardent, “Tampering with Antiquities,” *Art Amateur* 3 (1880): 48.

³²² *Ibid.*, 50.

produce neo-classical values and ideals of beauty.³²³ Feuardent's closing attack on Cesnola

focused on his faulty handling of ancient fragments, insinuating he had committed "vandalism":

In fixing together fragments which are honestly believed to have belonged to each other, good work may be done; though it is important to indicate the condition of the object when found, to prevent any possible misconception. But to amalgamate various pieces, strangers to each other, in order to complete an object, and not publicly to indicate it, is not only bad faith, but positive vandalism. To endeavor to increase interest in a collection by deceptive alterations or restorations can only be called a miscalculation, a profanation, or a fraud.³²⁴

Feuardent thus called for a rigorous discrimination on the part of the restorer, to join only pieces that would originally have been part of one sculpture, and took a strong stance against dishonesty and irresponsibility in restorations. By extension, in naming Cesnola's shortcomings, and doubting the validity of his restorations, Feuardent effectively declared the Cesnola Collection to be fraudulent, and Cesnola a vandal.

The charges against Cesnola continued in 1882, when Cook published a short book entitled "Migrations and Transformations of Certain Statues in the Cesnola Collection," making a tight case against Cesnola's restorations and their various phases. "These fragments," wrote Cook, "if left untouched, would still have possessed a certain archaeological value, but the cruel and ignorant treatment to which they have been subjected has deprived them of all scientific value whatever. As for artistic value, they never had any."³²⁵ Straddling the line between the "archaeologists" and "aesthetes," Cook ultimately asserted that Cesnola's fragments were valueless to either camp. Elsewhere in the publication, however, Cook's arguments extended far beyond the restorations—he sought to prove that Cesnola had also falsified information regarding

³²³ See Jenkins, *Archaeologists and Aesthetes*.

³²⁴ Feuardent, "Tampering with Antiquities," 50.

³²⁵ Clarence Cook, *Migrations and Transformations of Certain Statues in the Cesnola Collection* (New York: G. L. Feuardent, 1881), 37.

findspot for a majority of his objects, and had even been tricked into buying forgeries made by locals. An associated pamphlet, “Migrations and Transformations of a Statue in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, numbered 39 in the Catalogue,” illustrated a bearded votary—headless in all but one of five instances—that received particularly shocking treatment in Cesnola’s workshop (fig. 23).³²⁶ Here, it was not only the public whom Cook perceived as the victim of Cesnola’s methods—rather, the ancient fragments and statues themselves were victimized, suffering disastrous makeovers and botched procedures reminiscent of Frankenstein that utterly fail in their attempts to restore the sculptures to their original glory.

Feuardent’s efforts to discredit Cesnola likewise continued into 1881, when he circulated several “cards,” or short, illustrated pamphlets, which drew attention to Cesnola’s inconsistent accounts and problematic, ever-changing sculptures (fig. 24). Early in the next year, the debate between Cesnola and his critics inspired something of a public spectacle, to say nothing of the public interest and coverage that later ensued when Feuardent brought Cesnola to trial on charges of libel in 1883. In an effort to dispel the rumors, the trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art removed two sculptures (the “Aphrodite and Eros” and “Figure holding a horned head”), and—placing them “on special exhibition” under “special light”—invited a committee of sculptors to inspect them and ascertain that they were authentic and their restorations proper. An 1882 article from *The New York Tribune* provides an abundance of detail. The sculptor Robert Ellin and his assistants report that they came to the museum with “hammer, chisel, and files” and were

³²⁶ Clarence Cook, “Migrations and Transformations of a Statue in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, numbered 39 in the Catalogue,” 1882.

“allowed to wash, cut and file those two statues” to their “hearts’ content.”³²⁷ The quest for “truth” had clearly come to overshadow the importance or care of the sculptures themselves.

One aspect of the report includes a particularly interesting question and response regarding the aesthetics and “origins” of Cypriot sculpture. The reporter asked, “It is alleged that the different parts of these statues are not of proportion...If the statues are monoliths how do you account for this?” and the sculptor Launt Thompson replied, “Why, Art was in a very primitive state between the Egyptian and Phoenician periods, to which these statues belong, and a great many of these works are, of course, badly modelled...in New York, may be seen many statues which do not observe the strictest laws of proportion.”³²⁸ The mixed or “primitive” style of Cypriot sculptures is again highlighted, as it was in major survey texts of the time (treated in Chapter Two), but functions here as a defense of their irregular appearance and authenticity rather than an assertion of their shortcomings. Ultimately, the sculptors ruled unanimously in favor of Cesnola, whose job was further protected by the trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The trustees could do little to protect Cesnola from attack in the press, however, and in addition to articles appearing in *The New York Times* and *The New York Tribune* in 1881-82, a series of cartoons was published in 1882-83, with two appearing in *Puck*, a popular New York journal. The first, appearing on the cover, uses the Cesnola scandal and the trope of the deceitful restorer of antiquities to make a political commentary in addition to attacking Cesnola’s methods and objects (fig. 25). The second pokes fun at Cesnola’s failure to restore his objects in a

³²⁷ “The Cesnola Statues,” *The New York Tribune*, 23 April 1882, 2.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*

convincing way, naming him an “Injured and Innocent Restorer” standing between two wildly different statues, commenting, “I can’t understand what all this fuss is about, gentlemen. I don’t see any difference between these two statues (fig. 26)!”³²⁹ The final cartoon provides a humorous glimpse into Cesnola’s atelier, where he is busy crafting a lumpy “masterpiece” from spare fragments, using Greek statues, shown against the wall, as his inspiration (fig. 27). If Cesnola’s was not already a household name after his celebrated find at Golgoi in 1870, judging by the amount of fun the press had with him in the mid-1880s, it seems to have become one after his scandals and trial.

In the professional sphere, criticism against Cesnola continued to mount. An 1885 report prepared by William J. Stillman (1828-1901), a journalist and historian, was damaging for Cesnola and his collection.³³⁰ Stillman conceded that the objects unearthed by Cesnola were impressive, but that they were useless to students for three reasons:

First: By a deplorable recklessness of attribution as to the localities of discovery, which make it quite impossible to determine the place in the general archaeology of Cyprus to which the several pieces can be assigned; Second: By evident repairs and alterations in certain pieces, and a thorough system of concealment of the original surfaces of others... which makes it impossible to decide whether they have, or have not, undergone similar alterations; and, Third: By attributions which assign an important part of the Collection to a single deposit, although the evidence, both internal and external, points indisputably to the non-existence of the supposed deposit.³³¹

Clearly the positive attention that Cesnola had enjoyed in the 1870s did not last through the 1880s, as archaeologists began to view Cesnola’s behavior in a new light by comparison with

³²⁹ “Anomalies of Archaeology,” *Puck*, 28 November 1883.

³³⁰ See Marangou, *The Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola*, 337–44. For more on Stillman, see Stephen L. Dyson, *The Last Amateur: The Life of William J. Stillman* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014). For details on the similarly tense relationship between Stillman and Schliemann, see Duesterberg, *Popular Reception of Archaeology*, 303.

³³¹ Reproduced in Marangou, *The Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola*, 337.

their own professional standard. Other high-profile archaeologists agreed with Stillman. David George Hogarth (1862-1927), a British archaeologist and director of the British School at Athens who worked on both Cyprus and Crete, wrote in 1889, “The truth of the matter seems to be that [Cesnola] seldom directed his excavations in person, and was not present when the treasures were found; he undertook some rapid tours about the island...but his collection was amassed by the labours of his dragoman Besh-besh.”³³² By accusing Cesnola of being absent from his own excavations, Hogarth raised serious doubts about the validity of Cesnola’s reports and publications. By 1888, things were looking bleak for Cesnola. Speaking of his experiences on Cyprus, he disclosed to Murray:

My dear Mr. Murray, I assure you on my word of honor as a gentleman and honest man, that more than once I regretted that I have been Consul there, and made any discoveries!!! I have been abused by scoundrels...in such a way, that my life has become unbearable. For the last three years however the great success of this installation has shut the mouth of my detractors, and as many friends here say, I am building for myself a monument which will remain forever after I am dead and gone.³³³

Though beaten down, Cesnola attempted to maintain an optimistic note.

While his position at the Metropolitan Museum of Art was secure, his reputation in the scholarly circles of Cypriot archaeology was in tatters. Scholars became increasingly distrustful of his publications and finds, and avoided discussing and illustrating them. The scandal caused by Cesnola’s restorations thus had a major impact on the reception of Cypriot sculpture in the 1890s and beyond. As Cesnola’s failings as an archaeologist, a scholar, and a curator of objects were brought to light, the Cesnola Collection became an embarrassment for the Metropolitan Museum

³³² Quoted in Goring, *A Mischievous Pastime*, 11–12.

³³³ Correspondence, 11 January 1888, Original Letters 1888, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London. He wrote a very similar letter to Schliemann in May 1886, reproduced in Marangou, *The Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola*, 68.

of Art. It was slowly moved off display and later (in 1928) partially deaccessioned. European scholars viewed discussing Cesnola's finds as a liability, and by 1900, these objects were dropped from the surveys within which they had previously featured so prominently.

Ohnefalsch-Richter's Finds and Approach

After learning about the discoveries of Cesnola and others Ohnefalsch-Richter came to Cyprus in 1878, hoping to find work as a photographer, and stayed—with few interruptions—until 1890.³³⁴ He began digging in 1879, just after the British administration allowed such activities to recommence. *The Graphic*, a British weekly newspaper, printed a short notice on Ohnefalsch-Richter's discoveries soon thereafter, in 1880, calling them “antiquarian curiosities.”³³⁵ Throughout his time on Cyprus Ohnefalsch-Richter was plagued by financial concerns, and was forced to sell small groups of objects to many separate collections rather than selling his full collection to any one institution.³³⁶

It became even more difficult for non-British nationals to dig after the British government began selecting which excavations had priority, and Ohnefalsch-Richter often had to find a British partner. He dug for private individuals in addition to museums. For instance, he worked with the antiquities dealer Henry Hoffmann (1823-1897) and for British Colonel Falkland G. E. Warren (1834-1908), assistant commissioner of Larnaca, and later, chief secretary to the government in Nicosia.³³⁷ He also carried out work for Charles F. Watkins, manager of the

³³⁴ For an overview of Ohnefalsch-Richter, his contacts, publications, and excavations, see Hartmut Matthäus, “Max Ohnefalsch-Richter und die Anfänge wissenschaftlicher Archäologie auf der Insel Zypern,” in *Zypern und der Vordere Orient*, ed. Rogge, 115–51; Hans Günter Buchholz, “Max Ohnefalsch-Richter als Archäologe auf Zypern,” *CCEC* 11 (1989): 3–28. For a contemporary's view, see Reinach, *Chroniques d'Orient*, 169–70.

³³⁵ “Antiquities in Cyprus,” *The Graphic*, December 15, 1880, 653. Illustrated are “ornaments and lamps.”

³³⁶ Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, 9: “Ich hatte mich schon der Wissenschaft zu Liebe in Schulden gestürzt.”

³³⁷ Warren served as a sponsor and agent for various archaeologists and digs from 1878, when he arrived on the island, until 1890. He knew little of archaeology and did not necessarily dig himself, but served as a go-between for

Imperial Bank on Cyprus and Swedish Consul from 1887 to 1895, who eventually brought Warren to trial, accusing him of withholding profits made from Ohnefalsch-Richter's work that were due to him.

In the late nineteenth century, photography emerged as an increasingly important medium for recording objects—and, to a lesser extent—excavations. Though some photographs had been taken in Cyprus in the 1870s, technical advances in the 1880s made it easier to use and less expensive. Warren and Ohnefalsch-Richter were among the most avid users of this technology.³³⁸ Their work and finds are thus well documented.³³⁹ Objects uncovered during excavations were photographed in makeshift storehouses, grouped and stacked atop one another or laid tightly side by side so that many objects could appear in one frame. Whether this was to save on costs of development or simply to make the finds appear more numerous and exciting is unclear. For instance, Warren appears next to rows of limestone votives at Tamassos in 1885, providing insight into how the team sorted and photographed finds before their sale (fig. 28).³⁴⁰ As with Colonna-Ceccaldi and Cesnola, Ohnefalsch-Richter and his agents appear to have favored collecting and photographing heads above other types of fragments. Heads were also

locals and amateur archaeologists with collectors and museums. For more on Warren, see Olivier Masson, “Le colonel Falkland Warren à Chypre, 1878-1890,” *CCEC* 12 (1989): 29–34. Much of Warren's collection ended up at the British Museum after his death. See Frederick Norman Pryce, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum, Volume I Part II: Cypriote and Etruscan* (London: British Museum, 1931), 2–3.

³³⁸ In January 1894, Ohnefalsch-Richter outlined a budget and plans for excavation for the Royal Museums of Berlin, with expenses including his own travel, book shipment, photography supplies, labor, horses, digging supplies—some of which could be borrowed, he specified—land rental and contracts, labor of himself and his assistant, his own travels, and reserve funds. In total, he asked for 26598.40 Marks, allotting a substantial portion of this amount to the transport of his photography supplies from Germany to Cyprus. Internal Report, 8 January 1894, Z 1106, Archives of the Altes Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

³³⁹ These images are preserved in the archives of the Altes Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. References to individual files in which featured photographs appear are given in the figures section.

³⁴⁰ For a recent analysis of the material from this site, see Nys and Recke, “Craftsmanship and the Cultural / Political Identity of the Cypriote Kingdoms.”

photographed individually, from a variety of angles, as demonstrated by two images of the same limestone head from the 1889 excavations at Tamassos (fig. 29). Photographic evidence of this kind, taken while the objects were still on Cyprus, may also have protected Ohnefalsch-Richter from the accusations Cesnola faced about fabricating finds and manufacturing statues.

Other photographs show Ohnefalsch-Richter's team of local laborers. These images were taken on site, as trenches were dug, and include people, either actively engaged in some form of work or posing alongside trenches and finds. These human figures may have served to establish a sense of scale, or to display the efficient and impressive local labor the archaeologists commanded. One photograph (also from the excavations at Tamassos in 1889) shows nearly twenty workers in a field, some in action, with others overseeing the work (fig. 30). Laborers preparing finds for transport appear in another photograph from the same dig and season (fig. 31). Finally, one carefully staged image from the 1885 season shows a workman (labeled Loiso) standing over the head of a terracotta statue known as the "Kolossos of Tamassos," his gaze inclined down to the top of the statue and his face at an angle identical to that of the statue (fig. 32). A plate from Ohnefalsch-Richter's publication, showing an excavation sponsored by the Cyprus Museum at Voni in 1883, offers the full spectacle to the viewer: the excavation field, transporting of finds, and a view into their temporary storage tent, perhaps where photography of objects was carried out (fig. 33).

Ohnefalsch-Richter also worked for the British Museum (beginning in 1882), the newly founded Cyprus Museum (in 1884), and the Berlin Museums (beginning in 1888), and most of

his finds ended up in these three institutions.³⁴¹ He seems to have been the only archaeologist with whom the Berlin Museums dealt directly, and as he represented Germany's primary connection to the island, the relationship was a fruitful one for both parties.³⁴² Ohnefalsch-Richter's relationship with the British Museum, on the other hand, was tense. The museum faulted him for interfering in their excavations, and most of the staff wanted little to do with him, but he was too important—and too useful—to be ignored. Though, like Lang and Cesnola, he hoped for more direct support from Newton and the British Museum to further his career, it was not forthcoming. In 1882, he voiced his complaints to Arthur Hamilton Smith (1860-1941), an assistant in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, giving us a fuller view of his situation:

Today I received a letter from Mr. Cobham, that I have to begin again at September. I am paid very badly and perfectly without any security to receive the small salary of ten Pounds the month. July and August I was without appointment and I worked hardly to finish the studies, drawings, water-colours, photographs, etc. I have done it and I will continue to work having too much interest in these studies. I received now some support by my uncle, Geheimer Regierungsrat Professor Ordinarius, Dr. Julius Kuehn at Halle. I am obliged to accept it. I beg to speak with your friends, specially if possible with C. T. Newton, that a serious work in a larger scale can be go on. I will do my best to satisfy also the first archaeologists. The German Archaeological Institute of Berlin has made me member.³⁴³

The disappointment—and the tone taken by Ohnefalsch-Richter, seeking to prove his worth—can be explained by aspects of his personality. Indeed, some scholars—most especially the British—

³⁴¹ Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, 6–7: “Die Hauptmasse aller Funde gelangte durch meine Vermittelung nach dem ich selbige vergeblich in London angeboten hatte, nach Berlin in das Antiquarium der Königlichen Museen.”

³⁴² The Berlin Museum dealt mainly with dealers and agents, and by 1885, they had begun to devote resources to Cypriot excavations.

³⁴³ Letter of 26 August 1882 Reproduced in Léon Fivel, “Lettre de Max Ohnefalsch-Richter à A. H. Smith, 1912,” *CCEC* 21 (1994): 24.

perceived Ohnefalsch-Richter to be strange and unfriendly, overly confident in his work.³⁴⁴ In 1883, the *Cyprus Herald* even published a series of poems poking fun at him.³⁴⁵ His personal peculiarities may explain why he had such a difficult time establishing a connection with the British Museum staff, both on Cyprus and abroad.

Ohnefalsch-Richter's two most significant discoveries of Cypro-Archaic limestone sculpture took place at Dali, where he carried out excavations in 1883 and again in 1888-89, and at Tamassos in 1885. During his 1883 excavation at Dali, he offered his finds to many museums—including those in Paris, London, and Berlin—just as Cesnola had, saving a portion for display in the Cyprus Museum. In 1884, the excavation was transferred to Watkins. While digging for Warren in 1885, Ohnefalsch-Richter located a temple filled with Archaic votives at Tamassos, later acquired by the British Museum.³⁴⁶ Its discovery—and Ohnefalsch-Richter's lack of transparency about what he was collecting—ushered in the beginning of a series of legal difficulties between Watkins, Warren, Ohnefalsch-Richter, and the British authorities. Warren expressed his frustration about the situation in a letter to Newton.³⁴⁷ Watkins, feeling cheated by

³⁴⁴ Matthäus, “Max Ohnefalsch-Richter und die Anfänge der Archäologie auf Zypern,” 146, offers the following clarification: “Was die Persönlichkeit Ohnefalsch-Richter angeht, auch das Verhältnis zu seinen Zeitgenossen, so war er, wie seine publizierten Schriften und seine Korrespondenz beweisen, ein Exzentriker und Egomane, von der Bedeutung seiner Person und seiner Arbeiten über jedes Maß hinaus eingenommen, dazu ein Mann, der Kontroversen nicht nur nicht gescheut, sondern mit hoher Begeisterung gesucht hat, Kontroversen, die er gerade auch mit seiner britischen Kollegen ausgetragen hat.”

³⁴⁵ 10 December 1883, by a correspondent for the *Cyprus Herald*: “Dear Sir, / So excavating’s all the fashion! / And you yourself have not escaped the passion! / I, too, have digged, and it has been my fate / To find a Work of Art that wants a date: — / An interesting object, but whose history / And time of birth for me aren’t wrap’t in mystery [...] / RSVP Believe me, Mr. Herald, / Yours truly, Papadóoulos Fitzgerald.” 17 December 1883, by the editor of the *Cyprus Herald*: “It looks such an excellent thing to make porridge in / I should rather have deemed it of Scotch than Greek origin. / While my friend Dr. Obesalz Dichter declares / With that look of deep wisdom he frequently wears, / While pronouncing it antique without hesitation, / ‘Off the motern it is a most kross imidashun.” Both reproduced in Michael Given, “The Fight for the Past: Watkins vs. Warren (1885-6),” 256.

³⁴⁶ These objects were formally acquired by the British Museum in 1910, at the time of Warren's death, having been on a loan from him since 1886.

³⁴⁷ “While excavating for me at Tamassos, while paid by me and with workmen paid by me Ohnefalsch-Richter found this temple, kept it secret from me but wrote to Mr. Watkins, as he paid him better. I found this out and as the

both Warren and Ohnefalsch-Richter, sued Warren in 1885/86.³⁴⁸ Ohnefalsch-Richter became frightened, fearing legal expenses he could little afford, and attempted instead to connect directly with the British Museum. But tensions then arose between Murray and Ohnefalsch-Richter, as the latter did not always follow the protocol of giving the British Museum first refusal of objects.³⁴⁹ Murray was troubled by Ohnefalsch-Richter's continuous correspondence with Germany, worrying that he might not deal fairly.³⁵⁰ Perhaps in response to Ohnefalsch-Richter's offer to sell his finds to the Berlin Museums, beginning in October 1887, private excavators were, "officially forbidden to excavate in the island."³⁵¹

In 1887, a sale of the Hoffman-Ohnefalsch-Richter collection was held at the Hôtel Drouot where Cesnola had sold a collection in 1870. Reinach's commentary on the sale demonstrates how expectations for archaeological research were shifting, and that Ohnefalsch-Richter and the British government were failing to meet them:

La vente, faite à l'Hôtel Drouot...a produit de brillants résultats, ce dont on peut féliciter les commanditaires des fouilles; mais, au point de vue scientifique, il n'y a pas lieu de s'en réjouir...les prix élevés obtenu par quelques objets...auront pour résultat d'encourager les fouilles hâtives, sinon clandestines, inspirées uniquement par l'appât du gain...Il est impossible que le gouvernement ou, à défaut, le public anglais ne finisse point par s'émouvoir d'un état de choses que l'on ne manquerait pas d'appeler scandaleux

place within his permit ordered him to continue the excavations for me. He found the temple on the 4th of October, I got all the antiquities to Nicosia by the 1st of November 1885. On the 17th of November, he drew up a document handing his rights to Mr. Watkins who sued me in court." The source is a letter from Warren to Newton in 1866 quoted in Mathias Recke, "Deutschland und das antike Zypern: Beiträge zur Geschichte einer archäologischen Disziplin," *CCEC* 42 (2012): 86–116.

³⁴⁸ See Michael Given, "The Fight for the Past: Watkins vs. Warren (1885-6)."

³⁴⁹ Cobham reported on these fears in November 1886 when he wrote about the importance of Ohnefalsch-Richter's tombs at Politis Chyrsochon, saying that Ohnefalsch-Richter had offered the objects to museums of Germany, but that the laws were on the museum's side (as it was to have first refusal in accordance with the laws of Italy and Greece). Correspondence, 16 November 1886, Letter Book 1880-1896, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

³⁵⁰ Murray had requested that Cobham continue to report on the situation, and as the situation became increasingly tense, Ohnefalsch-Richter's excavations were finally banned in 1887. Correspondence, 17 September 1887, Letter Book 1880-1896, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

³⁵¹ Murray reported this change to the trustees. Internal Report, 12 November 1887, C 12 (vols. 42-44) November 1883-April 1889, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

si la Porte était encore la maitresse de Chypre.³⁵²

Despite criticism from all sides, Ohnefalsch-Richter continued to dig. In December 1888, he discovered a “sanctuary of Aphrodite” at Dali, followed by a “temple of Apollo” at the same site in 1889. Ohnefalsch-Richter wrote to Murray of these events, mentioning the work of the Cyprus Exploration Fund, and the fact that many prominent German and British scholars and societies also wanted to dig in Cyprus.³⁵³ He proposed the possibility of “joint excavations” carried out by English and German teams, and that Gardner or any English scholar could be chief-superintendent.³⁵⁴ This proposal was ignored, and the relationship between Ohnefalsch-Richter and the British Museum continued to be difficult rather than cooperative, with Ohnefalsch-Richter challenging excavations—even those sponsored by his native Germany—in which he was not included. For example, In February 1889, Murray informed the trustees that permission had been given to the Berlin Museums to dig at Idalium, while “it had been understood that the Cyprus Exploration Fund had the sole privilege of excavating on the island.”³⁵⁵ This report set off a chain of conflicts involving the Principal Librarian, the Colonial Office, the Secretary of State, and the High Commissioner. In April 1889, the British suspended further excavation by Germans in Idalium, and action was taken to modify the agreement between foreign institutions and the

³⁵² Reinach, *Chroniques d’Orient*, 359.

³⁵³ In this letter Ohnefalsch-Richter also discussed other topics, including Idalion, and Lang’s sanctuary of Apollon-Besef.

³⁵⁴ Correspondence, 17 December 1888, Original Letters 1888, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

³⁵⁵ Internal Report, 9 March 1889, C 12 (vols. 42-44) November 1883-April 1889, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

British Government of the Island to reconsider the whole question of allowing foreign parties the right to dig.³⁵⁶

These events seem to have strengthened rather than weakened German involvement on the island. In 1889, after purchasing selections from among Ohnefalsch-Richter's finds of 1887 and 1888, the Berlin Museums began to direct resources to sponsor Cypriot excavations—offering up to 5,000 marks—and allowed Ohnefalsch-Richter to lead them. That same year, the museum gave Ohnefalsch-Richter a credit of 1000 marks to purchase Cypriot works, specifically from Tamassos, and, upon request, a further 800 marks was given for the same purpose. About 800 objects entered Berlin's collection in this way. Adolf Furtwängler (1853-1907), an assistant director of the Königliches Museum, supported the expansion of the Cypriot collection and had, in 1884, visited Ohnefalsch-Richter on Cyprus.³⁵⁷ Ohnefalsch-Richter was likewise visited by Wilhelm Dörpfeld (1853-1940), a prominent German archaeologist, on Cyprus in February 1890.³⁵⁸ Thus, though his credibility and qualifications were questioned by many, he nevertheless enjoyed an impressive network of scholars, including the best German archaeologists of the day.

³⁵⁶ Internal Report, 13 April 1888, C 12 (vols. 42-44) November 1883-April 1889, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

³⁵⁷ This information would seem to challenge the following view by Joan Mertens: "Adolf Furtwängler, the leading figure in the study of Greek sculpture during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, showed no interest in Cypriot sculpture," Hermary and Mertens, *The Cesnola Collection of Cypriot Art*, 99. Though this statement appears in the context of Furtwängler's lack of interest in the Cesnola Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, it nevertheless seems to be an overly broad generalization: "From his visit to the Cesnola Collection, he noted only the Amathus sarcophagus (which, he said, should be better published), the anthropoid sarcophagus of Kition, and, curiously, the group with a mother giving birth (Cat. 279)," Ibid.

³⁵⁸ Olivier Masson, "Les visites de Max Ohnefalsch-Richter à Kouklia (Ancienne-Paphos), 1890 et 1910," *CCEC* 3 (1985): 19-28.

1890s: The Reign of Amateurs Ends

Mounting Criticism of Cesnola and Ohnefalsch-Richter

Percy Gardner (1846-1937), an English classical archaeologist, numismatist, and professor at Oxford, was one of Cesnola's toughest critics. Gardner placed very little trust in Cesnola's 1877 book, calling it "misleading and worthless."³⁵⁹ He feared that, because of Cesnola's actions, "A great opportunity has been missed, and harm of a quite irreparable character done to the cause of history."³⁶⁰ He was persuaded that Cypriot art was important, but problematic because of the circumstances surrounding its excavation. "The materials of knowledge were being shipped out of the island in abundance, but knowledge was not distilled from them; and it seemed as if ignorance were likely to retain forever the field of Cyprian antiquity."³⁶¹ Although, like Gardner, many archaeologists had a real interest in Cyprus, the lack of secure, contextual knowledge about its antiquities troubled them deeply. They believed the amateurs were to blame. A dispute between Murray and Ohnefalsch-Richter demonstrates how the perception of amateur archaeologists was changing at this moment. In 1891, Ohnefalsch-Richter informed the museum that he hoped to offer "a course of lectures on Cyprian Art" at the museum, reminding the staff of his contributions to their collections.³⁶² Murray informed the trustees that Ohnefalsch-Richter was "not qualified to lecture on the subject mentioned," and the trustees subsequently denied his application.³⁶³

³⁵⁹ Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, 175.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*

³⁶² Internal Report, 11 June 1891, C 13 (vols. 45-47) May 1889-April 1896, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*

Still, after major discoveries at Idalion and Tamassos, Ohnefalsch-Richter had decisively inserted himself into the field and, regardless of the British Museum's views of his scholarship, it is clear that his work, like Lang's, demonstrated an advancement in methodology and on-site recording for later publication.³⁶⁴ For some, it was with the completion of his doctoral thesis, *Die antiken Cultstätten auf Cypern* (1891 at Leipzig University) that Ohnefalsch-Richter truly established himself as an archaeologist. Others point to his later work, including his *Idalion and Tamassos*, which remains in manuscript form.³⁶⁵ The matter of the unfinished work was a source of much frustration to the staff. Because he had not completed the publication, the objects in the collection were devoid of any archaeological context.³⁶⁶ Still, scholars who have examined the unpublished manuscript and other archival material often comment on his competence.³⁶⁷ His publications reveal that his knowledge expanded and his excavation techniques became more sophisticated as he became more experienced. He was a careful record keeper, through text and sketch, even if he failed to publish everything he wrote. For example, his *Kypros, die Bibel und Homer* of 1893 represented a new type of publication in the field and included the first

³⁶⁴ He even published five articles in Greek between 1881 and 1884, all of which appeared in the popular magazine 'ESPEROS. He wrote these to generate interest in his collections, which he attempted to sell shortly after, and to promote Hellenic identity of Cyprus.

³⁶⁵ The manuscript can be consulted in the archives of the Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

³⁶⁶ He claimed to have recorded his finds in painstaking detail, but even if this had been the case, the notes and photos associated with his manuscript are often confusing, poorly organized, and illegible.

³⁶⁷ Matthäus, "Max Ohnefalsch-Richter und die Anfänge der Archäologie auf Zypern," 139: "Ohnefalsch-Richter war sicherlich—zumindest in seinen späten Jahren—der methodisch sorgfältigste Ausgräber auf der Insel. Seine Dokumentation von Befunden und Funden überragt die seiner Zeitgenossen, trotz aller Schwächen, die man im Nachhinein aus der heutigen Perspektive belächeln mag." Recke, "Deutschland und das antike Zypern," 88: "So finden wir Grabungen und Unternehmungen unter seiner Leitung oder zumindest maßgeblicher Mitwirkung, die stärker wissenschaftlichen Charakter hatten, ab 1885 (zusammen mit Ferdinand Dümmler) und vor allem für die Berliner Museen 1889 (zusammen mit Adolf Furtwängler). 1890 bereist Wilhelm Dörpfeld zusammen mit Ohnefalsch-Richter die Insel und erstellt eine umfassende Photodokumentation für das Deutsche Archäologische Institut in Athen."

reconstruction of a Cypriot sacred space, showing a mix of terracotta, stone, and human figures in an open-air sanctuary (fig. 34).

The varying opinions on Ohnefalsch-Richter's professionalism point to a larger issue that remains, in some ways, an ongoing debate. Scholars still disagree about the exact moment when archaeology on Cyprus become "professionalized." Georges Colonna-Ceccaldi is named as one of the field's first real specialists.³⁶⁸ Lang is acknowledged for publishing the first real site report. In some cases, John Linton Myres (1869-1954) is credited as the first professional, sometimes named the "founder" or "father" of Cypriot archaeology.³⁶⁹ Yet other specialists claim that no meaningful standards were achieved before the first season of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (1927). The professionalization of work on Cyprus was a gradual process, which means that various individuals, laws, and practices can all be highlighted as significant. The shift from "amateur" treasure hunting to "scholarly" excavation is just one aspect of the story. The exclusion of collector-agents and their replacement by foreign archaeological schools is another.

The French School at Athens

French interest in Cyprus also took a more professional turn in the 1890s. The French School at Athens sent one of their archaeologists, Paul Perdrizet (1870-1938), to the island in 1896. He was a trained scholar on an exploratory mission, following in the tradition of de Vogüé

³⁶⁸ Hermary, *Les antiquités de Chypre*, 19.

³⁶⁹ Vassos Karageorghis, "Cypriote Archaeology: 125 Years After Cesnola," *CCEC* 30 (2000): 240. "The first real scholar who looked upon Cypriote archaeology without any personal interest for material profit was John L. Myres of Oxford who, during the first two decades of the twentieth century, tried to bring order into the chaos in which Cypriote archaeology had been thrown as a result of the vast plundering of adventurers at the end of the nineteenth century." Goring, *A Mischievous Pastime*, 29: "Myres' approach is totally professional, and of all the nineteenth century archaeologists in Cyprus, he comes closest to our contemporary expectations. In this respect, he is perhaps to be seen as the father of Cypriot archaeology." Goring also quotes Casson, who wrote that Myres "can be looked upon as the founder of Cypriot archaeology...He was the first to bring order into chaos and the first to explain the innumerable problems of Cypriot archaeology." *Ibid.*

and Duthoit in the early 1860s rather than the Colonna-Ceccaldi brothers in the late 1860s.

Perdrizet's correspondence with Edmond Pottier (1855-1934) reveals some of his attitudes about the island and its art.³⁷⁰ He was discouraged with his results, and admitted that he did not manage to carry out any official or professional digs. Like many of the French scholars who preceded him, he was more interested in locating inscriptions than artworks. Finding none, he believed that the mission had been a failure, although he did purchase some objects, including limestone statuettes reportedly from Athienou, which he assumed the French School would donate to the Louvre. He was aware that the Louvre already had a rich collection of similar works, but he nevertheless obtained additional sculptures, thinking they could be donated to university museums.

British Museum Excavations

The British remained in control, however, and it is natural that their excavations were the most extensive. By the 1890s, the British Museum was moving in a more scholarly direction with its investigations on Cyprus. In October 1892, the museum received the E. Turner Bequest and vowed to use it "in the promotion or assistance of excavations in Europe, Asia, or Africa."³⁷¹ This bequest would have an enormous impact both on the archaeology of Cyprus and on the British Museum's Cypriot collection, though again, not enriching the Cypriot sculptural collections, as the focus of these excavations was instead on Bronze Age material, especially pottery. Funds from the bequest were used for excavations on Cyprus from 1893 to 1896.³⁷² A site director was

³⁷⁰ See these letters and further details about Perdrizet's time on Cyprus in Olivier Masson, "Paul Perdrizet à Chypre en 1896," *CCEC* 13 (1990): 27-42.

³⁷¹ Internal Report, C 13 (vols. 45-47) May 1889-April 1896, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

³⁷² The choice to excavate on Cyprus was a natural one, as it was one of the only accessible parts of what might be considered the "classical world."

designated for the first time during these excavations, a mark of their professional nature in comparison with previous digs. A. H. Smith directed the 1893 season, replaced by Myres in 1894. The museum was pleased by the arrangement of having a director on site and Murray elaborated, in a letter to Cobham, “The presence of Mr. A H Smith, and lately, of Mr. Myres showed the advantage that was gained from the overseeing of a trained archaeologist, especially when the archaeologist is also acquainted with the collections already in the Museum, so as to know exactly what to send home and what to leave behind.”³⁷³ Indeed, not everything could be sent back to the British Museum—one third of the finds had to remain on Cyprus, later finding a home in the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia. The British Museum was not pleased with the new provisions. A worried letter from Murray written in 1897 discusses “the injurious effect of the provision empowering the Cyprus Museum to purchase any desirable antiquities found on excavations, apart from the portion (1/3) of the results to which the Cyprus government was already entitled.”³⁷⁴

Myres co-authored with Ohnefalsch-Richter a guide to the new museum in 1899. Murray, Smith, and Henry Beauchamp Walters (1867-1944), assistant keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, produced a separate volume in 1900 to provide a summary of the excavations carried out there through the support of the Turner Bequest funds.³⁷⁵ Three seasons are described: one at Amathus, one at Curium, and one at Salamis. The book set a new standard for professionalism. Still, bias inevitably crept in. The classical training of these

³⁷³ Correspondence, 24 September 1894, Letter Book 1880-1896, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

³⁷⁴ Correspondence, 17 July 1897, C 14 (vols. 48-50) May 1896-November 1902, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

³⁷⁵ This volume was later reprinted as A. S. Murray, A. H. Smith, and Henry Beauchamp Walters, *Excavations in Cyprus: Bequest of Miss E. T. Turner to the British Museum* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1970).

archaeologists had a direct impact on their research priorities. They were predisposed to choose sites they knew from classical Greek sources, such as Salamis. They also dug at Kourion and Amathus, and consequently, as Vassos Karageorghis points out, “they interpreted the material remains of ancient Cypriote culture either as Aegean or Greek on the one hand or Phoenician on the other, more or less ignoring the indigenous culture.”³⁷⁶

One result of the Turner excavations was a more secure identification of Cypriot antiquity as a “classical” or Greek past, rather than as a Near Eastern or biblical past. The scholarship that emerged with these digs pulled Cyprus to the West, aligning it with Greece rather than with Assyria, Phoenicia, or Egypt. While this shift in perspective might have assured that the British public began paying more attention to Cyprus, it was also threatening, presenting challenges on the ground for British officials who sought to keep Cyprus firmly under their control. Encouraging Cypriots to feel “Greek” was not a politically savvy move for the British, who wanted to see neither an independence movement on Cyprus nor an effort to unite with Greece, a movement the British government had been forced to support with the Ionian islands. Yet the desire for *enosis* had been present from the moment the British set foot on Cyprus: “When Sir Garnet Wolseley, the first High Commissioner, arrived in Larnaca in 1878 to take over from the Ottomans, he was welcomed by Sophronios, the Archbishop of Kition, who declared, ‘We accept the change of Government inasmuch as we trust Britain will help Cyprus, as it did with the Ionian islands, to be united with mother Greece, with which it is naturally connected.’”³⁷⁷ It was possible

³⁷⁶ See Vassos Karageorghis, “Cypriote Archaeology in the Bloomsbury Area,” in *Ancient Cyprus in the British Museum: Essays in Honour of Dr. Veronica Tatton-Brown*, ed. Thomas Kiely (London: British Museum, 2009), 3.

³⁷⁷ Stylianou-Lambert and Bounia, *The Political Museum*, 77. For a more detailed discussion, see Yiangou, “Cyprus under the British, 1878-1945.”

for Cypriots to feel both British *and* Greek, but tensions about the true identity of Cyprus and Cypriots could just as easily turn to a movement for independence.³⁷⁸

Though the British continued to grant Cypriots a good deal of autonomy in the 1890s, Stylianou-Lambert and Bounia argue that locals took advantage of Britain's relaxed approach to ruling the island "in order to organise their own education, reinforce their Hellenic identity, and thus support the nationalist movement demanding *enosis* with Greece. Antiquities as tangible proofs of ancestry, and, in this case, of Hellenicity, were used to support the claims and create bonds with mainland Greece."³⁷⁹ Increasing pride in a Hellenic Cypriot identity caused some to resent the excavations of the British Museum and the continuous flow of Cypriot finds to London. As Nikolaos Lanitis (1872-1958) wrote in 1896, "The latest important outcomes of the excavations in Cyprus by Dr. Murray...are the objects that have been recently borne from the motherland, that affectionately protected them in order to display them...as indisputable evidence of common ancestry [with the Greeks], to our brothers of the same blood."³⁸⁰ Indeed, as Greek national pride grew, so too did a local interest in excavating, protecting, and keeping antiquities in Greece. Western European archaeologists could no longer argue that the antiquities were "vulnerable" in Greece (or that they had ever been in Cyprus), or that the Greeks had no interest in the objects or in studying their ancient past.³⁸¹ Cyprus saw a similar movement, with Cypriots

³⁷⁸ Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?* 10, addresses similar issues in the context of Egypt: "In colonized lands such as Egypt and India, museums and archaeology became significant arenas in the struggle for national independence. In independent but semiperipheral countries such as Greece, Italy, imperial Russia, and Mexico, efforts to harness the study and display of the past to national purposes variously reflected features of archaeology in both the dominant and the colonized countries."

³⁷⁹ Stylianou-Lambert and Bounia, *The Political Museum*, 78.

³⁸⁰ Cited in *Ibid.* Tensions over the British removing antiquities from Cyprus eventually led to the 1905 Antiquities Law, which prevented all export. This law was revised in 1927 with the arrival of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. Consequentially, the the Swedish Cyprus Expedition was able to keep half of the excavated finds.

³⁸¹ Eftychia Zachariou-Kaila, "Die griechischen Gelehrten und der Schutz der zyprischen Altertümer am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Zypern und der Vordere Orient*, ed. Rogge, 277–78.

aligning themselves with the Greek movement and example. They were thus inspired to protect, publish, preserve, and display antiquities—and to found an archaeological society of their own. Additionally, the local Cypriot population had by this time demonstrated its investment in the island’s cultural heritage, and the establishment of the Cyprus Museum in 1882 helped ensure that objects remaining on the island would be well cared for and accessible to the public.³⁸²

The Cyprus Exploration Fund II

The CEF continued to excavate in the 1890s. In special cases, applications for funds (beyond the normal subscription) were made directly to the museum. In the summer of 1890, Munro wrote to Murray—a founding member of the CEF—explaining that he wanted to finish the season’s work at Poli under the CEF, as it was the best tomb site in Cyprus, but that he was out of money.³⁸³ While he had a contract and could excavate the site for the museum, he needed an additional 75 pounds.³⁸⁴ Shortly thereafter, Munro acknowledged receipt of 70 pounds and confirmed that the antiquities would reach London in two months’ time. He warned, however, “I have sent, I fear, a good deal of rubbish, partly because there has been no leisure to sift the mass of fragments thoroughly, partly because I hope you will be able with abundant materials to reconstruct the various types of figures.”³⁸⁵ Munro was not the only archaeologist to excuse himself for “rubbish” he had sent to the British Museum, nor was he the last.

³⁸² It did, however, take some time before the museum, originally located on Victoria Street, would become what it is today. Only after a new antiquities law was passed in 1905 and the museum moved to its current location after 1908 were the collections systematically catalogued and organized.

³⁸³ Correspondence, 5 May 1890, Original Letters 1890, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

³⁸⁴ Munro asked for further help the following month, in the way of materials, explaining that “a great want freely expressed here is some archaeology books to give the Museum officials a little knowledge of the antiquities of which they have charge.” Correspondence, 18 June 1890, Original Letters 1890, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

³⁸⁵ Correspondence, 2 June 1890, Original Letters 1890, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

If ever the CEF's archaeologists forgot to take into account the British Museum's aesthetic priorities, they were swiftly reminded. In 1891, Henry Arnold Tubbs (1865-1943), a British classical archaeologist and a leader of the CEF's excavations in the early seasons, issued an apology to Murray for having collected and sent to the museum an undesirable fragment of limestone sculpture. Upon encountering the fragment in the museum's storerooms, he wrote,

As to the head I do not really know what to say. It might make lime perhaps. I never was so disgusted as when I saw it in the cellars: I could not believe for a moment it was the same stone I had seen on Cyprus. That only shows how the eye may be deceived after it has been filled with constant impressions of one sort. I had been working for three weeks on the [material], saw this for five minutes in a blinding glare of sunlight built into a house wall, and really thought it was worth taking. I never saw it again until I found it lying in the cellars: and my surprise was far from pleasant.³⁸⁶

Tubbs' account—and his obvious dismay—demonstrates that the British Museum, while contributing resources to the CEF's "systematic archaeological excavations," still demanded a certain aesthetic quality for the objects that were collected from these excavations, and that failing to anticipate this standard resulted in a very uncomfortable situation for the archaeologist who dared send an ugly specimen to London. As a powerful partner in the CEF's missions, the British Museum not only shared its underlying assumptions, goals, and perspectives—it also shaped them. The potential for an esteemed national museum to influence the practices of a newly founded archaeological society on a far-away island of little perceived importance is not surprising. It is revealing, however, in that it demonstrates the continued dominance of aesthetics and national interests in the emerging "scientific" discipline of archaeology in the late nineteenth century. Similar pressures were exerted at every stage—from excavation to publication, and from

³⁸⁶ 21 September 1891, Original Letters 1891, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

collection to display—and in every national context in which the reception of ancient Cypriot sculpture played out.

In December 1896, a Turner Bequest Report was presented to the trustees of the British Museum, providing insight into how much money had been spent at each site, and the relative promise of the finds at Enkomi compared with those of Amathus and Curium, which had produced less excitement (and received less funding).

Receipts

Amount of bequest 2000.0.0 pounds

Profit on investment 208.8.2

Dividends returned 170.4.2

2, 378.12.4 pounds

Expenditure

Excavations in Cyprus at

Amathus 613.4.7

Curium 556.9.8

Enkomi 1,192.9.0

2,362.3.5 pounds

Balance: 16.9.1 pounds³⁸⁷

In 1897, money was again taken from the Greek and Roman Department—rather than the Turner Bequest, which had, as we can see, all but run dry—to fund further excavations on Cyprus. At the same time, the Cyprus Museum began to acquire more of the “desirable” antiquities. Despite these concerns, excavations at both Mari and Moni commenced. Tekke was the next site of focus, with funds (500 pounds from purchases and acquisitions) directed toward its exploration in

³⁸⁷ Internal Report, 12 December 1896, C 14 (vols. 48-50) May 1896-November 1902, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

1898.³⁸⁸ These excavations provided the museum with little new material in the way of Cypriot stone sculpture. Still, the scholarship that resulted from these excavations (most of which appeared after 1900 and will thus not be considered here or in Chapter Two) was of a higher standard than ever before.

Conclusions

Interest in Cypriot archaeology, though traceable as far back as the sixteenth century, took root in the European scholarly community beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. As foreign consuls—among them, Lang and Cesnola—were allowed a freedom and access no longer possible in other parts of the Mediterranean, they sank their fortunes into uncovering Cyprus’s ancient sites and “treasures.” Their work was celebrated by their contemporaries: “We live in an age of archaeological surprise, each more startling than its predecessor. Nineveh, Halicarnassus, Troy, Mycenae, Cyprus, Thebes, in turn yield their wonders of sculpture, of arms, of jewels, or papyri, of long-buried dead.”³⁸⁹ For a time, Cyprus was one of the most exciting new archaeological frontiers. Discoveries of major groups of religious sculpture in Dali and Athienou in 1868 and 1870 drove further interest in and work on Cypriot art. Yet the early promise the field had shown was short-lived, and by 1880, when the inappropriate nature of Cesnola’s restoration work came to light, Cypriot sculpture had become a subject worthy of ridicule in stories and cartoons of popular newspapers and magazines. Nevertheless, the work that did continue was of a far superior caliber.

³⁸⁸ The results at Tekke proved to be disappointing and the money was thus reappropriated to explore other sites on Cyprus in 1899. Internal Report, 11 March 1899, C 14 (vols. 48-50) May 1896-November 1902, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

³⁸⁹ Source is an article appearing in *The Times* on 24 December 1881, quoted in Duesterberg, *Popular Receptions of Archaeology*, 291.

The heyday of amateur excavations ended with the advent of British administration. Beginning in the 1880s, archaeologists transformed their methodologies, becoming more systematic in recording details of context that had previously been considered unimportant. Nations began to send trained representatives from their archaeological societies to excavate and inspect objects. During the 1890s, the number of digs organized by members of the European archaeological schools increased markedly. These missions brought with them higher professional standards and more academic training. Yet by the late 1890s, Cypriots beginning to question the logic that took the most prized objects off the island and placed them instead in major western European museums.³⁹⁰

In the 1930s, demonstrations against British presence on the island necessitated that new narratives be put in place regarding the identity of ancient Cypriots and ancient Cypriot art so that modern Cypriots did not “feel” Greek and express nationalist rebellion. The development of the “native” or Eteocypriot identity solved a number of problems for the British and scholars alike.³⁹¹ By declaring an independent identity for Cyprus and Cypriots, the culture need not be classified as either “Oriental” or “Hellenic.” As Cyprus was no longer aligned with and oriented toward Greece, a less dangerous type of patriotism or nationalism could take root, whereby Cypriots saw themselves as a unique people, not as marginalized “Greeks” under British rule.³⁹² As Stylianou-

³⁹⁰ For more on the local response to foreign archaeological work and the Cypriot fight to keep objects on the island, see Zachariou-Kaila, “Die griechischen Gelehrten und der Schutz der zyprischen Altertümer,” 271–93.

³⁹¹ See Given, “Inventing the Eteocypriots.” Today, scholars firmly identify Eteocypriot as a *language* or *dialect*, and not as a distinct *ethnic* group. Maria Iacovou, “Advocating Cyprocentrism: An Indigenous Model for the Emergence of State Formation on Cyprus,” in “*Up to the Gates of Ekron*”: *Essays on the Archaeology and History of the Eastern Mediterranean in Honor of Seymour Gitin*, ed. S. W. Crawford (Jerusalem: W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research & Israel Exploration Society), 468.

³⁹² Stylianou-Lambert and Bounia, *The Political Museum*, 78–79: “Governor Sir Ronald Storrs encouraged and promoted the discovery of an ancient autochthonous population, whose presence would make ancient Cypriots less Greek...Storrs...is reported to have been ordered to foster a sense of “Cypriot patriotism” as a protection against Greek nationalism.”

Lambert and Bounia argue in their study of the modern museum landscape on Cyprus, “Art historical narratives can be used either to reinforce a sense of local artistic tradition and ethno-national identity or to question and deconstruct established art historical narratives.”³⁹³ The emergence of the category “Eteocypriot”—a native and independent style or language often ambiguously applied as an ethnic category—provided the British colonial power with a new tool for controlling an emerging Cypriot identity and placing it at odds with the strong identification with Greek nationalism that had preceded it.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, 19.

Chapter Two

Classifying Cyprus: Negotiating the “Foreignness” of Cypriot Sculpture

Cypriot stone sculpture dominates art historical scholarship on the ancient world dating from the final three decades of the nineteenth century. Found in abundance in the ruins of temples across the island, Cypriot votive sculpture piqued the interest of scholars who had not yet established a secure chronology sequencing artistic development in the preclassical Mediterranean, and who acknowledged its potential to shed light on a crucial period of exchange in the Early Iron Age. These scholars began to publish accounts in which Cyprus acted as a contact zone for the major artistic powers of the ancient world, providing a crucial place of mediation and cross-cultural influence, and allowing the Greeks exposure to models which they “perfected” throughout the next three centuries. Still, a recognition that Cypriot art was *important* was not an acknowledgment of its beauty or value. Critical assessments of the Cypriot style resulted mainly from western Europe’s firmly rooted philhellenism. The educated elite—and especially the armchair scholars who passed judgment on the new style from the comfort of their studies and libraries in the capitals of Europe—privileged the classical Greek tradition above all others. They crafted their dwellings, cities, societies, and nations in the image of this esteemed historical precedent. Cyprus simply did not generate the excitement of other territories more central to Greek and Roman culture.³⁹⁴

³⁹⁴ Ancient Cyprus was not necessarily an archetypal Cyprus in the way that ancient Greece or Egypt were prominent and celebrated versions of these regions. In the nineteenth century, people were more likely to recall the episodes of the Crusades on Cyprus, or perhaps St. Paul’s visit. For more on how the average nineteenth-century Brit would have viewed Cyprus, see Peter W. Erdbury, “Cyprus in the 19th Century: Perceptions and Politics,” in *Cyprus in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Tatton-Brown, 13–20, which includes useful information on the encyclopedia entries for Cyprus in France and England and how these were modified upon discovery of antiquities. “The clumsy ignorance of the early editions gave way in the middle of the century to articles that were securely based on the well-known authors of the ancient world—a clear reflection of the prevailing importance of a ‘classical education’ at that time.

My analysis reveals how Cypriot sculpture came to occupy a remarkably flexible position in pedagogical models, at times called upon to fill roles that directly opposed each other. For example, while some scholars viewed Cyprus as an important “precursor” to classical Greece, or a “missing link” between the arts of Egypt and the Near East and the arts of classical Greece, others labeled it as “derivative,” simply imitative of Egypt, Assyria, and Phoenicia. In each of these accounts, Cyprus performed the same basic role—occupying a central point (geographically, culturally, and temporally) between the most celebrated cultures of the ancient world—but it did so in a remarkable range of ways. The spectrum of classifications triggered a similarly diverse array of opinions on the appearance and style of Cypriot works, all published within a short span of time. None of these evaluations immediately emerged as authoritative. Instead, individuals and nations championed different, competing ideas about the nature of Cypriot culture and sculpture, pulling the field in multiple directions and even into different disciplinary boxes. An author’s final judgment about the aesthetic worth of the Cypriot tradition depended on whether he or she saw it as passively imitating the arts of neighboring cultures or actively passing artistic “genius” to classical Greece. Similarly, ideas about the nature of “influence” and differing understandings of the processes of “imitation” and “transfer” likewise affected whether the Cypriot works were viewed positively or negatively. I trace these ideas and their iterations over several decades, and across national and linguistic boundaries, drawing from the publications of amateurs and scholarly authorities in the museum and academy.

Then, from the 1870s, we see an interest in the antiquities, and that fits well with the discoveries and the growing British awareness of the discoveries that began in the 1850s.” *Ibid.*, 15.

Here I focus on formally published literature, mining discussions from a variety of genres: excavation reports, museum catalogues, and art historical or archaeological surveys. Some treatments can be considered academic literature, intended for students and specialists within the university or museum; others might be classified as “popular” literature, intended for a wide readership, including the non-specialist. Thus, my discussion includes publications that are not strictly “scholarly,” but rather “antiquarian” or “amateur” in nature. I maintain a wide scope for two reasons. First, the authors themselves did not always distinguish between “scholarly” and “non-scholarly” publications; and second, authors with academic degrees and posts had no choice but to rely on works produced by individuals without such qualifications, a result of the relatively slow professionalization of the field and the curious landscape of the Cypriot art market.³⁹⁵

Examining the full range of treatments of Cypriot material gives us a rich picture of the major trends in both “high” and “low” scholarship. I consider the mechanisms of cross-fertilization in both sorts of publications, thereby tracking ideas and images as they were introduced, modified, and repeated or reproduced. In tracking such trends chronologically, it becomes clear that the early and “non-scholarly” publications significantly influenced the later, more authoritative, “scholarly” volumes. This chapter serves as a chronological map, demonstrating how ideas gained authority by simple repetition, and how a Cypriot canon and associated classificatory schemes were cemented over the course of the late nineteenth century.

³⁹⁵ Stefan Berger, “Professional and Popular Historians 1800 – 1900 – 2000,” in *Popular History Now and Then: International Perspectives*, ed. Barbara Korte and Sylvia Paetschek (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2012), 13–29, treats the division between popular and professional historians and their sources. Berger argues that there was a great deal of overlap, but “around 1900, we can observe a certain parting of the ways in many continental European countries: Professional historians began to restrict themselves to writing professional histories for a largely professional audience, whilst popular historians made their works accessible to the masses via newspaper and journal articles.” *Ibid.*, 18. This corresponds with the circulation of knowledge about Cypriot antiquities, which, from 1890 onward, were published almost exclusively in traditional “scholarly,” especially archaeological, journals.

The images produced in these early treatments are particularly valuable in this regard, and I pay special attention to which drawings get reproduced repeatedly—something I return to evaluate in my conclusion.

The authors considered here, besides belonging to different academic and national backgrounds, also had varying levels of investment in the positive or negative reception of Cypriot sculpture. Most cannot be considered neutral contributors to the debates. For example, as Cesnola attempted to find a buyer for his enormous collection, he benefited from the enthusiastic views of Cypriot sculpture that he helped circulate. The same can be said of curators who catalogued collections already in their museums: they wrote in part to promote the finds that their institutions had purchased and to attract the public's attention to these finds. The intellectual backgrounds of the scholars could likewise affect the way they reacted to Cypriot sculpture. Most individuals who became interested in Cyprus were classical archaeologists, who viewed Cyprus primarily as an insignificant intermediary between East and West. Considering the Cypriot sculptural tradition alongside that of mainland Greece, they found much to deride and little to praise. A smaller number of scholars drawn to Cypriot art were Orientalists or Assyriologists by training, with an entirely different bank of objects available to them for comparison when they encountered Cypriot works. These scholars tended to perceive Cyprus as being more closely related to Near Eastern cultures, and though their evaluations were not necessarily more generous, they devoted more attention to Cypriot sculpture in their publications.

Cypriot art was valuable as an “ancestral” tradition, but seldom inspired interest or admiration as an independent tradition, even in cases where it was perceived as such. The perception of Cypriot art as “derivative” was a product of the ruling intellectual climate, which

privileged originality and purity above all. Cypriot sculptures, perceived as “copies” or “imitations,” did not receive the same praise as originals, and were never promoted as “masterworks,” whether in the context of the nineteenth-century survey or museum. Ancient sculptures awarded “masterwork” status shared several key characteristics. The works were confined to the traditional, classical aesthetic and portrayed a figure in motion, with naturalistic musculature and soft, symmetrical facial features. In some cases, scholars could assign an artist’s name to the work, date it precisely, or identify the sculpture by its title or the personage it represented, most often because it had been discussed by an ancient author. Its prestige could be enhanced by a firm connection to an authoritative text or an individual (an owner, patron, or collector). The more concrete information that could be attached to a sculpture, the higher its chances of being deemed a “masterpiece,” receiving the associated attention and praise.

In contrast to the most celebrated sculptures and monuments of ancient Greece, very little was known about Cypriot statues. Not a single Cypriot sculpture found on the island could be attributed to a particular artist or connected with a specific title.³⁹⁶ Very few names of Cypriot sculptors were even known.³⁹⁷ The religious nature of Archaic votives necessitated that they were shown in static poses, rather than in motion. Their musculature was rendered in a basic, stylized way, and their faces were not always symmetrical. The statues’ physiognomy—traditionally

³⁹⁶ Nys and Recke, “Craftsmanship and the Cultural / Political Identity of the Cypriote Kingdoms,” 217: “Cypriote craftsmen are hardly visible in the antique sources or the epigraphic data; of the few existing references only one inscription seems to predate 400 BC, viz. the signature of the sculptor, Sikon of Cyprus, on the base of a limestone sculpture found at Naukratis.”

³⁹⁷ Scholars were, however, aware of the famous Cypriot sculptor, Styppax, who was discussed in Pliny. Léon Heuzey, *Les figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre* (Paris: Imprimeries Réunies, 1882), 181–2, saw Styppax’s renowned talent as proof that ideas and forms circulated between Cypriot and Athenian workshops. Inscriptions name several other Cypriot sculptors: Simos from Salamis, Onasiphon of Salamis, Epocharmos of Soli, and Zenodotus of Paphos.

carved with long faces, almond-shaped eyes, and beards—was compared with that of Assyrian models, and therefore took on particular political and racial associations, becoming aligned with Eastern “primitivism.” Furthermore, scholars struggled to identify the deities represented in Cypriot sculpture, as the iconography was often unfamiliar to them, unlike better-known examples in Assyria or Greece.³⁹⁸ The Herakles figures were an exception, which may explain why they were so consistently illustrated. As Siapkas and Sjögren argue, “portraits of gods were viewed as artworks that manifested the ideals of art in a superior way to the other categories. There was a perceived correlation between what the sculptures represented and that artist’s skill.”³⁹⁹ Clouding the issue further, it has been suggested that for Cypriot sculptures “the line between human and deity may have been left deliberately enigmatic.”⁴⁰⁰ Thus, though occasionally included in survey treatments between 1880 and 1900, no Cypriot sculpture was ever deemed a “masterwork.” As a result, the Cypriot sculptural tradition could be written out of the literature with no great loss of coherence to the arc of the story of ancient sculpture.

Similarly, the importance of medium cannot be overstated. Marble and bronze were the most highly valued media in antiquity. Marble, whose survival rate was much higher than bronze, was especially privileged—it was difficult and time-consuming to carve and indicative of both a skillful artist and an elite patron.⁴⁰¹ Cyprus had no natural marble supply. Thus, Cypriot artists chose to work in limestone and terracotta, importing marble only in rare cases and uncommonly

³⁹⁸ Egyptian sculptures faced similar challenges in their reception, with audiences finding them too “shadowy” and not individualized enough for their tastes. Moser, *Wondrous Curiosities*, 117: “Egyptian art fails not because of its quality of production or execution, but because it does not convey likeness in a way that we can easily engage with.”

³⁹⁹ Siapkas and Sjögren, *Displaying the Ideals of Antiquity*, 96.

⁴⁰⁰ Smith, *Art and Society in Cyprus*, 127, discusses this hypothesis, introduced by Jacqueline Karageorghis.

⁴⁰¹ “Softer” media, such as terracotta or porous stone, were also seen as training materials for the more difficult and valuable “harder” media. This idea could be applied to the training of an individual sculptor, but also to an entire culture, which would supposedly move through the media, mastering more challenging carving techniques over time.

before the classical period.⁴⁰² Limestone, a softer stone, did not allow for the same level of articulation and detail, and was considered a much less prestigious medium. Cypriot sculpture is often nearly flat. Cypriot sculptors thus produced more stylized bodies, carving along one, horizontal plane. The results did not always impress nineteenth-century viewers and critics. Some of the most prominent negative rhetoric about the visual characteristics of Cypriot sculpture include observations on its “flatness” or “stiffness.” Some authors did recognize that works in limestone could not reasonably be compared with those in marble, and certain scholars produced thoughtful discussions concerning the relationship between technique or medium and style, but the comparison of “stiff” Cypriot works with “lively” classical sculptures was nevertheless repeated throughout the late nineteenth century.

The nameless, authorless, motionless, asymmetrical, and often unidentifiable Cypriot stone sculptures were therefore evaluated using criteria different from the “masterworks.” These criteria were most often imposed from the outside, and sought to classify rather than celebrate, to link Cypriot sculpture to other traditions rather than consider it independently. Scholarship on Cypriot art—from the nineteenth century to the present—has thus been shaped by early attempts to position it in terms of its relationship to surrounding cultures, and above all, to locate within it traces of the “influences” and origins of these cultures. In attempting to classify or define the Cypriot sculptural style, scholars developed vocabularies that emphasized the “imitation,” “inspiration,” and “transfer” of objects, styles, and iconographies. Although there were dramatic

⁴⁰² Terracotta sculptures were even more susceptible to attack than limestone. Whereas limestone sculpture was consistently treated as an art form, terracottas were treated as diagnostic tools. They were perceived as “crude,” and mold-made figures, often consisting of copies or multiples, were perceived to have even less value. Today, scholars view terracotta as a more democratic medium. Karageorghis, Merker, and Mertens, *The Cesnola Collection of Cypriot Art: Terracottas*, 13: “Unlike stone sculpture, terracotta figures and figurines were bought by all classes of the population.”

shifts in opinion about the extent to which Cyprus relied on foreign models or could claim an independent, national style, no significant discussion of Cypriot sculpture from this period fails to employ these standard vocabularies. Throughout this chapter, I also draw attention to authors' broad classifications of Cypriot culture as "Greek," "Near Eastern," or "Phoenician," and emphasize the vocabularies used to support these classifications. I flag any broader classifications of the "Cypriot race," as these "anthropological" characterizations in turn determined the cultural labels authors applied to the sculpture. For these authors, classifying culture was above all about classifying the people who produced it.

The questions about Archaic Cypriot statuary that most fascinated both groups of scholars concerned the "origins" of the style and its relationship to the surrounding cultures. Orientalists and classicists both sought to clarify the role that Cyprus had played in the transfer of artistic techniques and motifs from Egypt and Assyria to mainland Greece. The authors often communicated nuanced perspectives that depended on their general framing of Cypriot culture as either "Near Eastern" or "Greek," and the period or object under discussion. By visually isolating clues for inspiration and exchange in Cypriot works, scholars constructed arguments about cross-cultural currents and artistic pedigrees in the ancient world. The Cypriot sculptural style therefore held great promise: it could be used to illustrate and explain a new chapter in the history of art. Alongside other regions considered to represent cultural beginnings, such as Egypt and Assyria, Cyprus presented a compelling case of a culture whose art betrayed influence from other, even more ancient regions.

Yet discussions of style could be problematic, presenting enormous challenges for scholars who sought to maintain an objective perspective. In the nineteenth century, as today, the

identification of style was intimately related to the emerging practices of dating and attribution. Judgments of style were quite literally value judgments, in the sense that the dates and labels attached to works of art could determine how much—or how little—attention they received. Yet art history and archaeology without such interpretation was simply antiquarianism. For nineteenth-century scholars caught between the old traditions and the new “science” of archaeology, finding a balance could be difficult. Authors who sought to approach Cypriot material in a “scientific” manner attempted to generate a chronology for Cypriot sculpture. Paying careful attention to word choice and rationale, I investigate the methods they used to date individual sculptures and form stylistic groups.

1870s: The Birth of a Field

Though the 1860s saw a great deal of archaeological activity on Cyprus, no formal literature on Cypriot sculpture was published until the 1870s, when the nascent field of Cypriot archaeology first took shape. As outlined in Chapter One, before interest in Cypriot archaeology became widespread, several travel volumes had included small reports or chapters on Cypriot archaeology. French and German scholars had offered preliminary ideas on the nature of Cypriot sculpture, often settling on Phoenician or Egyptian statues as the closest comparative material. Engel’s *Kypros, eine Monographie* initiated a brand of scholarship that divided Cypriot history into periods of foreign domination culminating in an era of “Hellenism.” This model would gather a critical mass in the 1870s and remain influential until the present day.

1870 was a defining year in the history of Cypriot art, as it marked Cesnola’s remarkable discovery at Golgoi. With the circulation of images of this extensive group of sculptures—which included new examples of Cypriot “types”—attitudes concerning Cypriot art began to change. A

growing but reluctant trend emerged that recognized an independent, native Cypriot style.

Cesnola first hinted at such a possibility in a report he gave to the Royal Academy of Science at

Turin:

Something of the Assyrian art is found in several statues...the Egyptian art is seen in many of them; the Phoenician art is also well represented; but the Greco-Roman only be a few...all these statues...have a certain artistic affinity between them which makes me believe that they do not represent any of the above named nation's art but are purely Cyprian art...it would not be extraordinary that a people, who had a language to themselves...should have also had a style of art peculiar to themselves.⁴⁰³

Cesnola's cautious suggestion that the Cypriots may have invented their own style rather than simply copied the styles of their neighbors was the first step in a growing trend to recognize a native Cypriot artistic spirit. This trend was solidified in three treatments of the Golgoi sculptures that followed in 1872-73. The effects of the Golgoi discovery on the field would become even more pronounced in 1877, when Cesnola's archaeological volume intended for a general audience was published. Here, Cesnola and his contributors developed a detailed classification system for Cypriot art, drawing attention to a native style and a series of other styles, corresponding to periods of historical "domination" or political "control" of the island as Engel had previously suggested in 1841.

In 1878, Lang published a report on his discovery at Dali in 1868. His find, like Cesnola's, was extensive and significant, furnishing scholars with examples of Cypriot sculpture that could be used to further develop a chronology based on style. Poole, of the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, contributed a preface, demonstrating the cooperation between amateurs and professionals that characterized the period. Yet despite the new evidence

⁴⁰³ Reproduced in Marangou, *The Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola*, 217.

these major discoveries provided, the chief trend to identify Cypriot art as an imitation of either the Phoenician or Egyptian variety, which had appeared in short treatments before 1870, continued. Within this system, some scholars simply considered Cyprus a part of Phoenicia, or a Phoenician “dialect.” Others saw a wider pool of influence, but considered Cypriot sculpture derivative nonetheless. This inference had direct consequences for the scholarly consensus regarding the aesthetics of Cypriot art; it was not considered original, and by extension, could not be described as beautiful. Even Poole, who had praised Cypriot art in Lang’s report, explained his view that Cyprus “is interesting alone to the serious student of the remote annals of the Mediterranean. To him the antiquities of the island are a precious connecting-link between Egypt, Assyria and Early Greece and the less attractive they are to the artistic eye the more valuable are they to his comparative vision.”⁴⁰⁴ Poole’s assertion that the unattractiveness of Cypriot art—a result of its “hybridity”—is the very quality that made it worthy of study was not echoed by other scholars, but may explain why they so consistently included it in their surveys. French scholars were ruthlessly critical in their descriptions of Cypriot statues, but nevertheless devoted a good deal of attention to them as examples of “Oriental” material culture.⁴⁰⁵ British scholars, on the other hand, increasingly pulled Cyprus to the west, insisting that it was not a part of the Oriental world, as assumed by French scholars, but instead was Greek. In 1871, British Consul Thomas Blackhouse Sandwith (1831-1900), British vice consul from 1865 to 1870, gave a paper at the Society of Antiquaries, in which he expressed the following view: “I believe my friend Mr. R. H. Lang...was the first to establish...that its primitive inhabitants were Aryan and not Semitic in

⁴⁰⁴ Cited in Balandier, “Cyprus, a New Archaeological Frontier in the XIXth Century,” 4.

⁴⁰⁵ See discussion below on Perrot and discussion of Heuzey in Chapter Three.

race, according to the commonly received opinion of its being peopled by Phoenicians.”⁴⁰⁶ By challenging standard ideas about the Cypriot “race,” these men were attempting to wrest Cyprus from its Oriental label and incorporate it more securely into a Greek or classical past.

Johannes Doell, *Die Sammlung Cesnola*, 1873

One year after Hitchcock’s article detailing Cesnola’s Golgoi collection appeared in *Harper’s*, Doell, a German scholar working for the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, published *Die Sammlung Cesnola*.⁴⁰⁷ This publication, requested by the museum as it considered acquiring Cesnola’s collection, was the first catalogue of Cypriot sculpture. Doell organized the work by medium, considering first the stone sculptures, then the marble, and finally the terracottas.⁴⁰⁸ Like Hitchcock, he concentrated on the Golgoi finds, which he considered the core of the collection. His brief descriptions of the illustrated figures documented breaks and surface damage, but he omitted remarks about appearance, possible foreign influences, or craftsmanship.⁴⁰⁹

The volume is well illustrated, with plates of many different works grouped on individual pages.⁴¹⁰ Doell noted that the stone heads were highly repetitive and could be sorted into very few “types,” making the collection easy to arrange. After beginning with one “type,” Doell often labeled a series of objects that follow as *Aehnliche Figur* or *Aehnliche Statuette*.⁴¹¹ This word

⁴⁰⁶ Thomas Sandwith, “On the Different Styles of Pottery Found in Ancient Tombs in the Island of Cyprus,” *Archaeologia* 45 (1880): 133.

⁴⁰⁷ Marangou, *The Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola*, 195, suggests that the material for Hitchcock’s article may have fed to him by Cesnola, who in turn took the information from Doell, who had prepared his catalogue in the summer of 1870 while staying in Larnaca with Cesnola.

⁴⁰⁸ The volume also included sections devoted to pottery, metalwork, and jewelry.

⁴⁰⁹ Johannes Doell, *Die Sammlung Cesnola* (St. Petersburg: Commissionnaires de l’académie impériale des sciences, 1873), 5, noted that future research could clarify the position of Cypriot sculpture within the history of ancient art and outline the influences to which the Cypriot style had been most susceptible.

⁴¹⁰ These are lithographs made from photographs and they vary a great degree in quality, from simple black-and-white outlines to carefully shaded figures.

⁴¹¹ The “similar” figures are arranged in triangular or diamond formations, with the largest and most complete statues on the bottom and smaller and more fragmentary figures at the top. Doell’s attention to symmetry is striking; he

choice, taken alongside his opening remarks that Cypriot sculpture was “repetitive” and “non-varied,” reveals that he viewed the works in a negative light.⁴¹² Doell’s plates form an initial canon of Cypriot sculpture, and the figures he illustrated reappear throughout the rest of the century in the major works treating Cypriot sculpture.⁴¹³ Much like Hitchcock’s illustrations, Doell’s plates—and in particular, the figure groups they showcase—provide insight into how he saw the figures. The roots of what would later become the standard classification for Cypro-Archaic figures are evident in Doell’s arrangements.

In his illustrations, Doell sought to showcase the diversity of the collection while maintaining an impression of symmetry and order in the arrangement of the figures. The first two plates show figures in “foreign” (or “non-Greek”) costume, often with one arm bent and brought to lie across the chest (figs. 35 and 36). There is no caption, but based on Hitchcock’s labels and Cesnola’s later classification of the figures, these might be the “Assyrian” and “Egyptian” groups, respectively. The figures in “Assyrian” dress wear long robes and pointed headdresses, while those in “Egyptian” dress often wear headdresses resembling wigs and their tighter, more form-fitting costumes are broken up into tunics and multi-layered skirts. Another plate includes “foreign” costumes that do not fit into the “Assyrian” or “Egyptian” plate, and match what is still today understood to be a native “Cypriot” type (fig. 37). These figures hold their arms tightly alongside their bodies, and among other types of costume wear the “Cypriot shorts.” The fourth plate illustrates later, classical figures, wearing standard or modified Greek dress; their arms are

placed figures similar in costume, form, or posture along a vertical axis, creating a mirror symmetry. The statues are all reproduced frontally or with a slight turn to profile, apparently following their photographic sources.

⁴¹² This perception is worth considering given the later history of this collection, a good portion of which was deaccessioned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1928, when it held an auction featuring “duplicates” of the Cesnola Collection.

⁴¹³ These include works by L. Cesnola, G. Colonna-Ceccaldi, and Perrot and Chipiez.

straight, held near their sides, but slightly in front of the body (fig. 38). Similarly, heads are grouped according to type of beard and headdress, with one plate illustrating an “Assyrian” type and another showing mixed types with caps, rosette diadems, and laurel crowns (figs. 39 and 40).

Luigi Palma di Cesnola [featuring text by Sidney Colvin], *The Antiquities of Cyprus*, 1873

In the year Doell’s work appeared, Cesnola prepared a volume of photographic plates illustrating objects from his collection selected by Newton.⁴¹⁴ The album was meant to accompany the works as they were exhibited in London—near the British Museum—in 1872, but it was not completed until the following year, by which time the collection had been shipped to New York. Sidney Colvin (1845-1927), an English art critic and classicist, was responsible for the text.⁴¹⁵ Colvin described Cyprus as a “radiating point of civilization,” perhaps hinting that though “civilization” had originated there, it quickly spread elsewhere and may not necessarily have *remained* there. His text recounts a history of the standard political rule and domination variety espoused by Engel, and he positions ancient Cyprus as a cultural vehicle for the transmission of ideas and motifs. Like Engel and Ross, Colvin considered Cyprus primarily Phoenician, using the strongest language yet to argue this point.⁴¹⁶ Still, he insisted that the island was host to a mix of “races” from a very early date, even before the Phoenicians arrived.⁴¹⁷ Colvin thus promoted the indigenous Cypriot “race”—and culture—as having mixed Asiatic and Phoenician roots.

⁴¹⁴ The objects were photographed by Stephen Thompson, an official photographer of the British Museum.

⁴¹⁵ He was subsequently director of the Fitzwilliam Museum and later, keeper of prints at the British Museum.

⁴¹⁶ Luigi Palma di Cesnola, *The Antiquities of Cyprus* (London: W. A. Mansell and Co., 1873), 1.

⁴¹⁷ When the Phoenicians immigrated to Cyprus they “found the island in possession of a primitive race, if not of more primitive races than one, whom scholars have supposed akin to those half barbaric offshoots of the Hellenic stock inhabiting districts of Asia Minor near the island, the Lycian and Phrygian.” *Ibid.*

Although he stated that Greeks also inhabited the island, he distanced this population of “Cypriot” Greeks from “Greeks” in other colonies, arguing that the former, though potentially a category of the latter, were in fact “less Greek.”⁴¹⁸ He did not view Cyprus as a traditional Greek colony, inhabited by “true” Greeks practicing recognizably Greek culture.⁴¹⁹ He was even more explicit—and dismissive—in distancing Cyprus from the greatest chapters of Greek history, arguing that both during and after the Greco-Persian Wars, Cypriot cities remained “semi-provincial and Oriental.”⁴²⁰ Altogether, Colvin strongly denied Cypriot “Greekness,” whether in artistic style, blood, or spirit. Instead, he promoted Cyprus as the most prominent meeting point for the East and West, the “Asiatic and Egyptian worlds,” and especially, of their encounters with Phoenician material.⁴²¹ Colvin’s evaluation of Phoenician, Egyptian, and Assyrian “influences” appears in the positive light of their eventual “fertilizing” effect on the “Hellenic mind”—and, one can assume, Greek culture.⁴²²

For Colvin, Cyprus provided a unique opportunity to study these elements individually and collectively. He considered Cypriot limestone figures—and in particular, the oldest ones—as the most important artifacts for this purpose, though he was quick to remind his reader that these Cypriot figures, just like the Cypriot people, were not Greek, and were not as excellent as those

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

⁴¹⁹ It is not evident at this point in the text whether this classification is intended as praise or criticism. After all, he writes that Greeks in Cyprus “absorbed new elements, and radiated new ideas.” Ibid.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., 2. Cypriot Kings did participate in Ionian Revolt, however. Still, Colvin continues: “But, as the cities of Cyprus had not, like other cities of the Hellenic race, shaken off the tyrannical form of government, so neither did they, in the fifth century, share the true Hellenic spirit during the age of Hellenic glory following upon the overthrow of the Persians. Pericles left them out of his League.”

⁴²¹ Ibid.

⁴²² “For evidence of the early and fertilizing influx of the Phoenician, and through the Phoenicians of Egyptian and Assyrian ideas and influences upon the Hellenic mind, as well as for the subsequent perpetration and embodiment of ideas in which these elements continued in fusion as they continued nowhere else, there was likely, therefore, to be no place like Cyprus.” Ibid. Colvin defined Phoenician civilization as a blend of Egyptian and Assyrian elements.

produced by Greeks. He believed there were no Cypriot works “that rival the Greek work of the...noblest ages. Greek art, having germinated [on Cyprus] and at other such points of contact with the East, attained its full flower at Athens and elsewhere. The Hellenic genius, once fertilized from the East, developed itself at home.”⁴²³ We will later hear many echoes of this proposed lineage in the East and further evolution in the West. Colvin positioned Cypriot art as a missing link between the East and West, a direct “precursor” to the Greek style: “It is in the beginning of experiment and emancipation, the immobile and abstract hieratic types passing into new phases, the Egyptian and Asiatic becoming Greek. It seems to be Greek art dawning under our eyes.”⁴²⁴ Cypriot works are compared with those of Archaic Greece and Etruria, all of which, according to Colvin, display a pre-Daedalic “helplessness.”⁴²⁵

The examples selected by Newton—some of which were also illustrated in Doell’s plates—represented, according to Colvin, a wide range of “influences” or styles. Colvin considered the “Egyptianizing” works to be the oldest, and illustrated four examples (figs. 41-44) of “dedicatory statues of kings or priests, showing the influence of an Egyptian style,” specifying that “Plate IX is the most purely Egyptian and presumably the most ancient of them all; the rest show variations both in type and costume and something peculiar, experimental, and tending to emancipation and the display of a local spirit, beneath the rigid canons of Egyptian prescription.”⁴²⁶ This “pure Egyptian” sculpture in Plate IX (see fig. 41) wears the *shenti* (an Egyptian garment similar to a skirt), a type of headdress, and holds the left arm folded across the

⁴²³ Ibid., 4.

⁴²⁴ Ibid. The term “hieratic” seems to have been employed in a different way by Cesnola in 1877, again in 1878 by Poole with yet another meaning, and in 1880 by Newton with still another meaning. Here, the word seems to carry its standard meaning of “priestly” or “sacerdotal.”

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., 3

chest, with the left leg slightly in advance of the right. It certainly resembles Egyptian sculpture, but it is not clear what distinguishes it from the other plates illustrating “Egyptianizing works” (see figs. 42-44). The “emancipation and display of a local spirit” noted by Colvin can be attributed to the changing posture or proportions of the figures in the “Egyptianizing” plates, as this is the main feature that distinguishes them from the “pure Egyptian” figure.

In another group of statues (figs. 45-48), again labeled “dedicatory statues of kings or priests,” Colvin saw evidence for “a wave of Assyrian influence passing over the art of the island.” In this case, he cannot identify any “pure” Assyrian types, but rather observes that in all of these sculptures “there is the peculiar, experimental, and local something of which we have spoken.”⁴²⁷ He alluded for the very first time to a native Cypriot style, a thread Cesnola would pick up in his 1877 publication. This “Assyrianizing” group includes the figure previously labeled an “Assyrian Hercules” by Hitchcock (see fig. 18). With Colvin, it has been reclassified as a king or priest, like the other statues in this group (see fig. 46). Special attention, however, is given to a “colossal head in the Assyrian style,” the same object that features prominently in Cesnola’s story of the discovery of the Temple of Golgoi (see fig. 48). Indeed, this specimen is one of the central, canonical figures of Cypriot art, appearing in nearly every volume that includes a treatment of Cypriot sculpture. The remaining limestone sculptures are considered more closely related to the Archaic Greek style. One group is labeled as “archaic or pseudo-archaic” and shows figures in mixed costume and posture, some of which would have been considered by others to be more typical of “Egyptian,” “Assyrian” or native “Cypriot” figures (figs. 49-51). Other mixed groups are composed of heads, “showing in various degrees the traces

⁴²⁷ Ibid., 4.

of an Egyptian, and Assyrian, and an original manner.”⁴²⁸ This “original manner” may be equivalent to a native style. Finally, several “Herakles” figures—all of which present the standard attributes of this hero—are assembled together, including one similar or identical to that labeled a “Phoenician Hercules” in Hitchcock’s article (see fig. 19).

Luigi Palma di Cesnola [featuring text by Charles William King and Alexander Stuart Murray], *Cyprus: Its Ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples*, 1877

Before Cesnola published this account of his discoveries, Cypriot antiquities had rarely been considered independently. Scholars had been quick to promote Cypriot artworks by connecting them with more established traditions, but no one had yet proposed that they should be studied for their own sake. In publishing his extensive finds, Cesnola thus had an opportunity to classify Cypriot antiquities in a new way. He changed the direction of the narrative on Cypriot sculpture, and despite his lack of scholarly qualifications, his ideas and finds were among the most influential of the time.⁴²⁹ Cesnola’s other—above all, financial—motivations must not be forgotten. Unlike many other scholars writing on the same material, Cesnola had a personal stake in promoting Cypriot antiquities. His reading of Cypriot art and culture was colored by his own desires to see exceptionality in the material he had found.

Cesnola’s capacity for self-promotion is evident from the opening pages of the book: “I entertain the hope that the discoveries which I had the good fortune to make in Cyprus will prove more important as they become more generally known, and that they will justify the kindly expressed opinion of the illustrious discoverer of Nineveh, in saying, ‘they will add a new and

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴²⁹ My arguments challenge Hermary and Mertens, *The Cesnola Collection of Cypriot Art*, 23: “Later, and despite Myres’ *Handbook*, the Cesnola sculptures were taken into account only in a limited way in studies of Cypriot art and archaeology.”

very important chapter to the history of Art and Archaeology.”⁴³⁰ Here, he refers to Layard, presumably in an effort to connect his name with that of one of the most respected archaeologists of the day. A connection with the giants of archaeology was already established by Cesnola’s choice of publishing house: John Murray, of London, had previously published works by Layard and Schliemann.⁴³¹ His weaknesses aside, with this work Cesnola did present a full picture of the arts of the island as they were understood in the 1870s, using his own objects to guide the reader through the most important types and phases of Cypriot art.

Setting up a discussion of the earliest periods on Cyprus, Cesnola looked to the East, following Colvin and arguing that the Greeks obtained important cultural milestones, including an “alphabet of art,” from the Phoenicians.⁴³² Already, we sense that Cesnola had a more positive opinion of Phoenicia than his predecessors and contemporaries. Still, he avoided classifying his finds as “Phoenician.” His experience with the complexity of the costumes on the Golgoi sculptures may have encouraged him to relate any “influences” directly to the perceived original source(s). In cases where he observed a blending of “Egyptian” and “Assyrian” elements, he used the term “hieratic.”⁴³³ In fact, apart from these limited observations about specific elements, Cesnola generally hesitated to classify sculptures according to national tradition, as Newton later

⁴³⁰ Cesnola, *Cyprus*, xi.

⁴³¹ Olivier Masson, “L. Palma di Cesnola, H. Schliemann et l’éditeur John Murray,” *CCEC* 21 (1994): 7–14, provides details and reproduces relevant correspondence between Cesnola and Murray and Cesnola and Schliemann. For an analysis of early British traveler-archaeologists and their accounts, see Challis, *From the Harpy Tomb to the Wonders of Ephesus*, especially 1–22.

⁴³² Cesnola, *Cyprus*, 1. This term is a nineteenth-century trope, not one coined by Cesnola

⁴³³ One is left wondering if “hieratic” should be taken to mean “sacerdotal/priestly,” as it had in Colvin’s text, or if Cesnola’s meaning can be interpreted more broadly as “conventional or rigid.” It also seems possible that he simply intended to signal a proximity to the Egyptian style. His “hieratic” figures nevertheless encompassed a wide range of style—some are dressed in the “Egyptian pshent,” while others wear the pointed “Assyrian cap.”

noted.⁴³⁴ Cesnola's work was, after all, a popular account of his activities on the island rather than a catalogue of Cypriot sculpture. Like Hitchcock, Cesnola more readily identified specific regional or cultural types in the labels of illustrations rather than in the body of his book. For instance, he wrote that figures are sculpted "in Egyptian style" (figs. 52-54) and "in Assyrian style" (fig. 55).⁴³⁵ This "Assyrian" figure is the same one that had been labeled an "Assyrian Hercules" in Hitchcock's article (see fig. 18), but here there was no longer any claim that he represented a particular personage. Cesnola retained the identification of the other "Hercules." Where it had previously been called a "Phoenician Hercules" (see fig. 19), however, it is now simply described as a "Colossal Hercules" (fig. 56).

A key passage introduces Cesnola's theory that the groups of statues he found at Golgoi had been organized in antiquity by national type or style: "I was struck with the order which was evident in the original arrangement of the sculptures in this temple, the statues, as I have before remarked, being ranged according to the art or nationality they represented—the Egyptian by themselves, the Assyrian in like manner, and the Greek and Roman near the western wall."⁴³⁶ He thus distinguished several stylistic types, apparently by their position in situ. More importantly, he inferred that the Cypriots made such distinctions as well, with worshipers or priests arranging them accordingly, by national dress within the temple. despite his reputation as a careless archaeologist, Cesnola was skilled at comparing objects he found with better-known objects from

⁴³⁴ Newton, *Essays*, 309, alluded to the challenges Cesnola faced in preparing his volume and the complexity of classifying the Cypriot sculptural style. He commented on Cesnola's tendency to report rather than analyze his finds, referring the reader instead to Doell's volume for illuminating "groupings" of finds.

⁴³⁵ These figures are remarkably similar to, and perhaps copied from, Doell's drawings.

⁴³⁶ Cesnola, *Cyprus*, 159–60. He makes a similar observation slightly earlier. "I particularly remarked the grouping of the statues; those with conical headdresses were found side by side, while those showing a strong Egyptian tendency were grouped together." *Ibid.*, 142.

major collections. He frequently referenced the relevant scholarly literature, adding legitimacy to his claims and observations. He also used comparanda from Layard's *Nineveh* to track down antiquities that had gone missing from his Golgoi excavations. Though some scholars remain skeptical of Cesnola's descriptions, others see no reason to doubt his observation, having encountered similar arrangements at other sites on the island.⁴³⁷

Although he named multiple national traditions in the classification of his figures, Cesnola apparently considered all of the sculptures to be essentially "Cypriot." Indeed, he was one of the first authors to champion the local production of a native Cypriot style: "The greater part of the monuments I discovered in Cyprus, were made in the island, as this mixture of Greek, Egyptian, and Assyrian, which I call 'Cypriote art,' is not met with elsewhere in any monument that I am aware of."⁴³⁸ He viewed this "mixture" as a strength—a trait that distinguished Cypriot art and produced a style not achieved anywhere else. This assessment and associated language may have contributed to more generous evaluations of Cypriot sculpture, if not a clearer sense of its place in the "Great Chain of Art."

Charles William King (1818-1888), a British expert on gems, contributed an appendix to Cesnola's volume. Unlike Cesnola, King held deeply negative views about Phoenician art. He described it as an "impartial mixture of Assyrian and Egyptian types," effectively denying Phoenician artists any agency in the selective use of these models.⁴³⁹ He believed that the Phoenicians had "no national style of their own" and were "a race totally devoid of original

⁴³⁷ Senff, *Das Apollonheiligtum von Idalion*, 17, reviews evidence that he believes validates Cesnola's observation. He further reminds us that both Poole and Lang reported the "Cypriot" and "Egyptian" statues at Idalion being found separate from the "Greek," and that Colonna-Ceccaldi noted the "Cypriot" and "Greek" statues at Pyla stood across from each other.

⁴³⁸ This remark appears in the context of a discussion of the Amathus sarcophagus. Cesnola, *Cyprus*, 281.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, 356.

genius.”⁴⁴⁰ The claim that Phoenicia had no national style was often repeated throughout the next decades, most prominently by Perrot.⁴⁴¹ King nevertheless treated the Phoenician “non-style” as one that the Greeks had to overcome before they could progress to the “mature” and homegrown style of the classical period. Echoing similar views expressed by Colvin, King viewed Phoenician works as “models followed by the primitive Greeks,” who “following their natural genius, soon passed on to the human figure and the subjects of common life.”⁴⁴² Thus, the Greeks possessed an innate genius and their improvement of models passed to them, whether from Phoenicia or elsewhere, was inevitable. This narrative reappears with force in the surveys of the 1880s.

Murray’s appendix on pottery employed much the same intellectual perspective and vocabulary as Cesnola’s treatment of sculpture and King’s discussion of the Phoenician style. Like King, Murray pointed out the problematic nature of cleanly separating the Phoenician, Assyrian, and Egyptian styles.⁴⁴³ For Murray, the Assyrian and Phoenician styles were more closely related than the Egyptian and Assyrian, or the Egyptian and Phoenician. Still, he hesitated to assert whether Cypriot works relied on models from Assyria, Phoenicia, or both regions. He also questioned the role scholars had indiscriminately assigned to the Phoenicians as transmitters of iconography and culture. He used the term “Indo-European” to describe elements he could not classify as either “Phoenician” or “Egyptian.”⁴⁴⁴ This type of broad interpretation would reappear in Ohnefalsch-Richter’s volume published over twenty years later, where a similar term—“Indo-

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴¹ Still, King readily admitted that it was difficult to distinguish Phoenician works from the Egyptian works they imitated. He pointed to an important gap in scholars’ arguments concerning national styles and unilateral transfer. *Ibid.*, 371.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, 357–8.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*, 398.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 397.

Germanic” —designated the Cypriot style.⁴⁴⁵ Such terms, unwieldy in their scope, though ineffective solutions to the difficult problem of classification, did have the potential to influence contemporary politics.⁴⁴⁶

Robert H. Lang [featuring text by Reginald Stuart Poole], “Narrative of Excavations in a Temple at Dali (Idalium) in Cyprus,” 1878

Lang’s most celebrated archaeological discovery was a group of sculptures from a sanctuary at Dali in 1868, and his 1878 account of this discovery is often considered the first modern site report, containing site sketches, details of context for the objects unearthed there, and a preliminary analysis of their significance and chronology.⁴⁴⁷ The work represented a new direction in Cypriot archaeology, and with it the field took a big step toward professionalization—and away from antiquarianism—as contemporary scholars, including Anja Ulbrich, have observed.⁴⁴⁸ Lang’s report included a classificatory scheme for terracotta and stone sculptures, primarily using his own finds as examples, and considering, in his analysis, details of costume, the amount of ornamentation or stylization present, facial features, and the general “air” of each sculpture. Following the dominant trend, Lang argued that external influences were brought to Cyprus by the various ruling powers. Senff notes that while Lang’s system was not

⁴⁴⁵ Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, vii, included the following claim—similar to Murray’s—about the classification of ancient Cyprus: “Diese Cultur ist keine semitische, auch keine Binnenland Cultur, sondern eine indogermanische Insel—oder Küstenland—Cultur.” Ohnefalsch-Richter’s ideas were unconventional, only rarely echoed by his contemporaries or later authors, and his book is not treated here.

⁴⁴⁶ Susan Sherratt, “Cyprus and the Near East: Cultural Contacts (1200-750 BC),” in *The Mediterranean Mirror. Cultural Contacts in the Mediterranean Sea between 1200 and 750 BC*, ed. Andrea Babbi, Friederike Bubenheimer-Erhart, Beatriz Marín-Aguilera, and Simone Mühl (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2015), 73, suggests that Ohnefalsch-Richter’s “Indo-Germanic” classification of Cypriot culture was an attempt to make the “earliest Cypriots as similar to the self-perceptions of the British, who then ruled the island, as possible.”

⁴⁴⁷ He delivered a paper about this excavation to the Royal Society of Literature in 1871.

⁴⁴⁸ Ulbrich, “An Archaeology of Cult?” 95, emphasizes its “detailed observations and information,” which to her suggest “some kind of field recording.” She observes Lang’s use of a “cultural-historical” approach, a departure from antiquarian concerns and a step toward the contemporary archaeological mindset. *Ibid.*, 96.

directly bound to historical happenings on Cyprus, it nevertheless represented a major change in the way scholars tackled the various styles of clothing and carving the sculptures presented.⁴⁴⁹ He emphasizes the novelty of this approach, in which details of costume—and even sculptural particularities—are linked directly to Assyrian, Egyptian, and Greek models, rather than considered under the blanket classification of “Phoenician.”⁴⁵⁰

Indeed, in the case of stone sculpture, Lang argued that Egyptian “influence” preceded the Assyrian, and that Greek “influence,” with its “its wonderful freedom, truthfulness, and originality,” followed, in the early fifth century.⁴⁵¹ With the word “freedom” he suggested that Cypriot sculptors no longer felt the need to give their figures a rigid stance, a feature considered to be a requirement of their religious function. “Truthfulness” might refer to the appearance of a higher degree of naturalism, and a greater articulation of the details of the human form. “Originality,” though undeniably praiseworthy, seems out of place in the context of a discussion that revolved around “influence.” We might conclude, however, that “Greek influence” was considered positive (even “original”), whereas “Oriental influence” was “derivative.” Lang’s illustrations are few, but provide additional insight into his classifications. His first plate shows “the most important piece extracted from the temple,” which he dated to the beginning of the fifth century BCE (fig. 57).⁴⁵² He noted a “mingling of the Asiatic and Greek schools,” describing the physiognomy as “strongly Cyprian,” the eyebrows as “archaic,” and the beard as “Assyrian.”⁴⁵³ Hitchcock had identified similar figures as wholly Greek (see figs. 20 and 21).

⁴⁴⁹ Senff, “Exotischer Reiz und historischer Wert,” 263.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵¹ Lang, “Narrative of Excavations in a Temple at Dali,” 44.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, 48.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*

Poole's contribution to Lang's article, "Observations on the above Excavations," was significant: because Poole was a British Museum employee, his voice lent the work a degree of scholarly authority. Further, Poole's comments on Lang's material gave the amateur archaeologist a professional—borderline heroic—aura. He insisted that Lang's collection had been "formed with the utmost care under the eye of the discoverer, who was not deterred by the extreme heat of summer from personally superintending his labourers, and it presents everything of interest found in a temple where each known style of Cypriote art was represented."⁴⁵⁴ Poole also made sure his reader understood that "Mr. Lang's collection from the temple of Idalion (Dali) is second in importance to none," a clear effort to rival Cesnola's more prominent Golgoi discovery.⁴⁵⁵ Poole strove to devalue Cesnola's finds while emphasizing the more professional nature of Lang's work.

Poole was inconsistent in his use of regional and cultural labels.⁴⁵⁶ His discussion of the "hieratic" style—a slippery term, but normally equated with "Oriental"—was likewise unusual.⁴⁵⁷ Admitting to his difficulty in understanding the shift in "hieratic" styles, Poole remarked on a curious "missing series of links" in Cypriot sculpture, with little material known from either the Archaic period or the fourth century (what he called the period of the "finest art," a synonym for "classical Greek art"). Still, searching for the cause of shifting dominant "influences," he was among the first to propose the possibility of a politically inspired use of style.⁴⁵⁸ Because he failed

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 54. This remark is clearly aimed at Cesnola and his field methods.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁶ For example, he uses "Greek" and "Macedonian" interchangeably.

⁴⁵⁷ Poole argued that the "hieratic" style changed over time, first being more "Oriental" than "Greek," and later, more "Greek" than "Oriental." Perhaps he employed the term to indicate a religious function, much as Colvin had done. Lang, "Narrative of Excavations in a Temple at Dali," 55–56.

⁴⁵⁸ "It may therefore be inferred that the preponderance of the Greek element in this hieratic style as that of the oriental element in its original is due to political influences, and that the later style is not the result of the fusion of

to provide specific historical moments as anchoring examples, it is difficult to dissect his arguments further, but his text nevertheless provides an interesting attempt to sort out various elements of “influence” in the “hieratic” style of Cypriot sculpture.

Beyond identifying several “mixed” styles, Poole also noted an independent “Cypriote” style, as Cesnola had done: “Closely connected...is another, sufficiently independent in its character to justify its separation. As it does not seem to be Assyrio-Persian, Egyptian, or archaic Greek, and as I do not find it represented in other countries, I have ventured provisionally to call it Cypriote.”⁴⁵⁹ After searching for “origins” or “influences” among Assyrian, Persian, Egyptian, and Greek cultures, Poole decided that this unidentifiable style must be native to Cyprus. His cautious language indicates that the idea was new and experimental, and that it was still daring to suggest that Cyprus had a “native” or “national” style of its own, though Cesnola had previously pushed for such an identification. As to chronology, Poole argued that the Temple at Dali was in continuous use throughout its existence, and “we thus obtain something like a measure of the age of particular styles.”⁴⁶⁰ Whereas G. Colonna-Ceccaldi had suggested the predominant “influence” on the island shifted from Assyrian to Egyptian to Anatolian—by which he likely meant East Greek or Ionian—Poole believed the Egyptian was the earliest.⁴⁶¹ Considering the relative affinity of the styles, he wrote, “the style of the Assyrian and Anatolian being closely related, the latter being a manifest descendant of the former, whereas the Egyptian is quite unlike the

the two distinct earlier ones. The Egyptian hieratic style has, as might be supposed, but a single source. The two earlier styles of which the hieratic ones are debased descendants are like them of foreign character, not actually foreign.” *Ibid.*, 56.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁴⁶¹ G. Colonna-Ceccaldi’s chronology was originally published in a series of short articles in the *Revue Archéologique* in 1872-1873, but will be considered in the context of his later book, which was published in 1882.

Anatolian, and has but a slight affinity with the Assyrian.”⁴⁶² Thus, although he had suggested that styles could correspond to political allegiances or historical framework, here he disassociated style from any political or historical context. Instead, he implied that stylistic shifts could be both slight and gradual, with each blending into the next, and not necessarily firmly related to political circumstances.⁴⁶³

Georges Perrot, “L’île de cypre- son role dans l’histoire: III. L’art et la religion, les éléments phéniciens de la civilisation grecque,” 1879

In 1878-79, Perrot published three essays on Cyprus.⁴⁶⁴ Cesnola’s 1877 volume—sent to Perrot by Murray, who contributed an appendix—was an important source for the final article, which discussed Phoenician, Egyptian, and Assyrian aspects of Cypriot art.⁴⁶⁵ Perrot consistently emphasized Oriental or Semitic “influences” on Cypriot culture: “Il nous a suffi d’un coup d’œil jeté sur l’histoire de Cypre pour reconnaître combien s’y était établie de bonne heure l’influence de l’Orient sémitique et comme elle y avait persisté tard.”⁴⁶⁶ He recounted Cesnola’s anecdote about using illustrations in Layard’s *Nineveh* to retrieve sculptures that had gone missing from his active excavations at Golgoi to argue that the two styles—Assyrian and Cypriot—were related. Implying an *air de famille* between the monuments found at Athienou and those

⁴⁶² Lang, “Narrative of Excavations in a Temple at Dali,” 78.

⁴⁶³ He looks to the details of the beards of the figures to date them, a method that was practiced with even greater precision by G. Colonna-Ceccaldi and later promoted by Birch.

⁴⁶⁴ The first of these treated the climate, the second recounted major excavations and discoveries (especially Cesnola’s), and the third dealt with Cypriot art and religion.

⁴⁶⁵ Perrot acknowledged receipt of the gift that had been sent on 9 July 1878: “Je lis en ce moment avec attention le livre de M Cesnola, pour l’article que j’ai promis à la Revue des deux mondes et ou votre excellente étude sur la ceramique Cypriote ne sera pas oubliée.” Correspondence, 18 August 1878, Original Letters 1876-1878, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

⁴⁶⁶ Georges Perrot, “L’île de Cypre, son role dans l’histoire, iii. L’art et la religion, les éléments phéniciens de la civilisation grecque,” *Revue des Deux Mondes* (May 1879): 376.

unearthed at Assyrian sites, he hinted at an aesthetic relationship between various cultures without specifying particular elements or the direction of “influence.”⁴⁶⁷

While scholars would later argue that perceived flaws in the form of the figures resulted from the limestone the Cypriot sculptor employed, Perrot argued that the “deformations” of the human form he observed were intentional.⁴⁶⁸ Partly because of these perceived flaws, he separated “Greek Cypriots” from “true Greeks,” just as Colvin had done, but went further in attributing this distinction to differences in taste, intellect, and race, concluding that the Greek Cypriots were “les moins Grecs de tous les Grecs.”⁴⁶⁹ Here we see the importance Perrot attached to the supposed purity of race and blood, expressed in his view that the Cypriots were burdened by their “Asian—or even African—blood,” which kept them from matching the progress of the Hellenic race. In other passages, Perrot’s arguments extended past style into intellectual and moral domains.⁴⁷⁰ These likewise relied on a clean separation between the “pure” Hellenic race and the Cypriot races. The “hybrid” style of Cypriot art was thus taken as evidence for the ancient Cypriots’ mixed race and blood, which prevented them from reaching the level of so-called perfection that “une race plus pure”—the Greeks—achieved.

1880s: Discussions of an Independent “Cypriot Style”

Both the discipline of archaeology and the national museum collections were undergoing significant growth in this decade. Scholars were sensitive to these changes, and to the possibilities they brought for new publications and perspectives. For example, when Léon

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., 389.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., 392. Birch, Mitchell, and Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter also discussed the limitations of limestone.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid., 403.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., 406.

Alexandre Heuzey (1831-1922), director of the Louvre's Département des Antiquités Orientales, wrote a catalogue of the museum's terracottas in 1882 (treated in Chapter Three), he appreciated his temporal position, as he could benefit from the rise of attention to Cypriot sculpture: "Il y a une vingtaine d'années, ces sculptures étaient encore une rareté dans nos musées; c'était à peine si quelques spécimens de ce style étrange avaient frappé les archéologues que se préoccupaient...des origines de l'art antique."⁴⁷¹ This quote encapsulates the way the interests of scholars were shifting at this time and demonstrates that the impetus for literature on Cyprus came not only from newly arrived Cypriot specimens in Europe or America, but also from an improved understanding of their chronology and styles. Meanwhile, some felt Cesnola's collection in New York, though it received attention in European circles and publications, was languishing in its failure to attract distinguished visitors.⁴⁷²

The exploration of new sites and regions—including Cyprus—initially destabilized both collections and scholarship, but also made room for a shift in the narrative of the survey literature that ensued. During the 1880s scholars expressed even greater divergence of opinion regarding the Cypriot style. They remained eager to locate traces of Phoenician material culture on Cyprus, and the view that Cypriot works were simply "Phoenician" persisted. In an 1882 booklet likely written by Cesnola, the Golgoi finds were still categorized as "Phoenician," with text specifying that "the Phoenician sculptor desired not to create beauty, but to produce a likeness, he was interested only in the face, and it did not disturb him that he made the hair and beard fall like

⁴⁷¹ Léon Heuzey, *Les figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre* (Paris: Imprimeries Réunies, 1882), 127.

⁴⁷² Hermary and Mertens, *The Cesnola Collection of Cypriot Art*, 23: "The observation of Leon Heuzey in 1882, 'unfortunately, one must go to New York to look at these curious monuments,' can be applied to many twentieth-century scholars who hesitated to make the trip."

folds of the cloth.”⁴⁷³ Phoenicians were thus contrasted with Greeks, to whom naturalism was more important, and for whom “the beauty of life was above everything else.”⁴⁷⁴ Cypriot art, then, remained aligned with the Phoenician tradition, and suffered from comparison with Greek sculpture.

A compendium by Salomon Reinach, *Chroniques d’Orient*, published in 1891, summarized, year by year, the key discoveries—both sites and objects—found in the “Greek Orient” during the previous decade. His introduction provides a useful road map for the sites scholars considered the most important during these years.⁴⁷⁵ Though his title would indicate that his sole focus was on “Oriental” sites, he treated sites in mainland Greece, on the Greek isles (including Crete), Asia Minor, and Egypt. His account revolved mainly around the Athenian Acropolis and its ongoing excavation, and Cyprus was included as one of many “peripheral,” or unclassifiable, regions.⁴⁷⁶

Though brief reports of archaeological activities on Cyprus were included each year, the only detailed treatment of Archaic sculpture appeared in the review for 1885, in which Reinach described Ohnefalsch-Richter’s Dali finds.⁴⁷⁷ He classified them by foreign costume, following information provided by Ohnefalsch-Richter, who himself seemed to follow Lang’s publications arguing that the stone sculptures in the Egyptian style were the oldest.⁴⁷⁸ Other early sculptures

⁴⁷³ The booklet, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, is quoted in Marangou, *The Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola*, 299.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁵ Reinach, *Chroniques d’Orient*, xiv.

⁴⁷⁶ All entries are listed by site, apart from Crete and Cyprus, under which all sites on the island are discussed. In 1890, Renan’s organization changed slightly, and a list of subsections, organized by site, follow the entry “Chypre.”

⁴⁷⁷ Reinach, *Chroniques d’Orient*, 196–7.

⁴⁷⁸ Interestingly, these stone works were classified as purely Egyptian, while the terracottas were divided, first “plutôt proto-babyloniennes, puis assyriennes et enfin égyptisantes ou gréco-orientales.” Ibid., 196.

were described as Phoenician, characterized by “la grosseur relative et la laideur de la tête.”⁴⁷⁹

Reinach described how, after using these “foreign models,” the Cypriot sculptor began to substitute Greek for Oriental influence, until, in the sixth century BCE, Cypriot sculpture became “exclusively Greek.”⁴⁸⁰ Still, Reinach did not praise Cypriot sculpture, which was “toujours en retard sur ses modèles,” not achieving complete Hellenism until the late fourth or third century BCE.⁴⁸¹

Still, the dissemination during this period of images of Cypriot sculpture — and, for the first time on a large scale, photographs — was significant, and gave new wind to the argument that Cyprus had a native, independent tradition. Cesnola’s three-part *Atlas* was largely responsible. This work contained thousands of photographs, some of which were drawn and reproduced by Perrot and Charles Chipiez (1835-1901) in their even more widely circulated volume on Phoenician art. In his *Atlas*, Cesnola continued to champion Cypriot art, and after it was published, other scholars began to express more confident, nuanced ideas about Cypriot sculpture. Nonetheless, most authors continued to position the Cypriot style in relation to the surrounding styles as best suited their narratives and surveys, as in the previous period.

Alongside a new emphasis on native tradition and innovation was a growing understanding that Cyprus was “Greek,” or at least partially or fully “Hellenized” after a specific period (normally the classical). Thereafter, scholars were less reluctant to emphasize connections between Cypriot and Greek art during earlier periods, including the Archaic. Interest in the Cypriot tradition was high, and major works by respected scholars, such as Perrot and Chipiez,

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁰ Alongside discussions of foreign motifs and styles, Reinach also made an argument about the figures’ posture, isolating certain poses — such as a raised right hand — as belonging to separate eras.

⁴⁸¹ Reinach, *Chroniques d’Orient*, 197.

featured discussions about it.⁴⁸² Some scholars went so far as to claim that Greece had been influenced by Cyprus. These arguments began to appear after Sandwith's argument—delivered orally in 1871, but not published until 1880—that Cyprus had been in advance of Athens in the ninth and eighth centuries BCE:

About the year 900 b.c. the Cyprians had become...powerful...and from that date until 707, when the Assyrians reduced them to allegiance, they were free from external aggression...During this interval of prosperity and repose the arts would certainly make great progress, and Cyprus in all probability was in every respect far in advance of Athens, which at that time was a poor and obscure community. The knowledge of art derived from its long intercourse with Egypt and Phoenicia would have had time to fructify, and gradually to produce a style of its own.⁴⁸³

This argument still relied on Cyprus absorbing influence from neighboring regions, but also allowed Cyprus “a style of its own.” Sandwith's classification of ancient Cyprus as “far in advance of Athens” likely influenced later publications that took a positive stance on Cypriot art—such as a volume by Holwerda, devoted entirely to Cypriot religious sculpture—discussed below.

Georges Colonna-Ceccaldi, *Monuments antiques de Chypre de Syrie et d'Égypte*, 1882

In Colonna-Ceccaldi's view, the *nation chypriote* comprised three “races”: Greek, Phoenician, and African.⁴⁸⁴ The Greek “race” was understood to be superior to the latter two, and

⁴⁸² Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité: Égypte, Tome I* (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1882), xi, hinted that recent discoveries in Cyprus would take on a larger role in subsequent volumes: “Quant à Chypre, c'est hier seulement qu'elle s'est révélée, par les fouilles de MM. Lang et de Cesnola, avec son art mi-parti égyptien, mi-parti assyrien, avec son écriture où des signes empruntés aux alphabets cunéiformes ont servi à noter les sons d'un dialecte grec. On est averti maintenant.”

⁴⁸³ Sandwith “On the Different Styles of Pottery Found in Ancient Tombs in the Island of Cyprus,” 138–9.

⁴⁸⁴ Following two articles published in the late 1860s by his brother, T. Colonna-Ceccaldi, G. Colonna-Ceccaldi published his own reports on recent discoveries in Cyprus in a series of articles from 1870–79. These appeared in a volume, published posthumously in 1882, which treated the national traditions of three regions. Recounting that the Cesnola Collection has been a grand success in America, England, and Germany, G. Colonna-Ceccaldi hoped that Cesnola's 1877 volume might be translated into French so Cypriot art could achieve similar popularity in France. Colonna-Ceccaldi, *Monuments antiques*, 288. While a translation of Cesnola's volume never appeared, Colonna-

Cyprus's eventual "Hellenization" was regarded as a triumph. Discussing early Cypriot sculpture, Colonna-Ceccaldi outlined a chronology according to style, as others—including Lang—had done. However, he simplified Lang's chronology, introducing the idea that the oldest figures belonged to the "Assyrian" style, the next to the "Egyptian," and the latest to the "Anatolian" tradition. Unlike Lang's work, Colonna-Ceccaldi's chronology made use of Cesnola's material, including the Golgoi sculptures. An illustration shows three statues from the Cesnola Collection labeled as being from the *Époque Égyptienne*, *Époque Assyrienne*, and *Époque Anatolienne*, respectively (fig. 58).⁴⁸⁵

Though he did not provide details on the "Assyrian" style, Colonna-Ceccaldi inferred an earlier date for several figures with "Egyptian" elements. For example, he judged the colossal head from Golgoi to be older than others because the beard was treated in an "Egyptian" manner.⁴⁸⁶ Describing it as a highly archaic style, he ventured to guess that it was *costumé à l'égyptienne*, although the body did not survive.⁴⁸⁷ The same figure had been considered by Cesnola, Lang, and Poole to be fully "Assyrian."⁴⁸⁸ Thus, although these scholars agreed on the high date of the sculpture, they acknowledged different influences. Colonna-Ceccaldi employed the imprecise term *hiératique*, but where most scholars had implied an "Oriental" provenance or

Ceccaldi's own work might be viewed as a substitute, as it treated the same subject and was readily available to the French speaking public and scholars.

⁴⁸⁵ This image was not meant to be read chronologically from left to right, but rather, begins with the largest central figure ("Assyrian"), then the left ("Egyptian"), and finally the right ("Anatolian").

⁴⁸⁶ The head, normally classified as Assyrian, is "peut-être plus ancienne à cause de la façon sommaire et tout égyptienne dont la barbe est traitée." Colonna-Ceccaldi, *Monuments antiques*, 50.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁴⁸⁸ Heuzey, whose work is in Chapter Three, also considered this figure to be Assyrian.

an “archaizing” trend with this word, Colonna-Ceccaldi seems to have used it as Colvin did, viewing the hieratic sculptures as conservative in form, perhaps related to priests.⁴⁸⁹

Next, Colonna-Ceccaldi highlighted the “Anatolian” style, which he positioned as a transitional style between the “Cypro-Asiatic” and “pure Greek.”⁴⁹⁰ The classification is unique. Other scholars preferred the term “Greek” for similar figures. Colonna-Ceccaldi, however, attempted to account for two additional stylistic phases (from the *Époque Anatolienne* and an *âge de transition*) in the fifth century before the appearance of any “Greek” figures.⁴⁹¹ Yet even when arguing for the island’s Hellenization from the fifth century onward, Colonna-Ceccaldi drew attention to the persistence of an indigenous sculptural type at a late date. Thus, despite the variety of external influences, he observed that the Cypriot style had remained decidedly independent.⁴⁹² In line with a relatively positive evaluation of Cypriot art and the Cypriot artists’ agency to create an independent tradition amid other “influences,” Colonna-Ceccaldi viewed the Archaic Cypriot as a precedent to the “purely Greek” style.

An especially valuable part of Colonna-Ceccaldi’s volume is the detailed definition of a purely “Cypriot type” of sculpture, a discussion that covers both terracotta and limestone. This section is helpful for understanding what other authors may have meant when they used the same vocabulary but failed to elaborate. Most of Colonna-Ceccaldi’s descriptions concern the figures’ physiognomy, but in addition to the aesthetic observations he also commented on the amount of effort required to produce the sculpture.⁴⁹³ Thus, we are meant to understand that the sculptures’

⁴⁸⁹ Colonna-Ceccaldi nevertheless remained vague in his use of the word, failing to outline criteria that distinguished between the categories of “Hieratic,” “Cypro-Asiatic,” and “Anatolian.”

⁴⁹⁰ Colonna-Ceccaldi, *Monuments antiques*, 59.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 29–30.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*, 59; *Ibid.*, 73

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*, 28–29; *Ibid.*, 48.

features become increasingly classicized over time, as the sculptors improve their skill.⁴⁹⁴ An argument like this, following the standard narrative of artistic “progress,” was typical of the period, and was repeated in later handbooks.

Alessandro Palma di Cesnola [featuring text by Samuel Birch], *Salaminia: The History, Treasures, and Antiquities of Salamis in the Island of Cyprus*, 1882

Alessandro Palma di Cesnola, like his brother Luigi, published an account of his finds—the Lawrence-Cesnola collection, formed with the financial assistance of Edwin Henry Lawrence (1819-1891).⁴⁹⁵ His 1882 volume showcases his more reserved approach to archaeology in comparison with that of his brother. Whereas Luigi had hoped to claim glory and fame with his discoveries, positioning himself alongside big names such as Layard and Schliemann, Alessandro repeatedly stated that he was an amateur publishing his finds for a curious general public, calling himself “an enthusiastic digger-up of antiquities.”⁴⁹⁶ Alessandro, however, proved more adept at nurturing professional relationships with respected scholars abroad.

Birch—Alessandro’s closest correspondent at the British Museum—provided an introduction to the volume. Opening with what was by then the standard script, he wrote that new discoveries on Cyprus “certainly cast a new and impressive light on the history of art, for they form a connecting link between the Greek and Phoenician, or Aryan and Semitic civilization.”⁴⁹⁷ Birch certainly viewed Cypriot art as a “missing link.” According to him, the island had first been

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., 49; Ibid., 60 reveals his opinion that the figures were intended to be portraits. Ibid., 63–64 contains a discussion of the donors who he supposed commissioned the works.

⁴⁹⁵ Alessandro excavated most of this material himself, between 1876 and 1878, but a portion of it had belonged to Luigi.

⁴⁹⁶ Cesnola, *Salaminia*, xi: “I make no profession of archaeological knowledge, nor does my book even now pretend to be more than a simple narrative and description of explorations in the island.”

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., i.

populated by Egyptians, then Greeks (during the Homeric period) and Phoenicians (at the same time or later), and finally, by Assyrians. Birch's timeline had direct implications for the dating of Cypriot sculpture and for the direction of future research, which he suggested should concentrate on defining the primary period of "influence." "The arts of Egypt and Assyria had a striking influence upon Phoenician art, and also considerably modified the sculpture of Cyprus. The only question for archaeologists to decide is the period of that influence, if it is to be attributed to the older age of the 9th and 10th centuries BC, or the later one of the conquest of the island by the Egyptians just prior to the Persian Conquest, about the 5th century BC."⁴⁹⁸ Here, for the first time, we have clear confirmation that the sculptures were dated according to presumed periods of conquest, using corresponding evidence observed above all on the heads of sculptures.⁴⁹⁹ This method had previously been adopted and promoted by Poole, L. Cesnola, and G. Colonna-Ceccaldi. But this was the first time that the proposed date for the sculptures was pushed up to the ninth and tenth centuries. Though Birch did not elaborate a defense of these high dates, leaving this work to be done by later archaeologists, he was first to propose the possibility that Cypriot sculptures pre-dated the Greek Archaic period.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, ii.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, ii; *Ibid.*, vi.

⁵⁰⁰ In other ways, Birch's views on the periodization of Cypriot sculpture were similar to those of his contemporaries: "The numerous sculptures in stone, although not of the largest size, exhibit the principal vicissitudes of Cypriote art, as it passed through the transition of Egyptian, Phoenician, and Greek and Roman influences." *Ibid.* Though conspicuously absent from this summary, "Assyrian influence," was mentioned elsewhere. He may have considered "Assyrian" to fit under the umbrella of a "Phoenician" style. Alternately, because of the difficulties presented by questioning whether the "Egyptian" style should be dated to the ninth or fifth centuries BCE, he may have been unsure how to date the "Assyrian" style—should it come before (following G. Colonna-Ceccaldi) or after (following Poole and most other scholars) the Egyptian? A. Cesnola echoed this sentiment. *Ibid.*, 84.

After addressing periods of foreign influences, Birch argued for Cyprus's Hellenization, which he saw as partial, rather than complete.⁵⁰¹ He did not suggest, as Colvin had, that the sculptures were "less Greek" than those produced in other Greek colonies. In discussing the distinctive nature of the medium of limestone, however, he made a distinction between Greek and Cypriot sculpture.

The very facility of working [limestone] instead of marble, more stubborn to the chisel, without doubt modified the art...prevented it rivalling the soaring genius of Athenian art or that of Asia Minor. Yet some of the effects of the Cypriote sculptor are undoubtedly happy, especially...when his labours were untrammelled by hieratic influences, which had the effect of producing a pseudo-archaism more interesting to the archaeologist than pleasing to the general spectator.⁵⁰²

Admitting that the resulting sculptures were more "interesting" than "pleasing," and did not compare with the "genius of Athenian art," Birch nevertheless reminded the reader of the primary importance of medium to the evaluation of any sculpture or style, a consideration often absent from other interpretations of the Cypriot tradition. In his own text, A. Cesnola offered a novel comparison, which can be related to Birch's discussion of medium: he suggested an affinity between Cypriot and Aztec stone sculpture.⁵⁰³ No one else had dared relate the arts of the "Old World" to those of the "New World," which were not viewed positively. Further, as the two could not be linked historically or geographically, in the sense that neither "influenced" the other,

⁵⁰¹ "To the later period of Cypriote art belong the sculptures and other objects, which were made after the Greek element obtained a stronger hold on the civilization. These types, however, still retain an Asiatic tendency, but assimilate more to the art of other Greek settlements." *Ibid.*, ii.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, vi.

⁵⁰³ "The aspect of these 'Cypriote' sculptures is very much like that of the Aztecs. Its broad elements consist of unusually large and prominent eyes...the noses are uncommonly large, of an exaggerated aquiline contour, and thin in section; the low, conical foreheads slope backwards greatly, suggesting defect of mental, if not moral powers; the lips are lean, the muzzle is short, the lower jaw is narrow and pointed." *Ibid.*, 207–8.

other scholars probably saw such superficial, far-reaching comparisons as unproductive. In any case, the comparison did not surface again in subsequent scholarship.

Luigi Palma di Cesnola [featuring text by Ernst Curtius], *A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection, Volume I, 1885*

L. Cesnola's *Atlas* was a three-volume work published in fifteen parts between 1885 and 1903.⁵⁰⁴ The first volume was largely devoted to stone sculpture, the second to terracotta and pottery, and the third to metalwork and jewelry. I consider the first two volumes, treating the second later in accordance with its date of publication in 1894. Volume one furnished findspot, dimensions, and descriptions for 1,200 stone sculptures found by Cesnola. Ernst Curtius (1814-1896), a German classical archaeologist, director of the Altes Museum and Antiquarium in Berlin, and director of the excavations at Olympia, contributed a lengthy introduction. He observed that the Phoenicians were the first to colonize Cyprus, and thus largely responsible for establishing a visual culture. In line with his contemporaries, he held this culture in low esteem: "This imitation of Egyptian art is the peculiarity of Phoenician, which...can scarcely be said to have had a native style."⁵⁰⁵ The implication was clear: if Phoenicia had no native style, but formed the basis of a Cypriot style, then certainly Cyprus lacked one, too. Curtius's discussion of foreign influences extended to other Near Eastern cultures, including Assyria and Babylonia, arguing that their arts likewise informed artistic development on Cyprus. The vocabulary of reproduction, inspiration, or tradition is consistently expressed as copying and imitation,

⁵⁰⁴ Hermery and Mertens, *The Cesnola Collection*, 23: "The principal works of art in the Atlas became widely known very much later through the small line drawings in the *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine* by Salomon Reinach (1924)." The 1897 edition of Reinach's book—featuring the "Marion Kouros" purchased by Ohnefalsch-Richter and displayed alongside Archaic Greek sculpture in the British Museum—is discussed in Chapter Three.

⁵⁰⁵ Cesnola, *A Descriptive Atlas, Volume I*, 2.

especially in terms of Assyrian and Babylonian “influence.”⁵⁰⁶ Egyptian influence, however, is discussed more neutrally.⁵⁰⁷

Curtius did not believe that Cypriot sculpture predated the mid-seventh century BCE.⁵⁰⁸ This conclusion differs markedly from previous opinion on chronology, especially Birch’s, which had suggested that some Cypriot sculptures could date to the ninth or tenth centuries BCE. Curtius’s authoritative and conservative estimate may account for subsequent reluctance to adjust the chronology of Cypriot sculpture. Accordingly, Curtius relied for the most part on relatively late (post-classical) Cypriot history in drawing conclusions about sculpture. He suggested that following the “age of Evagoras” and until the “age of the Ptolemies” (thus from the fifth to the fourth centuries BCE), Phoenician and Greek art had co-existed on the island. As evidence, he pointed to Phoenician inscriptions on “Greek” statue bases. Because of this cohabitation, he observed, there was “some difficulty in determining the age of the Asiatic style of art that is not imitated from the Egyptian.”⁵⁰⁹ Nevertheless, he attempted to distinguish between the two types, assuming a direct relationship between the physiognomy of a sculpture and the “race” of a real individual.

Curtius shifted rapidly between language describing “racial” characteristics (“prominent eyes...thin nose”) and language that could point to the same set of traits but also to artistic style (“curled prolix beards”).⁵¹⁰ His attention to physical detail recalls G. Colonna-Ceccaldi’s

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 4–5

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵¹⁰ “The type of the Cypriot race is shown by prominent eyes, a large and rather thin nose, and pinched-up features, with the face unbearded. These may be Phoenician, as distinct from the Egyptian, and are again different from those with curled prolix beards of Assyrian or Persian style.” *Ibid.*, 7. He then discussed caps or turbans, laurels, rosettes, aligned each with particular periods of foreign domination.

description of a “Cypriot” type, in which it was similarly difficult to determine whether he was discussing physical details as “racial” or artistic elements of the sculptures. Like Hitchcock, L. Cesnola, and G. Colonna-Ceccaldi, Curtius seemed to subscribe to the theory that Cypriot sculptures were portraits of Cypriot individuals, and thus could be taken both as an index for the physical body and a marker of its “race.” Similar assumptions have been noted by scholars of ancient sculpture originating from other regions.⁵¹¹ Likewise, Schliemann read his “Mask of Agamemnon” as displaying “Hellenic” features,” thereby aligning the entire Mycenaean civilization more firmly with historical Greece.⁵¹²

Curtius also sought to identify the sculptor’s national identity, distinguishing between an Egyptian or Phoenician and a Greek manner of sculpting three-dimensional figures. His point of departure was the uncertainty regarding Cypriot chronology previously mentioned by Poole:

Nor it is possible to show a succession of sculpture of Egyptianized Phoenician art for the space of a thousand years, while the sculpture which falls into this category shows evident signs of the influence of Greek art. In pure Egyptian art the parts between the limbs are reserved or left solid, but in Greek art, especially after the period of the Daedalic epoch, they are detached. Nor is there great difference in treatments between this art and that of the old Hellenic, especially the statues of Herakles found in Cyprus.⁵¹³

The Herakles figures (see figs. 51 and 56) are viewed as a type of intermediate category between an Egyptian or Phoenician style and a (post-Daedalic) Greek style, as their legs are clearly and separately articulated, but still attached by stone running between them. That most Cypriot

⁵¹¹ Evans, *The Lives of Sumerian Sculpture*, 17, treats the reception of Sumerian sculpture and touches upon the nineteenth-century fascination with fragmentary heads as potential portraits of or substitutes for the human body: “In order to establish the racial typologies of ancient peoples, images assumed the properties of living individuals. Sculpture thus was transformed into an ethnographic document of a living body.”

⁵¹² “I repeat here that no trace of Assyrian art was found at Mycenae...[the mask’s] features are altogether Hellenic.” Schliemann quoted in Burns, *Mycenaean Greece*, see full discussion 52–57.

⁵¹³ Cesnola, *Atlas*, 6.

sculptures had free or “detached” legs indicated to Curtius that they were more closely related to the Greek style.⁵¹⁴

The bulk of Cesnola’s volume is devoted to short descriptions and photographs of the statues. Cesnola never simply classified figures as “Egyptian,” “Phoenician,” or “Greek.” Instead, he employed descriptions that hinted at foreign origins, but allowed for the figure to retain their native Cypriot identity. For example, referring to Plate II (fig. 59), he wrote, “The head-cloth, or wig, is of an Egyptian character...The action of the hands is that of Egyptian figures, holding a sceptre and emblem of life, and the statue is apparently a portrait of a Cypriote priest.”⁵¹⁵ The headdress and the posture may be “Egyptian,” but the figure is “Cypriote.” Similarly, the corresponding text to Plate IV (fig. 60) reads: “The position of the left thigh shows that the left leg was advanced, as if in the act of walking, as in Egyptian statues...The head-dress and costume resemble those of Egyptian statues...the eyes are full like the Cypriote type of face.”⁵¹⁶ While the posture and headdress are again carved “as in Egyptian statues” or made to “resemble those of Egyptian statues,” the face itself is “Cypriote.” This analysis corresponds to Curtius’s observations expressed in his introduction.

The treatment of another figure, shown in Plate VII (fig. 61), is slightly different: “This figure is evidently Phoenician, as the winged globe and head on the dress are not treated in Egyptian style.”⁵¹⁷ First, the figure is assumed to be “Phoenician” simply because the elements of its costume are not “treated in Egyptian style.” These unfamiliar features prompted Cesnola to

⁵¹⁴ It is unclear however, how one was to deal with the numerous heads that were preserved, without bodies or legs.

⁵¹⁵ Cesnola, *Atlas*, 6.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.*

distance the sculpture from the Egyptian as well as the Cypriot traditions. Even more puzzling is a description of Plate IX (fig. 62): “The features are Cypriote; the form is massive, and is a fine example of Phoenico-Egyptian style and treatment.”⁵¹⁸ This figure clearly presented features unfamiliar to Cesnola, who aligned the statue with the Cypriot tradition based on its facial features, and viewed the body and its decoration as a compromise between the “Phoenician” and “Egyptian” styles. As a result, the statue was not assigned to any single tradition, and instead received a mixed classification.

Cesnola was thus more flexible than decisive or authoritative in his classifications. Though he was not an academic, his views were nevertheless influential, owing to the strength and size of the Cesnola Collection and his position at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. His readiness to identify a variety of “foreign” elements and influences in his otherwise “Cypriot” figures may have encouraged a similar approach by other scholars, who followed his example and continued to name the figures according to “foreign” tradition as suited their own books and scholarship.

Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité, Tome III: Phénicie, Cypre, 1885*

Perrot and Chipiez’s ten-volume history of ancient art, produced between 1882 and 1914, was extremely influential, widely read both in French and in its English translation. The authors considered Cypriot art in multiple volumes, but I focus on the third volume, which appeared in 1885—the same year as the first volume of Cesnola’s *Atlas*. Perrot and Chipiez’s treatment of Cypriot sculpture is the most detailed of those reviewed here, incorporating both terracottas and

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

stone sculpture. They consistently illustrated objects discovered by European archaeologists and housed in Europe's collections, but also examples in the Cesnola Collection in New York.⁵¹⁹

Most of the illustrations of Cypro-Archaic works were redrawn from those reproduced in Cesnola's publications.⁵²⁰ The authors addressed the sculptures in isolation, never comparatively, and never assigned them to a particular style or national tradition.

Perrot and Chipiez considered geography central to the story of progress, exchange, and the history of art—a view with direct consequences for their evaluation of Cypriot culture. They insisted that the cultures surrounding the Greeks inspired them to reach their greatest potential during the classical period, pointing to Egypt and Chaldea as having awakened Greece's *génie plastique*.⁵²¹ Cyprus and Crete likewise emerged as key places in tracing this journey, a view perhaps grounded in their conviction that objects were carried most efficiently by water to their ultimate destination—in this case, mainland Greece.⁵²² The Mediterranean was thus established as the primary place of transport and exchange, and given a major role in shaping the history and development of ancient art. Because of Cyprus's proximity to the Levant, Perrot and Chipiez suggested that the Cypriot style could best be understood as a dialect of the Phoenician.⁵²³ They explored several possibilities for classifying Cyprus most generally in terms of “peoples,” seeking to identify various branches of civilization present on the island. The Phoenicians, they

⁵¹⁹ Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité, Tome III: Phénicie, Cypre* (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1885), 209, attacked L. Cesnola's methods and competency as an archaeologist, but praised his enormous efforts, saying he had uncovered more monuments than all other explorers combined.

⁵²⁰ The statues positioned at different angles may have been drawn on site. The illustrations were executed by the French Orientalist artist Saint-Elme Gautier (1849-1905).

⁵²¹ Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité, Tome III: Phénicie, Cypre*, 1–2.

⁵²² “D'ailleurs, par la voie de terre, les communications, dans l'antiquité, sont toujours restées lentes et difficiles.” *Ibid.*, 3.

⁵²³ This classification provides the justification for their including Cypriot art in a volume devoted to Phoenicia.

argued, were connected to the Semitic race and to the Hebrews.⁵²⁴ Using the *Iliad* as a historical source, and the Bible's ethnographic system to support it, they concluded that Cyprus had originally been, above all, Phoenician, populated by a Semitic race.⁵²⁵ Turning to religion as a primary marker of identity and culture, they noted that the Assyro-Phoenician deities were "borrowed" by Cyprus, again suggesting that the island's culture should be understood as Phoenician.

Finally, the scholars examined artistic evidence, conceding—as Ross first had in 1852—that studying Phoenician art was challenging because its material culture was poorly preserved. The best course of action was thus to seek examples from elsewhere. They enthusiastically outlined a plan to track Phoenician art by exploring Cyprus, even if, as they cautioned, "Cyprus n'est pas la Phénicie."⁵²⁶ For Perrot and Chipiez, Cypriot art was not Phoenician, exactly, but a type of "dialect" of Phoenician art.⁵²⁷ Yet, and despite a volume dedicated to these regions, they maintained that Phoenicia never actually had a national art. The conviction that an artistic tradition must be a unique, original, and distinct entity similarly affected their view of Cyprus, which they saw as vulnerable to external influence, born from a fusion "du sang et des idées."⁵²⁸ Like Phoenicia, Cyprus was to be understood as a place without a national tradition, but with a particular and unique mix of styles.

Still, they regarded the Cypriot style as slightly superior to that of Phoenicia, primarily due to its exposure to Hellenic models. They argued that the predominance of Greek models on

⁵²⁴ Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité, Tome III: Phénicie, Cypre*, 13.

⁵²⁵ Perrot, "L'île de Cypre, son rôle dans l'histoire, ii," 1879, had already drawn this conclusion.

⁵²⁶ Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité, Tome III: Phénicie, Cypre*, 93.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, 99, borrows vocabulary from linguists, employing a nineteenth-century trope that equated artistic styles with languages.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, 51.

Cyprus assured that Cypriot art avoided *monotonie* and *sécheresse*.⁵²⁹ Yet this observation was directly contradicted slightly later in the text, where they maintained that Cypriot sculpture—and particularly its religious sculpture—was repetitive. In this passage, Cypriot sculpture becomes “monotone et sans variété... Presque toutes les statues n’ont qu’une seule et même attitude, celle du repos.”⁵³⁰ This criticism, originally made by Doell, was thus revived, and the aesthetic ridicule of Cypriot sculpture emerges more strongly than ever. The shifts from condemnation to praise in the text are swift and startling, but there is a pattern: their praise flows when the model of Greek art is highlighted, and ebbs when a comparison with Phoenician, Assyrian, or Egyptian models is foregrounded.⁵³¹

Some passages described Cypriot sculpture as a “compromise” between the Assyrian and Egyptian styles.⁵³² Following the chronology of G. Colonna-Ceccaldi, the very oldest Cypriot sculptures were compared with Assyrian figures and classified as belonging to the Assyrian family, if not directly in the Assyrian style.⁵³³ Sculptures from the Cesnola Collection wearing “Assyrian” garments and have long beards support this point (figs. 63 and 64). Perrot and Chipiez argued that it was the “rudeness” of the Cypriot statues that betrayed their dependence on an Assyrian model, and indeed, the illustrated figures are hardly free of the block of stone from

⁵²⁹ Ibid., 509.

⁵³⁰ Ibid., 622, also claims that none of the statues was modeled from life, or to achieve beauty, but rather that they were all crafted in the service of religion.

⁵³¹ Other scholars did, of course, view Greek art as being too repetitive in the sense that the great works were copied again and again. Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, “The Study of Greek Sculpture in the Twenty-First Century,” *PAPS* 149, no. 1 (March 2005): 65, reminds us that “the very concepts of originality and ‘art for art’s sake’ were entirely extraneous to the Greeks, and their work should not be scrutinized with modern eyes.”

⁵³² Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l’art dans l’antiquité, Tome III: Phénicie, Cypre*, 530: “Certaines figures semblent être le résultat d’une sorte de compromis entre l’imitation de l’Assyrie et celle de l’Égypte.”

⁵³³ “De toutes les statues de pierre qui sont sorties des fouilles de Cypre, celles qu’une certaine rudesse de facture désigne comme les plus anciennes ont laissé à tous les observateurs la même impression; elles leur ont rappelé les monuments de la sculpture assyrienne. Sans doute, avec quelque attention, l’œil du conuaisseur aperçoit bientôt des différences assez sensibles; mais cependant il y a bien là ce que l’on appelle un air de famille.” Ibid., 518.

which they were carved, with the feet resting on built-in bases. Perrot and Chipiez later retreated from this claim, stating that Cypriot statues were not simply “copies” of Assyrian models.⁵³⁴ Phoenician sculpture is again disparaged for directly imitating an Egyptian model, while Cypriot imitations of Assyrian models are considered superior because any imitation was less obvious and less direct.⁵³⁵ Cesnola’s colossal head from Golgoi demonstrated this relationship, exhibiting clear ties to the “Assyrian” tradition but retaining certain “Greek” features (fig. 65).⁵³⁶ Here, they joined the majority of scholars, who likewise recognized “Assyrian” elements in this sculpture, but argued against G. Colonna-Ceccaldi, who perceived it as more “Egyptian.”

The authors were surprisingly insistent that Cypriot art was less imitative than Phoenician art. Their discussion of two “Egyptianizing” Cypriot statues from the Cesnola Collection repeats this point (figs. 66 and 67). Perrot and Chipiez provided relevant illustrations to support the argument that while many of the statues found at Golgoi exhibited a strong “Egyptianizing” element, these works nevertheless maintained a certain (Cypriot) independence.⁵³⁷ Thus, it is due to Cypriot art’s *indépendance* —even in its imitation of other models—that it is superior to the Phoenician tradition.⁵³⁸ Yet considering the amount of attention that Perrot and Chipiez devoted

⁵³⁴ “Malgré toutes ces analogies, les figures cypriotes ne pourront jamais passer pour des copies d’ouvrages assyriens; on n’a pas ici contrefait la sculpture de Ninive, comme on contrefaisait en Phénicie la sculpture égyptienne.” Ibid., 521.

⁵³⁵ Ibid., explains that Cypriots were using entirely different techniques to create sculptures (nearly) in the round, as opposed to Assyrians, whose technique was developed for relief sculpture.

⁵³⁶ Ibid.

⁵³⁷ Ibid., 526.

⁵³⁸ Perrot and Chipiez often use “*l’art indigène*” to mean art made locally, rather than characteristic of a local style. The concept can be related to the use of “Eteocypriot,” which was used to describe both native style and production and gained prominence in the 1930s. See Given, “Inventing the Eteocypriots.” Perrot and Chipiez were less consistent about the role of Phoenicia in discussing differences between the Assyrian and Cypriot styles. They promoted Phoenicia as an intermediary, suggesting that Cypriots had encountered the Assyrian style through Phoenician models. It is difficult, however, to puzzle out how, as they suggested, Cypriot art could maintain its superior position to Phoenician (and Assyrian) art, and simultaneously be an imitation of both. This style could be named wholly imitative one moment, and sharply contrasted with the Cypriot, and in the next moment be invoked to explain how

to Cyprus, their final discussion of the Cypriot style is unexpectedly brutal. They denied that the sculpture has any merit, declaring it fully imitative of Egyptian, Assyrian, and Greek models. Cypriot works were barbaric, “de vrais ouvrages d’enfant.”⁵³⁹ As Cypriot art never achieved full independence, for Perrot and Chipiez it exhibited no “style,” and could only be identified or recognized based on a developed intuition rather than according to certain, definitive stylistic traits.⁵⁴⁰ Abruptly, the authors also denied any link between Cyprus and *la vraie Grèce*, thus rejecting any connection between the sculpture of Cyprus and Archaic Greece, even though they had previously espoused one and approvingly quoted authors who promoted this view argue.⁵⁴¹ Perrot and Chipiez saw Cypriots as *demi-Grecs* or *Grecs incomplets*, their civilization descended not from that of Greece, but instead from Africa and Asia.⁵⁴²

The tension over Cyprus’s relation to Greece may have resulted from the authors’ view that Cyprus was populated by a “Semitic race.”⁵⁴³ Because Cypriots did not belong to *la race privilégiée*, they were not capable of producing art as great as that of the “Aryan” Greeks. As France’s own artistic lineage depended on the myth that artistic genius was born in classical Greece or Rome—and not in the Levant or on Cyprus—Perrot and Chipiez efficiently separated

the Cypriot style came about in the next moment. See Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l’art dans l’antiquité, Tome III: Phénicie, Cypre*, 522.

⁵³⁹ Ibid., 621.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.; Ibid., 539, cites a passage in which Heuzey named Cypriot art as a branch of Greek Archaic.

⁵⁴² Ibid., 550.

⁵⁴³ “Cypre est l’un des points où ces conceptions, enfantées par l’imagination sémitique, ont le plus fortement agi sur la Grèce aryenne; elles s’y sont modifiées profondément par ce contact intime et prolongé, ainsi que les symboles qui les exprimaient; puis, sous cette forme mixte et composite où chacune des deux races avait mis quelque chose de son propre génie, elles ont rayonné au dehors, elles se sont répandues dans tout le monde hellénique, étrusque et latin, dans tous les pays riverains de la Méditerranée.” Ibid., 506. Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez, *Histoire de l’art dans l’antiquité, Tome VI: La Grèce primitive, l’art mycénien* (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1894), 8, displays more explicit anti-Semitic bias, confirming the authors’ opinion that the Phoenicians were either “partial” or “full-blood” “Semites” and never belonged to the “privileged Aryan race,” as the Greeks had.

the “Greek” from “Oriental” traditions by characterizing the Phoenicians and Cypriots as “Semites,” denying them membership in the “privileged Aryan race.” Cypriot art was defined as an ancestral tradition of a distant past, produced by an entirely different race of people and thus safely separate from, and more primitive than, Greek art.

A. E. J. Holwerda, *Die alten Kyprier in Kunst und Cultus*, 1885

Dutch scholar Antoine Ewoud Jan Holwerda (1845-1922) published a study of Cypriot religion in the same year that Perrot and Chipiez’s volume on Phoenicia appeared. Though Holwerda’s book lacked the same wide readership, it treated many of the same objects, including those stemming from Dali and Golgoi.⁵⁴⁴ Holwerda’s assessment of the Cypriot style was much more positive than that of his contemporaries. He even suggested that Cypriot works had exercised an influence on Archaic Greek art, a possibility that other authors had been unwilling to consider.⁵⁴⁵ Holwerda’s position is thus an outlier, but it does echo Sandwith’s idea that Archaic Cyprus was in some ways more advanced than Archaic Greece. For Holwerda, Cypro-Archaic art was not simply a mix of Assyrian, Egyptian, and Archaic Greek art, but was instead inspired above all by the Assyrian tradition. In his analysis, Archaic Greek art (from mainland Greece) was not the source—or “mother”—of Cypro-Archaic art, nor were the Assyrian and Egyptian styles direct sources; Cypro-Archaic was an independent form of Archaic Greek art.⁵⁴⁶ Holwerda

⁵⁴⁴ As A. E. J. Holwerda, *Die alten Kyprier in Kunst und Cultus* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1885), v, explains, his study relied on objects from those sites that had ended up in the collections of the British Museum

⁵⁴⁵ “So ist doch eine eigentliche Abhängigkeit der kyprischen Kunst von der archaisch-griechischen wohl gänzlich abzuweisen. Nur von später hinzugetretenen archaisch-griechischen Einflüssen scheint die Rede sein zu können und diese waren auf keinen Fall sehr bedeutend. Umgekehrt hat die kyprische sehr bestimmt auf die archaisch-griechische eingewirkt.” *Ibid.*, 25. See also Senff, “Exotischer Reiz und historischer Wert.”

⁵⁴⁶ Holwerda, *Die alten Kyprier in Kunst und Cultus*, 29: “Die archaisch-griechische Kunst war in keiner Weise ihre Mutter, nicht einmal, wie etwa die assyrische und ägyptische, ihre Hebamme; sie selbst war, so zu sagen, eine Art griechischen Archaismus.”

thus rejected any model that saw Cypriot art as a category subsumed by, or following, the Archaic Greek style. He imagined the relationship between Archaic Cyprus and Archaic Greece as a series of reciprocal interactions—an argument that failed to find support. Still, Holwerda was undoubtedly a pioneer in arguing that scholars should not approach the art of a particular region only in response to its historical circumstances.⁵⁴⁷ Finally, his work played a role in solidifying the Cypriot visual canon—he reproduced exactly the “Assyrian” figures discussed by Perrot and Chipiez, which was taken, in turn, from Cesnola’s publications (fig. 68; see figs. 63 and 64) and Lang’s bearded figure (fig. 69; see fig. 57).

Lucy Mitchell, *A History of Ancient Sculpture, Volume I, 1888*

Stephen L. Dyson credits American author and art historian Lucy Mitchell (1845-1888) with having produced “the first general American text on ancient art.”⁵⁴⁸ Her chapter on Greek prehistory reveals how mysterious the beginnings of Greek sculpture seemed to scholars, even in the late 1880s: “Tradition makes [Crete] the home of Minos, the first Greek ruler, and of Daidalos, the first Greek artist... These shadowy data, however, for the early importance of Crete and its art, still await confirmation by excavations.”⁵⁴⁹ Relying on mythological tradition, Mitchell was among the first to highlight the potential of discoveries on Crete to clarify an Archaic chronology. In the interim, the lineage of Greek sculpture could be more firmly connected to Cyprus. Mitchell’s contribution contains one of the most detailed discussions of Cypriot sculpture of the period, likely owing to her proximity to the Cesnola Collection at the

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 7–8, addresses figures in Egyptian costume being falsely assumed to belong to a period of Egyptian rule. See *Ibid.*, 22–4, for a discussion of other elements Holwerda believed Cypriot art owed to Egyptian models.

⁵⁴⁸ Stephen L. Dyson, *Ancient Marbles to American Shores: Classical Archaeology in the United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 106.

⁵⁴⁹ Lucy M. Mitchell, *A History of Ancient Sculpture, Volume I* (New York: Donn, Mead, & Company, 1888), 146.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, upon which she relied to construct her arguments.⁵⁵⁰ Her treatment of Cypriot art was remarkable both for its length and its heavy dependence on the English translation of Perrot and Chipiez’s volume on Phoenicia and Cyprus, which appeared in 1885.

For Mitchell, the connection between Phoenicia and Cyprus was undeniably strong.⁵⁵¹ Her chapter “Phoenicia and its Dependencies”—an exact borrowing from Perrot and Chipiez—features a “Cypriote type” of sculpture.⁵⁵² According to Mitchell, Phoenician art “incongruously mixed up” Assyrian and Egyptian motifs which were, in turn, “rendered in a lax and puffy manner, quite different from the severer treatment of either genuine Egyptian or Assyrian work.”⁵⁵³ Her choice of words is idiosyncratic, deviating from Perrot and Chipiez’s interpretation of a Phoenician style. She strove to be more specific in her descriptions—naming Phoenician imitations as “lax” and “puffy”—whereas other scholars had observed only minor differences among these three traditions, failing to describe the qualities that made them distinct. Her general commentary on Phoenician art otherwise echoed that of earlier scholars. This style was for Mitchell a “feeble reflex” that suffered from “a lack of vigor and originality.”⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵⁰ She was also aware of others’ work and finds, however, and highlights the inconsistency and unreliability of Cesnola: “Attention was first drawn to Cypriote sculptures by the German archaeologist, Ross, who about 1840 brought to Berlin many figures and heads and terracotta and stone, collected in a hasty trip through the island, and like those afterwards discovered on different sites, or otherwise collected in great numbers by the British consul Lang and the brothers Cesnola. Unfortunately no exact records of the discovery of the remains now in New York appear to have been kept; what was found in temple and tomb not having been held scrupulously apart, nor the localities accurately given. Restorations, carried out at different times, have increased the confusion already existing, and rendered still more difficult a correct judgment of the majority of these monuments.” *Ibid.*, 18.

⁵⁵¹ “Nowhere do they seem more abundant than in Cyprus, whose position near the Phoenician coast must have strengthened its relationship to the mother-land.” *Ibid.*, 117.

⁵⁵² *Ibid.*, 116, emphasizes the links between Cyprus and Phoenicia

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*, 115–16.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 117. See also *Ibid.*, 123: “[I]n comparison with genuine Greek drapery, that of Cyprus is a feeble mimicry.” The connotations of “feeble” are clear—it indicates not only a comparative failure but also a weakness inherent to “imitative” traditions such as the Phoenician and Cypriot.

She divided Cypriot statuary into two types. The first was “ruder and more primitive,” and corresponded to a time when Phoenician motifs dominated the island’s artistic landscape. The second was “more developed,” due to Greek influence, but still “a very second-rate provincial art.”⁵⁵⁵ Phoenician elements continued to appear in the second type, alongside new “influence” from Egypt, especially evident in the figures’ costume.⁵⁵⁶ Here she illustrated a sculpture from the Cesnola Collection (fig. 70) that had also appeared in the accounts by Perrot and Chipiez and Holwerda (see figs. 63 and 68). Though Mitchell related Cypriot statues to various of foreign traditions, she was careful—like Cesnola—not to classify Cypriot art as equivalent to Egyptian, Phoenician, Assyrian, or Greek. For example, she asserted that the Cypriot artist was less focused than the Assyrian on “decorative details”.⁵⁵⁷ Similarly, distancing Cypriot from Egyptian works, she noted the Cypriot simplification of many figural elements, such as the general form, hair, beards, and clothing.⁵⁵⁸ In both cases, the Cypriot style falls short of attaining the splendor of the original model. Part of this failure is attributed to the artist’s medium—limestone—which Mitchell classified as too soft, “unsuited for fine carving.”⁵⁵⁹ Here, she developed ideas introduced by Colvin and Birch, who had also attributed the “unsophisticated” manner of carving discernible in Cypriot sculpture to its medium. Mitchell

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., 122–123, analyzes the types’ physiognomy and betrays a familiarity with Heuzey (treated in Chapter Three) and G. Colonna-Ceccaldi.

⁵⁵⁶ “Many of the cruder statues, which may, in general, be termed Phoenician, wear garments which are evidently copied from Egypt.” Ibid. She also maintained that the skins some figures wear were copied from Egyptian statues.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid., 123.

⁵⁵⁸ “The summariness of treatment on all these crude statues, the sketchiness in rendering form, hair, beard, and clothing, as well as the advancement of the left foot in those not heavily draped, likewise calls directly to mind Egyptian motives, and makes it evident that these islanders were strongly under the influence of the hoary civilization of the Nile, without attaining in their works any of its dignity, or severe artistic spirit.” Ibid., 122.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid., 118, addresses the failure of the Cypriot sculptor to portray individuals in a convincing manner: “In all these crude figures, the native sculptor seems to be struggling to render a particular type, although hampered by conventionality and his crude material.”

went further: “To this inferior character of the stone may doubtless also be attributed much of the stiffness, and lack of motion prevalent in Cypriote statuary, even when belonging to an advanced age.”⁵⁶⁰ Thus, though Cypriot sculpture was “stiff” and “crude,” Mitchell viewed these shortcomings largely as a result of the problematic limestone, rather than betraying the Cypriot artist’s lack of skill.⁵⁶¹

Turning from a discussion of this “crude material” to the sculptor’s technique, she distanced the Cypriot from the Greek tradition in a dramatic fashion, in this case finding fault with the Cypriot artist: “In mustering now this array of sculpture, we find that the statue carved fully in the round was never acclimatized in Cyprus; the backs of all the figures being left flat, and in the rough. The spirit which permitted this neglect, as well as the superficial treatment of the body as compared with the head, is far different from that which appears in even the oldest extant Greek statues.”⁵⁶² Though this “neglect” must be seen as undesirable in either tradition, Mitchell perceived a difference between what we might attribute to a long-standing prejudice against “foreign” traditions in favor of a “homegrown” Greek tradition. The tone of the following section certainly suggests such a perspective: “The continued intermixture of so many races, as well as the varying political fortunes of the island, may doubtless, in part, explain the unpleasant mongrel character of nearly every thing Cypriote, even down to a later date, whether it be in art or religion.”⁵⁶³ The force of the term “unpleasant mongrel” reminds us how fatal connotations of

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid., 128. Aligning herself with Hitchcock, Cesnola, Colonna-Ceccaldi, and Curtius, in this passage Mitchell also argued that most Cypriot sculpture was portraiture.

⁵⁶² Ibid., 122, compares Cypriot examples to the superior “Apollo from Boetia, and the one from Tenea.” This commentary is worth flagging because the British Museum shifted its display in the 1890s to accommodate a Cypriot marble kouros—the “Marion Kouros”—among its Archaic Greek sculpture, including an “Apollo from Boetia,” discussed in Chapter Three.

⁵⁶³ Ibid., 118.

artistic “mixing” or “impurity” could be.⁵⁶⁴ Turning to subject matter, she again distances the Cypriot from the Greek.⁵⁶⁵ Her interest in Cypriot sculpture resulted from its apparent nearness to a variety of traditions—including the Greek—and one of the goals of her treatment of the Cypriot style was to clarify that it was *not* in fact Greek.

The question of Cypriot chronology was still open, and Mitchell ventured to date sculptures by costume: “Those having Egyptian garments have been conjecturally placed as far back as between 1600 and 1000 BC...those supposed to be clothed in the Assyrian style are assigned by some to the period between 1000 and 500 BC...The remainder fall into the period extending from 500 BC, when Greek customs came to prevail, down to the fall of the Roman Empire.”⁵⁶⁶ Here, she revealed her dependence on the Cesnola brothers, Ohnefalsch-Richter, and Lang; indeed, this scheme follows the model that equates costume with political control or allegiance as set out by those authors. Her dates are, however, extremely high by comparison with prevailing chronologies—even with Birch’s claim that “Egyptian” Cypriot sculptures might

⁵⁶⁴ A distaste for “hybrid” or “mixed” art and a promotion of “pure” styles had clear racial connotations. There were uncomfortable tensions surrounding the desire to trace the origins of sculpture back—but not too far back—into the past. Other fields (including as ethnography and evolutionary biology) extended the search farther south, and farther east, but in the fields of archaeology and art history, there seemed to be an unspoken agreement that ancient artistic genius lived only in Europe. The roots were to remain firmly on European soil, and not wander too freely to the distant Near East or even any part of Africa (with the exception of Egypt). These types of prejudices were explored by Martin Bernal in his three volume *Black Athena* series. Though most scholars have rejected the validity of his evidence and many of his arguments, the work nevertheless launched a series of important, ongoing debates surrounding his basic thesis—that classical civilization has African roots that have long been ignored or obscured by classicists. See Mary Lefkowitz, *Not Out of Africa: How Afrocentrism Became an Excuse to Teach Myth as History* (New York: New Republic and Basic Books, 1996); Mary Lefkowitz and Guy Maclean-Rogers, eds., *Black Athena Revisited* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Wim van Binsbergen, *Black Athena Comes of Age: Towards a Constructive Re-assessment* (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2011). For an analysis of the multifaceted popular reception of antiquities from Zimbabwe, see Duesterberg, *Popular Receptions of Archaeology*, 150: “Central to all these texts is the fact that the Zimbabwe ruins were conceived as disturbing in the first place, since they seemed to contradict the main imperial assumption that Africa did not have a civilised history *before* its colonisation by white settlers.”

⁵⁶⁵ Mitchell, *A History of Ancient Sculpture*, 120: “These worshippers bearing gifts are a peculiarly Semitic motive, rarely met with in purely Hellenic art.”

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 123.

date from the ninth or tenth centuries. Mitchell thus saw Egyptian and Cypriot works as closely related not only in style, but also in date, arguing that the Cypriots used Egyptian techniques and iconography well before any period of Egyptian control. Mitchell, as most others, did not consider the possibility that the sculptures of a variety of “styles” or costumes might have been contemporaneous, and, sensing the pressure of previous scholarship to date them to different periods, outlines a series of similar stages for their development or chronology.

1890s: Cyprus as an “Ancestral Tradition”

During the final years of the nineteenth century, scholars increasingly included Cypriot works in their general surveys of art and archaeology. They continued to position Cyprus in multiple parts of their discussions, arguing in one section that its tradition was closely related to “Oriental” styles, and elsewhere cautiously suggesting that it might be appreciated as a “precursor” to or “branch” of “Archaic Greek,” or pure “Greek” art. The elements that defined the Archaic Greek style were becoming clearer in this period.⁵⁶⁷ Excavations at the Athenian Acropolis had begun in 1834, but a more systematic exploration was carried out in 1885-86, and in 1886, archaeologists unearthed the “great find,” a series of korai.⁵⁶⁸ In the 1890s, these new examples of Archaic Greek sculpture were celebrated by many scholars, including P. Gardner. “In style they vary greatly; and it is a fascinating task to trace from one to another the gradual dawn upon the artistic sense of Greece of greater skill in the rendering of difficult detail, of keener love for nature, of clearer feelings for style. Yet all, even the rudest, have something of

⁵⁶⁷ For a discussion of the impact of these finds, see Donohue, *Greek Sculpture*, 5.

⁵⁶⁸ Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, 247–48: “No group of statues belonging to this early age has attracted more attention than the remarkable series of archaic female figures, clad in the flowing Ionian dress, of which an almost endless series is now set up in the Acropolis Museum.”

that inexplicable charm which belongs to archaic Greek art, and which takes a stronger and stronger hold of students of archaeology.”⁵⁶⁹ The Archaic style had thus begun to charm archaeologists, who introduced specimens to their survey volumes, hoping to better understand and document the style’s various subtypes.

Meanwhile, other scholars sought to look still further into the past. As Mitchell had observed in 1888, “The early importance of Crete and its art...await confirmation by excavations.”⁵⁷⁰ The wait would not be a long one: Evans broke ground at Knossos in 1900. The years leading up to this date were marked by an increasing curiosity about Crete, which—like Cyprus—scholars supposed would provide them with more information about a preclassical Greek past. At the same time, as outlined in Chapter One, scholars had become skeptical of the value of Cypriot art to the new “science” of archaeology. “It is much to be regretted that the period of excavation which opened so auspiciously with the discovery of the Cyprian language has not been so successful as regards the language of Cypriot art. The value of Cyprian antiquities has caused the country to be ruthlessly exploited, and some of the excavators seem to have had neither the wish to benefit historical science, nor the necessary knowledge.”⁵⁷¹ Cypriot antiquities—especially those unearthed by Cesnola—could not be separated from the scandal that surrounded them in the 1880s. Scholars thus turned even more eagerly away from Cypriot material in favor of Cretan—and especially finds from the Minoan period.

Finally, other scholars continued to process the discoveries of Mycenaean culture made by Schliemann and others. As J. Fitton summarizes, “The last decade of the nineteenth century

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁰ Mitchell, *A History of Ancient Sculpture*, 146.

⁵⁷¹ Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, 175. This remark is a thinly veiled attack on Cesnola.

was the age of the so-called ‘Mycenaean Question’ — shorthand for the question of the spatial and temporal limits of the Mycenaean culture, and how it fitted into the sequence of cultures in Greece and the eastern Mediterranean.”⁵⁷² Bronze Age objects from Mycenae were both puzzling and exciting to archaeologists in much the same way Cypriot works had been. Some scholars saw clear evidence of an early “Greek” culture, while others insisted on a strong “Phoenician” element. Debates about the relative occurrence of these elements in Mycenaean material culture translated into disagreements about chronology — again mirroring the contemporary state of affairs in Cypriot scholarship.⁵⁷³

J. A. R. Munro and H. A. Tubbs, “Excavations in Cyprus,” 1890-91

John Arthur Ruskin Munro (1864–1944) and Henry Arnold Tubbs (1865-1943), both British classicists and founding members of the Cyprus Exploration Fund, compiled a series of reports on the early seasons of the society’s excavations. Their first report of 1890 describes the second season of work in 1889 at Polis tes Chrysochou, carried out by the authors and E. Gardner. In a section on the temple at Limniti, Munro and Tubbs discussed terracotta and limestone figurines, seeking comparanda in Perrot and Chipiez’s *Phoenicia* volume as well as Cesnola’s *Atlas*. The authors argued that the “flat and lazy” Cypriot style should be understood as a symptom of Cyprus’s domination by the Persians.⁵⁷⁴ They specified that Cyprus was, throughout the fifth century, fully isolated from the Archaic schools of sculpture that had

⁵⁷² J. Lesley Fitton, “Excavations in Cyprus and the ‘Mycenaean Question,’” in *Cyprus in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Tatton-Brown, 150. See also Burns, *Mycenaean Greece*.

⁵⁷³ For publications by Newton and Murray and their suggested chronologies for Mycenaean pottery, see Fitton, “Excavations in Cyprus and the ‘Mycenaean Question.’” Both scholars used material found on Cyprus to aid them in classifying and dating Mycenaean culture more generally.

⁵⁷⁴ J. Arthur R. Munro and H. A. Tubbs, “Excavations in Cyprus, 1889. Second Season’s Work. Polis tes Chrysochou.-Limniti,” *JHS* 11 (1890): 91.

developed on mainland Greece. They likewise rejected what other authors had argued was a close relationship between Cyprus and Phoenicia, instead suggesting that Cypriots had “almost forgotten [the] training imparted by Phoenicia,” having been “disturbed” by the influence of other “conquering powers,” including Egypt and Persia.⁵⁷⁵ They introduced a tripartite typology of limestone statuettes, but provided no dates, making it impossible to map their scheme onto those of publications reviewed above.⁵⁷⁶ A keen interest in the worshipers’ identities and social circumstances anticipated the kinds of issues that archaeologists and art historians would explore in the twentieth century. Munro and Tubbs devoted a lengthy passage to the possible identification and “meaning” of the figures, which they took to be portraits, but not specifically of priests or kings.⁵⁷⁷

A second article, published in 1891, covered a third season of excavations, this time in 1890 at Salamis. Munro and Tubbs’ analysis of limestone sculpture differs significantly from that presented in the previous report. Cypriot figures are now arranged according to a typology of sex and attributes and are compared to Assyrian and Persian relief sculpture, though “the likeness to

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁶ The authors outlined three groups of heads—one male and two female—the early “Semitic” and the later “Hellenized.” Ibid., 93.

⁵⁷⁷ “The meaning of these Cypriote statuettes is by no means as yet completely explained. Two or three points are certain: there is always a...suggestion of portraiture: consequently, there is not at any temple a single fixed type, such as might...be treated as ideal and divine...there is a certain element of continuity in the different groups, supplied by a fixed scheme of dress and ornament...the theory that kings and priests were represented in these statues was early put forward...If they represented kings, these could only be the kings of Soli, and there are far too many statues for the number of reigning kings during the period during which the sanctuary was open. A similar objection...applies to the theory which makes them priests...The statues are certainly ex-votos; but instead of being images of the god they are those of his worshippers, whether king, priest, noble, or merchant. Ibid., 95. In the following year’s report, the authors return to possible “local” meanings of Cypriot figures, suggesting that statues were given to seal or fulfill a vow to the deities, and proposing multiple reasons to account for the variation present in the figures’ clothing. “Various considerations would affect the form of the dedication—the character of the deity to whom it was made, the sex, status and age of the dedicator, the social institutions and religious customs of the community, and finally the varying circumstances of the vow, all the difficulties and successes, fears and hopes of humanity.” J. Arthur R. Munro and H. A. Tubbs, “Excavations in Cyprus, 1890. Third Season’s Work. Salamis,” *JHS* 12 (1891): 163.

Assyrian work is only in externals.”⁵⁷⁸ Further, the scholars newly identify an independent Cypriot style: “the features are very far from Semitic, although equally far from the Greek ideal—are in fact thoroughly Cypriote.”⁵⁷⁹ Also new is the assertion that Egyptian art had exercised the most profound influence on Cypriot limestone, of greater importance to its development than either the Persian or Assyrian. Munro and Tubbs argued that this influence even continued into later periods, the result of Hellenic transmission of Egyptian influence to Cyprus.⁵⁸⁰ Markers of this “influence” are observed in the statues’ hairstyle, costume, and posture. Overall, in this report, the authors aligned the Cypriot style much more closely with the Greek style, even as they continued to assert the importance of intermediaries. In the Cypriot tradition, they observed “the Greek artistic spirit beginning to stir,” specifying that “something of Hellenic genius...may have been in the mixed population of Cyprus.”⁵⁸¹ But they argue that this “Greek element” present on Cyprus “was not derived direct from Greece, but had wandered southwards from the Hellespont, passing under oriental influences on the way through Asia Minor.”⁵⁸² That this spirit or genius had the agency to “wander southwards” might indicate that the authors were discussing national “styles” and believed that the native Cypriot “style” was formed through the movement of “foreign” objects or individuals reaching the island at successive points in its history.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid., 151.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid. We note the influence of Perrot, who encouraged an analysis of sculptural features in searching for a racial or cultural designation for the work. See also Ibid., 151–53 for a lengthier discussion of Persian and Assyrian “influence,” especially on Cypriot costume.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., 161.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid., 162. Unlike Perrot, Munro and Tubbs did not rely on arguments concerning “blood” and “race,” instead referring to “Greek artistic spirit” and “Hellenic genius.”

⁵⁸² Ibid.

Percy Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History: Historical Results of Recent Excavations in Asia Minor, 1892*

P. Gardner's survey introduced the reader to recently discovered archaeological sites, and, much like Reinach's *Chroniques d'Orient*, focused exclusively on new finds from Asia Minor, or what Gardner terms "Greek lands." He envisioned this region as reaching from "Greater Phrygia" to "Mycenae and the islands," and also included chapters on Naukratis, Sparta, and the Athenian Acropolis.⁵⁸³ Considering this vast new body of evidence, Gardner observed a "revival of the arts" with its origins in the East, passing westward from Phoenicia throughout the entire Mediterranean during the eighth and seventh centuries BCE.⁵⁸⁴ His treatment of ancient Cyprus appears this in context, in a separate chapter, demonstrating his hope that Cypriot limestone in particular might instruct archaeologists on the unique nature of Cypriot art. "Statues made in local limestone, and found in great abundance in many parts of the island...form a group apart amid all the remains of antiquity, and they reflect alike the character of the Cyprian race and the nature of their surroundings."⁵⁸⁵ He thus belonged to the group of scholars, among them L. Cesnola and G. Colonna-Ceccaldi, who saw Cyprus as incorporating a variety of "foreign" styles while maintaining a style all its own. For Gardner, as for Mitchell, however, the mixture of styles evident in Cypriot works was not desirable, but rather betrayed the sculptor's laziness: "It is not strange that an art so languid imitated the style of any one of the more living arts of the nations

⁵⁸³ Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, xi–xiv.

⁵⁸⁴ Referring to the arts of the Levant, he employed the terms "Phoenician" and "Semitic" interchangeably.

⁵⁸⁵ Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, 183.

around.”⁵⁸⁶ This assertion recalls Mitchell’s characterization of the Phoenician and Cypriot styles as “feeble.”⁵⁸⁷

Gardner repeated the generally accepted idea that the Phoenicians originally brought art to Cyprus, but argued, like Poole and Mitchell, that the oldest traces of foreign influence present in Cypriot sculpture might instead be Egyptian. Discussing Lang’s 1868 Dali finds, he observed: “In that part of the temple which Mr. Lang judged to be the oldest, these statues had sometimes an Egyptian, sometimes an Assyrian aspect. In the more recent parts a style appeared somewhat different from any to which we were accustomed, a style which was probably native, and peculiar to Cyprus. In addition, mingled with these, were what seemed to be copies of early Assyrian and Egyptian statues.”⁵⁸⁸ Gardner thus aligned himself with L. Cesnola, Birch, Perrot and Chipiez, and many others who saw Cypriot sculpture as reliant on foreign models corresponding to periods of domination by these cultures. He also hinted at the existence of a style “native” or “peculiar to Cyprus,” which we might assume stems from L. Cesnola’s and/or Colonna- Ceccaldi’s earlier identification of an independent Cypriot style.

Importantly, Gardner was the first to acknowledge serious discontent with the conflicting methods of classification used for Cyprus. He suggested that there were two possible ways to explain the great variety of Cypriot art: either the works dated from a long chronological span (corresponding to the political domination model), or from a narrow one, with several foreign models employed simultaneously, “made by artists who had the custom to copy styles used in various countries.”⁵⁸⁹ He argued that the solution to this problem depended on whether Cypriot

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁷ Mitchell, *A History of Ancient Sculpture*, 117, referred to Phoenician art as a “feeble reflex” of the Egyptian style.

⁵⁸⁸ Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, 173.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid., 184.

art was more closely related to a “Phoenician” or “Hellenic” mode. Gardner’s discussion reveals that contemporaneous understanding—and appreciation—of the former was much less secure than the latter.

In studying the course of Cyprian art manufacture, are we to interpret it on the analogy of a stream which flows straight down past point after point, or are we to interpret it on the analogy of an eddy which turns again and again, and runs in all directions within the space of a few feet? This question would be much simplified if we could tell...whether...we are to use the Hellenic or the Phoenician analogy. The history of Greek art we know; we can trace it from stage to stage, through archaism, the transition, the period of full development, and the period of decline...But in regard to the art of Oriental countries, the same precision cannot by any means be attained.⁵⁹⁰

Gardner pinpointed scholars’ inability to identify Cypriot art as either Phoenician or Hellenic as the most problematic element in the study of the Cypriot style.⁵⁹¹ The metaphor of a stream (corresponding to the foreign domination model) versus eddy (contemporaneous production) is useful if we consider the landscape as a chronological one, in which the stream spans many centuries and the eddy just a few. With the “eddy” model, Gardner suggested that many external models had been available to Cypriot sculptors at once, and that they could have chosen freely, carving one statue in an “Egyptian” fashion, and the next in an “Assyrian” mode. This hypothesis allowed for more agency, including an *intentional* selection of models on the part of the Cypriot artist and/or patron.⁵⁹²

⁵⁹⁰ He continues, “And with regard to Phoenician art in particular, we find ourselves in quite a different order of things...it would appear that the Phoenicians had no style of art peculiar to themselves. In all the works which can be with the greatest probability assigned to them, we find nothing but copies of various degrees of goodness and badness, of Assyrian and Egyptian and Greek originals. Assyrian reliefs they copy, but confuse the elements; Egyptian hieroglyphics they imitate, but evidently without understanding them.” Ibid.

⁵⁹¹ He later returned to this issue: “It would seem that the course of Greek art was like a stream; that of Phoenician art was like an eddy. Are we to class Cyprian art with the Greek or with the Phoenician?” Ibid., 185.

⁵⁹² Its disappearance from subsequent scholarship is curious; it seems the problem was not so much resolved as ignored or forgotten.

Luigi Palma di Cesnola [featuring text by Alexander Stuart Murray], *A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection, Volume II, 1894*

Cesnola's second volume of the *Atlas* addressed the terracotta sculptures in the Cesnola Collection and is therefore less central to our discussion than the limestone volume published in 1885. Still, the introduction provides an interesting comparison, as Murray, who had contributed to Cesnola's 1877 volume, also wrote the introduction to this volume. By 1894, scholars had a much better understanding of how to separate the different styles that they viewed as integral to Cypriot art (Greek, Phoenician, Assyrian, and Egyptian) than twenty years previously. Murray thus dropped his earlier label of Cypriot art as "Indo-European" in favor of a more textured discussion of the different periods of foreign influence. Still, he noted—as had Gardner—that scholars lacked a fixed sequence for these periods: "There is not the clear distinction of different epochs which we observe in Greece proper. That art had its periods of change, no doubt, and in its changes features were introduced which, from their uniqueness, have been a constant puzzle to archaeologists. All the same it seems to be beyond dispute that the art of Cyprus went on reproducing old types which would have become obsolete elsewhere centuries before."⁵⁹³ Like Doell and Perrot and Chipiez, Murray found Cypriot sculpture repetitive and archaic, but hoped to discover how it could answer questions about Greek art.⁵⁹⁴ Yet, as Mitchell and Perrot and Chipiez had done, he denied a pronounced Greek influence, even during the Archaic period.⁵⁹⁵ Where he did detect Greek influence, Murray described the artist's inability to resist giving the

⁵⁹³ Luigi Palma di Cesnola, *A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Volume II* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1894), vi. Murray expressed the same unhappiness and skepticism that P. Gardner had voiced in criticizing how various Cypriot styles were dated, lacking a thorough understanding of whether the Cypriot tradition was predominantly "Phoenician" or "Hellenic."

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, xiv.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, xiii.

sculpture a native Cypriot touch, which effectively distanced the Cypriot from the original Greek model. “Nor could the artist escape his natural impulse to put a Cypriote cap on the head in place of the beautiful Greek treatment of the hair...”⁵⁹⁶ He was thus working under the assumption that Cypriot artists, while aspiring to the Greek model, were incapable of creating a product that could be called truly Greek.

Ernest Gardner, *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, 1897

E. Gardner had been central to the formation of the Cyprus Exploration Fund—formed in 1887—and we can assume for this reason that he had a genuine interest in promoting the island’s art. Published five years after his brother Percy’s *Handbook*, Ernest’s volume was not an exhaustive history of Greek sculpture, but rather a collection of individual works that seemed to him most useful in illustration. It was exceptionally selective in this sense—if a work was important but could not be illustrated, it was omitted. Unlike many of the surveys discussed thus far, Gardner’s sought to advance theories that were generally accepted and unlikely to change with new discoveries. The first chapter considered both “origins” and “influences” in Greece and the surrounding regions during the centuries before “the independent existence of Greek sculpture.”⁵⁹⁷ Gardner highlighted both Egyptian and Assyrian art as sources for later Greek development. Outlining the different techniques of these regions’ sculptors, he positioned the two as foils: the Egyptian sculptor “simplifies,” whereas the Assyrian sculptor magnifies and “exaggerates.”⁵⁹⁸ Gardner’s classification of these traditions generally corresponded to other

⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, xiv.

⁵⁹⁷ E. Gardner, *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, 42. Here he seems to mean the arrival of a “pure” or classical Greek style.

⁵⁹⁸ “The Egyptian sculptor simplifies the forms of nature, and sums them up, as it were, in an abbreviated abstract; the Assyrian renders them more at length and in detail. The former seems to see the human body through a fine veil, which hides from his view all accidents of surface and unessential features, so as to leave nothing but the main

scholars' commentary on the two styles, but improved upon their contributions by employing more precise language.

Unlike nearly every scholar discussed above, Gardner considered Phoenician art less important in the transfer of Eastern models to Greece than either Egyptian or Assyrian art.⁵⁹⁹ While he employed a familiar metaphor, stating that Greeks had borrowed the “alphabet of art” from Phoenicians, he insisted that they proceeded to create a style wholly their own. For Gardner, Phoenician art was interesting only for what it could tell scholars about this process of transmission. He considered the Phoenician style not a direct “source,” as the Egyptian and Assyrian styles had been, but a “channel” and intermediary from Egypt and Assyria to Greece—a vehicle through which the Greeks received models of and information about these primary sources.⁶⁰⁰ He classified both the Phoenician and Cypriot styles as composite types whose various elements could be readily isolated by an expert eye.

While acknowledging multiple “foreign” elements in Greek sculpture, he distanced these “influences” from the true Greek in a rather underhanded way: “We need not then think it any derogation to Greek sculpture if we trace the foreign influences that surrounded it in its earliest years; in the use it made of those influences we shall see the promise of that free and perfect

outlines and the general effects of the contour. On the other hand, the Assyrian sculptor appears to study nature through a magnifying glass; he emphasizes the things that the Egyptian refines away; he observes and exaggerates.” *Ibid.*, 49–50.

⁵⁹⁹ Gardner cautioned, as many authors had, that the Phoenician style was known from imports found in other regions rather than from examples found in Phoenicia proper. Cyprus and Crete are both mentioned here as having Phoenician works on their soil. Gardner added that the Phoenician style could be difficult to identify because Phoenicians nearly always worked for foreign patrons. *Ibid.*, 50. Throughout this discussion, Gardner relied on the English translation of Perrot and Chipiez’s third volume. For example, he wrote that Phoenician works “show strangely composite scenes, in which types borrowed from Egyptian or Assyrian art alternate or are mingled in confusion; the result has been well compared by M. Perrot to what is called in chemistry a mechanical compound—one in which the constituent elements do not combine to form a new substance, but remain easily distinguishable, and do not modify their essential nature.” *Ibid.*, 51. The analogy he cites does not appear in the French.

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 50.

development that marks its prime. As F. A. Lange has well said, ‘the true independence of Greek art lies in its perfection, not in its origin.’⁶⁰¹ This observation echoed the sentiment voiced by Colvin that though the Greeks may have been inspired by foreign models, their sculpture—which later reached a state of “perfection”—was completely their own. Unlike Greek sculpture, Cypriot sculpture was not considered to have achieved a similar “independence” or “perfection.” Gardner’s perception of the difference between Cypriot and Greek art is outlined in the following: “in Cyprus, [the artist] never got beyond a mere mechanical repetition and combination of these various elements, without ever rising beyond them, so as to create a style of his own. But in Greece there had already been signs of artistic promise, which showed that there was no fear of such a lifeless adoption of foreign products.”⁶⁰² On Cyprus, Gardner maintained, artists simply repeated or copied foreign elements, but Greece, which had more artistic potential, was able to rise above such “lifeless adoption.” Again, we see how deeply engrained was the sentiment of Greek exceptionalism.

Gardner ventured to name the reasons behind Cyprus’s tendency to be so receptive to foreign influence yet fail to reach the standard of Greek sculpture:

Its lack of political independence is matched by an equal lack of artistic originality; and its receptiveness for foreign models is joined to a conservatism of type and style which is both useful and puzzling to the student of Cypriote art—useful, because it has preserved to us numerous types of the artistic types which offered models to the earliest Greek sculptors, and puzzling because the mechanical repetition of those types down to much later times often makes it impossible to infer with confidence the actual date of what may at first sight appear to be a very early specimen.⁶⁰³

⁶⁰¹ Ibid., 46. Friedrich Albert Lange (1828-1875) was a German philosopher.

⁶⁰² Ibid., 87–88.

⁶⁰³ Ibid., 85.

The judgment is decidedly harsh—here Gardner highlights Cypriot art for its potential to help scholars better understand Greek art rather than for anything inherent to its own style. The attack on the style’s “lack of artistic originality” is familiar from many of the accounts treated above.

The volume does not illustrate any Cypriot works. The statue of Nikandre, a seventh-century BCE kore discovered on Delos in 1878, however, is linked to the Cypriot style and serves to represent Cypriot and other works, perceived as similar in form and technique (fig. 71).⁶⁰⁴ In her analysis of the “problem of description” in Greek sculpture, Donohue reviews several other early descriptions of this work.⁶⁰⁵ The Nikandre sculpture was problematic for archaeologists, who did not know how to approach or classify it, and the language used to describe it—as in Gardner’s account—was often summary and negative. The descriptions of Nikandre closely resemble those of the Cypriot style. Much like Cypriot sculptures, “[Nikandre] is thus caught between two of the most stubborn problems in the history of Greek sculpture: the Daedalic style, and the beginning of large marble statuary.”⁶⁰⁶ The Cypriot style occupied a similar position in much of the survey scholarship: it was commonly brought into discussions of the origins of early Greek sculpture. The same words used to “describe”—or aesthetically evaluate—Nikandre often appear in scholarship on Cypriot sculpture. These vocabularies, posing as description, are loaded with judgments. Here, for example, Gardner describes his group of “nondescript draped, standing” figures, including Nikandre, as “shapeless,” “rectangular,” and “flat.” These

⁶⁰⁴ In a chapter on the rise of Greek sculpture from 600–480 BCE, he identified a statue type, labeled “nondescript draped, standing,” includes “rude statuettes without pretention to artistic merit” found in Cyprus, Rhodes, and Naucratis, and for which the example is a photograph of Nikandre. *Ibid.*, 96.

⁶⁰⁵ Donohue, *Greek Sculpture*.

⁶⁰⁶ Donohue continues, “Neither phenomenon has been satisfactorily explained, and the relationship between them remains obscure, involving complicated issues such as the inspiration for large-scale statuary, the significance of medium, and the existence of particular ‘schools’ of island sculpture.” *Ibid.*, 32–33.

disparaging words offer up comparisons; the “flat,” “shapeless” figure of an Archaic Greek or Cypriot sculpture is placed in opposition to the “elegant” or “graceful” classical works.

John L. Myres and Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum, 1899*

Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter’s book aimed to bring order to the collections of the Cyprus Museum.⁶⁰⁷ Having read the recent scholarship on Cypriot art and the important surveys of ancient art, Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter readily admitted that they did not often stray far from the opinions offered by the authors already discussed. They did, however, offer new evidence and present novel ideas about technique and medium, elaborating how these had contributed to the development of a unique Cypriot style. The authors maintained a cautious perspective on race and style, hesitating to comment on the ethnographic or racial identity of Cyprus’s original inhabitants.⁶⁰⁸ Still, they mapped out the foreign “roots” or “origins” of Cyprus’s culture. A chart accompanies the text describing early cultural development, classifying Cyprus as a branch running from “Hissarlik” (i.e., Troy) beside another branch, the “Aegean” (fig. 72). Cypriot art—and especially its pottery—was thus treated as a type of “Anatolian” (likely meaning East Greek/Ionian) art. Such a scheme recalls that of G. Colonna-Ceccaldi,

⁶⁰⁷ The Cyprus Museum had been neglected in the years leading up to this (delayed) publication. It was originally simply a storage site for objects, located in the ground floor of the Commissioner’s Office in Nicosia, but moved to a building in Victoria Street in 1889. Construction of the current Cyprus Museum began in 1908. In October 1893, the idea had emerged from the Colonial Office that the Cyprus Museum should have its own catalogue, and that the individuals excavating with the Turner Bequest Fund be the ones to publish it. The authors complained that the museum—still at its original, Victoria Street location—was in such disorder that it was difficult to see how the collections were of any “scientific value.” They attempted to rectify this situation, including a description of different Cypriot styles and a corresponding chronology. See Merrillees, “Towards a Fuller History of the Cyprus Museum”; Merrillees, *The First Cyprus Museum*.

⁶⁰⁸ The indigenous population was described as unique in the sense that it was free of any foreign influence—a claim we have not seen before. John L. Myres and Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899), 13: “We must learn more of the psychology of artistic style before we can say that likeness between the elementary canons of the art, even of adjacent areas, proves any kinship between their populations.” The authors did not, as other did, assume the sculptures to be portraits of or replacements for, ancient Cypriot people.

which had included an “Anatolian” Cypriot type rather than the more usual “Assyrian” type. The authors suggested that there were links between Phoenicia and Cyprus, but no sustained interaction between the two cultures until quite late.⁶⁰⁹ This view was uncommon, but seems to have applied only to the relationship between Cyprus and Phoenicia, as later portions of the volume suggest close contact between Cyprus and Assyria, and Cyprus and Egypt.

The authors attempted a far-reaching new periodization for the Cypriot style, breaking from those proposed by Poole, G. Colonna-Ceccaldi, Birch, and Mitchell. The first period, a transitional “Graeco-Phoenician Age,” was understood to begin in the Iron Age. In an apparent contradiction to earlier discussions, here the authors emphasized contact between Greeks and Phoenicians. An “Orientalizing” period is discussed next. The authors argued that it began earlier on Cyprus than in the Aegean, occasioned through the introduction of Egyptian imports. Still, they were conservative in their estimate of this period’s effect on the island’s art, maintaining that while Greece experienced a definite “Orientalizing” style between the Geometric and the “developed” Hellenic styles, Cyprus had no such transition. They viewed the Cypriot tradition as remarkably conservative, a perspective that might account for their occasional dismissal of any “foreign” influence. A second Iron Age period, however, is referred to as the period of “Greek influence.” Thus, one might equally suspect that the authors wished to emphasize “Greek” rather than other “foreign” influences.

⁶⁰⁹ Concerning the specifics of the relationship between the two regions, however, the authors maintained the view, also offered by Ross, Hitchcock, L. Cesnola, and Mitchell, that because Phoenician material culture was so unknown, no useful comparison could be made between the Cypriot and Phoenician styles. “The evidence is strongly *against* any original dependence of Cypriote culture on any known Phoenician style, and *against* any appreciable intercommunication between Cyprus, and the Phoenician coast and Syria.” *Ibid.*, 19, emphasis original.

Ohnefalsch-Richter was responsible for a section devoted to Cypriot sculpture. For a detailed analysis, he referred the reader to Heuzey's catalogue (treated in Chapter Three), but some new observations nevertheless appear. Following similar ideas introduced by Heuzey, he identified figurines and relief sculptures found on the Syrian coast as having had a profound influence on Cypriot art of the Early Iron Age, described as having "rude and exaggerated forms."⁶¹⁰ Further, Ohnefalsch-Richter provided the first rudimentary identification of regional styles, discussing stone sculpture from Voni, Khythroi, and Idalion in detail. The statues from Voni are separated based upon the criteria "Egyptian influence prominent" or "Archaic Greek influence prominent." One statue is said to have "Archaic Cypriote features of slightly Egyptian cast," while another is said to be an "Archaic Greek work, unusually pure for Cyprus." A third specimen is dissected and aligned with both traditions: "the lines of the head show far clearer traces of archaic Greek influence than those of the body, which retains a slight Egyptian impression: the face wears a strong 'archaic smile.'"⁶¹¹

The chronological scheme for Cypriot sculpture, on the other hand, is familiar—that is, a pronounced "Assyrian" influence is followed by an "Egyptian," and finally, a "Greek" trend. Assyrian political dominance of Cyprus was thought to have been responsible not only for Assyrianizing costume, but also for "the appearance of an Assyrian convention in Cypriote modelling."⁶¹² The next phase of foreign domination on the island—the Egyptian—was reflected

⁶¹⁰ Ibid., 27.

⁶¹¹ Ibid., 142–43. Later works were said to be wholly or purely "Hellenistic." Another site, Khythroi, included sculptures grouped accordingly, by "Native early style, Egyptian influence, Greek influence, Greek influence increasing, Egyptian features, Egyptian fashion, Greek style, Greek influence growing, archaic Greek influence, and Greek influence beginning." The works from Idalion are compared with figures from the Athenian Acropolis, and Ohnefalsch-Richter uses descriptions such as "thoroughly Greek archaic model," collapsing the distance between the Cypriot and Greek styles, as Holwerda had done. Ibid., 149–52.

⁶¹² Ibid., 28.

in two characteristics of Cypriot sculpture: first, the prevalence of stone as a medium, and second, the “stiff formal pose and characteristic head-dress and cast of features.”⁶¹³ Next, Ohnefalsch-Richter addressed Hellenic influence, observing that “Hellenic canons had already begun to affect the native style in the sixth century.”⁶¹⁴ For him, then, “Hellenic” influence occurred at least a full century earlier than had previously been supposed. Still, when speaking generally about Cypriot stone sculpture, he adopted the characteristically negative tone previously employed by Perrot and Chipiez, Mitchell, and E. Gardner: “In the fourth century...Cypriote sculpture...falls into inevitable decay...The large series of statuettes from Voni, Idalion, and Tamassos contain a few works of tolerable elegance, but the majority are almost wholly worthless.”⁶¹⁵ Still, as others (including Birch and Mitchell) had done, Ohnefalsch-Richter offered an excuse for the deficiencies of Cypriot stone sculpture, attributing the sculptor’s difficulties first and foremost to the challenges inherent in his medium.⁶¹⁶

Conclusions

During the period under review, scholars’ opinions on how best to classify Cypriot sculpture diverged rather than unified. Throughout the 1870s and 1880s, an increased flexibility emerged in viewing Cypriot art in relation to a variety of cultures, rather than solely Phoenician.

⁶¹³ Ibid., 29.

⁶¹⁴ This native style has “upturned eyes, strong nose, prominent pointed chin, and [a] conventional smile...characteristic throughout the Levant of Hellenic influence.” Ibid., 30.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid. Remembering that these authors wrote as curators can be useful in trying to explain their use of such vocabulary. Works that were not aesthetically pleasing were not museum objects, and therefore not worth including in a museum catalogue.

⁶¹⁶ For example, the sculptures’ “excessive shallowness,” was attributed to the limestone, which was soft and “splits naturally into slabs of not much more than six inches in thickness.” Ibid., 28. Also: “the fact that Cypriote sculptors never had the opportunity of working in marble is probably the reason why they never acquire an adequate chisel technique, and depend so largely upon the use of the knife, which is appropriate to the soft material, but always gives an archaic and exaggerated look.” Ibid. This perspective is forgiving—Cypriot sculpture is excused for its appearance, which, instead of being attributed wholly to a lack of talent on the part of the Cypriot sculptor, is accepted as a limitation of the medium.

Many recognized a native tradition, a notion that had been rare in—or absent from—earlier discussions. After 1900, interest in Cypriot sculpture waned, and it was essentially written out of survey treatments. There are several possible reasons for its disappearance. While authors still sought to trace Greek “origins,” some were content to draw comparisons between Egyptian and Archaic Greek sculpture and had no need to invoke other “intermediaries” to explain the transfer of technique or style. By 1900, Evans had begun the excavations at Knossos that would dramatically reveal more about the early culture of Minoan Crete. Identifying *indigenous* Aegean development became a more attractive pursuit for scholars, and they shifted their focus from problematic Cypriot material to newly excavated material from Crete—an island much closer to the Greek mainland, and arguably more important in the search for the roots of the early Greek style. Moreover, Knossos was under exploration by an Oxford-educated archaeologist whose credentials far outshone those of any of the amateur adventurers on Cyprus. The finds from Minoan Crete were also older and often more visually appealing than those from Cyprus. Knossos, with its impressively imaginative reconstructions and important role in classical mythology, had more to offer visitors than any Cypriot site.⁶¹⁷

Discussing in 1912 the importance of his finds at Knossos, Evans wrote, “These are the days of origins and what is true of the highest forms of animal life and functional activities is equally true of many of the vital principles that inspired the mature civilization of Greece—they

⁶¹⁷ The material from excavations at Knossos was manipulated in ways similar to Cypriot sculpture. “The remnants of the Cretan Bronze Age were recast, reordered, recreated, and forged to produce a world of objects, sites, and images that would satisfy the Eurocentric colonial imagination and its territorial aspirations.” Yannis Hamilakis, “The Colonial, the National, and the Local: Legacies of the ‘Minoan’ Past,” in *Archaeology and European Modernity: Producing and Consuming the ‘Minoans,’* ed. Yannis Hamilakis and Nicoletta Momigliano (Padua: Bottega d’Erasmus, 2006): 145. For a cultural history of Knossos, see Cathy Gere, *Knossos and the Prophets of Modernism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

cannot be adequately studied without constant reference to their anterior stages of evolution.”⁶¹⁸

His hunt for these origins, so essential to understanding “mature Greece,” led him to Minoan Crete. Cyprus was largely irrelevant to this new narrative, which extended centuries further back than archaeologists had previously assumed, and rooted the “origins” of the Greek style firmly in the West. Exploring this possibility, for the sake of comparison, I return to two revised editions—of E. Gardner’s *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture* and P. Gardner’s *New Chapters in Greek History*—whose first editions were reviewed above.

In 1897, E. Gardner had suggested that Mycenaean art was key to understanding the development of Greek art. He was even more explicit in his second, 1915 edition: “The artistic products of Crete and of Mycenae cannot be ignored in any discussion on the origin of Greek art.”⁶¹⁹ Crete thus took over the role—previously filled by Cyprus—as a precursor to Greece. P. Gardner adopted much the same strategy in his own revisions. By the time his 1926 edition came out—over thirty years after the original—Cyprus had been dropped completely from his discussion, and a section on Minoan art seems to have replaced that on Cypriot art. Scholars no longer had any reason to discuss the Cypriot tradition when there was suddenly so much to say about the development of “true” Greek art. P. Gardner’s thinking on the subject was nevertheless complicated:

The names of Schliemann and Doerpfeld, of Halbherr, Evans...have become familiar...most scholars have learned something as to the remarkable civilization which prevailed in the second millennium BC at such sites as Mycenae, Tiryns, and Cnossos. But brilliant and important as is the revelation of the prehistory of Greece and Crete, it has not a very important bearing on the Greece of historic times, which is separated from it by an age of barbarism, in which the works of the older civilization perished, and the foundations of a new and nobler civilization were laid. Modern history...begins with the

⁶¹⁸ Arthur J. Evans, “The Minoan and Mycenaean Element in Hellenic Life,” *JHS* 32 (1912): 277.

⁶¹⁹ Ernest Gardner, *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture, Second Edition* (London: Macmillan, 1915), 58.

rise of Hellas in the sixth century. Egypt, Babylon, Cnossos were then passing, and a new world was coming into being.⁶²⁰

Gardner effectively argued against a direct link between Mycenaean civilization and early Greece, and instead saw a Dark Age between them. Though the connection between Crete and classical Greece thus remained problematic, it was still an improvement over the complex relationship between Cyprus and Greece, with its tangle of “influence” and multiple intermediaries.

⁶²⁰ Percy Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History: Historical Results of Recent Excavations in Asia Minor, Second Edition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), 1–2.

Chapter Three

Displaying Cyprus: Cypriot Antiquities in the Universal Museum

The Louvre and the British Museum were among the earliest European universal museums to take an interest in Cypriot art, and their sculptural collections—largely composed of works acquired before 1900—remain some of the richest in the world outside Cyprus.⁶²¹ By comparing the collection, classification, and display of Cypriot sculpture within these encyclopedic collections, I seek to elaborate the complexity of exhibiting a so-called peripheral culture in the museum context. Approaches to this tradition were neither consistent nor fully governable by scholars and their institutions. Instead, Cypriot art drew attention to the inherent cracks and inconsistencies within the framework of the museums' grand nationalistic narratives. Objects that suggested too many possibilities did not serve as good "museum pieces," as they were not standard or archetypal specimens. Museum professionals struggled to provide definitive regional labels for the Cypriot works and to allocate space for them in corresponding galleries. Further complicating this issue, the various markers of culture on ancient Cyprus—writing, arts, architecture—seemed to point in different directions.⁶²² While the published literature could gloss over such disparities—leaving unanswered certain questions about the central "identity" of the Cypriot style—the museums had to make conclusive choices. Cypriot art was either "Greek" or

⁶²¹ The Louvre's Cypriot sculpture collection is slightly larger than that of the British Museum, numbering roughly 1,000 for limestone and 2,000 for terracottas. See Hermay, *Les antiquités de Chypre*.

⁶²² While epigraphic and linguistic evidence indicated a logical classification under the umbrella of Near Eastern cultures, Cypriot pottery more closely mirrored examples known from the Aegean or western Anatolia. Moreover, these markers of identity shifted in complex ways throughout Cyprus's history. Bronze Age finds could be linked with contemporary specimens from Mycenae, while Iron Age objects appeared more "Phoenician." As patterns of ancient rule or domination became clearer, any logic behind possible classifications was further destabilized, with the island first identified as "Assyrian," then "Egyptian," and finally "Greek." Finally, to the frustration of scholars who often relied on linguistic categories as a basis for defining cultural and artistic identities, the problem of an undeciphered Cypro-Syllabic script left the question seemingly open-ended.

“Oriental,” but not both; Cypriot sculpture fit best among Phoenician or Assyrian finds, but not both.

I consider acquisition practices, the dominant narrative along which collections were arranged, and how Cypriot sculpture fit or challenged this narrative upon its arrival in the 1850s to these museums. Certain tensions emerged as the two institutions acquired Cypriot material and curators attempted to slot these works into existing departments and galleries, and the respective staff proposed different solutions. Taking cues from the scholarship discussed in Chapter Two, most keepers at the British Museum viewed Cyprus as a “Greek and Roman” antiquity, whereas scholars at the Louvre emphasized its “Oriental” character. These assignments were flexible, and in some cases, Cypriot works were displayed in multiple types of galleries. By bringing into focus the particular landscapes of knowledge, display, and schemes of classification into which Cypriot antiquities arrived in each museum, I offer an explanation for the different treatments and taxonomies they inspired in each instance in the 1860s.

I then analyze a period of compromise—from the 1870s to the 1880s—during which time the museums and collections underwent significant changes in terms of organization, display, and departmental classifications. New archaeological discoveries resulted in pressures to display an ever-increasing range of objects to a curious public, and the acceleration of collecting made it impossible for museums to display their finds in a way that showcased the latest scholarship. It was at this moment that the British Museum came under pressure to “compress” collections, freeing up space for more objects to be collected, stored, and exhibited. In the 1880s, both museums began to pare down their holdings and question their display and organizational strategies. In considering the modified logic each museum presented to accommodate its growing

collections of Cypriot sculpture, I aim to better understand how these objects bore—and encouraged—a multiplicity of identifications. To appreciate certain differences in institutional—and even national—approach, I look to two key publications by heads of departments that appeared in 1880 (Newton's *Essays*) and 1882 (Heuzey's *Les figurines antiques*), each with lengthy sections on the significance of Cypriot limestone sculpture. Finally, I trace these developments through the end of the nineteenth century, exploring how the advent of British administration on Cyprus in 1878—and the British Museum-sponsored excavations that followed in the late 1880s and 1890s—affected the position of these antiquities in each museum. The shift from Ottoman to British government seemed to have a stabilizing effect on both French and British perceptions of ancient Cyprus. By the 1890s, Cypriot antiquities were cemented in their roles at each museum.

The scholarship treated in Chapter Two is intimately connected to the museum scholarship and environment. The exchange of ideas between the two intellectual arenas was significant, breeding shared models of and assumptions. Publications external to the museum were often quicker to incorporate new discoveries, but museum guides and exhibitions could likewise have an impact on the organization of material in site reports and survey volumes. Museums did not simply reflect knowledge; they were primary producers of it. Yet while printed scholarship reliably carried the name of its author, no such credit was given in the displays themselves. Because the voices of individual museum professionals were not presented within the galleries, these spaces were perceived as less biased than other forms of scholarship. This ambiguity of authorship led to the acceptance of the museum as a sacred space that displayed

unambiguous Truth and Knowledge for the betterment of citizens.⁶²³ As Stylianou-Lambert and Bounia highlight in their analysis of the narratives and display tactics employed by museums in modern Cyprus, “Museums present and communicate certain ideas, histories, and values as authentic, universal, and objective despite the fact that these ideas, histories, and values are a product of their time, space, and socio-cultural framework.”⁶²⁴ I draw on correspondence and museum guidebooks, whose authors are more often named, to supplement with individual perspectives what is otherwise a discussion of general institutional trends, decisions, and understandings.

Just like the authors of published surveys, scholars at universal museums necessarily prioritized certain cultures and time periods at the expense of others, so that a natural logic of progression could emerge and guide visitors through galleries. Still, one cannot assume that the collections and their exhibition were perfectly in line with the producers’ intentions or wishes. Museums faced a range of formidable challenges, including budgetary constraints, that shaped the way they acquired, published, and displayed their holdings. The actual conditions of display did not always reflect the desired arrangement. Mining internal museum documents to better understand the desires of curators, directors, and—in the case of the British Museum, the powerful trustees—I consider both types of exhibition: the planned or the ideal and the executed or real.

Similarly, I examine the motivations that lay behind impulses to collect, returning to certain case studies featured in Chapter One, but introducing other, unsuccessful attempts at

⁶²³ Stylianou-Lambert and Bounia, *The Political Museum*, 17, explores “how the perceived objectivity and authority of museums transforms them into powerful institutions capable of shaping memory and identity.”

⁶²⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

acquisition. A closer look at these examples sheds light on the internal politics of the museums, demonstrating how the availability of finds shaped estimates for departmental purchase funds and other budgets, and revealing how one museum's acquisitions of groups of antiquities could launch a fever for collection at another institution. Occasionally, museums sought to acquire in a predictive way—that is, to collect objects that were not necessarily important at a given moment, but that might become desirable in the future based on shifting public interest and developing scholarship. An object's *potential* value could thus be enough to make it worth acquiring. Competition between museums for objects that had the potential to achieve importance or popularity also drove the accumulation of material that might otherwise have been ignored.

Indeed, the possibility that Cyprus might one day become important, or its antiquities scarcer, was a primary factor behind the scramble to collect Cypriot antiquities both in Paris and London. Cyprus, which steadily gained recognition as a “new antiquity” in the final quarter of the nineteenth century—especially after its prominent display at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York—is an illustration of material that was indispensable not for its beauty or historical significance, but for its ability to demonstrate a museum's ongoing relevance. Letters from concerned citizens, mainly directed at the British Museum after it failed to acquire Cesnola's collections (instead losing them to New York) demonstrate that visitors took a great deal of pride in their national collections.

Differences in circumstances and histories of these museums—from the early formation of their collections to the different architectural possibilities offered by the buildings themselves—had a major impact on the ways Cypriot art was treated and displayed in each. The cramped quarters of the British Museum, which shared a building with the British Library and

also housed the nation's collection of natural history specimens, stood in marked contrast to the Louvre's sweeping galleries, which were devoted solely to the fine arts and allowed for the presentation of more objects and civilizations. The British Museum's unambiguous aesthetic—even moral—narrative, championing Hellenism and classicism, necessitated a more conservative approach to the display of preclassical and non-Western antiquities than at the Louvre, which more readily collected and exhibited antiquities from the Near East, Africa, and the Americas.

The primary aims of the British Museum's antiquities galleries were to shape public taste, strengthen Britain's claim on the Hellenic tradition, and expose artists to the best (classical) models from which they might gain inspiration. Cypriot art—by no means an aesthetic ideal—was viewed largely as insignificant for these purposes. At the Louvre, however, a more open policy toward exhibiting a range of cultures and demonstrating their potential links not just to France but also to one another, meant that its curators saw more value in Cypriot works, which claimed a place of significance in these narratives. Further, the Louvre welcomed objects of “scientific” value, publishing works—including Cypriot stone and terracotta sculptures—that were not always of the highest craftsmanship, whereas the British Museum rejected works that were judged unaesthetic. This is not to say that Cypriot sculpture was immediately accepted or admired at the Louvre. Cypriot sculpture was not deemed worthy of aesthetic admiration or artistic emulation in either Paris *or* London. Contemporary aesthetic preferences did not encourage appreciation for these works, which were perceived as “blocky,” “clumsy,” “flat,” and “static” in comparison with classical works. Cypriot art thus had numerous critics, even in the more welcoming antiquities departments at the Louvre.

In contrast to the situation at the British Museum, however, where a common scheme and narrative was sought for *all* arts under its roof, at the Louvre, different schemes developed in rooms devoted to the “fine arts” as opposed to “archaeological specimens” or “ancient art.”⁶²⁵ Thus, while at the British Museum all ancient art was expected to conform to a highly specific and exclusive aesthetic vision and design, appropriate for the elite, artists in training, and the public alike, the Louvre was less unified in its approach.⁶²⁶ Its curators designed aesthetic displays for classical Greek and Roman art and allowed other ancient traditions—including those of the ancient Near Eastern and Egyptian worlds—to occupy separate galleries. These rooms were conceived of as entirely separate museums within the Louvre, at times hosting a more archaeological and didactic, and not primarily aesthetic, environment. While both museums banished their “ethnographic collections” to upper floors and outer galleries, the Louvre’s staff remained more open to finding alternative possibilities of display for different varieties and categories of objects. In fact, visitors perceived the Louvre as a building in which they could admire antiquities and paintings in expansive, central galleries, and other types of collections in several separate museums that were contained within the same building.⁶²⁷

Following the major discoveries by Lang and Cesnola, scholars and the public began to see Cypriot sculpture as both important and desirable. Appreciating their importance to a wide

⁶²⁵ Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, Guillaume Fonkenell, and Françoise Mardrus, eds., *Histoire du Louvre: De la restauration à nos jours, Volume II* (Paris: Louvre éditions, 2016), 265: “Le classement du Louvre actuel est l’héritier du celui des conservateurs des années 1848-1860...Longpérier avait soigneusement sérié les collections de l’Antiquité classique et classé par aires les civilisations du Moyen-Orient. C’est ainsi que s’affirme une relative dichotomie dans le classement et la présentation du musée, où s’opposent les salles de civilisations, conçues par les archéologues, et les présentations plus esthétiques du déroulement des arts.”

⁶²⁶ This difference had much to do with the individuals in charge of the museums and their departments. See Wilson, *The British Museum*, 157–70.

⁶²⁷ For example, the Musée Napoléon III housed the celebrated Campana Collection and some Cypriot works, and the Musée de la Marine displayed ethnographic collections. Bresc-Bautier, Fonkenell, and Mardrus, *Histoire du Louvre*, 318. Rooms devoted to Chinese and Japanese antiquities were also located on the upper floor.

range of scholars, universal museums readily collected Cypriot works but were often slow to display or publish them.⁶²⁸ These tasks were difficult, as they required not only communication among a range of scholars and amateurs, but sustained cooperation among these parties. The particularity of Cypriot works challenged institutional patterns, in some cases forging new bonds between departments that had previously communicated very little with one another. Though the Louvre and British Museums made room for preclassical cultures and works—especially those from Egypt and Assyria—beginning in the 1850s, the scholars who studied this material were themselves excluded from the narrowly conceived field of “classical” archaeology. Thus, rather than challenging older interpretations and research on ancient Greece and Rome and rounding out scholars’ models of the ancient world, Assyriologists and Egyptologists remained on the periphery. Yet the study of Cypriot sculpture encouraged communication between the two camps of scholars, who otherwise discussed and published their work independently of one another.

The shared interests of those working on Cypriot material were most often linguistic, and in this way, Cyprus bridged yet another divide. Philology was privileged as a means of understanding ancient culture in the fields of classics, Assyriology, and Egyptology. The analysis of ancient scripts, languages, and inscriptions was viewed as a more rigorous approach to studying the ancient world than the examination of visual and material culture, creating a potential divide between scholars working on the very same objects—inscribed Cypro-Archaic votives and/or bases, for instance. Because so few scholars worked on Cypriot material, however, collaboration across fields and disciplines was common. Thus, research on Cypriot antiquities

⁶²⁸ The situation in Europe contrasted sharply with that of America, and especially in New York, where Cypriot art became one of the star exhibitions in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, otherwise lacking in original ancient works due to its “latecomer” status.

brought together classicists and non-classicists, philologists and archaeologists. They shared a body of evidence and collaborated across institutional, linguistic, and political boundaries. This overlap inspired a more fluid exchange of ideas between these fields.

Similarly, there was an active international dialogue between those who viewed Cyprus as an “Oriental” antiquity and those who considered it part of the marginal “Greek” world, and even between amateurs and professionals (officially affiliated with universities or museums).⁶²⁹ Using correspondence and comparing publications from each of these types of authors, I reconstruct their scholarly networks and foreground important relationships—such as that between Cesnola and Birch at the British Museum. I demonstrate that the descriptions, models, and chronologies presented by any one scholar or institution were thus the product of a complex series of interactions and negotiations—much like the Cypriot tradition itself—and cannot be considered independently of other professionals, amateurs, and institutions.

Cypriot Art in the Louvre: An “Oriental” Antiquity

Originally a fortress, and then a royal residence, the Louvre became a public museum when it was symbolically opened in 1793 during the French Revolution.⁶³⁰ A new brand of nationalism was thus one of the driving forces behind this museum, and contributing to the collection by gift or research was strongly connected to French national pride. The Louvre derived its status as a symbol of imperial power not only by connecting the French Empire to the “empires” of Greece and Rome, but above all from displaying the art of the world, thus showing

⁶²⁹ For example, authors with university posts (such as P. Gardner), or even non-scholarly backgrounds (such as L. Cesnola), corresponded with museum professionals (such as Birch) and consulted collections beyond those in their own countries of birth or residence.

⁶³⁰ At that time, it was called the the Muséum Central des Arts.

a robust and “scientifically motivated” French imperial presence worldwide. Throughout its history, the Louvre had ample space to expand, store, and display objects. Thus, shifts in the collection were more visible, more quickly here than elsewhere. Comprising sculpture, painting, and decorative arts, the Louvre’s collection was nearly boundless, its definition of “art” extremely liberal. The Louvre had a hunger for “new antiquities,” especially Assyrian, Sumerian, and Persian monuments, but even—and well ahead of the British Museum—American and African antiquities.⁶³¹

A general department of antiquities was established in 1800, and a branch of this department, devoted entirely to Egyptian antiquities, was created in 1826.⁶³² In 1827, a series of nine new rooms of Egyptian and Greco-Roman antiquities on the first (or upper) floor of the Cour Carrée, known as the Musée Charles X, prompted a further restructuring of the antiquities collection, which was officially split into two departments—Egyptian and Greco-Roman. The museum staff continued to emphasize connections between these newly separated departments. In the previous year, paintings had been commissioned for the ceilings of these rooms, including one by François-Edouard Picot (1786-1868) entitled “L’étude et le génie dévoilent l’antique Egypte à la Grèce” that was installed in the fourth room of the south aisle on the first floor of the Cour Carrée (fig. 73). In this tableau, Picot presents a bare-breasted Egypt lounging on an ornate

⁶³¹ In 1850 the Musée Mexicain opened, and was renamed the Musée Américain in 1851. It was initially popular but by 1859 had been moved into another, smaller room. For more on the circumstances of display, see Bresc-Bautier, Fonkenell, and Mardrus, *Histoire du Louvre*, 139. Interestingly, works from these regions, though collected through the nineteenth century, were not permanent fixtures of the Louvre, which instead transferred many of its objects from the above regions to the Musée d’Ethnographie du Trocadéro upon its creation in 1878, and more in 1887. Today, those collections are split between as the Musée du Quai Branly and the Musée de l’Homme.

⁶³² Jean-François Champollion (1790-1832), famous for deciphering the Rosetta stone, was named curator. His arrival caused tensions at the museum, which did not have a particularly active curatorial staff at the time. He wrote, “Mon arrivée au musée dérange tout le monde et tous mes collègues sont conjurés contre moi, parce que je prétends m’occuper de ma division, ce qui fera nécessairement apercevoir qu’ils ne s’occupent nullement des leurs.” Quoted in Bresc-Bautier, Fonkenell, and Mardrus, *Histoire du Louvre*, 39.

throne, exposed to the gaze of a rosy-cheeked personification of Greece who wears a crown and a heavy toga. Greece, standing on a cloud, is flanked by “Learning,” who is actively unveiling Egypt, and “Genius,” whose implied role seems to be guiding Greece to achieve its celebrated artistic achievements during the classical period. Compared with the arguments encountered in Chapter Two, Picot’s canvas thus visualizes a surprisingly progressive narrative, implying that the Egyptian artistic legacy inspired the Greek. That this painting hung over Greco-Roman and Egyptian antiquities is significant; it reminded visitors that any Greek genius had roots in a more ancient, African civilization.

Twenty years later, in 1847, the Musée Assyrien was inaugurated by Louis-Philippe, and Henry Adrien Prévost de Longpérier (1816-1882) was named head curator of its collections, which comprised Egyptian and Oriental antiquities.⁶³³ The museum was located directly below that of Charles X, comprising several rooms of the ground floor of the Cour Carrée. Further developments to the Louvre’s antiquities departments occurred under Napoléon III.⁶³⁴ In October 1849, a room devoted to the antiquities of “Primitive Greece” was added to the ground floor museum, conceived of as a *prolongement* of the Musée Assyrien.⁶³⁵ Early Greek art was thus aligned spatially—and perhaps stylistically—with Assyrian antiquities. One of the Louvre’s central narratives about the ancient world was that Greek art was dependent on a variety of

⁶³³ Camille Duteil (1808-1860) succeeded Champollion as conservator of Egyptian antiquities. Léon de Laborde (1807-1869) was charged with overseeing the division of antiquités grecques et romaines. Ibid.

⁶³⁴ The events of 1848 destabilized both the central identity and internal logic of the Louvre, necessitating that it take on different roles as a political and public institution.

⁶³⁵ Though inaugurated in 1847, it was not officially open to the public until March 1849. Christiane Aulanier, *Histoire du Palais et du Musée du Louvre: Le Pavillon de l'Horloge et le département des antiquités orientales* (Paris: Éditions des Musées nationaux, 1964), 128, writes of the inauguration: “Le 29 octobre, le Directeur inaugurerait, dans le prolongement du département assyrien, une nouvelle salle consacrée à l’exposition des Antiquités grecques primitives; elle avait été décorée dans le goût des maisons antiques.” See Bresc-Bautier, Fonkenell, and Mardrus, *Histoire du Louvre*, 139, for a list the rooms’ contents.

predecessors, and that classical Greece did not, after all, appear in a vacuum, fully formed.

Instead, the Greek style emerged—still in a miraculous manner—at a particular moment thanks

to interactions between Greeks, Egyptians, and Assyrians that had occurred centuries earlier.

Perhaps the Louvre’s lack of a classical Greek monument as emblematic as the Parthenon served

to dim the brilliance of classical Athens that overwhelmed the British Museum, tempting keepers

to present the birth of the classical Greek style as an independent achievement and isolated

incident.

Napoléon III provided support and funding for French *savants* to carry out surveys and excavations in the Near East. These missions followed—albeit more peacefully—in the tradition

of Napoléon I’s expeditions to Egypt. The objects collected on these missions filled the Egyptian

rooms of the Cour Carrée, on both the ground and first floors. The French savants were

memorialized on the ceiling of the Musée Charles X, appearing heroically in paintings such as

Léon Cogniet’s “Les savants français en Égypte,” of 1835, where they can be seen braving the

dust and heat to record their experiences and sketch the monuments, people, and landscapes they

encountered (fig. 74).⁶³⁶ Both the Louvre and the British Museum took pride in their teams of

early explorers and amateur archaeologists, who traveled to distant countries under demanding

circumstances to bring back knowledge—and antiquities—to their respective nations.

Though Cyprus was not initially a research priority, beginning in the 1860s, French teams

investigated the island’s ancient and medieval monuments. They returned with impressive

sculptural finds that suggested relationships among different ancient traditions, arousing the

⁶³⁶ The painting, representing events of 1798, was later renamed “L’expédition d’Égypte sous les ordres de Bonaparte.”

interest of a variety of scholars at the Louvre. As we have seen, these scholars highlighted the potential for Cypriot material to answer lingering questions about networks in the eastern Mediterranean.

A nouveau Louvre was constructed under Napoléon III in the 1850s. The vision for the internal side of the Oriental wing within the Cour Carrée—known for a short while as the Cour Napoléon—included allegories of Assyrian Art, Greek Art, and Art (in the most general sense).⁶³⁷ The Louvre’s appetite for “Oriental” antiquities may have been due in part to the popularity of Orientalist canvases that hung in other parts of the museum, such as Delacroix’s “Death of Sardanapalus” or his “Women of Algiers in their Apartment” (figs. 75 and 76). These works brought to life fantasies inspired by ancient *and* contemporary histories and moments.⁶³⁸ The display of these canvases within the Louvre Museum—and their absence from the galleries of the British Museum—might account for the French museum’s much earlier incorporation of finds from sites in these regions, and their placement in more central galleries. These works were above all vehicles that allowed visitors to gaze on distant, exotic scenes, whether of a private interior nature or of grand historical significance, and their content attracted popular attention, sparking further curiosity about the Orient.⁶³⁹ Political connotations also emerged, as French involvement in the Middle East and North Africa was still in full swing, and ambitions were growing that would eventually lead to the invasion and domination of Tunisia and Algeria under

⁶³⁷ Bresc-Bautier, Fonkenell, and Mardrus, *Histoire du Louvre*, 196.

⁶³⁸ Bohrer, *Orientalism and Visual Culture*, 52: “[For painters], Assyria is an open term, known from religious education, but also unfixed and ripe for visual elaboration.”

⁶³⁹ Simon Lee, *Delacroix* (London: Phaidon Press, 2005). Delacroix travelled to Morocco in 1832 and also spent time in Algiers, just after the French conquest of the region.

the reigns of Charles X, Louis-Philippe, and Napoléon III.⁶⁴⁰ Cyprus, still under Ottoman control, had a future that was perhaps less certain than it looks in hindsight, knowing what we do about the eventual British—rather than French—intervention on the island in 1878. In the mid-nineteenth century, the French harbored aspirations to (re)establish their presence on Cyprus.

In the 1860s and 1870s, Cypriot artifacts fell under the general Département des Antiquités. In 1881 the Département des Antiquités Orientales was founded, and Cypriot works were officially designated as “Oriental” Antiquities. This classification was the natural choice, as Cypriot objects had always been housed, studied, and displayed in the galleries primarily associated with “Oriental” antiquities, the Musée Assyrien. In this context, the connections between the Cypriot style and the styles of the Near East—especially Phoenicia and Assyria—were more evident. The “Oriental” classification of Cypriot sculpture had a relatively positive impact on its reception in Paris. Because the sculptures were not in direct competition with those from Greece and Rome, they received more attention than in London. Not only were they put on display more quickly, and in greater numbers, but they were also published more rapidly, and in finer detail.

Yet Cypriot antiquities never received as much attention or praise as other Near Eastern antiquities, including Assyrian and later, Sumerian.⁶⁴¹ Whereas the arrival of Assyrian material in the 1840s prompted the inauguration of an Assyrian Museum in 1847, Cypriot objects, though directly sought after by Napoléon III in the 1860s, were never welcomed with as much enthusiasm by him or any other subsequent political or scholarly authority in France, internal or

⁶⁴⁰ For nineteenth-century archaeological work undertaken by the French in these regions, see Nabila Oulebsir, “From Ruins to Heritage. The Past Perfect and the Idealized Antiquity in North Africa,” in *Multiple Antiquities—Multiple Modernities*, ed. Klaniczay, Werner, and Gecser, 335–64.

⁶⁴¹ See Evans, *The Lives of Sumerian Sculpture*, with bibliography.

external to the museum. The early, limited attention that Cypriot antiquities attracted instead decreased decade by decade, plummeting when Cyprus became a British protectorate in 1878 and further in the 1880s and 1890s as various British teams effectively monopolized archaeological work on the island. The French, perhaps bitter about their restricted access to Cypriot sites and antiquities, focused their efforts instead on criticizing other scholars' work in the field and in print.

Before 1870: Cyprus in the Musée Assyrien

The enduring classification of Cypriot antiquities as “Oriental” in France can be explained by four events, all of which took place before 1870: the placement of a cast of Berlin’s Sargon Stele in the Musée Assyrien (1850s); the installation of Cypriot limestone votives in an “Assyrian” gallery with Phoenician sarcophagi (1860s); the legacy of French Orientalists who traveled to Cyprus en route to the Near East and drew connections between Cyprus and the Levant (1860s); and the installation of the Amathus Vase in the Cour Carrée among Phoenician objects and adjacent to Egyptian and Assyrian galleries (1866). Soon after its acquisition by the Berlin Museums in the mid-1840s, a cast of the Sargon Stele was sent to the Louvre in recognition of its relevance to the collection, a gesture that was celebrated in the *Magasin Pittoresque*.⁶⁴² At the time, Cypriot items entering the Louvre’s collection automatically joined the Department des Antiquités, under the direction of Longpérier. The logical choice for the cast’s display was in the newly inaugurated Musée Assyrien, alongside reliefs from Sargon II’s palace at Khorsabad—excavated by Botta in 1842 and by Victor Place (1818-1875) from 1852 to

⁶⁴² An 1847 article in the *Magasin Pittoresque* presented the stele’s discovery as “un événement d’une véritable importance historique.” Bresc-Bautier, Fonkenell, and Mardrus, *Histoire du Louvre*, 528. The British Museum also sent casts—of the Nimrud reliefs—to the Louvre in the 1860s. *Ibid.*, 251.

1854—that likewise depicted the ruler.⁶⁴³ Yet this decision challenged the standard codes of display, which insisted that originals and casts be kept separate.⁶⁴⁴ Longpérier’s 1854 guide reveals that an exception was made for this object, which was indeed displayed—to the benefit of scholars—alongside original palace reliefs that featured other images of Sargon II.⁶⁴⁵ Scholars at the Louvre thus inaugurated the tradition that objects originating from Cyprus should find a home among “Oriental” material.⁶⁴⁶

Longpérier’s 1854 discussion of the cast included a broader discussion of the significance of “Assyrian” monuments on Cyprus: “La présence de monuments assyriens dans l’île de Chypre est un fait de la plus haute importance pour l’histoire de l’art. Il nous explique comment, même avant l’avènement des Achéménides et les invasions de ces princes en Asie-Mineure et en Grèce, ces deux contrées avaient pu emprunter à l’Assyrie des notions d’art, des types qui sont transmis traditionnellement dans toutes les parties de l’Occident où les Grecs se sont établis.”⁶⁴⁷

Longpérier’s assertion that the Assyrian style was eventually borrowed by Western civilization—and that Cyprus supported such interactions—came well before most others. Other French scholars—including Heuzey, the curator subsequently charged with publishing Cypriot material—would instead follow Perrot’s forceful condemnation of the Cypriot tradition as simply “Phoenician,” or otherwise “derivative.” But the early, symbolic placement of “Oriental”

⁶⁴³ The Musée Assyrien opened in 1847, closed for a period, and reopened in 1850. Ibid.

⁶⁴⁴ Adrien de Longpérier, *Notice des antiquités assyriennes, babyloniennes, perses, hébraïques, exposées dans les galeries du Musée du Louvre* (Paris: Vinchon, 1854), 142–43: “L’administration du Musée n’est pas dans l’usage d’exposer dans les mêmes salles les moulages et les monuments originaux.”

⁶⁴⁵ The stele is mentioned in a section dedicated to *empreintes de plâtre*. Ibid.

⁶⁴⁶ Annie Caubet, “Les antiquités de Chypre au Louvre: Entre l’Orient et l’Occident,” in *Cyprus in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Tatton-Brown, 142–43: “La découverte simultanée du palais assyrien de Sargon II à Khorsabad et de la stèle du même roi à Chypre fit déterminante pour l’avenir du département des Antiquités Orientales et la place qu’occupent les collections de Chypre au Musée du Louvre.”

⁶⁴⁷ Longpérier, *Notice des antiquités assyriennes, babyloniennes, perses, hébraïques*, 16.

antiquities in the heart of the Louvre would ensure their continued importance and popularity, no matter their internal critics. It would also support the story—visualized in Picot’s canvas—that “Oriental” material played a significant role in shaping classical Greek genius.⁶⁴⁸

The first Cypriot originals to enter the Louvre’s collection included thirty limestone statues donated by de Saulcy, which reached the museum between 1851 and 1852.⁶⁴⁹ They were not immediately exhibited, but several highly valued “Phoenician” statues and bowls from the same lot (also found on Cyprus) were quickly incorporated into the galleries of the Musée Assyrien—opened on 1 May 1847—thus strengthening the connection between Cyprus and Assyria (see fig. 11).⁶⁵⁰ Gallery plans from 1855 show that the galleries of the Musée Assyrien were located in the two easternmost rooms (both numbered 11) on the ground floor of the north aisle of the Cour Carrée (fig. 77A).⁶⁵¹ Next to this small “museum” were galleries of “Primitive Greece” (room 12) that had been inaugurated in 1849 in association with the Musée Assyrien, and a “Museum of casts.” The cast gallery (room 10) bordered an expansive room that housed Egyptian antiquities (room 9). In December 1847, an “Algerian Museum” containing Roman finds was established inside this gallery, as can be seen on a different gallery plan, also from

⁶⁴⁸ Bresc-Bautier, Fonkenell, and Mardrus, *Histoire du Louvre*, 251: “Les grands galeries du rez-de-chaussée de la Colonnade, assyrienne au nord, égyptienne au sud, affirmaient donc de façon monumentale et palatiale la force de l’art des premières civilisations qui précédèrent et façonnèrent le classicisme.”

⁶⁴⁹ Most of his collection consisted of objects manufactured in the Levant and was displayed in the “Salle Judaique” in the later part of the nineteenth century.

⁶⁵⁰ H. L. Feer, *Les ruines de Ninive ou description des palais détruits des bords du Tigre suivie d'une description du Musée Assyrien du Louvre* (Paris: Société des écoles du dimanche, 1864), 305, mentions these objects. Another Phoenician cup—the Dali cup—was purchased from the Duke of Luynes in 1853, and a part of its decoration (a griffin) was appeared as decoration on the walls of the Salle Sarzec, which held finds from Tello. Elisabeth Fontan and Nicole Chevalier, *De Khorsabad à Paris: la découverte des Assyriens* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1994), 244. The decision to decorate a room devoted to Sumerian antiquities in an Assyrian or Phoenician style shows the ease with which the museum mixed “Oriental” finds and motifs.

⁶⁵¹ Fontan, “Chypre au Louvre,” 54.

1855, which otherwise preserves the same layout (fig. 78A).⁶⁵² According to an English guide from 1855 written by Bayle St. John (1822-1859), the rooms devoted to “Primitive Greece” contained “a valuable fragment found at Delos...two admirable torsos, one of a draped woman of the most noble outline, broad, graceful, and simple; the other of a young man, executed in the same style...three metopes of the temple of Jupiter, in the city of Olympia, in Elis...some bas-reliefs in gray granite from the architrave of the temple of Assos.” The fragments from Olympia had been discovered by a French team in 1829 (fig. 79). Displaying them in the Early Greek gallery allowed visitors the opportunity to connect the Archaic with the early classical styles. Such an exhibition also encouraged visitors to consider the heroic role of the Greeks in the Persian Wars and the new high classical civilization that was born after this epic struggle between East and West, which could be appreciated in the ancient sculpture galleries on the opposite side of the Cour Carrée (rooms 1-7; see fig. 77A).

Besides documenting the arrangements of these galleries, the guide also provides a glimpse into some of the shifts in staff structure that were being discussed and implemented mid-century. St. John translated a large portion of an August 1848 report to the National Assembly given by Philippe-Auguste Jeanron (1809-1877), a French artist and director of the Louvre beginning in 1848. This report includes a summary of the state of affairs at the museum and a set of proposals, many of which were quickly adopted. Jeanron began by highlighting several problems with the Louvre’s organization, which he considered to be poor, and the distribution of responsibility among museum staff, which he likewise found insufficient. He noted that many of

⁶⁵² This Algerian Museum was then reinaugurated in 1850. Bresc-Bautier, Fonkenell, and Mardrus, *Histoire du Louvre*, 142.

the Louvre's curators had not been truly working before his own arrival: "There was no trace, or very feeble traces, of the labours of the other titular conservateurs. Their labours, if labours there were, were carried on outside. They had not, literally, a chair in the Museum to sit down upon."⁶⁵³ The arrival of new antiquities in the late 1840s and 1850s seems to have forced a dormant network of curators and scholars into action, as many of the monuments brought to the Louvre during these years were successfully installed by the time St. John completed his guide to the museum in 1855.

The 1860s were very active years for the Cypriot collections at the Louvre.⁶⁵⁴ The seeds for this growth had been sown when Napoléon III sponsored Renan's archaeological mission to Phoenicia in 1860. The impact of this mission—and its publication in 1864—on French scholarship and the Louvre was considerable. Cypriot art, though not always considered purely "Phoenician," was still consistently grouped with the other "Oriental" cultures, and often entered the museum in lots that contained indisputably Near Eastern material. For instance, a second major lot of Cypriot sculpture was donated to the Louvre by Alban Emmanuel Guillaume-Rey (1837-1916), a learned Frenchman who had traveled to Cyprus on his way to Syria. Between 1860 and 1865, he contributed around fifty objects to the museum, including terracotta and limestone statuettes.⁶⁵⁵ There is no firm evidence for their display before 1864, but records show that the 1863 inauguration of the Campana Galleries (previously known as the Musée Charles X

⁶⁵³ Bayle St. John, *The Louvre: or a Biography of a Museum* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1855), 141.

⁶⁵⁴ The same was true for the Assyrian antiquities, and the galleries devoted to them, where Cypriot art would be displayed. Between 1857 and 1864, several new rooms devoted to Assyrian antiquities opened. See Aulanier, *Histoire du Palais et du Musée du Louvre*.

⁶⁵⁵ These gifts, which came in a series of different lots, likely includes objects collected not only in Cyprus, but also in Assyria and Phoenicia. For details, see Annie Caubet, "Aux origines de la collection chypriote du Louvre: les fonds Guillaume-Rey (1860-1865)," *RDAC* 1984: 221–29. The colossal sculpture from Dali arrived in 1860.

and later known as the Musée Napoléon III) on the upper floor of the Cour Carrée required the Cypriot antiquities to move to the domain of Oriental antiquities.⁶⁵⁶ This shift suggests that select Cypriot works may previously have been displayed in these rooms, which had contained a mix of Egyptian, Greek, and Etruscan antiquities, as visible in 1855 plans of the upper galleries (rooms 13-21 in fig. 77B; see same rooms, unnumbered, in fig. 78B).

The Campana Collection, acquired by Napoléon III in 1862, featured—among other more valued finds of classical sculpture and early modern Italian painting—Etruscan terracottas.⁶⁵⁷ The collection was initially intended for a separate museum and building—alternately referred to in the planning stages as the Musée Campana and the Musée Napoléon III. Upon its premature closure in 1863 however, the collection was moved into the aforementioned upper galleries at the Louvre, necessitating a reshuffling of the Louvre’s antiquities.⁶⁵⁸ This collection was for the Louvre what Cypriot collections would be for the British Museum: it encouraged joint research and communication between the normally isolated departments and scholars at the Louvre, bringing together those who worked on Roman, Greek, Near Eastern, and even Early Modern art.

A sizable lot of Etruscan terracottas also entered the collection in this way. Some were displayed alongside terracottas from Asia Minor in a gallery painted in 1866 by Sébastien Charles Giraud (1819-1892). Giraud’s canvas, “Musée Napoléon III: Salle des terres cuites au

⁶⁵⁶Christiane Aulanier, *Histoire du Palais et du Musée du Louvre: Le Musée Charles X et le département des antiquités égyptiennes* (Paris: Éditions des Musées nationaux, 1961), 70–71.

⁶⁵⁷ For more on this collection, formed by Giampietro Campana (1808-1880), see Bresc-Bautier, Fonkenell, and Mardrus, *Histoire du Louvre*, 240–42.

⁶⁵⁸ The museum, located inside the Palais de l’Industrie on the Champs-Élysées, was open for several months in 1862. After it failed to gain popularity, it was decided that the Campana Collection would be dispersed among France’s various departmental museums. This decision caused considerable complications for both staff the the Louvre—including Heuzey—and the director of the national museums at the time, Nieuwerkerke. See Gianpaolo Nadalini “La collection Campana au musée Napoléon III et sa première dispersion dans les musées français (1862-1863),” *Journal des savants* 2, no. 1 (1998): 183–225.

Louvre,” provides a glimpse into the Louvre’s standard mode of displaying antiquities, here places in vitrines along the long ends of the room and in a neat arrangement at the center of the room (fig. 80). This widely publicized reinstallation—and the popularity of the “Sarcophage des époux” from Cerveteri (fig. 81)—aroused the jealousy of the British Museum. The London museum later attempted to acquire a similar object—the Penelli Sarcophagus, part of the Castellani Collection that arrived at the museum in 1872—that was later exposed as a forgery (fig. 82).⁶⁵⁹ The desire to keep apace with the growing collections in Paris clearly blinded the British Museum to the object’s inconsistencies and peculiarities.

Although many Etruscan works at the Louvre were (like Cypriot limestone) fashioned in a low-status medium and displayed the aesthetic of another “peripheral” preclassical culture, they received privileged treatment in comparison with the Cypriot material, which was instead initially shown in the less splendid rooms of the Musée Assyrien.⁶⁶⁰ It is in this context (in “Salle 2”), that one of Guillaume-Rey’s donations—a colossal limestone votive from Dali that gained fame as the “Bearded Venus”—was first made available to the curious visitor’s gaze in the mid-1860s (figs. 83 and 84). This statue arrived at the museum when Cypriot works were almost wholly unknown. It was the first large-scale Cypriot votive sculpture to be exhibited in a European museum. Because archaeologists were not yet aware of similar Archaic sculptures, they assumed

⁶⁵⁹ The British Museum purchased parts of various collections assembled by Count Alessandro Castellani (1823-1883) in the 1860s and 1870s. Castellani was familiar with the Campana collection, as he produced replicas of some of the Etruscan jewelry it contained. See Susan Weber Soros and Stefanie Walker, eds., *Castellani and Italian Archaeological Jewelry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

⁶⁶⁰ Etruscan material was also more thoroughly published in 1860s and after. Wilhelm Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpture antique du Musée Impérial du Louvre, Volume I* (Paris: Musées Impériaux, 1869), includes numerous objects from the Campana collection. The author might have intended to include Cypriot material in his planned second or third volumes, but they never appeared. See also Longpérier, *Musée Napoléon III*, which includes an illustration of the Sarcophage des époux, but also the “Cypro-Phoenician” cups in gold and silver donated by de Sauley and the Amathus vase.

the statue must represent a female figure, albeit a bearded female.⁶⁶¹ H. L. Feer provided a description of the gallery of the Musée Assyrien in 1864 that mentions the sculpture, giving us a fuller idea of the context of its display among Phoenician and Assyrian antiquities: “Les cinq sarcophages placés au milieu de cette salle ne sont pas assyriens, ils sont phéniciens...La statue qui les accompagne vient d’Idalie, dans l’île de Chypre: elle est grecque. Mais l’île de Chypre fut conquise par les Assyriens qui y dominèrent et c’est par cette île surtout que les Assyriens sont trouvés en contact avec les Grecs.”⁶⁶² While Feer explicitly referred to Guillaume-Rey’s Dali statue as “Greek,” he also recalled the Assyrian conquest of Cyprus, allowing for the possibility that Cyprus could be aligned with this civilization. He did not suggest that Cypriot art was “Phoenician,” as many other French scholars did, but he nevertheless justified the placement of the work next to Phoenician objects, in Assyrian galleries. Similarities between the Phoenician sarcophagi—most of which had been unearthed by Renan in the early 1860s—and Cypriot votives encouraged their display next to each other, and the gallery plan shows that the rooms of the Musée Assyrien were flanked by rooms containing Greek sculpture.⁶⁶³ The neighboring rooms, “Salle 1” (where an 1854 guide placed the cast of the Sargon Stele) and “Salle 3,” contained the Khorsabad sculptures and casts of the Nimrud sculptures in London,

⁶⁶¹ Senff, “Exotischer Reiz und historischer Wert,” 261, explains that scholars were eager to identify the statue as female because of its full, bulging chest. He continues, “Damals war die archaische ionische Plastik, deren Mantelkouroi ganz offensichtlich diese kyprische Statue beeinflusst haben...noch so gut wie unbekannt.” Senff rightly adds that the expectation of many scholars that the arts of the new region would contain exotic and puzzling works contributed to this bizarre attribution.

⁶⁶² This description of the Musée Assyrien is from the appendix in Feer, *Les Ruines de Ninive*, 306.

⁶⁶³ The sarcophagus of Eshmunazar II, a king of Sidon, was first exhibited in 1858, in a room named for the work, and Renan’s finds soon followed, exhibited in two rooms beginning 1862. By 1864 the arrangement had been shifted to the scheme discussed above and illustrated below. Bresc-Bautier, Fonkenell, and Mardrus, *Histoire du Louvre*, 251.

respectively.⁶⁶⁴ But two unnumbered rooms labeled as exhibiting “sculptures grecques” demonstrate that Greek works had, at some point after 1855, been added to galleries between rooms one and two, and neighboring room three. Within this scheme, Cypriot sculpture, on display in both rooms one and two, was quite literally presented as a link between the Greek and Assyrian traditions.

Waddington, de Vogüé, and Duthoit contributed significantly to the enrichment and expansion of the Louvre’s Cypriot collections between 1862 and 1869.⁶⁶⁵ During their missions, sponsored directly by Napoléon III in 1862 and 1865, they secured—through excavation and purchase—thousands of limestone fragments, chiefly heads of Cypro-Archaic votive figures.⁶⁶⁶ The team’s most celebrated find was no doubt the Amathus Vase, an object so enormous that it has never moved from the gallery in which it was originally placed.⁶⁶⁷ The classification of Cypriot as an “Oriental” antiquity was thus cemented in 1866 with the installation of this vase in the “Salle Chypriote” (previously called “Salle 2”), located on the ground floor of the northern wing of the Cour Carrée and directly bordering the Musée Assyrien.⁶⁶⁸ Though curators have

⁶⁶⁴ Fontan, “Chypre au Louvre,” 54: “Les deux salles du premier musée se sont vite révélées trop petites pour abriter les collections orientales qui arrivaient en masse au Louvre: œuvres provenant de la mission de Victor Place à Khorsabad, sarcophages phéniciens, sculptures chypriotes, reliefs de Palmyre. Il fallut lui attribuer des espaces supplémentaires dans la moitié nord de l’aile est de la cour carrée. Sur le plan de Feer, il s’agit du vestibule et de la salle assyrienne n° 1, où l’on transféra en 1857 les taureaux ailés et les génies exposés dans la deuxième salle du musée d’origine.” See also Bresc-Bautier, Fonkenell, and Mardrus, *Histoire du Louvre*, 248.

⁶⁶⁵ Many of these items were purchased from local agents or amateur archaeologists rather than found by de Vogüé himself.

⁶⁶⁶ Explaining the broken nature of the statues, Perrot argued that the Christians, being against idolatry, smashed them. Only choice fragments were brought to the Louvre: “Pour en apporter en France les matériaux, il aurait fallu en charger tout un navire, et la valeur esthétique des figures chypriotes n’aurait peut-être pas justifié tant d’efforts et de dépense. On se contenta donc de choisir, dans les trois dépôts, les fragments les mieux conservés. Sans parler de curieux ex-voto et de morceaux intéressants à divers titres, on put tirer de ces débris une centaine de têtes plus ou moins bien conservées.” Perrot, “L’île de Chypre, son rôle dans l’histoire, ii,” 576.

⁶⁶⁷ As previously mentioned, the vase had been known for a long time. Duthoit can be credited with engineering a way to bring it back to France.

⁶⁶⁸ As in the British Museum, the rooms at the Louvre could take the names of archaeologists. The room holding the Amathus vase was called “Salle de Vogüé” and then “Salle de Vogüé et Duthoit” for many years. Foucart-Borville,

tended to highlight this object as solely responsible for Cyprus's classification as "Oriental" at the Louvre—a fact described as "slightly accidental"—the display of the Sargon Stele next to the finds from Khorsabad, and the placement of Guillaume-Rey's "Bearded Venus" among Phoenician sarcophagi had already set the precedent for Cypriot works to be displayed in Oriental galleries.⁶⁶⁹ Further, the placement of the vase was well considered, as demonstrated by a letter Longpérier wrote to the museum's director in May 1866. In this letter, Longpérier also emphasized the importance of displaying the Amathus Vase immediately, due to the public excitement it had generated.⁶⁷⁰ He suggested it be placed between the Assyrian and Egyptian galleries. The benefits of such a location were not lost on Longpérier's contemporaries. Lang, for instance, praised the museum's prudent choice to keep the heavy object on the ground floor and emphasized the advantage of placing the vase near Assyrian palace sculpture, where visitors to the museum would be able to appreciate Cypriot objects in the context of the island's period of Assyrian "domination."⁶⁷¹

"La Correspondance Chypriote d'Edmond Duthoit," 8; 53. The gallery was also called the "Salle Vase d'Amathonte."

⁶⁶⁹ As Amiet wrote in 1971, "C'est un peu accidentellement, du fait de l'impossibilité de déplacer l'énorme vase d'Amathonte, qui se trouve dans cette salle depuis Napoléon III, que l'île de Chypre se trouver retachée à l'ancien Orient!" quoted in Fontan, "Chypre au Louvre," 53. The vase, Fontan writes, "a conditionnée jusqu'à nos jours la présentation de la collection chypriote." *Ibid.*, 55. Even today, the Amathus vase determines the display, sometimes opposing a newer type of logic or presentation. In 1983, curators hoped to move it, but the financial obstacle was too great, and as a result, Cypriot objects had to be split between two galleries.

⁶⁷⁰ "Le vase d'Amathonte va nous arriver prochainement et, comme il a excité (beaucoup trop il est vrai) la curiosité publique, il sera bon de l'exposer très rapidement. Le difficile est de le faire entrer dans nos galeries. Voudriez-vous permettre que, provisoirement, il fût déposé sur chantier de pierre entre la galerie assyrienne et la galerie égyptienne sous le guichet qui conduit à St Germain l'Auxerrois? Cet expédient permettrait de mettre à couvert un monument fait d'une pierre friable que la pluie pénétrerait et détruirait fort promptement; il laisserait le temps de chercher ou de faire une place définitive pour un colosse qu'il faut nous efforcer de mouvoir le plus rarement possible. Nous devrions préparer la pierre immédiatement." Quoted in Fontan, "Chypre au Louvre," 55–6.

⁶⁷¹ Severis and Bonato, *Along the Most Beautiful Path in the World*, 135: "Cyprus had once been under Assyrian domination. The vase would be settled in a room next to the Musée Assyrien, where the famous winged- and human-headed bulls from the palace of King Sargon II at Khorsabad could be admired."

In August 1863, a “Salle Asiatique,” reserved for the display of antiquities from Asia Minor, had been inaugurated. This first-floor gallery bordered the Campana rooms and featured small finds from Cyprus.⁶⁷² Though this room is not easily located in nineteenth-century plans, a 1923 plan clarifies its position (as Salle A), identical to its situation in 1863 (fig. 85). This new room was intended for smaller finds, much as it had been before 1863 in its conception as a catch-all “Egyptian” room, but it subsequently became more specifically devoted to Cypriot antiquities. Fontan discusses how the arrival of new objects required curators again to shuffle objects around: “Cet afflux de nouvelles œuvres ne manqua pas de créer un problème de place et la nécessité de scinder les collections, en réservant le rez-de-chaussée pour les œuvres monumentales et en exposant les œuvres de plus petites dimensions dans la galerie Campana au premier étage de la Cour Carrée.”⁶⁷³

In 1868, another Cypriot room was incorporated as one of nine rooms in the Musée Napoléon III, on the upper floor, above the Musée Assyrien. The “Bearded Venus” was eventually moved to “Salle A” of this museum, as we learn from internal museum documents.⁶⁷⁴ Other Cypriot finds remained on display in a ground-floor gallery bordering the one that held the Amathus Vase, placed prominently in the center, and surrounded by five Phoenician sarcophagi and smaller specimens of Cypriot sculpture.⁶⁷⁵ Such an arrangement allowed for close comparison of Cypriot and Phoenician works, often considered together in contemporary

⁶⁷² Bresc-Bautier, Fonkenell, and Mardrus, *Histoire du Louvre*, 261.

⁶⁷³ Fontan, “Chypre au Louvre,” 55.

⁶⁷⁴ “La première salle, A, a reçu dans ses vitrines les antiquités phéniciennes, de nombreux spécimens de la sculpture chypriote jusqu’alors pour ainsi dire inconnue... puis un nombre considérable d’inscriptions phéniciennes, chypriotes... Enfin une très remarquable statue (style ancien) trouvée à Idalium en Chypre qui fut donnée par Mr. Guillaume Rey. Elle est placée sur une base isolée au milieu de la salle.” Quoted in *Ibid.*, 57.

⁶⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 55.

scholarship. A plan from 1868 documents shifts in display on the ground floor (fig. 86). Greek antiquities appear to have been moved out of the small gallery visible between “Salle 1” and “Salle 2” in the 1864 plan. Greek works appear instead (in room 13) adjacent only to Assyrian galleries, and not between the Egyptian and Assyrian.

The finds brought back by the French missions to Cyprus in the early 1860s—especially the “Bearded Venus” and the Amathus Vase—sparked further interest in Cypriot art. As Perrot wrote in 1879, as soon as these works were exhibited to the public at the Louvre, “ils présentaient des caractères communs assez particuliers pour provoquer des réflexions et des études qui encouragèrent l’administration du musée à développer cette partie de la collection confiée à ses soins.”⁶⁷⁶ For example, the Colonna-Ceccaldi brothers were responsible for a series of objects that entered the collection between 1860 and 1872, including a rich series of Cypro-Archaic votive heads much like those collected by Duthoit. Though the Louvre attempted to acquire other larger and foreign collections, when it came to Cypriot antiquities, they relied mostly on the initiative of French scholars and diplomats. The collections of the most prolific amateur archaeologists remained just out of grasp, destined instead for the museums of London and New York.

1870s: Reeling from War and Political Instability, France Unable to Secure Major Cypriot Collections

The French missed two enormous opportunities—the last of their kind—to enrich their holdings of Cypriot art when the Franco-Prussian War broke out in 1870, initiating a period of violence and instability during which time the Louvre’s antiquities department could not pursue acquisitions. Further, interpersonal conflicts within the department made discussions all but

⁶⁷⁶ Perrot, “L’île de Cypre, son rôle dans l’histoire, ii,” 578.

impossible, as the museum was instead in the process of protecting its collection and reshuffling some of its problematic staff.⁶⁷⁷ Cesnola, who was then attempting to sell his finds from Golgoi, initially expressed patience with France's difficult situation, but eventually reached an agreement with the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, seeing that France was not financially stable. Still, in 1871, the Louvre pursued the other great collection available at the time—that excavated by Lang at Dali. In November, Lang, who had just been to Paris, wrote to Birch at the British Museum explaining matters of interest at the Louvre and giving us a picture of the state of affairs in late 1871. Just two weeks before composing this letter, Lang, unaware of the Louvre's interest in Cypriot statuary, had agreed to sell his collection to the British Museum.

It is strange sometimes how things happen. Before the war the Louvre had determined to make some acquisitions in Cyprian Art, specifically with reference to mine, and to put themselves in a position to act as opportunity offered, they included in the last Budget they made for the Empire a sum specially for Cyprian art. This sum has not been appropriated and Heuzey said that although, generally speaking, they could not buy anything they could buy at this moment Cyprian objects...He was disappointed when I told him I had nothing to offer—Unless they can advise a purchase by the end of this year their grant for Cyprian objects will lapse—I am charged to see if anything can be done with Cesnola for his great statue and to telegraph to them if anything is possible, but I fear that it is in vain...All this entre nous!⁶⁷⁸

Lang's aim was clear: he hoped to make Birch and the British Museum aware that the Louvre was in a position to offer large sums for collections of Cypriot sculpture. Cesnola, for his part, had instead begun to promote his finds to financiers in New York, where the money seemed to be, and would formally agree in 1872 to its sale to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The

⁶⁷⁷ In June 1870 both Longpérier (then head of the antiquities division) and Wilhelm Fröhner (1834-1925), a German scholar of antiquities who had arrived at the Louvre in 1869 and of whom Longpérier was distrustful, were expelled from the department—the former from the museum completely. They were replaced by Heuzey and Félix Ravaisson-Mollien (1813-1900). For more on this turbulent period, see Bresc-Bautier, Fonkenell, and Mardrus, *Histoire du Louvre*, 316–20.

⁶⁷⁸ Correspondence, 26 November 1871, 1868-1881 Jones W- LE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London. A Lang sale followed in 1872, and he donated rather than sold further items to the Louvre.

enormous grant for “Cyprian objects” mentioned by Heuzey seems indeed to have lapsed, as the Louvre made no further large acquisitions of this kind in the 1870s.⁶⁷⁹

Rather than actively acquiring Cypriot antiquities as the British Museum and Metropolitan Museum of Art were doing in the mid-1870s, Heuzey instead found himself responsible for restoring rooms damaged during the Franco-Prussian War and, to a more limited extent, the commune fires. The Louvre’s displays of Cypriot art were not immediately affected by the March 1874 decision to reorganize its departments into five divisions. Among these, two antiquities departments—one general (which included the Cypriot) and one devoted solely to Egyptian works—emerged.⁶⁸⁰ This desire to keep Egyptian objects separate from other antiquities—including classical—followed a trend established in the 1820s. Thus, the new division did not fundamentally change the way the Louvre was run. In 1876-77, however, Heuzey reinstated the Assyrian, Phoenician, and Cypriot finds. In 1879, a “Salle de Milet” was inaugurated in a ground-floor gallery adjacent to the Cypriot galleries that had previously been known as the “Salle d’Assyrie.” Here, a celebrated Archaic torso from Miletus (ca. 480-470 BCE; 1.32 m), donated to the Louvre in 1873, was displayed (fig. 87). Though the figure’s nudity would not have encouraged visitors to compare it to the Louvre’s Cypriot sculptures—which were all clothed—it seems that the Louvre nevertheless sought to establish some degree of unity between Cypriot and preclassical styles from Asia Minor, both formed on the outskirts of the Greek mainland. This presentation may have influenced a later, 1890s, display at the British

⁶⁷⁹ Rather, they purchased small lots at auctions held in London and Paris, and in this way certain of Cesnola and Lang’s finds entered the collections. Pottier also helped get dozens of statues for the Louvre, mostly from Athienou.

⁶⁸⁰ Bresc-Bautier, Fonkenell, and Mardrus, *Histoire du Louvre*, 317.

Museum, which likewise placed Greek marble kouroi beside a Cypriot sculpture, also nude and made of marble.

Another room, called “Magnésie de Méandre” and housing finds from a temple in Asia Minor (now known as the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Maeander, early second century BCE) excavated between 1838 and 1842 was also inaugurated, replacing a gallery that had been devoted to “Primitive Greece” (fig. 88). The establishment of a room dedicated to this monument was a direct attempt to compete with the British Museum’s collection, which was much stronger in this domain, with several rooms devoted to monuments from Halicarnassus and Xanthos. As at the British Museum, these finds challenged the notion of a unified “Greek” style in “peripheral” regions—in this case a site just outside Ephesus. Though such monuments were considered to be “Greek” both in the context of the British Museum and the Louvre, in the latter they were grouped under the umbrella of “Asiatic Antiquities,” as indicated on an 1896 plan (fig. 89).

1880s: Cyprus Becomes an “Oriental Antiquity” and is Published by Heuzey

Cypriot art became officially attached to a department independent of the general antiquities department in August 1881, when it was regrouped under the newly founded Département des Antiquités Orientales.⁶⁸¹ This division included works from the Musée Assyrien, the Salles Asiatiques (which exhibited the works from Asia Minor discussed above), the Musée Judaïque, and “les oeuvres chypriotes.”⁶⁸² The following year, Heuzey completed a catalogue of the Louvre’s large collection of ancient terracottas.⁶⁸³ Works from Cyprus—in both terracotta and

⁶⁸¹ Heuzey became head curator of the new department, and Pottier served as his assistant.

⁶⁸² Bresc-Bautier, Fonkenell, and Mardrus, *Histoire du Louvre*, 319.

⁶⁸³ A shorter edition of this catalogue was published in 1878, but it did not include the long section on Cyprus featured in the 1882 edition.

stone—feature prominently in this ambitious volume.⁶⁸⁴ Heuzey hesitated to provide a single definitive classification of Cypriot objects, instead testing how certain works fit in one category, and then another, and then yet another, as had several authors treated in Chapter Two.⁶⁸⁵

First, Heuzey established the importance of the island’s geographical position.⁶⁸⁶ Next, he discussed periods of foreign occupation, setting the reader up for a discussion of foreign “influence.” He described the oldest Cypriot limestone sculptures as having a pronounced Asiatic character, and an *air de famille* in common with Assyrian figures, just as Perrot and Chipiez had described.⁶⁸⁷ Because he believed this Assyrian influence to have been indirect—introduced through the intermediary workshops of Phoenicia—he called it *pseudo-assyrien*.⁶⁸⁸ He noted the Egyptian influence in the figures’ posture, and the evident simplification of forms, explaining that the Egyptian style was once dominant in Phoenicia.⁶⁸⁹ Thus, we are to understand Phoenicia also

⁶⁸⁴ He included a lengthy section devoted solely to Cyprus and, within it, a discussion of limestone, maintaining that terracottas alone did not offer a complete picture of the Cypriot style. It was superseded over one hundred years later with Hermary, *Musée du Louvre*.

⁶⁸⁵ Most Cypriot terracottas appear under the subsection of Assyrian art and are treated as copies of Phoenician works. These “Phoenician-style” figurines are further divided into several categories. The *pseudo-assyrien* group is compared to the Cypriot, but Heuzey maintains that the Cypriot figures are more “rustic” than those found in northern Phoenicia. Figurines in the *pseudo-égyptien* category are considered reminiscent of figurines from Larnaca in posture and in hairstyle but different in fabric or medium. Another category is described as “moving closer to” the Archaic Greek and is the most important to the history of art, since it reveals the order and profusion of styles in the ancient Mediterranean. Finally, figures of *provenances orientales incertaines* form a last “Phoenician style” category. Here, Heuzey treats a group of terracottas (donated by de Saulcy) as Cypriot, even though they were originally classified as Phoenician and display similarities to Syrian figures. He ventures to say they may have been classified wrong, and explains that the figures entered the museum at a time when the artworks of Cyprus were not understood sufficiently. See Heuzey, *Les figurines antiques*, 106.

⁶⁸⁶ “Une découverte récente d’une grande portée, domine aujourd’hui l’étude des antiquités de Chypre, de cette île riche et populeuse, qui, par sa position en avant des côtes de la Syrie et de la Phénicie, fut l’un des points de contact le plus anciens entre l’Orient et la Grèce.” *Ibid.*, 113.

⁶⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 127.

⁶⁸⁸ He argued that art developed in a coordinated way in the two countries, and that the sculpture was introduced to the island by the Phoenicians at the time when the Phoenicians themselves were under the influence of Assyrian style.

⁶⁸⁹ “Il faut donc admettre que l’art s’est développé solidairement dans les deux pays et que la sculpture a été introduite dans l’île par les Phéniciens, à l’époque où ceux-ci subissaient eux-mêmes l’influence du style assyrien. Toutefois, sous les formes asiatiques, un bon observateur reconnaîtra dans certains caractères généraux, dans la

as the primary channel for Egyptian influence. Heuzey's designation of the Phoenicians as intermediaries for both Assyrian and Egyptian influence departed from what Lang or Colonna-Ceccaldi had promoted in their chronologies for Cypriot sculpture, in the years preceding Heuzey's publication. Notably, Heuzey allowed for an influence that was not directly tied to political or historical "domination," instead introducing the possibility that such influence in some cases preceded and followed periods of control by either Egypt or Assyria.⁶⁹⁰

Describing the physical characteristics of an "Egyptian" type, Heuzey observed many signs of imitation, and—perhaps hoping to emphasize the importance of the Louvre's collection—also sought to highlight a "Greek" element.⁶⁹¹ Heuzey's most general discussion of Cypriot art explored the notion that it could even be considered a branch of the Archaic Greek: "De ces éléments divers, où l'hellénisme prédomine de plus en plus, s'est formé ce que nous appellerons le *style cypriot*, qui n'est en somme, comme l'ancien style étrusque, qu'une branche de l'archaïsme grec."⁶⁹² This suggestion, which closely linked the "Cypriot" and "Greek" styles, was quoted in later scholarship, but attracted few followers.⁶⁹³ Still, the connection between the Cypriot and Etruscan styles would again surface at the British Museum in the mid-1880s as it

construction et dans l'attitude des figures, dans la simplification du modelé et des ajustements, les traditions antérieures du style égyptien, plus anciennement dominantes en Phénicie." Heuzey, *Les figurines antiques*, 128

⁶⁹⁰ Senff, "Exotischer Reiz und historischer Wert," 266: "Dabei geht er auch nicht mehr, wie noch Colonna-Ceccaldi, von direkten Aufträgen oder Einwirkungen ägyptischer Bewohner aus, sondern vor einer Übermittlung durch Zwischenträger, wie etwa die Phönizier. Die Kunst geht andere Wege als die Politik."

⁶⁹¹ Heuzey, *Les figurines antiques*, 131: "Le Musée du Louvre est seul à posséder plusieurs têtes de pierre calcaire, d'un travail très ancien, qui montrent à Chypre les débuts de l'école grecque, s'exerçant sur d'autres données que celles du style égypto-phénicien." Heuzey expressed his displeasure that Cesnola's finds had been sent to New York.

⁶⁹² *Ibid.*, 133, emphasis original. The reference to the Etruscan style can be explained by Heuzey's opinion that art passed from the Levant to Cyprus and on to Etruria.

⁶⁹³ *Ibid.*, 126. Perrot and Chipiez quoted this section in their third volume, but did not otherwise defend the classification of Cyprus as a branch of the Greek Archaic.

sought to find a suitable space to display both varieties, with one solution proposing that they share a gallery.

Turning to a discussion of costume, Heuzey observed that the “foreign” clothing worn by Cypriot figures persisted even after the figures themselves had become “Hellenized.”⁶⁹⁴ Referring to objects in the Cesnola Collection, he observed,

Dans ces trois figures, sous des costumes qui sembleraient marquer des époques et des nationalités très diverses, on est surpris de retrouver le même type et presque la même physionomie. Trouvés sur le sol du même temple, elles sont évidemment contemporaines. Seulement elles peuvent représenter des personnages d’origine ou des conditions différentes, des costumes réels ou de convention, conformes aux traditions variables, qui dominaient dans les villes, selon les alliances ou les préférences politiques des familles régnautes.⁶⁹⁵

His understanding of dress was much more nuanced than that of other scholars.⁶⁹⁶ Typically, figures with different “foreign costume” or “foreign influence” were understood to be from different periods, most often aligned with periods of external domination. Heuzey, however, noted that the physiognomy of the figures in different dress was nearly the same, and suggested accordingly that the figures could be contemporaneous.⁶⁹⁷ Still, the Cypriot tendency to mix styles and costume, whatever its origins, was used to make a scathing criticism of the general character of Cypriot style. Though he had devoted considerable attention to understanding the Cypriot style, Heuzey ultimately dismissed it as being afflicted with a “médiocrité

⁶⁹⁴ “On doit observer surtout que l’avènement de l’archaïsme grec n’exclut pas, dans la sculpture cypriote, l’emploi des anciens costumes asiatiques ou égyptiens.” *Ibid.*, 133.

⁶⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 133–34. These figures are not included in Heuzey’s volume. Instead, he refers the reader to Cesnola, *Cyprus*, where these three figures (dressed in Egyptian, Assyrian, and Hellenic costume) are illustrated on pages 151, 132, and 151, respectively.

⁶⁹⁶ Heuzey had an interest in ancient modes of dress. See Léon Heuzey and Jacques Heuzey, *Histoire du costume dans l’antiquité classique: l’Orient- Égypte, Mésopotamie, Syrie, Phénicie* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1935), published after L. Heuzey’s death.

⁶⁹⁷ Still, he did raise the point that dress might be an external expression of political allegiances, as Colvin and Poole had argued, demonstrating that he was not confident of his earlier suggestion that the figures in different dress were from the same period.

irrémédiable.”⁶⁹⁸ Indeed, near the end of his discussion, he became increasingly critical of Cyprus, declaring that the island’s artists were inferior even to Phoenician artists.⁶⁹⁹ He thus barred the Cypriot artists from contributing to any later Greek development, though he had previously argued that the Cypriot style might be understood as a “branch” of the Archaic.

The Louvre’s Cypriot holdings did not grow substantially in the 1880s, but specimens from Ohnefalsch-Richter’s excavations sold at auction in Paris were incorporated into the collection.⁷⁰⁰ Soon afterward, in January 1886, the Louvre’s departments were again reorganized. The Department of Egyptian Antiquities remained unchanged. The general antiquities department, however, was renamed the Département de la Sculpture grecque et romaine.⁷⁰¹ The Département des Antiquités Orientales was thus charged with the care of all ancient ceramics, excluding Egyptian, but including those from ancient Greece.⁷⁰² Unsurprisingly, the ground-floor rooms with Oriental antiquities—including the “Salles Asiatiques,” featuring finds from Miletus and Magnesia on the Maeander—and the upper floor rooms of “mixed origin” terracottas became increasingly overcrowded. Incoming finds from the excavations at Susa finally forced curators

⁶⁹⁸ Heuzey, *Les figurines antiques*, 134: “Cette hésitation entre des influences opposées n’était pas faite pour donner à la sculpture cyprïote une fermeté de style qui du reste n’était guère dans le tempérament des artistes indigènes. Frappés d’une médiocrité irrémédiable, jamais ils ne semblent avoir été sollicités ni par le besoin de la perfection ni par un vif sentiment de la forme.”

⁶⁹⁹ “Il s’en faut que les anciens artistes Chyprïotes, inférieur mêmes aux Phéniciens, aient jamais pu être en rien des maîtres pour la Grèce.” Ibid.

⁷⁰⁰ Ohnefalsch-Richter had a sale (of objects found in 1885-86) at the Hôtel Drouot in 1887. *Antiquités Chyprïotes-catalogue des objets antiques trouvés à Arsinoé de Chypre: Sculptures, inscriptions chyprïotes, poterie Phénicienne, terre cuïtes et bijoux*, gives a list of 49 objects that went to the Louvre, all to the department “AM” (Antiquités Méditerranée/Antiquités de Chypre et de Rhodes). Any such objects were designated AM beginning in 1886. Annie Caubet, Antoine Hermary, and Olivier Masson, “Les objets de la Mission Couchoud au Musée du Louvre,” *CCEC* 17 (1992): 29.

⁷⁰¹ Antoine Héron de Villefosse (1845-1919), who had been a curator at the Louvre since 1869, served as the new head of department beginning in 1886. Bresc-Bautier, Fonkenell, and Mardrus, *Histoire du Louvre*, 320. Albert Kaempfen (1826-1907) had been director of the department of antiquities previously, and in 1887 instead became the director of national museums network.

⁷⁰² Heuzey remained head of this department and a new assistant, Charles Ravaisson-Mollien (1848-1919)—whose father, Felix, had served as curator of Greek and Roman sculpture—was responsible for the Greek vases. Ibid.

into action, as they were eager to display these new and exciting monuments. Though work had begun as early as 1881, the inauguration of galleries on the upper floor of the Cour Carrée devoted to Sumerian antiquities took place in 1888.⁷⁰³ The emblematic Cypriot antiquity remained the Amathus vase, whose weight made it impossible to move from its ground floor location. Thus, Cypriot antiquities continued to be displayed around the vase, in the very same room that had been inaugurated to hold the vase in 1866.

1890s: Cypriot and Phoenician Works Continue to Share Space

Cesnola, having survived the scandal and attacks on his reputation and collection during his time as director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, wrote to Heuzey in the summer of 1890. He was responding to a letter of Heuzey's from the previous month, and reported that he had just received a visit from Murray, demonstrating his ongoing connection to the British museums. In a display of collegial cooperation, he generously offered to present the Louvre with casts of certain statues in the Cesnola Collection.⁷⁰⁴ Though it is unclear whether the Louvre received these casts, the museum's collection of Cypriot originals continued to grow—if very slowly—during the last years of the century. Eugène Boysset (1848-1914), French consul at Larnaca from 1891 to 1900, greatly enriched the Louvre's collection of Bronze Age finds, and

⁷⁰³ At this moment, a large room called “Salle de Suse” or “Salle Dieulafoy” was inaugurated, and 1891, a smaller room featuring architectural restorations and panoramas was added. *Ibid.*, 347. See also Prudence Oliver Harper, Joan Aruz, and Françoise Tallon, eds., *The Royal City of Susa: Ancient Near Eastern Treasures in the Louvre* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992).

⁷⁰⁴ “Le Mouleur en Chef du Musée a trouvé le moyen de reproduire en plâtre les sculptures en pierre calcaire de Cypre, sans qu’elles souffrent la moindre alteration. Je n’ai pas encore un atelier de moulages au Musée, mais quand j’en aurais un, je ferai reproduire en plâtre une ou deux statues Cypriotes parmi les plus importantes et si elles réussiraient bien je vous les enverrai.” Correspondence, 17 June 1890, Cesnola File, Archives of the Département des Antiquités Orientales, Musée du Louvre, Paris. The experiment seems to have succeeded, as the New York museum later published a catalogue of casts available to visitors, but there are no records showing that the Louvre received any.

donated some Archaic sculptures as well. The Louvre also obtained some sculpture from Perdrizet, who travelled to Cyprus in 1896 on behalf of the French School at Athens.⁷⁰⁵

A series of changes were made to the galleries housing Oriental antiquities in the final decade of the nineteenth century. In 1892, further rooms were added, including a Punic gallery, which moved into space that had previously been solely devoted to “Jewish antiquities.” At this moment, there were ten galleries in all—five in the original location in the Cour Carrée on the ground floor, and another five on the first floor. Gallery five—on the ground floor—was devoted to antiquities from Cyprus, Phoenicia, and Carthage. An 1896 gallery plan demonstrates that this room is the same as that into which the Amathus vase had originally been moved in 1866 (see fig. 89). Galleries of the former “Musée Assyrien” are labelled “Antiquités Asiatiques,” though they still contained Assyrian material. Several further changes are evident in the surrounding galleries. For example, the Algerian objects had been displaced from the Egyptian gallery and the cast room had disappeared.⁷⁰⁶ While the presence of a new room entirely devoted to Phoenician tombs would suggest that the Phoenician sarcophagi had been moved out of the Cypriot room, the fact that the room is labeled as “Salle Phénicienne et Chypriote” indicates that certain Phoenician antiquities remained on display with the Cypriot artifacts.

⁷⁰⁵ These came in the form of gifts in 1869 and 1897.

⁷⁰⁶ They were moved into a new African gallery between the Cour Carrée and the Cour Visconti, and joined by objects from Tunisia. Some may also have been transferred to the Musée d’Ethnographie du Trocadéro, which was actively acquiring an enormous African collection at this moment. The American collections had already been transferred there in 1881.

Cypriot Art in the British Museum: A “Greek” Antiquity

The British Museum, which first opened to the public in 1759, was largely formed through donations of fine art and natural history specimens.⁷⁰⁷ Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the museum continued to collect—with funds from the treasury—on an impressive scale. Yet unlike the Louvre’s collection, which was limited to “artworks” but included paintings, the British Museum’s acquisition habits were more narrowly focused, largely excluding paintings from the collections.⁷⁰⁸ At the same time, the British Museum’s collection was also more expansive in the sense that they originally included natural history specimens.⁷⁰⁹ Much like the French *savants*, British scholars carried out excavations in various locations across the Mediterranean—likewise funded by the treasury or by special purchase grants—and the finds were entrusted to the national collection. Still, the British Museum’s pursuit of antiquities was more limited in scope than that of the Louvre. While the French museum began acquiring and displaying works from North Africa and Central America in the mid-1800s, the British Museum favored antiquities found on “European” soil, perhaps including those from Asia Minor, but not often much further afield.⁷¹⁰ The paradigmatic example of this narrow focus was the Parthenon and its architectural sculpture, on display at the British Museum from 1817. The Parthenon marbles were celebrated in London—as elsewhere—as the pinnacle of human artistic

⁷⁰⁷ The British Museum was founded in 1753, at which time Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753) bequeathed his enormous collection of antiquities, books, and natural history specimens to the state. Wilson, *The British Museum*, 11–34. See also James Delbourgo, *Collecting the World: Hans Sloane and the Origins of the British Museum* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2017).

⁷⁰⁸ Paintings were instead collected by the National Gallery after its establishment in 1824.

⁷⁰⁹ These collections were moved to the South Kensington Museum in the mid-1880s. This museum, established in 1854, was intended to house collections of design and applied arts, and function in a way similar to the Museum of Industry in Paris.

⁷¹⁰ Egyptian antiquities—always the exception—were also enthusiastically acquired, when possible, though the French had the advantage in that particular arena. Collections from the Americas, Africa, and Oceania remained small and were confined to the upper floor of the museum, alongside minerals and zoological specimens.

accomplishment, the crowning achievement of a series of cultural developments of civilizations from the Near East to Egypt and, finally, Athens.

Though it was never executed as a display scheme, an 1845 watercolor by Russian stage designer James Stephanoff (1786-1874), entitled “Assemblage of Works of Art from the Earliest Period to the Time of Phydias,” illustrates how such a model could find expression within the museum (fig. 90). Incorporating works from around the world, the foundations of this imaginative assemblage are furnished by sculpture from Central America as well as Hindu and Buddhist works from India, Burma, and Thailand. In the center are works from Persia, Egypt, and Etruria. Marble sculpture from Greece and Lycia follows, with the Aegina pediments (casts of which were displayed in the British Museum) leading the eye to what we are to understand as the apex of artistic achievement: the Parthenon marbles. While Stephanoff’s title would suggest that the works are simply arranged chronologically, with the earliest at the bottom and the more recent at the top of the image, they are in reality arranged according to prescribed aesthetic judgments and ideas about the relative merits of each culture’s artistic traditions.⁷¹¹

This theoretical hierarchy forms the backdrop against which works from Cyprus entered the British Museum, where scholars eagerly noted the visual links between Cypriot sculpture and sculpture from Greece, Egypt, Phoenicia, and Assyria. We might imagine then, that Archaic Cypriot art took its place in this “Great Chain of Art” alongside works from these cultures, ranking perhaps just below Archaic Greece, or, in Stephanoff’s assemblage, alongside the Etruscan works featured prominently in the center of the painting. Cypriot sculpture was indeed

⁷¹¹ Jenkins, *Archaeologists and Aesthetes*, 62: “This hierarchy, as mapped in Stephanoff’s drawing, appears to derive from two principal sources. First, from the real-life assemblage of the British Museum itself, in which many of the examples were to be found...second, from contemporary aesthetic theory.”

aligned accordingly in both Paris and London with preclassical works, including those from Etruria. But whereas in the Louvre Cypriot sculpture was exhibited alongside “Oriental” or “Asiatic” antiquities, in the British Museum Cypriot material was studied above all by classical archaeologists, and in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. In the context of this department, most works suffered neglect, remaining unpublished and off view, unable to capture scholarly or public interest in the way that classical Greek and Roman sculptures did.

Still, monuments from Egypt and Assyria were highly valued at the museum—especially by the British and foreign public. Considered outside the context of their department, Cypriot antiquities likewise generated a good deal of interest—though not necessarily among the public—and attracted the attention of many scholars at the museum, cutting across traditional departmental divisions. The most salient aspect of the story of Cypriot antiquities at the British Museum may indeed be that their collection and study encouraged communication and interaction across departments and disciplines, with scholars specializing in Egyptian, Near Eastern, and Greek and Roman culture working together to persuade the trustees of the importance of ancient Cyprus. The result is that the British Museum today holds the world’s second largest Cypriot collection outside of Cyprus.⁷¹²

This widespread interest did not, however, always work to the benefit of the Cypriot collections, which were spread across three antiquities departments, angering amateur archaeologists such as Lang who hoped to see their collections unified through display in one gallery. When the keepers sought to find space for Cypriot objects within existing galleries, the

⁷¹² Stockholm’s Medelhavsmuseet has the largest. See Vassos Karageorghis, *The Cyprus Collections in the Medelhavsmuseet* (Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation, 2003).

“eastern” elements of Cypriot sculpture could overshadow their official “Greek” designation.

Most often, Cypriot sculptures were displayed—from the 1870s onward—alongside objects from Assyria, Phoenicia, and Egypt. Though the strength of the British Museum’s collection theoretically offered keepers the opportunity to display Cypriot works in rooms that ran *between* these galleries, thereby illuminating connections between multiple Mediterranean cultures, a perpetual lack of space prevented such a scheme from being realized. The British Museum thus incorporated the scheme that had been introduced by curators at the Louvre: Cypriot sculptures were sprinkled throughout a variety of galleries, especially those displaying Assyrian and Phoenician objects.

The Cypriot collection’s chaotic exhibition was a significant source of tension within the London museum, as nearly all Cypriot objects officially belonged to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. Keepers from the Department of Oriental Antiquities were seen as commandeering Cypriot objects for display in their galleries. Yet the result likely had a positive impact on the general reception of Cypriot sculpture at the museum. Within the context of Greek and Roman galleries, Cypriot works in limestone and terracotta would have been vulnerable to being perceived as “lesser” Greek works—not simply pre-classical, but “provincial” and “immature,” mirroring their status in surveys of Greek art. Displayed alongside Assyrian and Phoenician works, however, and without the aesthetic pressure exerted on the works by later classical Greek statues, they were less likely to draw negative attention.

When Cyprus became a protectorate of the British Empire in 1878, the British Museum’s relationship to Cyprus—and especially its involvement in excavations on the island—was transformed. Though it initially stalled as legal restrictions were put into place (on behalf of the

Ottoman Empire, but to the mutual benefit of the British Museum), in the 1880s and 1890s British collecting of Cypriot material increased at such a rate that soon no other museum in the world could compete with the richness of the London collections. Excavations by the Cyprus Exploration Fund and those carried out with funds from the Turner Bequest were instrumental to the expansion of the museum's Cypriot collections, though they did not bring in significant examples of Cypriot stone sculpture. Though British archaeologists had begun to take advantage of Britain's position on the island, the displays did not shift significantly, and Cypriot sculptures were still exhibited alongside Assyrian—and, in some cases, Egyptian—works. The message nevertheless shifted, and Cyprus's "Greekness" was highlighted while its "Oriental" nature was—whether consciously or not—de-emphasized. The Levantine features in Cypriot art were portrayed as markers of its distant "Oriental" past, and the "Greek" features seen as indicative of its core identity, its Hellenic past, and its Greek future. The 1887 acquisition of an Archaic marble kouros from Cyprus—and its display in a gallery devoted to Archaic Greece, first attested in 1892—exemplify this shift.

Before 1870: Cyprus as a "Greek and Roman" Antiquity

In 1852—the same year the the first Cypriot limestone sculptures were acquired by the Louvre—the first Cypriot votives were brought to the British Museum by Henry Christy (1810-1865).⁷¹³ These works were incorporated into the museum's Department of Antiquities, an independent, free-standing department devoted not only to ancient or classical art but also to "British"—mostly Roman-period—antiquities. The arrangement strained relationships between

⁷¹³ This lot included a set of eight limestone and twenty-eight terracottas statues. See Pryce, *Catalogue of Sculpture*, 2.

museum staff, especially when it came to the allocation of budgets for diverse and unrelated material.⁷¹⁴ In 1860, the Department of Antiquities was thus split into three separate departments: Greek and Roman; Oriental; and Coins and Medals.⁷¹⁵ This change was implemented in 1861, with the necessary shifting of staff and the rather puzzling merging of the Department of Oriental Antiquities with the Medieval, British, and Ethnographic collections.⁷¹⁶ The British Museum's Department of Oriental Antiquities was thus established two decades before the Louvre's Département des Antiquités Orientales. Cypriot antiquities entering the London collection after 1860 could have found a home with the Oriental material, as they eventually did at the Louvre. Yet, with few exceptions, they did not.

The changes to departmental structure at the British Museum in 1860-61 instead reinforced an existing, somewhat peculiar and inconsistent divide between antiquities from Greece and those from the Near East. The British Museum's Department of Oriental Antiquities had a relatively narrow focus, and was above all the domain of Egyptian and Assyrian scholars.

⁷¹⁴ The situation was not ideal, as collection policies dictated by a Royal Commission and Principal Librarian Anthony Panizzi (1797-1879) meant that the general antiquities department shared a budget with British antiquities, and the latter, which had suffered in recent years while archaeological collections had flourished, was declared priority. As Franks wrote in an 1855 report, quoted in Wilson, *The British Museum*, 133: "The Collection [of Charles Roach Smith] would be a great and valuable addition to the British Room—the acquisition of it by the Museum would go far to remove us from the reproach under which we are labouring of neglecting the Antiquities of our own Country while we accumulate those of other lands." Smith's collection contained Romano-British and Romano-Gallic pottery found during construction and sewage work in London.

⁷¹⁵ "The Trustees confirmed the Resolutions of the Sub-Committee on Antiquities as to the sub-division of the Department of Antiquities into the first three Departments, etc. 1. That Greek and Roman Antiquities be one Department 2. That Oriental Antiquities be one Department. 3. That Coins and Medals be one Department. —The Ethnographical and Medieval Antiquities to be attached to one of the three." Internal Report, 10 November 1860, C 7 (vols. 27-29) July 1855-July 1862, Central Archive, British Museum, London. William Vaux, a numismatist, became Keeper of Coins and Medals.

⁷¹⁶ British antiquities collections could thus dip into the budget for Oriental acquisitions, while a special sum was preserved for Greek and Roman. The staff at this time was quite small. In 1861, the principal librarian ordered, "1) That to the departments of Egyptian and other Oriental Antiquities there be attached Medieval as well as British Antiquities, and Ethnographical Collection. That Mr. Birch be keeper of this department with Mr. Franks, Assistant. 2) That Mr. Newton be Keeper of the department of Greek and Roman Antiquities with Mr. Oldfield, Assistant." Internal Report, 2 February 1861, C 7 (vols. 27-29) July 1855-July 1862, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

By contrast, the reach of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities extended east to include Asia Minor and Cyprus, recalling the geographic expanse of Greece's power during the Hellenistic period (323 BCE-31 CE), but incorporating monuments built centuries earlier under the Achaemenid Empire, such as the Harpy Tomb (ca. 480-470 BCE), the Nereid Monument (ca. 390-380 BCE), and the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus (ca. 350 BCE) (figs. 91-93).⁷¹⁷ Indeed, much like works from Miletus displayed at the Louvre from 1879 onward, each of these monuments included elements of traditional "Greek" design, in some cases commissioned by itinerant Greek architects and craftsmen. In searching for some form of internal logic as to why these monuments belonged to the British Museum's Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities rather than the Department of Oriental Antiquities, however, it is more fruitful to look not to ancient borders and stylistic lineages, but to the museum's acquisition policies departmental boundaries, and the structure and personalities of the staff.

Newton, whose career as keeper in this department acquired near-heroic proportions—and extended from 1861 to 1886—was a particularly significant figure in this regard.⁷¹⁸ During his time as British vice consul in Mytilene in the 1850s, and under the auspices of the British Museum, he excavated and collected finds from the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, which he

⁷¹⁷ Cypriot antiquities were not the first to challenge the logic of the British Museum's display. Challis, *From the Harpy Tomb to the Wonders of Ephesus*, 41: "The problem with the Lycian antiquities was that, though they were widely acknowledged as being a link in the 'Great Chain of Art'...they did not fit neatly into this chain since most displayed a mixture of Greek and Near Eastern influences. The Nereid Monument was agreed to be Greek-influenced and possibly by Greek artists, but the combination of artistic influences exhibited within the other Lycian antiquities raised doubts over whether they were 'truly Greek.'" Dyson, *In Pursuit of Ancient Pasts*, 141: "Like the Halicarnassus sculptures, these were works that had been commissioned from Greek artisans by non-Greek elites in the Persian Empire. The Lycian sculptures raised interesting questions about the role of such 'liminal' areas in the development of Greek civilization and in the canonical reconstruction of the evolution of Greek sculpture. They provided important insight into the interactions of Greek culture with indigenous cultures in Asia Minor and further highlight the importance of that region to the intersection of these cultures."

⁷¹⁸ Newton's description of his duties as keeper quoted in Wilson, *The British Museum*, 147-49; see also Kiely, "Charles Newton and the Archaeology of Cyprus."

subsequently followed back to the museum in 1860 as keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities. It was only logical that the Mausoleum, and similar monuments of mixed East Greek and Achaemenid lineage (including the Harpy Tomb and the Nereid Monument) that had been brought to the museum in the early 1840s by Charles Fellows (1799-1860) should fall under his custodianship. Birch, then keeper of Oriental antiquities, was above all an Egyptologist with a keen interest in scripts and epigraphy rather than monuments or sculpture.

Though Birch and Newton both took an active interest in collecting and researching Cypriot works, the mix of styles evident in Cypriot material—a phenomenon that intrigued Newton—naturally led to its inclusion among the “Greek” material. Setting a precedent for the treatment of East Greek and Cypriot material arriving later in the century, a Lycian gallery—firmly under Newton’s custodianship—was thus established in 1845. A competition had been held among artists, among them Stephanoff, who submitted proposals for the installation of these finds. Stephanoff’s 1843 drawing incorporates the architectural sculpture from each of the monuments mentioned above, effectively creating a new monument representative not of one site, tradition, or period, but rather presenting a composite in an aesthetically appealing manner (fig. 94).⁷¹⁹ The final layout for the room, however, was determined by British sculptor Richard Westmacott (1775-1856) and Newton, who attempted to find a compromise between “aesthetic” and “archaeological” or didactic arrangements.⁷²⁰ The conflict between these two very different agendas and curatorial methods would come to a head in the following decade.

⁷¹⁹ In contrast, “Fellows was most concerned that the sculptures should be displayed with due regard for the original construction of the monuments to which they belonged, and that those which he reckoned to be of native Lycian manufacture should be kept separate from the various parts of the Nereid Monument, which he thought to be Greek.” Jenkins, *Archaeologists and Aesthetes*, 150.

⁷²⁰ Sitting atop the south entrance to the museum was a pedimental group designed by Westmacott entitled “The Progress of Civilisation,” completed in 1851. The narrative here held that man, although born ignorant, received

Assyrian antiquities arrived at the British Museum slightly later than they had in Paris. Still, excavations by Layard—and later by his assistant Hormuzd Rassam (1826-1910) on behalf of the museum—and purchases sponsored by Henry Creswicke Rawlinson (1810-1895) assured that the British collection rivaled Paris. In 1854, an Assyrian transept was opened in London. Yet, as space was limited, not all new finds could be accommodated in a way that satisfied the keepers or the public, and the museum was forced to face a significant identity crisis. A royal commission was set up to investigate how the museum could be more successfully operated and organized.⁷²¹ At the center of this debate were questions about how the institution's diverse holdings—of natural history specimens, books, and antiquities—could be given equal weight by the trustees and museum staff, and, further, how growing collections might be arranged in a logical manner. An important outcome of these meetings was that the keepers of the departments of antiquities were free to arrange their collections in a chronological manner, or as best communicated their archaeological context or importance. British artists, including Stephanoff, and especially Westmacott, who had previously dominated conversations and decisions regarding the placement and display of ancient sculpture, were thus silenced within the archaeological rooms of the museum.

knowledge from an angel of enlightenment that allowed him to explore and develop an understanding of his environment and ultimately master his world, thus standing alone above all other inhabitants with whom he shared it. Max Bryant, “‘The Progress of Civilization’: The Pedimental Sculpture of the British Museum by Richard Westmacott,” *Sculpture Journal* 25, no. 3 (November 2016): 321, argues that Westmacott “used the word ‘civilization’ in a specific sense, not to a particular civilization but to a process of becoming civilized that was continuous across all cultures.”

⁷²¹ Wilson, *The British Museum*, 115–19.

As early as 1863, in a letter to Layard, Newton named Cyprus as a desirable place for the museum to dig, highlighting Cyprus's abundance of "Phoenician antiquities."⁷²² Two years later, the trustees affirmed their interest in Cyprus, supporting British Consul Dominic Ellis Colnaghi (1834-1908) in his excavation efforts and those of his successor, Sandwith.⁷²³ Both men provided the museum with sizable lots of Cypriot material, though little in the way of stone sculpture.⁷²⁴ But the pace of acquisitions and donations proved overwhelming for the institution and its departments. In 1867, museum documents reveal concerns about the lack of display space, providing a glimpse of a problem that would only worsen in the decades to come.⁷²⁵

Another series of early purchases of Cypriot antiquities in the mid-1860s were arranged through Pierides and were organized by keepers from all three departments, adding to the

⁷²² "I would suggest that, if Lord Russel should think it fit to bestow a consulate on Mr. Dennis, the parts where he would be most likely to make remarkable discoveries and acquisitions for the BM would be Rhodes, Cyprus, Benghazi, Mylicene, or Crete...Cyprus has very interesting Phoenician antiquities, but is less healthy." Correspondence, 3 July 1863, Letter Book 1861-1879, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London. Here, Newton likely refers to cholera outbreaks on the island. This problem was also mentioned by G. Colonna-Ceccaldi, who, in his 1870 report on the island's antiquities, mentions an especially severe outbreak in 1865.

⁷²³ The trustees "attach much importance to the encouragement of Mr. Colnaghi in further excavations in Cyprus." Internal Report, 8 April 1865, C 8 (vols. 30-32) July 1862-1869, Central Archive, British Museum, London. Colnaghi was in office from 1864 until 1865, when he was succeeded by Sandwith. The museum had previously corresponded with Colnaghi in 1862, when he presented a "bronze bowl inscribed with Greek and Oriental characters" to the museum. Even after leaving the consulship, Colnaghi maintained contact with the museum, and especially Newton, sending drawings and reports of objects. Sandwith made a series of gifts to the British Museum, beginning in the 1860s. An 1870 letter reveals his awareness that the museum wanted information about the objects' origins: "As I suppose you would like to know something of the provenance of these terra cottas, I must tell you that they were dug up at a place half way between Larnaca and Dali...The styles were chiefly Cyprian, but there were the head and shoulders of an unmistakable Egyptian type, and a figure life-size wanting the head, robed in the Assyrian fashion with a highly ornate fringe." Correspondence, 21 June 1870, Original Letters (vol. 2) L-Z 1869-1872, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London. Sandwith's provided provenance is far from exact—the towns are roughly 30 km apart.

⁷²⁴ In 1866 alone, Colnaghi collected 300 terracottas for the museum. He presented these and other finds to the museum as a "collection of terracotta figures, stone statuettes, and heads, a vase, and several lamps discovered...near Larnaca." Internal Report, 10 February 1866, C 8 (vols. 30-32) July 1862-1869, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

⁷²⁵ Internal Report, 3 April 1867, C 8 (vols. 30-32) July 1862-1869, Central Archive, British Museum, London. Space became even more scarce under Principal Librarian John Winter Jones (1805-1881), creating a host of issues that came to a head in the 1880s when the organization and display of the entire museum was restructured and reimaged under the subsequent principal librarian, Edward Augustus Bond (1815-1898).

confusion about where Cypriot material should be displayed. In 1867, Pierides captured Newton's attention, which proved to be the key to a successful sale. Newton received approval from the trustees to spend up to 25 pounds on limestone fragments, described as being mostly heads and torsos.⁷²⁶ In 1868, however, Newton disclosed that he was struggling to find space to display these figures, revealing that the clutter and chaos in the museum had only become more desperate since it was first acknowledged in the previous year.⁷²⁷ Money was also short, as Newton confided to Pierides. One of Newton's letters, written in August 1869, expresses his opinion—shared by the trustees, one might imagine—that it was undesirable to purchase antiquities on credit.⁷²⁸ Still, despite his department's budget woes, later in 1869, Newton reported purchasing two further lots, one from Sandwith and another from Pierides.⁷²⁹ For the moment, however, he resisted purchasing the larger (and pricier) collections rich in stone sculpture offered by Lang and T. Colonna-Ceccaldi.⁷³⁰

⁷²⁶ In a letter to Pierides, he wrote, "I am now prepared to offer you 25 pounds for the Dali statues, which I think is their full value, as they are much mutilated." Correspondence, 17 July 1867, Letter Book 1861-1879, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

⁷²⁷ Newton informed Pierides that he would not purchase any figures, as they were duplicates of what the museum already had, but added, "I have got your pottery in a case... and I have at length contrived to find room for the exhibition of the Dali statues in an intelligible manner. They form an interesting series." Correspondence, 18 September 1868, Letter Book 1861-1879, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London. This concern may explain why, in 1868, after Newton offered Pierides 18 pounds for a lot of vases and "other objects from Cyprus," Birch purchased the same lot for the slightly higher sum of 20 pounds. Birch's apparent slightly greater enthusiasm for Cypriot antiquities may, however, instead simply indicate that the keepers in the Department of Oriental Antiquities were less concerned about the lack of space than those in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. On the other hand, the objects may truly have been of more interest to Birch, who was more excited by pottery than sculpture. Indeed, because the sale was finalized by Birch, these objects were welcomed into the Department of Oriental rather than Greek and Roman Antiquities.

⁷²⁸ Correspondence, 18 September 1868, Letter Book 1861-1879, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

⁷²⁹ Though the description of the first lot is nearly identical to that from Pierides acquired by Birch, the objects found homes in different departments. Pierides's 1869 lot of was reported as Phoenician pottery and "other antiquities from Cyprus" for twenty pounds, and stone statuettes for eight pounds. Correspondence, 29 May 1869, C 8 (vols. 30-32) July 1862-1869, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

⁷³⁰ In 1868, T. Colonna-Ceccaldi, wrote his first letter to the British Museum (featured in Chapter One), introducing a collection of stone sculpture found at Idalium—mostly fragments, poorly preserved—and sending photographs.

1870s: Cypriot Works Coveted by the Department of Oriental Antiquities

The details of the respective acquisition and refusal of collections excavated by Lang and Cesnola were considered in Chapter One. It is useful to reevaluate them here, however, from a slightly different angle—that of the interdepartmental cross-over they encouraged at the British Museum, and the broader international networks that supported the trade in Cypriot antiquities. For example, Deutsch’s 1869 trip to Cyprus to review Lang’s collection had been paid in part by the Department of Oriental Antiquities, although the objects were destined for acquisition by the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities.⁷³¹ The use of funds from the Oriental rather than Greek and Roman antiquities purchase grant makes sense in the context of Birch’s greater interest in the collection and his access to a pool of money that was not being depleted by more desirable “classical” antiquities.

The Department of Oriental Antiquities continued to contribute funds toward the purchase of Cypriot objects entering the Greek and Roman department during the 1870s. In 1871, the purchase of Lang’s first collection was accomplished with 800 pounds that had been allocated to the Department of Oriental Antiquities for this purpose.⁷³² The report prepared by the finance committee describes the works as “Phoenician and other antiquities,” demonstrating that the

There is no evidence that any of the keepers actively considered acquiring this collection. The museum devoted much more effort to securing Lang’s collection, which likewise originated from Dali.

⁷³¹ “1,250 pounds allotted to Dept. of Oriental Antiquities... This item has been specially increased by the sum of 1,000 pounds to meet the probably cost of purchasing Mr. Lang’s collection of Phoenician and other antiquities, to examine which collection Mr. Poole has gone to Cyprus, by direction of the Meeting of the Standing Committee of the 13th of November, 1869.” Finance Committee Report, 2 December 1869, Special Committee 1 (vols. 1-3) March 1828-April 1876, Central Archive, British Museum, London. Poole, from the Department of Coins and Medals, had also gone to Cyprus for this purpose.

⁷³² This amount had been allotted by the Finance Committee. In total, 1,050 pounds was allotted to the Department of Oriental Antiquities, with the following note: “This item has been increased by 800 pounds with a view to the purchase of Mr. Lang’s collection of antiquities of Cyprus as directed by the Standing Committee on the 11th of November.” Finance Committee Report, 25 November 187, Special Committee 1 (vols. 1-3) March 1828-April 1876, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

designated “Phoenician” classification so common in the published literature of the mid-nineteenth century (especially fondly employed by French scholars) had found its way into the British Museum, too. Yet the term may have been introduced by keepers in the Oriental antiquities department who thought the purchase would be more likely to be approved if the Cypriot works were instead called “Phoenician.” In 1873, when 200 pounds was taken from the 1872-73 purchase grant from the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities to acquire a further portion of Lang’s collection, the works were described not as “Phoenician” but as a “collection of sculptures...from the Temple of Dali in Cyprus.”⁷³³ The cooperation across departments and financial bodies of the museum that was required for the Lang purchase was remarkable.⁷³⁴ As Lang later reflected,

Two things I desired for my finds from the temple of Dali; first, that its pieces should not get separated; and second, that they should find a home in our national Museum. The first I accomplished...and the second, after much patience and perseverance, I also succeeded in attaining. My deepest gratitude is due to Sir C. Newton, Dr. Birch, and Mr. Stuart Poole, for their infinite kindness. They highly appreciate the importance of the finds, and indefatigably laboured to reserve them for the British Museum.⁷³⁵

Though there was some delay in displaying the finds, Lang’s stone sculptures were, in any case, among the first Cypriot sculptures to be honored both with space in galleries and guidebooks, as we will see below.⁷³⁶

Further cooperation between the antiquities departments occurred in 1876, when—after his large collections had already been claimed by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New

⁷³³ Internal Report, 11 Jan 1873, C 9 (vols. 33-35) June 1869-June 1875, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

⁷³⁴ The significance of these purchases was underlined by Pryce, who wrote that Lang’s sculptures “comprise about one-half of the entire collection with a much larger proportion of the important pieces.” Pryce, *Catalogue of Sculpture*, 2.

⁷³⁵ Lang, “Reminiscences, Archaeological Researches in Cyprus,” 639.

⁷³⁶ Colnaghi’s were the first Cypriot works of art to be displayed in the British Museum.

York—Cesnola agreed to sell a small selection of finds to the British Museum. Birch and Newton selected 114 objects for 300 pounds, using money from the purchase grants of the Department of Greek and Roman *and* the Department of Oriental Antiquities.⁷³⁷ When neither department was able to produce the last 136 pounds of this sum, the trustees specified that payment could be with “the remainder of the purchase-money towards the close of the current financial year out of unexpected balances of grants for purchases.”⁷³⁸ Thus, in this case, not only did the departments of Greek and Roman and Oriental antiquities work together, but the entire governing body of the museum stood behind the keepers to assist them in acquiring Cypriot finds to complement those stemming from Lang’s excavations.

Negotiations and payment procedures for these collections had a significant impact on the perception of Cypriot antiquities at the British Museum. The keepers and trustees learned to view Cypriot antiquities in a flexible way, considering them partially “Greek” and partially “Oriental,” thus lending a certain logic to the fact that they received money and attention from both antiquities departments. Lang had succeeded in making connections with keepers across all three departments, and had also made himself known to the trustees and Principal Librarian Jones. A regular exchange of letters established Lang’s strong relationship with both Birch and Newton, and served to sustain Newton’s interest in Cypriot archaeology. Still, of the two, Birch was the more sympathetic character, the true champion of amateur archaeologists and their Cypriot antiquities. This fact is all the more surprising when one considers how poor Birch’s working conditions were around 1870. The state of his office is representative of a budding crisis that was

⁷³⁷ Smith, who was to stop in Cyprus on his way to Assyria, was originally charged with selecting finds. Internal Report, 9 October 1875, C 10 (vols. 36-38) June 1875-December 1879, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

⁷³⁸ Internal Report, 22 July 1876, C 10 (vols. 36-38) June 1875-December 1879, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

forming around the lack of space and the way the museum's staff was forced into "inconvenient and distant corners."⁷³⁹

Nevertheless, Birch welcomed letters from both Cesnola and Lang that included archaeological news, short object essays, attempts to classify or date material, and even suggestions about potential restorations. In April 1872, for instance, Lang wrote to Birch about a limestone head he planned to send to the museum. "It takes my fancy as a piece of sculpture and seems extraordinarily fine for the epoch to which it belongs—To my view there is no ancient head found either by Cesnola or myself as pleasing and striking. I shall be curious to hear your opinion as a man of more refined and cultivated taste. I present the head to the Museum and I hope that some of your rigorous workers may be able to supply the broken scalp."⁷⁴⁰ In February of the following year, he again mentioned this head: "It struck me as representing [the] archaic epoch and Egyptian style of headdress. I shall be much gratified if the Museum takes the trouble to get the pieces well-arranged and doctored. If it does so I shall gladly forget all the delay, inconveniences and pecuniary loss which have resulted to me from our unfortunate negotiations."⁷⁴¹ It is unclear what became of the head, but as the British Museum was not nearly as eager to restore objects as Cesnola had been, it seems unlikely that the object was treated according to Lang's instructions.

⁷³⁹ Wilson, *The British Museum*, 184, contains a description of Birch's office in 1870: "entered through a door in the south-west corner of the Nineveh Gallery...It was built over a section of the basement containing apparatus connected with the heating of the Galleries, and the weird sounds which accompanied the passage of hot water and steam through the pipes, and the hissing of the escaping steam, could be heard distinctly through the floor. Birch was firmly convinced that the engineer would one day lose control of his apparatus and blow the room and him in it up together...In this room, which only measured 18 feet by 18 feet, the whole business of the Department had to be transacted."

⁷⁴⁰ Correspondence, 9 April 1872, Original Letters 1876-1878, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

⁷⁴¹ Correspondence, 1 February 1873, Original Letters 1876-1878, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

Cesnola also corresponded extensively with Birch. In his characteristically passionate and colorful manner, he wrote of setbacks or successes—often emphasizing the former in order to make the latter appear that much more magnificent. In September 1874, for instance, he complained to Birch that Schliemann’s excavations had made Turkish officials suspicious, even on Cyprus. Still, he bragged that he could fool officials by showing them fragments, rather than whole sculptures. “I have such an influence in Cyprus with the Turks that I can do almost anything I want,” he wrote, proudly asserting the extent of his authority.⁷⁴² Beyond regular complaining and boasting, however, Cesnola elicited Birch’s opinion about the Cypriot style. In August 1871, Cesnola confided, “Mr. Layard is right in his book, where he states that the Assyrian art had a great influence in Asia Minor and I can perceive it in my life size statues very clearly indeed.”⁷⁴³ Later, in 1873-74, the two corresponded about a sarcophagus Cesnola had unearthed at Golgoi (fig. 95). Referring to this object as “the *gem* of my entire collection,” Cesnola sought confirmation of his ideas about its mixed stylistic origins: “The work seems to me to be of the best Greek epoch (although the four winged figurine and the chariot which are on the two short sides seem of another epoch).”⁷⁴⁴ Cesnola, who was familiar with the British Museum’s collections, rightly considered it the ideal place to apply for information about a possible “Greco-Oriental” style. In February 1874, Cesnola reminded Birch of his request, cautiously employing this term but wondering how it differed from the more traditional “Assyrian” or “archaic Greek” styles:

⁷⁴² Correspondence, 17 September 1874, 1868-1881 CA-CHE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London.

⁷⁴³ Correspondence, 7 August 1871, 1868-1881 CA-CHE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London.

⁷⁴⁴ Correspondence, 17 December 1873, 1868-1881 CA-CHE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London, emphasis original.

Now as to my beautiful sarcophagus I wish your very valuable opinion for my own information and study. Will you tell me if the side marked #1 representing a chariot with four horses and two men in it is of the same period with the warriors of side #3? In Rawlinson's books I found chariots very much like it in his Assyrian antiquities. Could it be archaic Greek, or what is called Greco-Oriental? Then #2 the four-winged figure and the man with his basket has it not also more of the Assyrian than of Greco-Oriental style of art?⁷⁴⁵

Birch replied one month later, suggesting that "early monuments of Lycia" might serve as useful comparanda for Cesnola's sarcophagus, which he considered to be "Archaic Greek."⁷⁴⁶ He further cautioned that such a "class of art...did not simply copy the Assyrian or Egyptian monuments...The subjects represented on it are Greek. The art of the sarcophagus has also a...resemblance with Etruscan art...[but] the myths of the [sarcophagus] of Golgos are quite Greek."⁷⁴⁷ Here we see how Birch's daily exposure to Lycian monuments (see figs. 91-93) influenced his interpretation of Cypriot works in a way that would not have occurred to Cesnola, far removed as he was from the richer, more established universal collections of Europe.

In June 1875, Cesnola informed Birch of his discovery of another sarcophagus, at Amathus (fig. 96).

I am of the opinion that this sarcophagus is older than that of Golgos. What do you think?...The representation on it is I believe Assyrian. The umbrella is certainly like the one in Rawlinson books. The horse trappings and chariots may be Cypriote—strange that everything on the sarcophagus seems to have been made according to the caprice of the sculptor. For instance the wheel of the first chariot (where the chief personage seems to hold the umbrella on the head of his driver instead of somebody else holding it over his head if he represents a king), the wheel of his chariot has eight spokes, the chariot following has nine, and the two chariots on the other side have each ten spokes to wheels! In the ornamentation again the same thing—irregularity everywhere.⁷⁴⁸

⁷⁴⁵ Correspondence, 14 February 1874, 1868-1881 CA-CHE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London.

⁷⁴⁶ Correspondence, 18 March 1874, 1868-1881 CA-CHE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London.

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁸ Correspondence, 14 June 1875, 1868-1881 CA-CHE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London.

Here Cesnola demonstrates his ability to identify comparanda on his own, although he must rely upon reference books. His interest in the more unusual aspects of Cypriot iconography—especially those that find no match in Assyrian art—causes him to continue, in his next letter, “If the umbrella is a royal distinction why the king is holding it over the head of the driver?”⁷⁴⁹ Birch, seemingly overwhelmed with normal museum business—or perhaps tiring of his exchanges with Cesnola—seems to have left these and several other letters of 1875 and 1876 unanswered.

But Birch’s silence did not stop Cesnola from writing. Cesnola’s frustration at failing to identify exact precedent or matches in Assyrian art for what he observed in Cypriot material had a real impact on his thinking about these categories of art. In August 1875, Cesnola concluded that one need not classify the sarcophagi as belonging to a specific tradition, instead naming several, which together form the category of “Cypriote”: “Now [w]hat will interest you most is to know to what art, and to what period all these objects belong. They belong to the Egyptian, to the Assyrian, and early Greek Art; and may represent the Cypriote art, which I believe to have been nothing else, but an amalgamation of all those taken together!”⁷⁵⁰ Though his conclusion results more from his frustration at failing to see clear connections between Cypriot and other styles, rather than a desire to view Cypriot as unique and special, Cesnola was nevertheless satisfied about having solved his problem of classifying the “Cypriote” sarcophagi. Becoming discouraged when Birch failed to send corrections on a draft of Cesnola’s book chapter, he finally snapped: “I

⁷⁴⁹ Correspondence, 20 July 1875, 1868-1881 CA-CHE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London.

⁷⁵⁰ Correspondence, 27 August 1875, 1868-1881 CA-CHE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London, emphasis original.

received your last two letters in one of which I found enclosed the chapter on Amathus uncorrected and probably unread by you! I will not send you any more of my manuscripts because I see clearly that you do not think it is worth spending your time on its correction.”⁷⁵¹ Indeed, Birch seems to have provided no further comment on Cesnola’s sarcophagi or his tentative definition of “Cypriote art.”

Cesnola’s relationship with Newton was often similarly tense, but his tone could also be warm and collegial. In December 1879, Cesnola had viciously attacked Newton for ignoring his letters, but in September 1880, after he had read Newton’s latest book (a series of essays discussed below) he wrote, “Let me tender you my thanks for your kind and friendly allusion to my discoveries.”⁷⁵² In an August 1878 letter, however, Cesnola criticized the British Museum’s lack of initiative to excavate on Cyprus—where British government had just been established—following many French scholars who had been similarly vocal about the issue. He also hinted at his own financial difficulties, saying that he would have continued excavations, “but not having the Bank of England at my back (as I suppose you will have) I had to give up the idea of exploration of those places, as requiring too much money; and as I had already spent over 15,000 pounds in my excavations.”⁷⁵³ As discussed in Chapter One, however, Newton had no easy time convincing the treasury of the value of Cypriot archaeological missions. His own trip to Cyprus

⁷⁵¹ Correspondence, 27 January 1876, 1868-1881 CA-CHE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London, emphasis original. Birch did finally send corrections in February, and Cesnola thanked him at the end of the month.

⁷⁵² Correspondence, 14 September 1880, Original Letters 1879-1882, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

⁷⁵³ Correspondence, August 1878, Original Letters 1876-1878, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London, emphasis original.

was postponed until 1879, which proved a disappointment to Cesnola, who had by then left the island.

The British Museum's collection of Cypriot antiquities grew at a rapid pace in the 1870s, and not only through the acquisition of collections from Lang and Cesnola. 1870 marked the first gift of Cypriot antiquities by Sandwith, with whom Poole had lodged during his trip to Cyprus to inspect Lang's collection in the previous year. The museum had previously purchased a small lot of Sandwith's in 1869, but his interest had subsequently shifted from profit to reputation.⁷⁵⁴

Meanwhile, keepers were busy writing and answering just as many letters about Cypriot collections they had failed to acquire as those they had successfully purchased. As the news circulated that Cesnola's large collection, including the Golgoi sculptures, would go to America, Newton (in a letter to F. Ravaisson-Mollien, antiquities curator at the Louvre) expressed his regret that the collection would leave Europe. Still, feeling that the British Museum was right to turn it down, he pointed out that the price had been too high for a collection that contained so many "duplicates" and "insignificant specimens."⁷⁵⁵

There were still indications of a broader public disappointment after the collection went instead to New York. Indeed, the reaction to what some considered to be the museum's "failure"

⁷⁵⁴ Sandwith wrote to Newton, offering his gift of a group of terracotta heads, and specifying — albeit inexactly — the context in which they were discovered. He elaborated, "Perhaps the museum will think fit to notice, in placing these heads, that they were presented by me." Correspondence, 21 June 1870, Original Letters (vol. 2) L-Z 1869-1872, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London. The first part of this letter is discussed in Chapter One. There is no evidence that his wish was honored or that his objects were even displayed. Having received no response, Sandwith wrote again, wondering if Newton had received the heads, and likely eager to know if his name featured on a display card alongside his discoveries in the museum. Correspondence, 13 November 1870, Original Letters (vol. 2) L-Z 1869-1872, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

⁷⁵⁵ "I am assured that Cesnola's Cypriote Antiquities are to be bought by certain patriotic Americans for NY for 10,000 pounds. I regret that so interesting a collection should leave Europe. The price, however, is very large, considering the great number of duplicates, and insignificant specimens." Correspondence, 12 November 1872, Letter Book 1861-1879, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

to acquire the Cesnola Collection for the country, was almost immediate. In December 1872, before the sale to the New York museum was formalized, Jeff Liverpool wrote to Newton expressing his profound disappointment:

Surely it cannot be true that the wonderful collection of Antiquities from Cyprus, offered to the nation but a few weeks ago by General di Cesnola has really been through the supineness of the Museum authorities—lost to us forever. If there be the least chance of securing them do pray move heaven and earth to gain them. I do not hesitate to say, that such a collection for illustrating the history of Ancient Art and Ancient Faiths has never before been offered to this or probably any other country and a heavy reckoning will be taken if after having so freely, almost generously offered, the officers of our Great National Museum continue to lose them through mere official obstructiveness.⁷⁵⁶

Liverpool's frustration seemed to stem not only from the museum's failure to purchase what he perceived to be a unique and precious collection, but also from losing that collection to another, distant—and American—museum.

Lang, on the other hand, expressed his approval of the sale in a letter to Birch: "I am delighted to see that Cesnola has found a good place for his collection in America, but it is to me some satisfaction that you have some Cyprian objects with you which NY will require to come to London to study."⁷⁵⁷ No doubt Lang was referring to his own collection, and was relieved that it would not compete with the Cesnola Collection for space in the British Museum. In May 1872, he had directly accused the British Museum of acquiring more than it could study, using as evidence his recent correspondence with scholars at the Louvre:

At Paris, long ago, both the coins and the statues would have been made objects of study, instead of lying dead at the British Museum for want of someone with the time to arrange and examine them...In Berlin men like Newton, Birch, and Poole would be following their different branches of study in the quiet of their own rooms and not be chained down

⁷⁵⁶ Correspondence, 4 December 1872, Original Letters (vol. 1) A-K 1869-1872, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

⁷⁵⁷ Correspondence, 28 December 1872, 1868-1881 Jones W- LE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London.

to the performance of certain centuries of service...I think there is no doubt that far too little is spent in the British Museum in salaries.⁷⁵⁸

Lang's criticisms of the museum thus extended beyond its negligence of his collection to include its poor management, the deplorable treatment of keepers in all three antiquities departments, and its inadequate research staff. Lang was correct to assume that the staff was overwhelmed and underpaid, and these conditions may well have contributed to the keepers' reluctance to embrace Cesnola's collection. Still, at the very least, Lang hoped to protect and secure the fate of his own collection, and maintained a regular correspondence with Birch in order to promote it.⁷⁵⁹

The British Museum's early publications offer little information about its Cypriot collection. Beginning in the 1870s, museum guides consistently mention Cypriot art, but never in detail. To better define the context in which Cypriot sculptures were eventually displayed, I quote from an 1870 guide, which describes the arrangement of works belonging to the Department of Greek and Roman and Department of Oriental Antiquities.

The collections in these departments are divided into two series. The first, consisting of sculpture...occupies the Ground Floor of the Southwestern and Western portions of the building; and to this division have lately been added some rooms in the basement...supplying the only space which the extensive acquisitions recently made from Assyria and other countries have left available for that purpose. The Second Series...on the Upper Floor, comprehends all the smaller remains, of whatever nation or period...To the latter division is attached the collection of Ethnographic specimens.

The arrangement of the series of Sculptures is still incomplete. So far, however, as that arrangement has been carried [out], the collections are so disposed as to admit of being visited, with few exceptions, in chronological order, from the earliest monuments of the Egyptian Pharaohs down to the latest memories of the Roman dominion in this country.

⁷⁵⁸ Correspondence, 10 May 1872, Original Letters (vol. 2) L-Z 1869-1872, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

⁷⁵⁹ He also discussed Cesnola's collection at London with Feuardent in a series of letters in late 1872 and early 1873. These can be found in 1868-1881 Jones W- LE, Archives of the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London.

The arrangement of the four principal series of sculptures may be stated generally as follows: the Roman, including the mixed class termed Graeco-Roman, occupies the South side, running East and West: the Greek, strictly so called, the Assyrian, and the Egyptian form, approximately, three parallel lines, running North and South, at right angles to the Roman.⁷⁶⁰

There was a clear separation between media, a careful distinction between the arts of Greece, Assyria, and Egypt, and an effort to arrange everything chronologically. Lacking, however, was an indication of how relationships or visual links between these cultures might be demonstrated. The “four principal series”—Roman/Graeco-Roman, Greek, Assyrian, and Egyptian—were displayed in such a manner that they appeared to be quite distinct, chronologically and stylistically. In her analysis of the display of Egyptian antiquities within the British Museum, Stephanie Moser discusses the tensions involved in the museum’s attempts to arrange its vast collections in chronological order while still maintaining an aesthetic and entertaining display.

In conveying the latest knowledge on chronological sequence keepers sought to make the antiquities galleries didactic in an archaeological sense as opposed to an aesthetic one. However, the idea of displaying objects so that they provided ‘instruction’ on academic, aesthetic, and public levels reflected how the museum had not abandoned its aims to be visually pleasing and entertaining. Thus, rather than subsuming previous modes of presentation, the new ‘intelligent’ mode was combined with the established aesthetic one.⁷⁶¹

Defining exactly how Cypriot sculpture fit into this changing mode of presentation is not a simple task. It is impossible to reconstruct firmly the exhibition of any Cypriot finds before 1873.⁷⁶² At this moment, perhaps feeling the pressure to highlight properly their own Cypriot

⁷⁶⁰ *A Guide to the Exhibition Rooms of the Departments of Natural History and Antiquities* (London: British Museum, 1870), 70–71.

⁷⁶¹ Moser, *Wondrous Curiosities*, 178.

⁷⁶² Curiously, in January 1870, Newton reported that he had mounted “thirty-six heads and figures from Cyprus” in the Lycian Room. Yet no guide makes any mention of this arrangement and it may have been swiftly dismantled. Internal Report, 5 January 1870, Original Papers 102 (vol. 1) January 1870-February 1870, Central Archive, British Museum, London. The report notes that Ephesus figures had also been placed here.

holdings after Cesnola's collection sailed for America, the keepers scrambled to find space to display Lang's collection. In February 1873 Birch requested money for a "temporary case" that would hold a group of Lang's sculptures.⁷⁶³ The 1873 guide confirms that these objects were on view in the Assyrian Transept, which displayed "cases containing antiquities excavated at [Dali] or Idalium, in Cyprus, by Mr. R. H. Lang, in 1870."⁷⁶⁴ Some of the very first Cypriot sculptures to be displayed in the British Museum were thus prominently labeled as having been excavated by Lang. This model, whereby the archaeologists who found or removed the objects were highlighted, credited and praised—sometimes even more so than the cultures that created them—had a long history in the British Museum. Viewed in the context of the recent departure of the "Cesnola Collection" from London to New York, it became even more important to highlight Lang's actions, and to celebrate him for having recovered ancient treasures for the glory of his nation.⁷⁶⁵ Still, Lang was disappointed with the museum's decision to disperse Cypriot finds among several rooms, with stone sculpture, terracotta, and pottery exhibited in different galleries.⁷⁶⁶ Birch and Newton were similarly frustrated by the continual lack of space within

⁷⁶³ "On a requisition from Dr. Birch, and a report from Dr. Gray, the Trustees sanctioned the preparation of a temporary case to hold the remainder of the Cyprian Antiquities, at the estimated cost of 20 pounds." Internal Report, 8 February 1873, C 9 (vols. 33-35) June 1869- June 1875, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

⁷⁶⁴ *A Guide to the Exhibition Rooms of the Departments of Natural History and Antiquities* (London: British Museum, 1873), 103. The misspelling of Dali as "Pali" would be corrected in subsequent guides.

⁷⁶⁵ The tradition also explains why Sandwith had thought to ask that his name be featured next to the objects he donated to the museum in 1870.

⁷⁶⁶ The "First Vase Room" held Cypro-Geometric pottery. *A Guide to the Exhibition Rooms of the Departments of Natural History and Antiquities* (1873), 120. A "Second Vase Room" housed terracotta statuettes given to the museum by Colnaghi. *Ibid.*, 123. These remain there throughout the 1870s, as demonstrated by *A Guide to the Exhibition Galleries of the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1879), 127. *A Guide to the Exhibition Rooms of the Departments of Natural History and Antiquities* (London: British Museum, 1875), 47, references Lang's terracottas in a description of Colnaghi's: "(24) Female head... This kind of headdress occurs on early stone figures found in Cyprus... This head is rudely carved, but probably belongs to the later Archaic or Transition period.... Very similar equestrian figures have been found in tombs in Cyprus. Some of these may be seen in the collection of terracottas from Cyprus, exhibited in table case in the Assyrian Transept; others, which are painted, will be found in Table Case A, of the first Vase Room. The specimens from Cyprus, though very rude, show a decided advance of art when compared with those from Halicarnassus."

galleries, which forced them to find temporary solutions and even semi-permanent displays that were far from ideal.

A table of contents and gallery plan from 1879 provide further details about the general arrangements of Cypriot antiquities in London, demonstrating just how similar it was to that displayed at the Louvre in the 1860s.⁷⁶⁷ In London, as in Paris, Cypriot sculpture was exhibited in ground-floor galleries otherwise devoted to Assyrian monuments (fig. 97A). Cypriot works—still shown in the Assyrian Transept (gallery 25)—could be viewed alongside Assyrian works, but also alongside Phoenician sarcophagi, just as at the Louvre. The Assyrian Transept, however, was located in a corner, unlike the Cypro-Phoenician at the Louvre which was situated in a narrow hallway, sandwiched between galleries of Assyrian art. The British Museum’s variation thus offered more possibilities for visitors to form impressions of Cypriot works in the context of works displayed in neighboring galleries, devoted to Assyrian (gallery 21), Egyptian (gallery 26), Greco-Roman (gallery 10), and Archaic Greek (gallery 14) art.⁷⁶⁸

1880s: Newton Covers Cypriot Art in his Essays but a Lack of Space Discourages Further Cypriot Acquisitions

In Newton’s view, there were four principal ancient cultures: Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek, and Roman.⁷⁶⁹ He argued that any ancient work of art was best understood by comparison with a single magnificent monument—the Parthenon. Speaking of the Townley collection, for example,

⁷⁶⁷ *A Guide to the Exhibition Galleries of the British Museum* (1879).

⁷⁶⁸ An “Ethnographical Room” (gallery 26) with objects from India, Central America, the Arctic, East Asia, and Oceania, was located on the upper floor, grouped under the Department of Antiquities, but adjacent to zoological collections and the British Medieval collection (fig. 97B). This arrangement mirrored the layout of the Louvre’s Musée de la Marine, likewise situated on the museum’s upper story. Cypriot pottery and certain Cypriot terracottas were on view in the First and Second Vase Rooms (galleries 22 and 23).

⁷⁶⁹ Newton, *Essays*, 41.

he wrote, “In order to determine the relative merit of these works, and to approximate to their dates, we must refer them to the one standard of comparison, the sculptures of the Parthenon, and endeavor to ascertain what the artist really intended to represent by each individual statue.”⁷⁷⁰ In Newton’s mind, the significance of the Parthenon was thus paramount, its perfection unquestionable. Though the Louvre housed sculptures that were likewise perceived as ideal expressions of beauty and perfect or near-perfect representations of the human form, the Parthenon marbles had a uniquely dominant aesthetic role, an almost sacred aura. It was difficult—if not impossible—for objects dissimilar in appearance to these and other canonical works to gain prestige. For instance, despite the public enthusiasm for Schliemann’s discoveries at Troy, Newton was reserved when addressing the question of their potential value to the study of “Greek” art.

On a comparison of the pottery and disks from Hissarlik with the pottery and other antiquities of the very earliest period which we can connect with the Hellenic race, we find that the rudeness of Dr. Schliemann’s antiquities far transcends the rudeness of all previously-known archaic art. Are we then justified in assuming that, because the Hissarlik antiquities are ruder, therefore they are earlier, that because their rudeness is non-Hellenic, therefore it is pre-Hellenic? That is the question really at issue in regard to Dr. Schliemann’s discoveries.⁷⁷¹

By drawing attention to their aesthetic failings, Newton cast doubt on the objects’ connection to pure “Hellenic” art. Similarly, Cypriot votives were not granted membership in this privileged, truly “Hellenic” group, nor would they ever be displayed alongside them so long as Newton was employed at the British Museum.

⁷⁷⁰ Ibid., 49. Charles Townley’s (1737-1805) collection was purchased upon his death in 1805.

⁷⁷¹ The source of this quote is an address Newton gave to the Society of Antiquaries on 30 April 1874, partially reproduced in Duesterberg, *Popular Receptions of Archaeology*, 321. See also discussion of the reception of Schliemann and his “un-lovely” antiquities in scholarly circles in Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, 121–22.

Yet around 1880, Newton seems to have developed an interest in connections and similarities he noticed between early Greek art and Assyrian art, which perhaps directed his attention to Cypriot antiquities.⁷⁷² Cypriot stone sculpture was included in Newton's *Essays* (1880), which surveyed recent archaeological discoveries in Greece and Asia Minor. The volume was arranged by site, and the objects contextualized in a broader account of the development of ancient art. Cypriot art featured prominently in the table of contents as a newly discovered type.⁷⁷³ Newton emphasized the importance of Cesnola's and Lang's discoveries, expressing hope that they would help scholars clear up the mystery of the birth of Greek art and its Archaic, perhaps Eastern, roots. Reflecting on the significance of these and other discoveries described in his book, he reflected, "Before the year 1840 our knowledge of archaic sculpture was almost limited to a few specimens in Italian museums, most of which are rather Hieratic than archaic; that is to say, conventional reproductions of the archaic, executed at a much later period. It is in the sculptures of Athens and from the West coast of Asia Minor and the islands that we can best study the true archaic."⁷⁷⁴ Thus, one of the goals of Newton's volume was to better define the Archaic style. He highlighted Cypriot art (here mentioned under the cover of "the islands") because of its potential to accomplish a more secure identification.⁷⁷⁵

⁷⁷² Newton, *Essays*, 67: "Resemblances so clear as can be traced between some of the earliest specimens of Greek art and the smaller antiquities discovered by Mr. Layard at Nimroud, throw an entirely new light on the relations between Assyria and the Phoenician and the Hellenic races in ages too remote for our present system of chronology."

⁷⁷³ Newton focused his attention on objects in the British Museum, using them to guide his discussion. His Cypriot section, however, relied on objects from the Cesnola Collection (in New York) as it was the stronger of the two in Cypriot sculpture.

⁷⁷⁴ Newton, *Essays*, 74.

⁷⁷⁵ Newton's use of the terms "Hieratic" and "Archaic" is striking, for the distinction between the two remained foggy and imprecise. Colvin and Cesnola were the first to employ the term, and used it to mean a rigid and conventional style, "priestly" and perhaps related to the Egyptian. However, Newton's meaning must be different from Colvin's, Cesnola's, and even Poole's, instead equivalent to what we would now call "Archaizing," or as he says above, a "reproduction of the archaic, executed at a much later period." *Ibid.*, 87.

Newton compared Cypriot sculptures with those from Assyria and Egypt, as had become standard both in museums and publications. He named a wide variety of influences on Cypriot sculptures, writing that some could be classified as “direct imitations of Egyptian statues,” while others “have much of the peculiar mannerism of Assyrian art.”⁷⁷⁶ He identified the “Phoenician style” as being a mix of the two, contemporaneous with remains that might be identified as “Archaic Greek.” New, however, was a comparison of the Golgoi sculptures with examples originating from sites in Ionia.⁷⁷⁷ He considered the Cypriot works to be closer to Archaic works from Western Asia Minor than those from Egypt or Assyria, and was confident enough to suggest that they might be used as a basis for dating Cypriot sculpture. Birch had expressed similar views in his letters to Cesnola, in which he compared Cypriot limestone sarcophagi with Lycian funerary sculpture. Though French scholars at the Louvre had similar (albeit somewhat later) finds available to them—including the frieze from the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Maeander—they did not connect these with Cypriot sculpture. The overall classification of Cypriot material as “Greek” at the British Museum and “Oriental” at the Louvre had a significant impact on the types of comparisons scholars chose to make, both formally (in publication) and informally (in private correspondence).

Newton admitted that the various “influences” evident in the Cypriot style could not be neatly sorted out, observing that some sites in Cyprus yielded a strange mix of finds, resembling

⁷⁷⁶ Later he defined it as a style “in which an archaic treatment is prolonged for the sake of religious associations.” *Ibid.*, 78

⁷⁷⁷ “The style of others again reminds us so closely of the sculptures from Branchidae and Ephesos which we have been describing, that they may be referred with probability to the same school and period.” *Ibid.* Later, again comparing Cypriot figures with those from Ionian sites, he argued that Cypriot figures were best understood as portraits: “Judging from the character of the heads, it seems probable that most of the statues are iconic, and may be the portraits of Cyprian priests and kings, dedicated, like those from the Sacred Way at Branchidae, to the deity of the temple. But who was this deity?...the absence of inscriptions makes it very difficult to decide.” *Ibid.*, 307.

works from Egypt, Assyria, and Greece.⁷⁷⁸ Accordingly, he grouped formal elements of Cypriot sculptures into several diagnostic categories, sometimes recognizing more than one in the very same sculpture. “A certain number of these statues are Egyptian in costume and general style; in a much larger proportion the treatment of the beard and facial hair reminds us of Assyrian sculptures, though the drapery is much more like that of archaic Greek sculpture.”⁷⁷⁹ Responding to the complexity of the Cypriot sculptor’s reference to multiple models, Newton sought to classify the sculptures primarily by using costume or hairstyle to identify a predominant style.⁷⁸⁰ Many others had done the same, and these elements were variously understood not just as markers of identity, but as indications of race or political allegiance.

Overall, Newton presented an overwhelmingly negative opinion of Cypriot sculpture, largely due to its “mixed” style and dress. He considered the “Asiatic” and “Egyptian” styles forces to overcome, otherwise infecting the “pure Greek,” and mourned the cultures that were too weak to repel these outside influences, such as Cyprus and Etruria, whose “archaic art” degenerated into a “Hieratic” or “Pseudo-archaic” style.⁷⁸¹ Newton’s reference to the Greeks’ ability to “efface all exotic influences” diverges from suggestions that Greek art was “fertilized” or “inspired” by foreign models. He imagined “pure Greek art” as having developed entirely on the Greek mainland rather than having been brought to Greece from surrounding regions. Cyprus

⁷⁷⁸ “A cursory survey of all the new evidence which the energy and sagacity of General Cesnola has thus brought to light confirms a conclusion to which previous discoveries in Cyprus had already pointed. Here, as in Etruria and many parts of the Hellenic world, that peculiar mixture of Egyptian and Asiatic art which we call the Phoenician style is to be found on the most ancient sites, intermixed with remains which we have good ground for considering as examples of archaic Greek art.” *Ibid.*, 318

⁷⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 307.

⁷⁸⁰ Authors including Hitchcock, L. Cesnola, and Poole had used the same technique to identify style.

⁷⁸¹ Newton, *Essays*, 318–19. Here again, Newton employs the term “hieratic” to mean Archaizing, or “pseudo-archaic.”

was simply too distant from Greece to achieve proper Hellenism: “A glance at the position of Cyprus on the map explains why it never became truly Hellenic.”⁷⁸² The sub-headings for “Cyprus” in the volume’s index, which notably included “Greek art never wholly developed” and “subjection to foreign influence,” reveal a similar attitude. The message is clear: Cyprus aspired to greatness—or “Greekness”—but predictably, did not achieve it, being too close and too susceptible to other “foreign” models in the eastern Mediterranean. Cypriot art was valuable so far as it helped scholars better understand the early Greek style, but did not merit praise or attention on its own account.

Still, Newton and the British Museum were presented with a significant opportunity when Cyprus became a British Protectorate in the summer of 1878: from this moment onward the British government had jurisdiction over excavations and export of antiquities. The relationship between the museum and various archaeological agents on Cyprus was transformed. This shift was not immediately apparent, but can instead best be measured in the late 1880s and early 1890s. Britain’s reluctance to assume a new archaeological role on the island—heavily criticized by the French—may have resulted from the untenable growth of collections at its national museum. The trustees likely shared Newton’s view that there were indeed too many objects in the museum already, and that the focus should be on display rather than acquisition.⁷⁸³

Owing to a lack of display and storage space, curators, keepers, and directors thus came under pressure to “compress” and clarify their collections by deaccessioning undesirable or

⁷⁸² *Ibid.*, 319.

⁷⁸³ In 1881, for example, Newton recommended that the Lawrence-Cesnola collection be declined but that some pieces be selected. He also objected to conditions of sale that specified that the finds were to be displayed. I include further details below.

duplicate objects.⁷⁸⁴ A series of changes was proposed, with antiquities gradually replacing collections of natural history specimens on the upper floors.⁷⁸⁵ New Greek and Roman rooms thus opened in the upper western galleries, selected (non-sculptural) Assyrian and Egyptian works were moved into the northern wing, and ethnographical collections transferred into the eastern gallery above the king's library.⁷⁸⁶ Still, it was not enough; staff of both antiquities departments continued to request new rooms and additional space.⁷⁸⁷ They also became increasingly concerned that their displays lacked a "logical arrangement," forced as they were into the newly available rooms without a united vision for the whole building.⁷⁸⁸ Pressure to deaccession "duplicates"—and to reject all but the most appealing of new acquisitions—continued to mount throughout the 1880s. Some Cypriot collections were turned down for this very reason.⁷⁸⁹

⁷⁸⁴ The fact that Cypriot sculptures were so fragmentary meant museums were likely to reject large lots and instead request "selections." They considered fragments of the same body part or style to be "duplicates," and were not interested in requiring "deep" collections so much as representative collections.

⁷⁸⁵ The transfer of zoological collections to South Kensington freed up 5,713 square meters for the antiquities department. Wilson, *The British Museum*, 184.

⁷⁸⁶ The White Wing—a bequest of William White (1800-1823)—was completed in 1885. In anticipation of this, in 1881 a new gallery was devoted to Halicarnassus, and in 1887, a room previously devoted to insects and prints was repurposed to display the Phigalian objects, their old gallery being occupied by the Nereid Monument.

⁷⁸⁷ Birch voiced his concern that the Egyptian collections badly needed more space, and that Oriental antiquities would eventually need the entire Northern Gallery. Internal Report, 12 November 1881, C 11 (vols. 39-41) January 1880-October 1883, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

⁷⁸⁸ Internal Report, 13 June 1885, C 12 (vols. 42-44) November 1883-April 1889, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

⁷⁸⁹ In 1881, Lawrence offered another large collection of Cypriot antiquities for purchase and suggested "that it should be temporarily exhibited at the BM as the 'Lawrence-Cesnola Collection.'" Newton recommended instead that a selection be made. He also objected to their exhibition in the museum "on the ground of want of space." The museum's lack of money was an issue as well, though Newton was not as forthcoming with such information. The trustees informed Newton that he could select pieces he would like to see enter to museum's collections, but he responded that there was no money left in his departmental purchase grant and suggested they wait until the next fiscal year. A. Cesnola, unaware of the shortness of funds and lack of space, was disappointed with the decision and wrote to Newton in July demanding to know why the museum had not purchased the collection. This series of letters and reports from the summer of 1881 can be consulted in C 11 (vols. 39-41) January 1880-October 1883, Central Archive, British Museum, London. Most of the material Ohnefalsch-Richter had to offer the London museum in 1882 went instead to the Berlin Museums.

An 1880 guide confirms that the Cypriot figures in the Assyrian Transept mentioned in the 1873 had remained in place: “On the west wall...and on the south wall...are cases containing antiquities excavated at Dali or Idalium in Cyprus, by Mr. R. H. Lang, in 1870...Amongst them is an inscription in the Phoenician and Cyprian languages, dated in the reign of Melekiatum, about BC 370; Here, also, are temporarily exhibited the plates of the bronze gates from Balawat.”⁷⁹⁰ The installation of these Cypriot figures in the Assyrian transept seemed to have pulled Cyprus toward the East, a move that the votive block featuring a dual Phoenician-Cypro-Syllabic inscription was used to justify. These Assyrian bronze reliefs (mid-ninth century BCE), discovered just two years earlier by Rassam, featured figures—including Shalmaneser III (reign 859-823 BCE)—that resembled in their costumes and proportions some of Lang’s material (fig. 98). The display of Cypriot sculptures in this context would have encouraged visitors to understand the Cypriot works as “Oriental.” The display scheme is reminiscent of the Louvre’s placement of Cypriot works near Assyrian monuments, especially those of Sargon II. The keepers responsible for this arrangement of Assyrian material would also have been familiar with Berlin’s Sargon Stele (see fig. 6)—or the Louvre’s copy of this monument—and may have sought to remind visitors about the period of Assyrian rule on Cyprus. Emphasizing Cyprus’s political ties with Assyria would have provided a valid historical context for exhibiting Cypriot finds beside Near Eastern galleries.

The Assyrian Transept remained unchanged for several years, as a description and gallery plan from an 1883 guide demonstrate.⁷⁹¹ This space (gallery 26) was adjacent to galleries

⁷⁹⁰*A Guide to the Exhibition Galleries of the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1880), 107.

⁷⁹¹“Indian Sculptures” were also temporarily displayed in this location, near the Great Staircase, for several years. *A Guide to the Exhibition Galleries of the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1883), 44, provides details, including that they were found near Peshawur in the Punjab, and that “they exhibit traces of the influence of Classic

exhibiting other Assyrian, Egyptian, Greco-Roman, and Archaic Greek works (fig. 99A). Many changes are evident on the upper story, as the zoological and mineral collections had been removed (fig. 99B). A new room devoted to Etruscan antiquities (gallery 16) was established. Yet Newton remained unhappy with this disparity in the treatment of Cypriot and Etruscan antiquities, and in 1883, he recommended that gallery 11 on the upper level (previously used for refreshments) be devoted instead to “Cyprus Antiquities.” The change was approved, but no further action was taken, and the gallery plans for the 1884 guide match those of 1883. Newton repeated his suggestion in 1885, this time proposing that Etruscan and Cypriot works be displayed together in this room.⁷⁹² Still, Newton’s proposal was never implemented, and Cypriot sculptures remained on view with Phoenician and Assyrian works.⁷⁹³ This display continued to be unsatisfactory, however, and new solutions were continuously proposed, but consistently failed to be realized. For example, yet another suggestion would have again placed Cypriot sculptures and Etruscan monuments in the same room (gallery 14). This gallery—previously occupied by the geological and mineralogical collections—might have been considered the domain of both

Art, probably derived from the Greek colonists in the Bactrian kingdom.” The Archaic Room still contained casts, and the language describing the Assyrian transept language had not changed. Text for first and fourth vase rooms was likewise unchanged. *Ibid.*, 117; 125. The Prehistory galleries contained the Cypriot glass, notably separate from the other ancient glass. Table case C was said to feature equestrian figures similar to those found in Cyprus (and some originating from the island), with text explaining that more such figures could be found in the Assyrian transept. *Ibid.*, 31.

⁷⁹² Newton suggested that “should the Refreshment Room be set free for exhibition of Antiquities, it be occupied by Etruscan and Cyprian antiquities and sculptures.” Internal Report, 18 April 1885, C 12 (vols. 42-44) November 1883-April 1889, Central Archive, British Museum, London. It is unsurprising that Newton sought to display Etruscan and Cypriot antiquities side-by-side. Scholars viewed both cultures as peripheral, serving as intermediaries in the transmission of “Oriental” motifs to western cultures in Greece and Italy. In the scholarly literature of the 1880s, Cypriot antiquities were supposed to have much in common with those not only from Etruria, but from Archaic Attica, Rhodes, and Mycenae.

⁷⁹³ *A Guide to the Exhibition Galleries of the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1884), 68, identifies a “Phoenician Room” within the Assyrian galleries. This room, besides exhibiting objects from Phoenicia, Palestine, and Carthage, also held at least one monument and several inscriptions from Cyprus. Other Cypriot objects—including Lang’s Dali terracottas—remained in the Assyrian Transept.

antiquities departments (Greek and Roman, and Oriental) in recognition of the inconvenient fact that Cypriot works were still divided between galleries belonging to these two departments. Principal Librarian Bond agreed to this new arrangement, but it was never carried out, as is evident from the 1884—and subsequent—gallery plans of the upper stories, none of which shows a gallery similar to that approved by Bond or proposed by Newton. Gallery 11 was instead preserved as a refreshment room, and Egyptian antiquities continued to occupy gallery 14. The Etruscan objects were, on the other hand, given their own space (room 16; see fig. 99B).

These discussions, and others like it, led to further reflection on the overwhelming size of the collections, and the increasingly difficult job of managing them. This period can be compared with the similar reevaluation of staffing and structure at the Louvre after 1848. Yet the British Museum was more concerned with thinning collections than with restructuring departments and enforcing responsibilities, as had been the Louvre's priority. Discussions of reducing and reshuffling antiquities to allow for more objects to be displayed in the London museum initiated in 1880 continued into the mid-1880s.⁷⁹⁴ Newton was opposed to eliminating duplicates or further compressing collections, and in 1884, he explained that “not more than two or three of the sculptures” in his department could be considered “duplicates.”⁷⁹⁵ The trustees were not satisfied. In June 1885, they considered the following questions, to which the curators replied in a series of reports.

Questions. 1. Whether the present collection can be sensibly reduced, or further acquisitions restricted. 2. To what extent duplicates can be sold or given away, and loan collections formed. 3. Whether, with the assistance of space to be gained from the present

⁷⁹⁴ Throughout this period, the natural history collections were being removed, to be displayed instead at the museum in South Kensington (now the Victoria and Albert Museum). These collections were later moved into the Natural History Museum of London.

⁷⁹⁵ Internal Report, 13 December 1884, C 12 (vols. 42-44) Nov 1883-April 1889, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

Print Room and Refreshment Room, the objects of sculpture now stored in the Basement can be properly exhibited; the less bulky of the objects being placed on the Upper Floor. 4. Whether the space gained by removal of Natural History Collection and by the buildings from the White Fund is not sufficient for the exhibition of the present collections. 5. Whether the exhibition of Antiquities can be limited to typical or representative specimens.⁷⁹⁶

The response to question one affirmed Newton's 1884 statement, maintaining that, with regard to antiquities, "no great reduction can be effected in the collections."⁷⁹⁷ Keepers in both antiquities departments argued that because their specimens were unique, originated from sites all over the world, and presented a great variety in form, they could not pare down their collections.⁷⁹⁸

Addressing question three, the keepers conceded that the removal of zoological specimens from the museum had afforded them new opportunities to display Greek and Roman art previously kept in storage. The discussion of what to place in the refreshment room later centered on finding an appropriate place for the Cypriot antiquities. But here the curators focused on larger issues, arguing that the museum as a whole still lacked a logical arrangement: "The endeavor has been made to place [the Greek and Roman antiquities] on view in systematic arrangement, by which they may become practically instructive and capable of being used in oral teaching as they are exhibited."⁷⁹⁹ The keepers were united in the opinion that a new building would be required to accomplish a desirable arrangement.

In response to question four, the keepers acknowledged that they had sufficient space for present collections, but insisted that if any additional larger finds were to be acquired, there

⁷⁹⁶ Internal Report, 13 June 1885, C 12 (vols. 42-44) Nov 1883-April 1889, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

⁷⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁸ In response to question two, the keepers reminded the committee that their collections had been formed in large part by donations, with conditions that objects not be "alienated" or sold.

⁷⁹⁹ Internal Report, 13 June 1885, C 12 (vols. 42-44) Nov 1883-April 1889, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

would be no room to exhibit them. Although their sculptural collections had been static for many years, there was an increasing interest to collect Egyptian, Assyrian and Babylonian art.⁸⁰⁰ The consensus remained that a new building would solve many of the museum's most pressing problems for many years to come. Finally, the responses to question number five are revealing for the trajectory of the British Museum as a public institution. It was clear that the trustees' vision for the museum did not match that of the keepers and the general public.

It is apparent that the idea prevails that the Museum should be treated almost exclusively, in respect to the Antiquities, as a place of exhibition of objects designed to interest the general visitor. The Trustees, however, consider it most important that the collection should be formed with a view to afford to students the means of prosecuting their researches, since on these the public at large are mainly dependent for the instruction to be delivered from the Antiquities exhibited. At the same time, they are of opinion that, in endeavoring to make the several collections full and complete in all their parts, care should be taken to avoid the acquisition of inferior objects, not contributing to the history which the collection is designed to teach. They would also add that, in their opinion, the recent growth of the collection of Antiquities, in respect to bulk, has not been such as to excite alarm for the mean of accommodating them. The pressure for room is of long standing, and buildings recognized as necessary by the Government so far back as the year 1861 have not yet been carried out.⁸⁰¹

These years were difficult ones for the museum, including its staff and the trustees, who did not share a united vision of an institution that could serve scholars *and* the public. Moreover, the trustees specified that there was a specific type of "history which the collection is designed to teach," and that the acquisitions of "inferior objects" should be avoided. The stalled excavations on Cyprus make perfect sense if considered in the context of these debates. Though Britain was uniquely placed to lead research on the island and acquire Cypriot material, its national museum

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid. This was true especially for excavations in Egypt, which would likely require an expansion of exhibition space. On a humorous note, the trustees added: "And this consideration applies to the collection of sculpture generally; for it is quite beyond the power of the Trustees, if it were their desire, to prevent the further discovery of buried statues and friezes, or to refuse to give their aid to what would be a general desire to add them to the National Collection."

⁸⁰¹ Ibid.

was overly full, having too long attempted to collect for the archaeologist, the student, the aesthete, *and* the general public. It would have been difficult to convince the trustees of the importance of new Cypriot acquisitions when keepers were unable to find sufficient room to display their already substantial holdings in this field.

In 1886, amid this chaotic period of reevaluation in the museum, Augustus Wollaston Franks (1826-1897), Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography, proposed to change the name of the Department of Oriental Antiquities to the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities. The trustees swiftly approved this change, which sought to limit the scope of the museum's collections.⁸⁰² Later in the same year, the museum again began to allocate money for research on Cyprus, which must have seemed more securely placed in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. Cognizant of a perpetual lack of space, Murray, who had prepared a report and budget (of 1,000 pounds) for excavations on Cyprus, added that "objects which should prove to be duplicates or not required for the BM might be distributed among Museums in provincial towns."⁸⁰³ In order to make the new excavations feasible, Bond, with the support of the trustees, agreed that the treasury should be asked to increase the budget of the Greek and Roman Purchases and Acquisitions to 2,500 or 3,000 pounds total. Thus, a full third of

⁸⁰² Internal Report, 13 February 1886, C 12 (vols. 42-44) November 1883-April 1889, Central Archive, British Museum, London. It seems Franks hoped for the opposite effect—as he was interested in collecting and publishing East Asian material, he hoped to stake out his territory in this field, which fell more decisively under "ethnography" once the label of "Oriental" was taken from the department, henceforth known as the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities. For more on Franks, see Marjorie Lancaster Caygill and John F. Cherry, eds., *A.W. Franks: Nineteenth-century Collecting and the British Museum* (London: British Museum Press, 1997).

⁸⁰³ Murray recommended that 1,000 pounds, exclusively for excavations on Cyprus, be included in the budget for 1887-88. Internal Report, 14 December 1886, C 12 (vols. 42-44) November 1883-April 1889, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

the anticipated purchase grant in the Greek and Roman department for 1887-88 was allocated to Cypriot antiquities, demonstrating a new optimism and a real interest in Cypriot art.⁸⁰⁴

Despite the ongoing interest in collecting Cypriot objects, the museum's Cypriot terracotta collection remained divided between the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities and the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. These terracottas had never been displayed alongside Greek works, and were instead joined with Phoenician objects, which remained housed in the Egyptian and Assyrian department. The 1887 guide demonstrates that Cypriot works were exhibited in the same contexts as they had been in the early 1880s. A gallery plan of the lower level reveals that small changes had been made in several of the galleries—and that many received new names—but the general placement of galleries devoted to Greek, Roman, Assyrian, and Egyptian antiquities remains surprisingly unchanged (fig. 100A). A new gallery devoted to Assyrian antiquities had been added on the upper story, but the refreshment room—room 27, now optimistically said to be “temporary”—remained in place (fig. 100B).⁸⁰⁵

In 1887, Bond received a request from the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities that the refreshment room at the end of the Northern Gallery be transformed into a

⁸⁰⁴ In 1887, Murray, “recalling attention to the desirability of making excavations in Cyprus,” ensured that the same amount was provided in the estimates for the 1888-89 budget. Internal Report, 12 November 1887, C 12 (vols. 42-44) November 1883-April 1889, Central Archive, British Museum, London. The same year, Murray submitted a report of purchase for “Greek antiquities obtained in the course of excavations on the site of Marion in Cyprus” offered by Charles Christian. It includes a male marble torso, a “delicate example of Archaic sculpture.” Internal Report, 25 July 1887, Original Papers 180 (vols. 82-83) January 1886-November 1887, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

⁸⁰⁵ Further changes included an “Asiatic Saloon,” which replaced what had previously been called an “Oriental Saloon,” demonstrating that the inconsistency of vocabularies at the Louvre was also a potential source of confusion at the British Museum. This gallery held “illustrations of Buddhist, Hindoo, Jain Mythologies, Shamanism, Works from China.” See the table of contents in *A Guide to the Exhibition Galleries of the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1887).

gallery of Cypriot and Phoenician antiquities.⁸⁰⁶ This request mirrored Newton's earlier desire to establish a "Cyprus Room" or "Etruscan and Cyprian" room in same location (suggestions he made in 1883 and 1885, respectively). Yet Bond also denied this request, arguing that "the [Cypriot objects] are mainly terracotta figures of an archaic character found in the island and as present placed in the Egyptian gallery of sculptures on the ground floor. The Phoenician objects are not numerous and with few exceptions are already exhibited chiefly in the centre Nimroud room, where are they are sufficiently well seen, and are not out of place."⁸⁰⁷ Bond's statements testify to an arrangement that was never addressed in the guidebooks—that Cypriot material was strongly aligned, and even displayed, with Egyptian works (perhaps in gallery 27; see fig. 100A; or, as attested later, gallery 16; see fig. 100B). Yet Bond did not view this scheme in a positive light, nor did he approve of Cypriot works being shown alongside Phoenician. He instead favored another plan, which involved moving the Cypriot objects to the rapidly expanding upper rooms (perhaps room 26; see fig. 99B; renamed room 3 in 1887; see fig. 100B).

The Cypriote terracottas could be very properly placed in the room now occupied by the glass collection, shortly to be vacated. This room is connected with the gallery of Greek and Roman smaller antiquities, to which it will probably be the decision of the Trustees to assign it, as desired by the Keeper of the Department, who proposes to bring together in it his collection of terracottas from Rhodes, Tanagra, and other sites. The space desired by the Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities for the Phoenician antiquities may be obtained hereafter in the Second Northern Gallery, from which part of the Exhibition of Engravings may after a period be withdrawn.

⁸⁰⁶ "The Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities asks for room to exhibit together the Cypriote and Phoenician antiquities." Internal Report, 10 May 1887, Original Papers 180 (vols. 82-83) January 1886-November 1887, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

⁸⁰⁷ The keeper of ethnographic collections—Franks—won the bid for the room. He made the case for separating the Mexican and Peruvian antiquities from the general American collections and reducing overcrowding in current exhibitions. Internal Report, 10 May 1887, Original Papers 180 (vols. 82-83) January 1886-November 1887, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

Bond thus officially ordered that “the terra-cotta figures from Cyprus...be kept with the terra-cotta collection of GR Department.”⁸⁰⁸ He did not, however, propose altering the display of Cypriot limestone statues among Egyptian antiquities.

1890s: Though Officially Designated “Greek and Roman” Antiquities, Cypriot Works Continue to be Displayed in Rooms Devoted to “Egyptian and Assyrian” Antiquities

Clearly, certain curators were frustrated by the ambiguous position of Cypriot works within the British Museum’s organizational scheme and display of antiquities. Still, no major shifts occurred in the 1890s to demonstrate that Bond’s formal establishment of Cypriot works as “Greek and Roman” had any effect on their location. The 1890 guide reveals that, on the ground floor, Cypriot works were confined to the Phoenician gallery, with none in the Assyrian Transept (fig. 101A). Certain Cypriot terracottas were displayed on the upper floor in an independent “Room of Terracottas” (in gallery 44, previously occupied by glass and majolica and labeled gallery 3 in earlier guides) alongside “Archaic statuettes and reliefs, Tanagra statuettes, Greco-Roman terracottas,” just as Bond had ordered in 1887 (fig. 101B).⁸⁰⁹ That curators saw a Phoenician gallery as an appropriate place to exhibit Cypriot works exemplifies the continued state of confusion over what exactly “Cypriot” objects were and where they belonged. The 1892 guide implied that Phoenician antiquities (with which Cypriot finds were still displayed) belonged to the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities.⁸¹⁰ This implication is consistent

⁸⁰⁸ Internal Report, 14 May 1887, C 12 (vols. 42-44) November 1883–April 1889, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

⁸⁰⁹ “On the left side of the Room, in cases 1-37, are displayed terracottas found in Greece and in ancient Greek colonies...Cases 1-5. Rude statuettes of mixed Greek and Phoenician character, from Cyprus and Sardinia.” *A Guide to the Exhibition Galleries of the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1890), 219.

⁸¹⁰ After introducing Assyrian and Babylonian antiquities, the guide states that a “small, but growing, collection of Phoenician Art and other Semitic Antiquities also forms part of this department.” *A Guide to the Exhibition Rooms of the A Guide to the Exhibition Galleries of the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1892), xi.

with the museum's prior classifications of Phoenician art, but puzzling in the context of Bond's 1887 mandate that all Cypriot terracottas (many of which quite closely resembled Phoenician examples) were to be assigned to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities.⁸¹¹

This same guide mentioned, for the first time, a reference to a specific Cypriot sculpture in the "Room of Archaic Greek Sculpture," where original finds and casts from "Mycenae, Xanthos, Branchidae, Ephesus, Selinus, Ægina, [and] Olympia" were exhibited.⁸¹² This room (gallery 12) allowed direct access to a Graeco-Roman (gallery 10), the Assyrian Transept (gallery 25), and a small anteroom (gallery 13) containing Greek sculpture (see fig. 101A). The guide provided further contextual details about several sculptures, including the Cypriot figure:

"Among the archaic statues in this room may be noticed the Strangford Apollo (No. 206) and the two small figures behind it, the one (No. 207) from Cyprus, the other (No. 205) probably from the Acraephiae in Boeotia. Archaic figures of this type, with the arms close to the sides, are usually identified as Apollo, but the type seems to have been employed also, as in the case of the Cyprus statue, for an ideal sepulchral figure."⁸¹³ The Strangford Apollo (ca. 490 BCE), a very late Archaic kouros, had been acquired in 1864 (fig. 102). The Boeotian statue (ca. 570-560 BCE) had been acquired in 1878 (fig. 103). The Cypriot figure, which was likewise a nude marble Archaic specimen—was the "Marion Kouros" (ca. 520-510 BCE) purchased from Ohnefalsch-Richter in 1887 (fig. 104).

Though marble sculpture was rare on Cyprus, no mention is made of the exceptional quality of the Marion Kouros, which is instead introduced as a rather typical type, an "ideal

⁸¹¹ Perhaps the new principal librarian, Edward Maude Thompson (1840-1929), chose to exercise less control over such matters.

⁸¹² *Ibid.*, 12.

⁸¹³ *Ibid.*, 15.

sepulchral figure.” Curators were—at least in this instance—thus attempting to align Cypriot and Greek sculpture. The comparison with Archaic Greek kouroi seems natural considering trends in the previous decades of scholarship, especially the conclusions of such authors as Colvin, Perrot and Chipiez, and Holwerda, all of whom argued (in the 1870s and early 1880s) for strong connections between the Archaic Cypriot and Archaic Greek sculptural styles. Still, the acquisition of a nude Cypriot statue in marble (again, in 1887) seems to have been crucial to establishing a real link between Greek and Cypriot sculpture. Moreover, Newton’s retirement in 1885 may have allowed new approaches and fresh possibilities within the British Museum, which was ruled rather equally by this imposing figure and the series of acting Principal Librarians during his tenure. Newton’s resistance to acknowledging a close relationship between Greek and Cypriot styles—as implied in his 1880 *Essays*—suggests that he would have considered the implied relationship between kouroi impermissible.

The museum’s decision to display the Marion Kouros in a room devoted to Archaic Greek sculpture may have prompted Reinach’s decision to illustrate the object in his 1897 publication.⁸¹⁴ Devoted to Greek and Roman art, this volume includes a plate comparing the different schools of Archaic kouroi, where the Marion Kouros features prominently as a “virile type” of Archaic Apollo (fig. 105). In this case, the direction of transmission of ideas is thus clear: after the British Museum exhibited a Cypriot figure as a subtype of Archaic Greek statuary, scholars like Reinach were freer to use such a work in their publications on “purely” “Greek” art. The illustration credits Murray as the source for the drawing, furnishing yet another indication

⁸¹⁴ Salomon Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine, Tome II, Volume I* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1897).

that it was he—and not Newton—who first sought to classify the sculpture as “Greek” rather than “Cypriot,” or even “Assyrian” or “Egyptian.”

An appendix to an 1894 guide provides further information about the Second Northern Gallery, showing an Egyptian room between the ground and upper floor that displayed Cypriot material—likely the same mentioned by Bond in 1887. Sculptures from Cyprus were exhibited in wall cases on the northwest staircase landing located just next to the gallery (in room 25; see fig. 101B). These figures, recovered by Lang at Dali, were “arranged as far as possible chronologically, and illustrate the Archaic and Hellenistic periods of Cyprian art which extend from about BC 650 to 150.”⁸¹⁵ As Lang’s terracottas did not show such a chronological range, we can assume that these objects were the limestone votives from Lang’s “Temple at Dali.” The guidebook describes another room that was apparently devoted entirely to Cyprus, especially its terracottas and inscriptions, including objects that had previously been displayed in the Assyrian Transept.⁸¹⁶ The Phoenician room also contained several Cypriot objects, though most had been moved to the Cypriot gallery.⁸¹⁷

The 1896 guide included an entry for “Cyprian Antiquities” in its table of contents. It confirms that, within the “Northern Galleries”—which consisted of a “vestibule” and a normal “gallery”—Cypriot works occupied the vestibule space (gallery 19). “Semitic Antiquities” were

⁸¹⁵ *A Guide to the Exhibition Galleries of the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1894), 135.

⁸¹⁶ “Room 1. CYPRIAN ANTIQUITIES. Here is arranged a series of small sculpture and terracotta figures, which exhibit the effects of Egyptian, Assyrian, and Greek influence upon Cyprian art, and on the floors of the cases are some good examples of bilingual inscriptions in Cyprian and Phoenician, of considerable historical and philological importance. The terracotta figures in wall case 13, and the sculptures in wall case 14-20, belong to the Archaic period of Cyprian art, about BC 650-500; those in wall case 21-28 belong to the Hellenistic period, about BC 500-150.” *Ibid.*

⁸¹⁷ “Room 2. PHOENICIAN ANTIQUITIES. This room contains monuments from Phoenicia or the ancient Canaan (i.e. ‘the lowland’ Palestine), Carthage, and Cyprus; and from Palmyra and Arabia.” *Ibid.*

exhibited in the traditional gallery (numbered 20; fig. 106A). Egyptian antiquities were scattered throughout. This arrangement appears to revise the 1890 configuration, in which Cypriot works were shown on the landing of the northwest staircase (considered part of the upper floors). Other Cypriot terracottas remained on view in the “Terracotta Room” (gallery 46), the very room Bond had suggested in 1887 be cleared of glass in order to exhibit terracottas (fig. 106B).⁸¹⁸

Reshuffling of collections and the expansion of gallery space during these years to allow for new rooms (numbered 43-45) thus had a significant impact on the arrangement of Cypriot antiquities.

The 1899 guide to the Greek and Roman collections was the first to include illustrations. The only Cypriot limestone work mentioned is a sculpted capital from Salamis featuring winged bulls (displayed in the Ephesus Rooms or gallery 14; see fig. 106A).⁸¹⁹ It was also the first guide to incorporate a lengthier section on Cyprus, discussing its strategic and important position in the eastern Mediterranean with a timeline of ancient history. By this time, a “North Gallery” was devoted solely to “Cyprian Antiquities.” These dedicated rooms on the upper floor (galleries 20-24; see fig. 106B) at last provided the curators with an opportunity to demonstrate and address the island’s true cultural complexity.

Cyprus, then, was occupied successively by various nations of the old world: Phoenicians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, have all held it in turn, and have all left traces of their occupation in the antiquities which have been discovered in the island. The Cyprian antiquities exhibited in the North Gallery are objects of native manufacture. The sculptures, though of no great artistic manufacture, are of interest as illustrations of the mingling of oriental and western ideas of art. Purely Greek and Roman objects, which were only imported into the island, are incorporated with the antiquities of the Greek and Roman Department. In the wall case at the entrance of this gallery is exhibited a series of sculptures, inscriptions, etc, obtained chiefly from Idalium in Cyprus. They are arranged

⁸¹⁸ “On the left side of the Room, in cases 1-37, are displayed terracottas found in Greece and in ancient Greek colonies...Cases 1-3. Rude statuettes of a Phoenician character, from Cyprus and Sardinia. Cases 4, 5. Greek figures from Cyprus.” *A Guide to the Exhibition Galleries of the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1896), 205–6.

⁸¹⁹ *A Guide to the Exhibition Galleries of the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1899), 72.

as far as possible chronologically, and illustrate the archaic and Greek periods of Cyprian art from about BC 650-150.⁸²⁰

Placing Cypriot objects in a special, separate context identified them as independent and distinct from the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Greco-Roman works shown with in the lower level. Still, they continued to be compared to examples from these cultures and periods. Ideas common in the published literature, such as the “mingling of oriental and western ideas of art,” reappear here with force. So too does the view that Cypriot sculpture is not truly “great” art, but is instead significant for its revealing “traces” of other cultures on the island. Importantly, specimens considered to be “purely” Greek or Roman are excluded from this gallery. One such sculpture was the Marion Kouros, in the anteroom beside the Archaic Greek room (gallery 13; see fig. 106A). Cypriot terracottas were likewise absent from this room, but remained on view in the terracotta room (gallery 46; see fig. 106B).⁸²¹

Meanwhile, the museum continued to acquire Cypriot works. Installing a suite of Cypriot galleries in the 1890s appears logical in the context of the museum’s close involvement with the Cyprus Exploration Fund. The secretary of this fund had first reached out to the museum in December 1887, successfully establishing a relationship that would augment the British Museum’s collections of Cypriot art. The first objects from the CEF entered the museum in November 1888, and several major finds arrived in the 1890s.⁸²² Other Cypriot antiquities

⁸²⁰ Ibid., 51, section continues to 54.

⁸²¹ “Cypriot and Semitic Antiquities” were exhibited in the northern gallery and staircase. The following describes the terracotta room: “On the left side of the room, in cases 1-37 are displayed terracottas found in Cyprus, Greece, and in ancient Greek colonies...Cases 1-5. Terracottas from Cyprus. Some of these are in the Cypriote style, which is partly Phoenician and partly local, but the later specimens...purely Greek.” Ibid., 94.

⁸²² Internal Report, 10 November 1888, C 12 (vols. 42-44) November 1883-April 1889, Central Archive, British Museum, London. For instance, “In 1889 and 1891, various sculptures, including a head of Eros from Paphos, and a large capital with projecting bulls’ heads from the Cyprian Salamis, have been presented by the CEF.” A. H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, Volume I* (London: British Museum, 1892), 9.

continued to be sold at European auctions.⁸²³ For the most part, the period witnessed growing professionalization for archaeology on Cyprus, as discussed in Chapter One. For instance, the Turner Bequest was formalized in 1893 with a view to allowing the museum to investigate sites in newly acquired British territory. Cyprus was also one of the only parts of the “classical world” available to excavate. These excavations were conducted by professional archaeologists and overseen by keepers Murray and Smith, who ensured that the museum only received desirable objects.

In 1895, the museum sent duplicates from an excavation at Amathus to a number of British institutions.⁸²⁴ Sending “extra” or “duplicate” objects had been discussed in the 1880s, when the museum was experiencing growing pains. In the 1890s, the institution was similarly cautious about acquiring more than it could handle. It increasingly declined offers from individuals unaffiliated with universities or professional archaeological societies to conduct excavations on Cyprus. The museum continued to support excavations at Curium, but without major results.⁸²⁵ Despite the lack of success, Murray seems to have rejected an offer from Percy Christian (1871-1950) to serve as a “permanent agent” and “look after excavations,” in favor of

⁸²³ A. H. Smith relayed information about certain sales to Murray. “The Lawrence-Cesnola sale is announced for April 25, 26, 27 at Sotheby’s. I am sending you a catalogue by this port, and hope you will let me know what you would like to have done.” Correspondence, 16 April 1892, Original Letters 1892-1895 S-Z, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

⁸²⁴ Recipients included the “Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art; Winchester College; Owens College, Manchester; Yorkshire College, Leeds; and the Nottingham Museum; some specimens to be also presented to Miss Turner’s executor.” Internal Report, 12 January 1895, C 13 (vols. 45-47) May 1889-April 1896, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

⁸²⁵ A report prepared Murray, for instance, revealed that Walters (who assisted with excavations on Cyprus for several months in 1895) estimated that the total value of finds from one season at 600 pounds, not even enough to break even. In 1896, it was proposed that Walters or A. H. Smith replace Murray and instead explore Mari, Moni, or Soli. Murray was sent to investigate Mari and Moni, and excavations also commenced at Enkomi. As the finds at Enkomi looked increasingly important, A. H. Smith was sent back to direct the project. Internal Report, 8 February 1896, C 13 (vols. 45-47) May 1889-April 1896, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

maintaining a non-committal relationship with Christian, who continued to serve occasionally as an antiquities agent. Still, the content of Christian's letter in which he advertises his qualifications and the benefits of employing him is nevertheless interesting for its reference to ongoing competition between museums at the end of the century.

I have asked my brother to have a talk with you and see if you would make me into a kind of permanent agent here to look after excavations and your interest generally in Cyprus or...and to keep you informed of the discoveries of any new sites and of any antiquities of interest. I to be allowed to buy them at my own risk if good and to send them on to you and if you wanted them you to buy them at any price you thought fair. I to tell you exactly in what they cost and if possible identify the tomb from which they came. I would soon get expert in buying good things and in this way many valuable and interesting objects would come to the BM instead of going to Paris and Russia...and if it were known here that I was your accredited Agent nearly everything would be first offered to me and I could be here there and everywhere at a moment's notice.⁸²⁶

Christian seemed to be unaware that his offer to "if possible identify the tomb" from which he obtained his objects must have struck the wrong chord with Murray, who by then directed a team of professional archaeologists with an arsenal of Oxford degrees as they explored a range of sites across the entire island. The British Museum would undoubtedly have been interested in any chance to compete with the Louvre and Hermitage museums, but its superior position when it came to acquiring Cypriot antiquities was already secure with British administration on Cyprus.

Conclusions

Although one might expect to discover profound national differences regarding approaches to the display of ancient Cypriot sculpture in England and France, in reality it was exhibited in very similar contexts in the British and Louvre museums. Siapkas and Sjögren reached much the same conclusion in their analysis of displays of ancient art, venturing to guess

⁸²⁶ Correspondence, 5 December 1896, Original Letters 1896-1897 A-L, Archives of the Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum, London.

there would be “distinct differences in the display of ancient sculptures that [could] be attributed to national discourses,” but finding instead that “the national context determines the structure and organization of the museums, but not the display of ancient sculptures.”⁸²⁷ The same holds true for European museum displays of Cypriot sculpture in the nineteenth century. The scholars who organized the material were, after all, relying on the same evidence and publications, so it is perhaps unsurprising that differences in the national receptions were minimal in the museum context. Staff at both museums read and actively corresponded with Cesnola, Perrot, and Lang. The size of the facilities and respective staffing structure were more determinative for each museum’s display choices than any discernible national approach to Cypriot antiquities.

Though the Louvre may be seen as having paved the way for display in the British Museum—a display that was never fully satisfactory either for keepers or the trustees—there may well have been equal unease about the placement of Cypriot antiquities within the “Oriental” collections in Paris as there was in London. Moving the collections out of their dedicated gallery in the Cour Carrée would have posed a significant challenge, however, especially as the colossal Amathus Vase stood directly in the center of the room. Photographs from the early twentieth century document that this display was preserved more than fifty years later—and, indeed, accurately reflect its placement today (figs. 107 and 108). The fateful installation of this vase—so enthusiastically celebrated in 1866—actually served to limit the potential for Cypriot antiquities to be arranged in other, more creative ways in the museum. The sentiment that the Louvre’s Cypriot collections may be “misplaced” first surfaced in the 1980s and 1990s, but Caubet has traced its roots to policies enacted in the 1910s, adding, “At the Louvre itself this situation has

⁸²⁷ Siapkas and Sjögren, *Displaying the Ideals of Antiquity*, 89.

often been considered an aberration by some of the Curators of the Oriental Department. Since the First World War, they have carried out a policy of bestowing large deposits of Cypriot material on municipal museums or universities in the provinces in order to make room for objects which seemed more specifically ‘Oriental’ to them.”⁸²⁸ While the Louvre’s classification of Cypriot antiquities undoubtedly allowed a greater number of objects to be exhibited more quickly, it did not ultimately serve to benefit the Cypriot collections in the long run. In London, by contrast, many years of neglect apparently allowed curators to approach the Cypriot collections with a renewed enthusiasm. Cyprus now has its own gallery (as remains the case in Paris). Archival documents from the early twentieth century document a case similar to that of the Louvre in the 1910s. Thus, the perspective that Cypriot antiquities were not “Oriental” but “Greek” seems to have won out in both museums. While in the early twentieth century Lang’s Dali material was still scattered across several departments, a major effort was made in 1914 to rectify this situation, and a true sense of order was at last imposed on the museum’s seemingly unruly collection of Cypriot sculpture.⁸²⁹

⁸²⁸ Annie Caubet, “Les antiquités chypriotes au Musée du Louvre,” 23.

⁸²⁹ In 1905, Lang wrote, “When [the Cypriot sculptures] were all ranged in my house at Larnaca, it was instructive to observe how markedly they exhibited the progress of the sculptor’s art during probably 6 centuries or more. This feature can no longer be as clearly seen, where the best pieces are now exhibited in the British Museum, as naturally they had to be mixed up with sculptures from different sources.” Lang, “Reminiscences, Archaeological Researches in Cyprus,” 626. In 1914, “The Sub-Committee [on Antiquities] approved in principle the transfer of the Cypriote sculpture and terracottas from the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities to that of Greek and Roman Antiquities, and desired the Keepers of the Departments concerned to confer with the Director as to the precise delimitation of spheres. The Sub-Committee were glad to note the progress made in establishing a system of verification.” Internal Report, 14 March 1914, SC 2 (vols. 4-6) August 1876-March 1932, Central Archive, British Museum, London.

Conclusion

The modern reception of ancient Cyprus is not simply a story of the elaboration and celebration of this culture. Instead, it can be characterized as a gradual process of negotiation regarding the definition of its origins and components, and an eventual—and relatively tepid—contemporary appreciation following a reluctant acceptance of its fluidity. Interest in Cypriot sculpture waned noticeably after 1900, to be revived only in the late twentieth century—this time due in large part to forces and funds from the island itself, rather than from western Europe or America. Throughout the nineteenth century, and as suited their political, scholarly, and personal agendas, scholars argued variously that Cyprus was “Oriental,” “Greek,” “pre-Greek,” “Phoenician,” or that it supported an independent style combining all of these elements.

Broadly, ancient Cyprus was perceived to be most “Oriental” under Ottoman rule, more “Greek” with the beginning of British rule, and more independent—later “Eteocypriot”—as the threat of colonial rebellion against the British and alignment with Greece emerged. These identifications were most often supported by scholars’ association of a particular style of dress represented among votive sculptures with a respective dominant strand of supposed cultural control, influence, or heritage. Beginning with the works of Hitchcock, Doell, and Cesnola in the 1870s, and disseminated even more widely in publications by Lang and Perrot and Chipiez in the 1880s, these sculptures were divided into distinct categories according to “foreign” dress and sorted into chronological groups based on supposed periods of “foreign” domination—first Egyptian or Assyrian, then Greek.

Though this approach has been forcefully challenged, beginning in the 1970s and increasing thereafter, and though it has outlasted its usefulness and credibility, similar models,

with almost unmodified chronologies, continue to appear in current scholarship. They are especially rampant in museum catalogues that seek to present Cypriot sculpture in an orderly, accessible published format rather than to interrogate its significance or delve into historiographical questions. Some recent studies have attempted to move past the problematic legacy of early archaeology on the island. Fresh approaches reject a distinct divide between “East” and “West” in antiquity, and instead propose a more nuanced approach to cultural transmission and iconographic or stylistic borrowing, modification, and reframing.

Situating Ancient Cyprus in the Nineteenth Century

While efforts to explore, tame, and modify “foreign” motifs may have encouraged ancient Cyprus to be open and flexible in its artistic tradition, nineteenth-century efforts to discern the various threads and components of ancient Cyprus betrayed an anxiety on the part of Western scholars to acknowledge the “Eastern debt” of the “Western” artistic tradition, and, above all, to maintain control over an esteemed “Western” cultural lineage. I have already discussed in detail the ways in which Cypriot sculpture functioned in these narratives—especially as a “precursor” to the Greek tradition or as a mediator between “East” and “West.” By 1900, Cypriot antiquity had effectively been sidelined by Evans’s work on Crete. From this point on, scholars could continue the search for “origins” and “beginnings” on an island far closer to mainland Greece. Coverage previously devoted to Cyprus was instead dedicated to Mycenae and Minoan Crete, considered critical components in the development of a Greek style. Cyprus never found a comfortable, secure place in the narrative of Western artistic development. Nor was it able to bridge the gap between Greece and the Near East that scholars claimed they hoped to close. Yet its study forged bonds between scholars that extended across institutions, disciplines, subfields,

and countries, in extraordinary ways. The collecting and study of Cypriot antiquities encouraged communication among Assyriologists, Egyptologists, and classical archaeologists, between philologists and art historians, between the university and the museum, between the educated elite and the passionate amateurs who unearthed their fascinating objects of study, and even between warring countries.

One perhaps unexpected result of the strength of this international network was the close similarity among the respective national approaches. This peculiarity manifested most strongly in the universal museums in Paris and London. French scholars generally—and curators at the Louvre specifically—grouped Cypriot art under the umbrella of “Oriental” antiquities. Their British counterparts—including keepers at the British Museum—maintained that Cyprus was a “Greek and Roman” antiquity. But the museums’ Cypriot collections were nevertheless displayed in almost identical circumstances. In both institutions, limestone sculpture from Cyprus was placed in rooms devoted to or adjacent to Phoenician and Assyrian antiquities. At the Louvre, a special gallery was devoted to Cyprus. Despite repeated efforts to establish a similar room at the British Museum, Cypriot sculpture remained scattered across several galleries, and must have seemed to most visitors to belong to the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities rather than the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. Further, when the latter department could not raise the required funds to purchase desirable Cypriot objects, money was taken from the former to cover the difference. Though objections were raised to this internal disorder on several occasions, Cypriot objects were officially grouped under the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities beginning only in 1914.

Trends in Nineteenth-Century Scholarship Regarding the Cypriot “Style”

The goals of the museum and the art historical or archaeological surveys were complementary, but not identical. Surveys offered a more flexible and nuanced explanation of a Cypriot style than did universal museums, which displayed only the best pieces and were obliged to narrate solely with objects from their own collections. Books offered different possibilities. Early editions could be vastly improved with modest effort and expense, and the results compared side by side. Museum installations from the period are more ephemeral—they are seldom documented, except perhaps in museum guidebooks, and their authorship can be difficult to identify. Thus, in considering the major trends classifying the Cypriot sculptural style, I depended heavily on published textual evidence. Authors of specialist and general survey publications alike puzzled over how to suggest affinity, but not equivalence or sameness between the Cypriot and neighboring traditions. Cyprus was never simply “Oriental”; it was always something “in between,” studied by Orientalists and classicists, never claimed exclusively by one group. Cypriot art was a difficult category to treat decisively or consistently, and at least four distinct models emerged as nineteenth-century scholars attempted to find a place for it in their surveys.

The first of these models saw Cypriot sculpture as “derivative.” Here, Cyprus represented the end of a line or tradition, influenced primarily by Egypt, Assyria, Phoenicia, in some combination, or all three. Scholars of this persuasion most often viewed Cypriot art as a passive byproduct of the Phoenician tradition, thus denying Cyprus any independent agency. Defenses of this classification were often messy, as Phoenicia was itself a “derivative” blend of Assyrian and Egyptian elements. Cypriot art was occasionally equated with Phoenician art, or perhaps as a

“dialect” of Phoenician art. Cypriot art thus could serve as a lens through which to understand Phoenician art. The dearth of Phoenician finds in the Levant could be partially rectified by Cyprus. The second model classified Cypriot sculpture as a “precursor.” Advocates argued that Cypriot art had preceded the classical Greek tradition, which it helped inspire. Here too, the Cypriot style was considered passive; it existed simply to be available to Greece. Mainland Greek sculptors, in turn, took up, used, and perfected ideas brought from Cyprus and the East. Because of the suggested affinity with the Greek style, this model presented the Cypriot style in a slightly more favorable light.

A third position recognized Cypriot sculpture as a “missing link” or “mediator.” From this perspective, Cyprus was a passive conduit between Assyria, Egypt, Phoenicia, and Greece, absorbing and passing on ideas, again with little or no independent agency. This label essentially allowed the island simultaneously to occupy the previous two roles—both “derivative” and “precursor.” As a “mediator,” however, Cyprus acted as an active conduit between Assyria, Egypt, Phoenicia, and Greece, selecting, absorbing, and transferring ideas. This view granted Cypriot sculptors more credit for local creativity and production. It was, however, conceptually unwieldy, as it relied upon a series of mediating relationships—Assyria or Egypt as the civilization of origin, Phoenicia as a first mediator, and Cyprus as a second and final mediator and point of direct connection to Greece. Finally, some scholars argued for a wholly independent Cypriot sculptural tradition. Beginning with L. Cesnola, there emerged a tendency to identify and promote a native Cypriot style. Proponents of this view considered the Cypriot style to be an artistic tradition in its own right, not just a precursor to or subcategory of other traditions.

Scholars who adopted this view often left open the question of influence and encouraged the most positive evaluations of the sculptures.

The Cypriot style was thus classified in a surprising variety of ways. The labels given to Cypriot sculpture, and its roles in narrating the development of Western art, were at times inconsistent, even in conflict with one another. Most authors held a fluid rather than rigid opinion, instead pulling ideas and vocabulary from multiple perspectives. Their assessments depended largely on whether they judged the Cypriot tradition to be active or passive. Scholars who saw Cyprus as the end of a tradition, the product of influence, and as a passive recipient, were more likely to evaluate the style in a strongly negative way. By contrast, those who positioned Cyprus at the beginning of a tradition, and accorded to it an active or creative role, were more inclined to employ generous, positive terms in describing its style. Finally, those who considered Cyprus an independent tradition frequently rated its style still more highly, emphasizing the Cypriot tendency to innovate or combine elements and styles in a new and interesting way.

The Lasting Impact of Early Classifications of Cypriot Sculpture

Although no longer acknowledged as useful models, the trends that emerged mid-century continued to shape interpretations of Cypriot sculpture and a Cypriot “style” in the late nineteenth and even the twentieth centuries. This substantial lag is consistent with Donohue’s conclusions in her analysis of Greek sculpture: “The descriptions of some of the most prominent works in histories of classical art prove not to rest on empirical observation but instead to reflect specific historiographic formulations. What is said about images very often lives on in scholarship long after the intellectual context that gave meaning to the observations and interpretations has

vanished.”⁸³⁰ Scholars of ancient Cyprus were indeed loyal to earlier, authoritative texts of the 1870s, recycling information uncritically even well into the 1890s and perpetuating modes of interpretation that were dated even then.

Similarly, the objects selected to support these models continue to furnish our current canon of Cypriot art, which has persisted despite acknowledgment that the recovery and restoration of many of these works was deeply flawed. This enduring canon was bolstered through authoritative publications that repeatedly illustrated identical or near-identical images of the same specimens—especially those found by Lang and Cesnola. The most prominent objects fundamentally shaped the development of classification schemes and chronologies. For instance, a surplus of heads (lacking bodies) appeared in each of these collections, due to excavators’ interest in them—and in their greater financial value. Beards, hairstyles, and headdresses—many of which were elaborate and seemed to betray “foreign” models—thus emerged as important diagnostic tools. Torsos, especially those with preserved heads, were even more cherished by nineteenth-century excavators and scholars, as they displayed a wide variety of what was assumed to be “foreign” costume. The votives’ dress provided scholars with concrete traits to analyze when considering divisions within the “Cypriot style.” In classifying finds, scholars simply equated costume with nationality.

The approach Doell created for his catalogue of Cesnola’s Golgoi collection—also employed by Hitchcock, who borrowed his categories from Doell and Cesnola—has essentially been recycled repeatedly, notably in the Louvre’s 1989 catalogue of Cypriot limestone sculpture and most recently in the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s 2014 catalogue of Cypriot stone

⁸³⁰ Donohue, *Greek Sculpture*, 19.

sculpture, as the categories elaborated in the table of contents reveal (fig. 109). Though there have been shifts in the associated chronology, the basic approach remains the same: sculptures are grouped in categories of “foreign” dress, then assigned to a particular date corresponding to the period when that particular “foreign” influence was assumed to have been dominant. Thus, “Assyrianizing” statues (with long garments, beards, and conical helmets) are assigned to the seventh or early sixth century, “Egyptianizing” statues (often with elaborate headdresses and *shenti*) and “pure” Cypriot statues (with rosette diadem or wearing the so-called Cypriot shorts) to the sixth century, and figures in “Greek” dress to the sixth and fifth centuries. If we look at several prominent—now canonical—examples, we see how this pattern holds.

In addition to emphasizing how little the criteria for classification have changed, I draw attention also to the sequence of illustrations and pairing of certain figures. The juxtaposition of particular statues in nineteenth-century publications recurs frequently in the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s 2014 catalogue.⁸³¹ This recent volume documents two Cypro-Archaic periods—I (750 to 600 BCE) and II (600 to 480 BCE). I single out the treatment of eight statues, all dated to one of these two periods, to demonstrate how nineteenth-century approaches have become engrained. The colossal “Assyrian” head from Golgoi, for example, here dated to Cypro-Archaic I (fig. 110A; see figs. 13, 39, 48, 65), was often the star of nineteenth-century publications,

⁸³¹ Pamela Gaber, “Review of *The Cesnola Collection of Cypriot Art: Stone Sculpture*,” BMCR Online, Accessed 11 April 2018, <http://bmc.brynmawr.edu/2016/2016-02-15.html>, challenges the chronology employed in this publication: “The discussion of the chronology of Cypriot sculpture is...more problematic. It is thorough, and conscientious, but relies almost entirely upon evidence from sites in Greece, with the sole exceptions of Kouklia and Vouni on Cyprus. In fact, the authors state categorically (p. 24) that “to establish a chronology for Cypriot sculpture, the only reliable reference points are those emanating from the discoveries at the Heraion at Samos, Cnidus, Miletus, and for a much smaller number of objects, Chios, old Smyrna and Ephesus.” There are two problems with this approach. First, there are those who have maintained since the 1970s that Greek-influenced traits in Cypriot sculpture appear perhaps twenty years later on Cyprus than their appearance in Greek art. Similarly, there appears little cognizance of long-recognized issues with the stratigraphy of some of these sites. Samos is a case in point.”

beginning with Doell. It even graced the cover of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's 2000 catalogue of the Cesnola Collection, demonstrating its continued primacy (fig. 110B). In the Metropolitan Museum of Art's more recent 2014 catalogue, we see that two other "Assyrian" statues also linked to the colossal head are similarly prominent and have repeatedly been illustrated together. The first is dated to Cypro-Archaic II (fig. 111, left; see figs. 35, 63, 68, 70). A second figure, with similar costume but different posture (and which Hitchcock identified as an "Assyrian Hercules") appears next to the first statue, as it had throughout the nineteenth century, and is dated slightly later (fig. 111, right; see figs. 18, 46, 55, 58, 64, 68). This pair appears together only in Holwerda's survey, but it is consistently illustrated sequentially in other publications, alternating in service as the archetypal "Assyrianizing" Cypriot figure.

A second pairing involves two "Egyptianizing" statues. The first, wearing a *shenti*, is dated to 550-540 BCE (fig. 112, left; see figs. 17, 37, 42, 53, 62, 66). Another figure, also wearing a *shenti* but with a different stance, thinner proportions, and a pointed headdress, is illustrated beside it and dated slightly later (fig. 112, right; see figs. 17, 36, 43, 52, 58, 67). These figures were first paired by Hitchcock, and again appeared together in Cesnola's photobook and in Perrot and Chipiez's volume.⁸³² Both serve as exemplary "Egyptianizing" figures.⁸³³ "Pure" Cypriot figures, such as one wearing the characteristic "Cypriot shorts" that had appeared in Doell's catalogue and Cesnola's photobook, are assigned to the middle or third quarter of the sixth century BCE (fig. 114; see figs. 37 and 49). Finally, those in "Greek" dress are assumed to

⁸³² In Doell's catalogue they are sorted into different categories.

⁸³³ In some cases, a different, albeit familiar, figure is illustrated for this purpose (fig. 113; see figs. 36, 44, 54). This figure's right shoulder was apparently "mended" by Cesnola.

be still later. This “Greek” group includes a statue from the late sixth or early fifth century BCE—the very end of Cypro-Archaic II (see fig. 22).

The continuity in the treatment of these specimens is striking. Even now scholars are inclined to group and frame figures by costume, just as was typical for the earliest era of Cypriot scholarship, especially 1870-90, when clothing style was aligned with periods of supposed external domination. This habit persists, along with the pairing of certain figures. This trend is significant because the habitual pairings serve to underline affinity where one might equally register difference. For instance, though the “Assyrianizing” pair does share certain features, especially in garment style and headdress, there are important differences in the beards, posture, and rendering of musculature (see fig. 111). Perhaps the clearer articulation of the second figure has earned him his later date. Still, though these statues appear to have been fashioned by different hands, we cannot know which was produced first, or whether one of them served as the model or prototype for later examples. The second pair offers an even more interesting case (see fig. 112). Both figures wear a type of *shenti*, but this is their only shared feature; they diverge in all other ways. Indeed, Doell placed them in different categories: he judged the figure on the left an example of the “Cypriot” type, along with those in “Cypriot shorts,” but assigned the second to the “Egyptian” statues (see figs. 36 and 37). Cesnola’s 1877 publication featured another possibility, illustrating one of this pair yet again, but next to a quite distinct figure, presumably to emphasize a correspondence in headdress rather than garment (see fig. 53).⁸³⁴

⁸³⁴ Here, the new figure next to the more canonical “Egyptianizing” one holds two branches. Tracing the publication of this figure to Doell’s catalogue, we see that he had also grouped these two, declaring both as belonging to the “Egyptian” style (see fig. 37). Cesnola was apparently challenged in classifying these branch-bearing figures; a similar example illustrated in his photobook appears under “dedicatory statues of kings or priests” rather than assigned a certain national tradition (see fig. 47). Doell, meanwhile, had illustrated both branch-bearing figures in his “Egyptian” plate (see fig. 37).

My efforts to trace the directions and major trends in scholarship on ancient Cypriot sculpture ultimately identify vulnerabilities in the positivist, teleological narratives of the rise of culture so commonly employed by the nineteenth-century authors, and deployed today in universal museums that seek to impose an outdated sense of order or rank on the world's cultures and their iterations through time. Within such narratives, there are invariably victims, cultures that suffered neglect and abuse from scholars seeking to distance early, "primitive" works from later "masterworks" and achievements. Although acknowledged as important in tracing the "origins" of Greek masterworks, Cypriot sculpture was in many cases disparaged as "crude," "rude," and "childlike." This type of vocabulary stands in sharp contrast to the words employed in describing Greek models, which were instead "majestic," "graceful," and "distinguished."⁸³⁵ The types of adjectives that become attached to sculptures or styles have a real impact on the reception of these works, and can determine whether they are welcomed into or rejected from the canon of ancient art. Yet shifts in the canon can and do occur, and it is surely time that they do in the field of Cypriot archaeology, which has too long allowed the discoveries and scholarship of the nineteenth-century to govern which objects receive attention or serve as examples of the rich variety present in Cypriot sanctuaries.

Returning to the case of Nikandre (see fig. 71), which was similarly viewed as exhibiting a transitional or "mixed" "style" between two regions and two periods, it is useful to consider Donohue's remarks on how Nikandre's role in the canon has shifted: "Nikandre's dedication, so long a prominent landmark on the road to normative Greekness, stands today in a much different

⁸³⁵ In E. Gardner, *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture* (1897), those terms all appear in relation to Greek sculpture, along with the following: clear, definite, delicate, ideal, perfect, harmony, absolute freedom, correct, powerful, beauty, pleasantness, vigorous, severe excellence, realistic, marvelous translation, wonderfully soft and flowing.

situation, her style now seems by many to represent not Greek conceptions, but Near Eastern, and not a beginning, but an end.”⁸³⁶ Nikandre remains canonical, but for a new reason—she is “pre-Daedalic,” and has thus become more “Oriental” over time. Some scholars might happily accept Nikandre’s newer, more central role in the history of ancient art, but others are rightly skeptical. Though scholars have indeed found new vocabularies and terms with which to discuss traditions or “styles” such as that exhibited by Nikandre, in many ways, these perspectives are still shaped by nineteenth-century logic, especially as concerns stylistic or aesthetic “progress.”⁸³⁷ Scholars who label Nikandre as “pre-Daedalic” rather than “pre-Greek” fall prey to simply promoting her role in yet another linear narrative of the development of Mediterranean art, rather than resisting teleological models altogether.

Moving forward, scholars should embrace the Cypriot votive sculptural tradition as an instructive example of how artists, patrons, and the elite ruling class negotiated the complex political and social realities of empire, rule, and cultural exchange in the ancient eastern Mediterranean and expanding Neo-Assyrian Empire more broadly, and with north Syria and southern Anatolia more specifically. Cypriot examples from securely excavated contexts could aid scholars of neighboring cultural spheres in further defining theoretical models and illustrating examples of “reception,” “assimilation,” “subordination,” and perhaps “transformation,” in works

⁸³⁶ Donohue, *Greek Sculpture*, 100-01.

⁸³⁷ Sarah P. Morris, *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 255–56: “The modern convention [of the ‘Daedalic tradition’] recapitulates the ancient rejection of an Oriental role by substituting the name of a Greek craftsman to account for the most profoundly Oriental of Greek styles. More than an expression of stylistic traits, ‘Daedalic’ perpetuates intellectual assumptions about the superiority of Greek art in comparison to its Eastern sources.”

of art stemming from regions with fluctuating political circumstances that are critical to systems of trade, rule, and cross-cultural interaction.⁸³⁸

⁸³⁸ See Lavan, Payne, and Weisweiler, “Cosmopolitan Politics: The Assimilation and Subordination of Elite Cultures.”

Figures

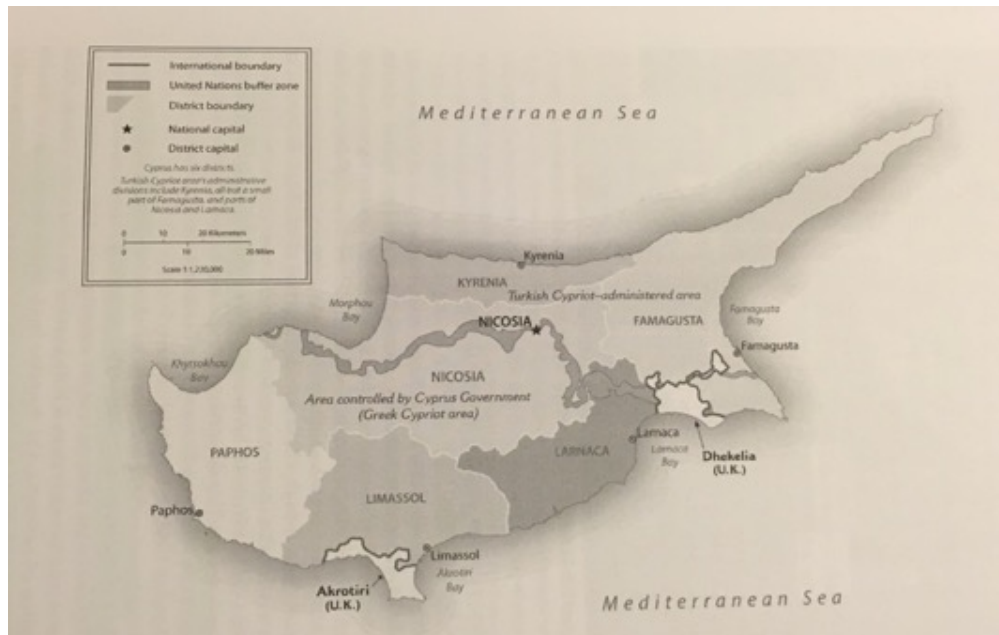


Figure 1. Modern Map of Cyprus showing Political Division.



Figure 2. Map of Cyprus showing Major Ancient Sites.



Figure 3. Amazon Sarcophagus, mid-4th century BCE; found at Soli. Marble; 2.65 x 1.05 x 0.91 m. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Inv. No. I 169.



Figure 4. Views of an Egyptian and a Cypriot Figure, Anne Claude Philippe de Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiquités, Tome VI*, 1764.



Figure 5. Limestone Statuette from Idalion, Ludwig Ross, *Reisen nach Kos, Halikarnassos, Rhodos und der Insel Zypern*, 1852.



Figure 6. Sargon Stele, 707 BCE; found at Kition. Basalt; 2.09 x .68 x .32 m. Vorderasiatisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Inv. No. VA 968.



Figure 7. Ross Torso, second half of the 6th century BCE; found at Idalion. Limestone; .72 x .44 m. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Inv. No. Ant. SK 508.



Figure 8. Amathus Vase, 6th century BCE; found at Amathus. Limestone. H. 1.9; D. 3.2 m. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Inv. No. AO 22897.



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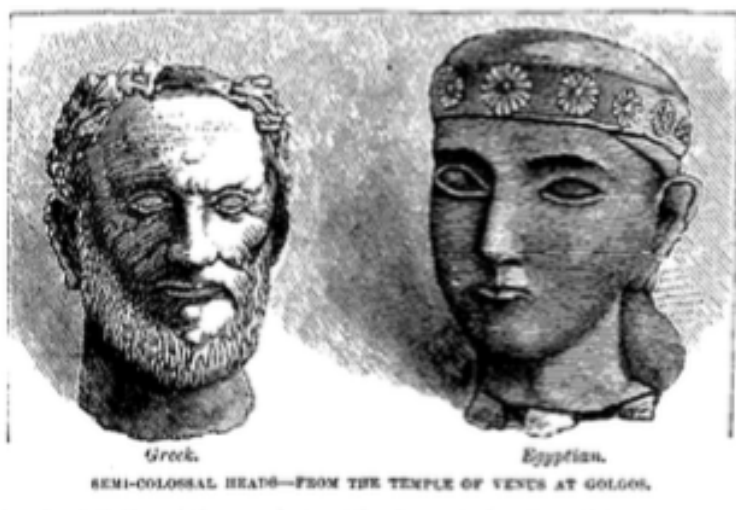


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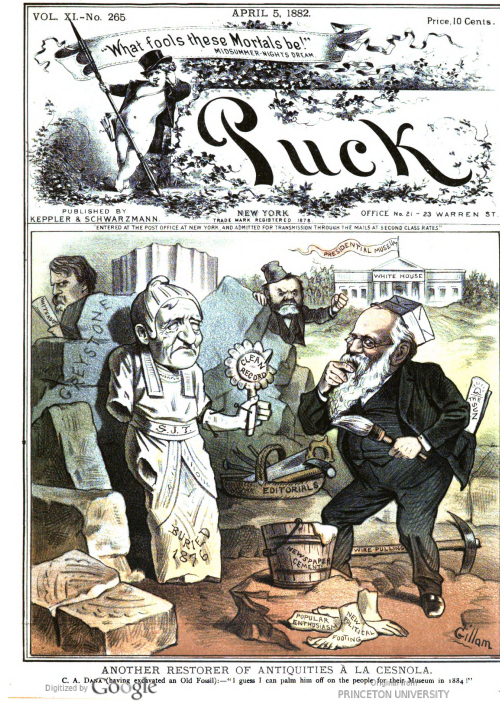


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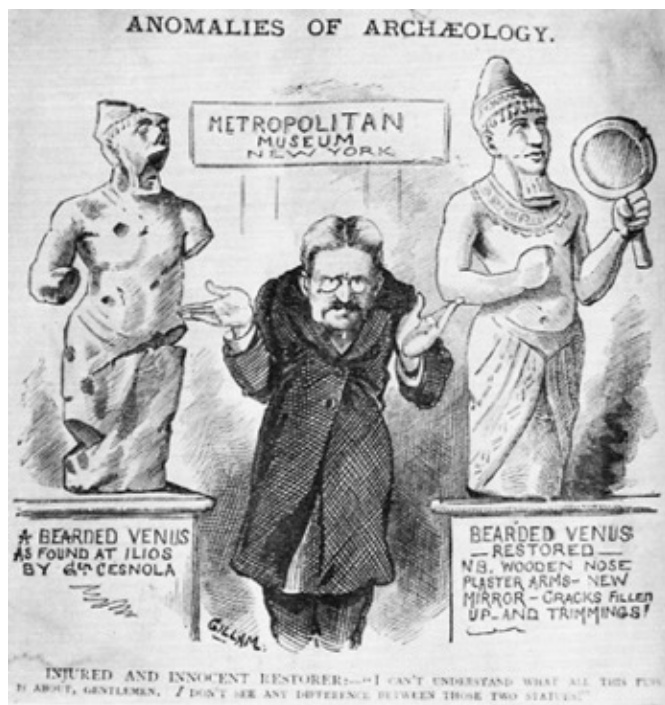


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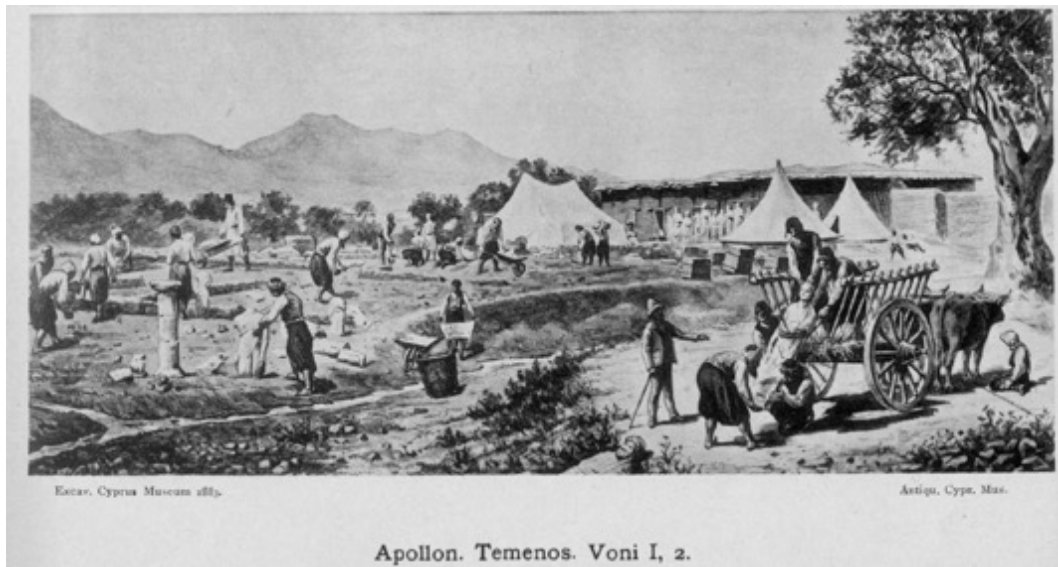


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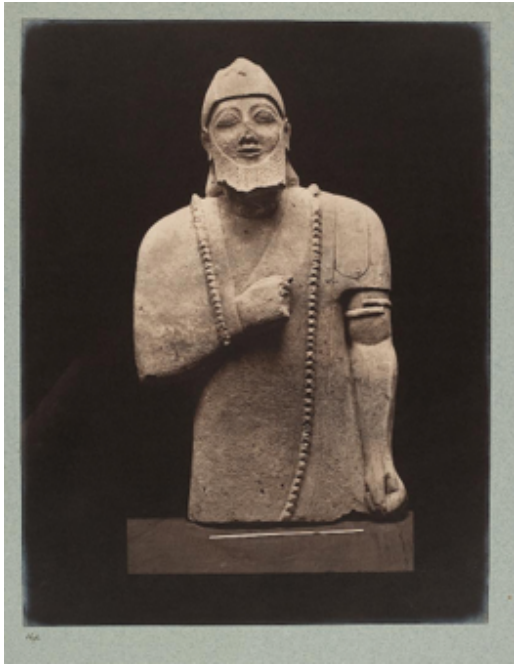


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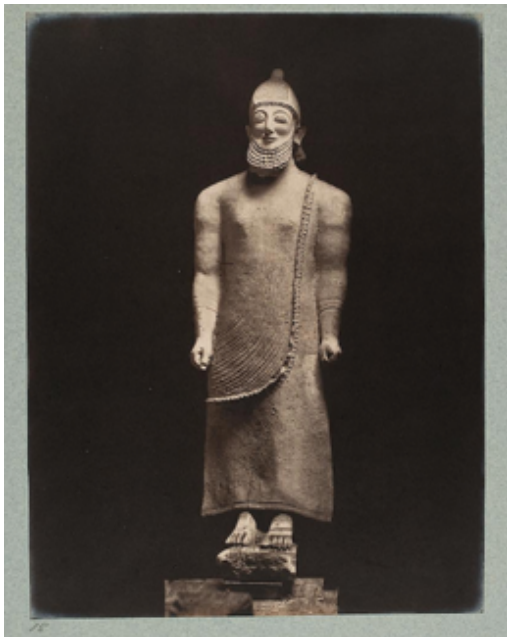


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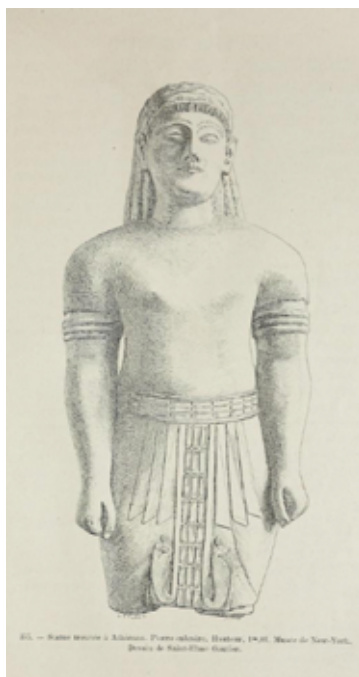


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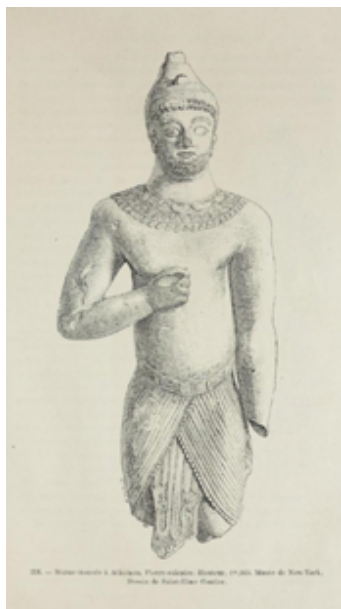


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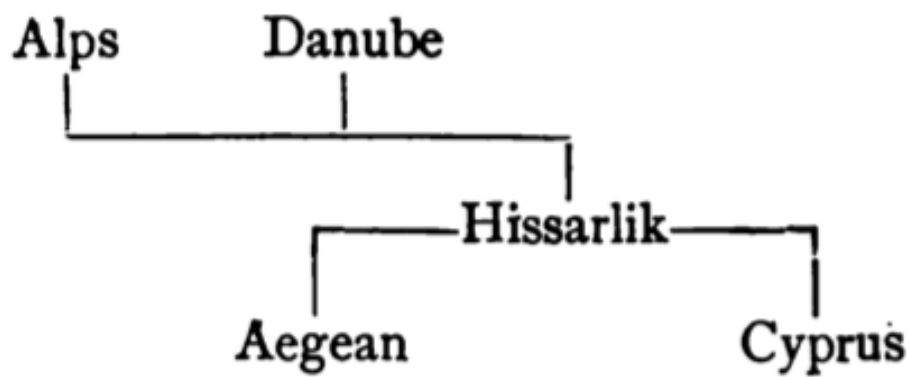


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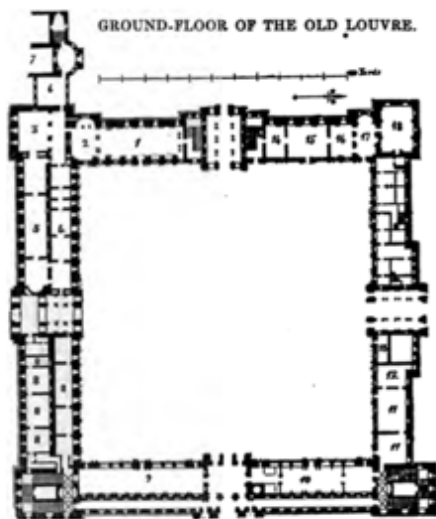


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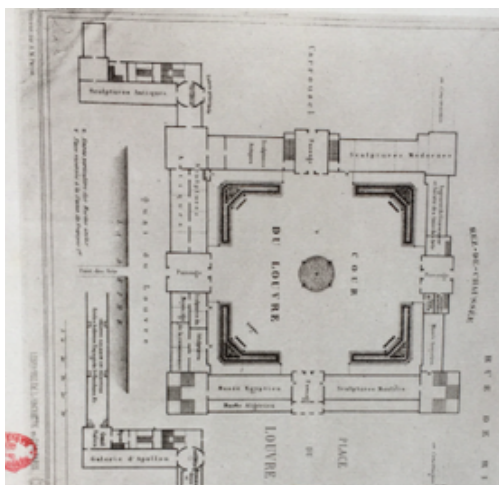
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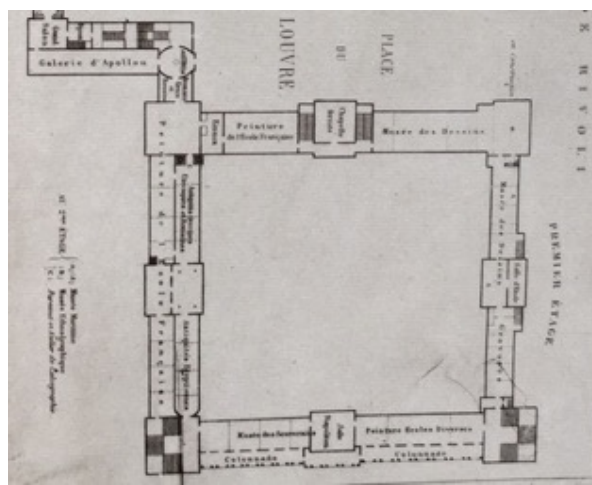
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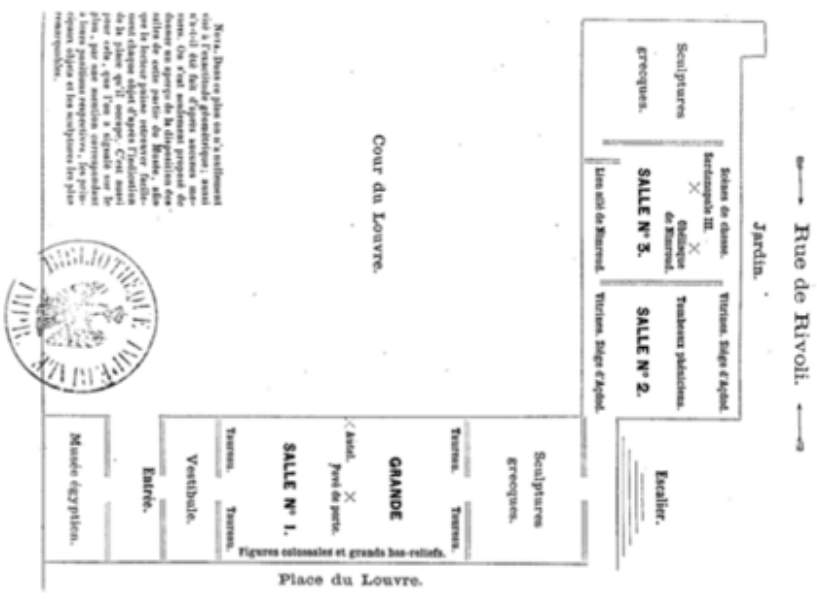


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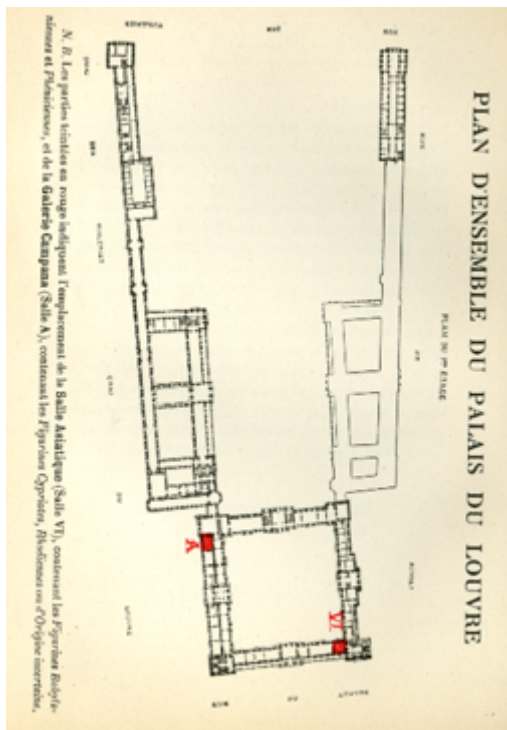


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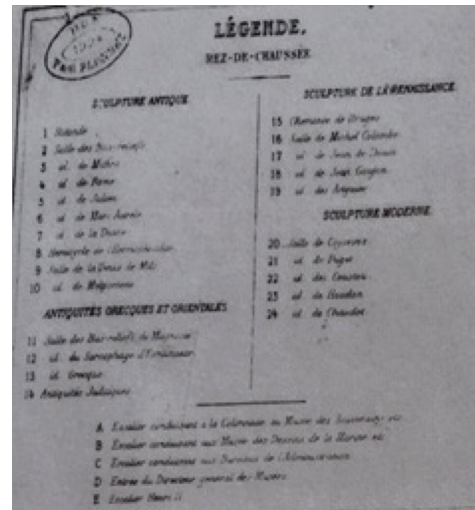
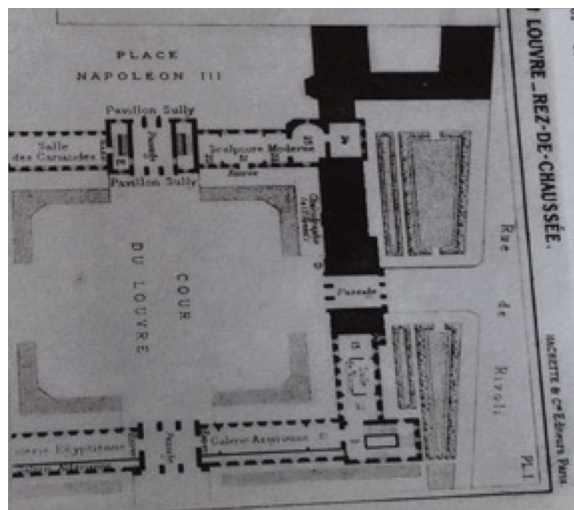


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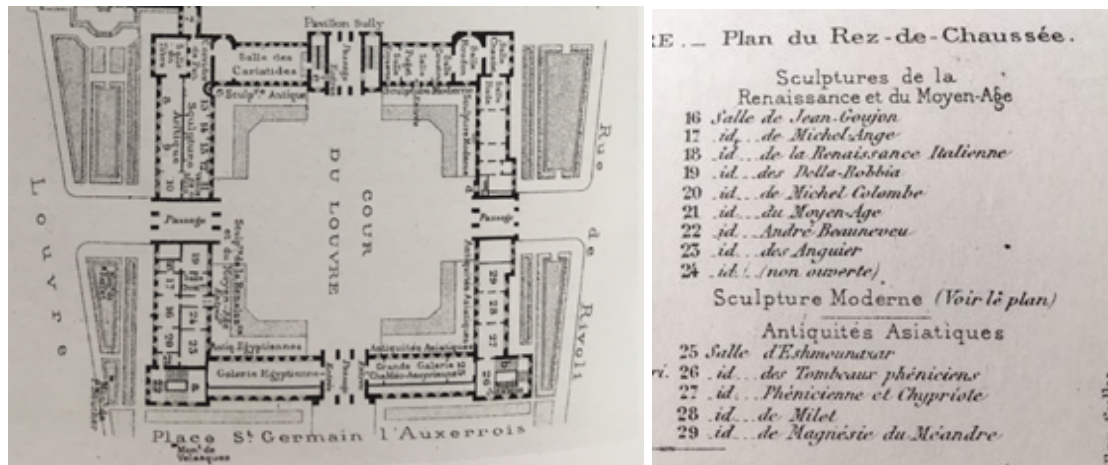


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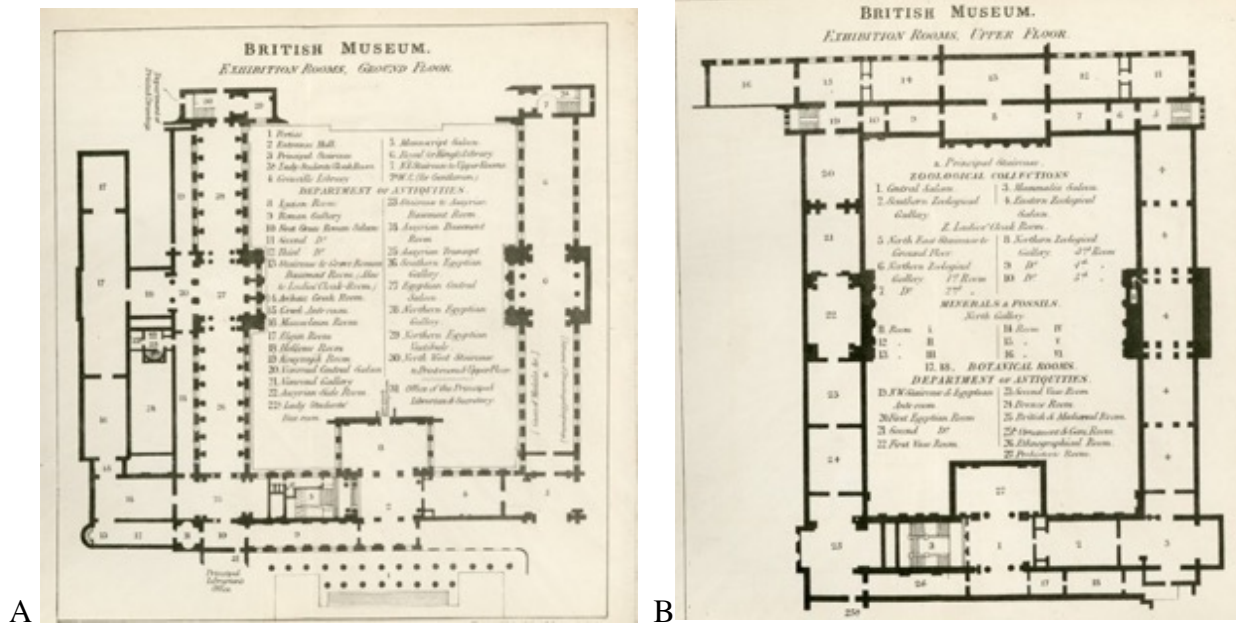


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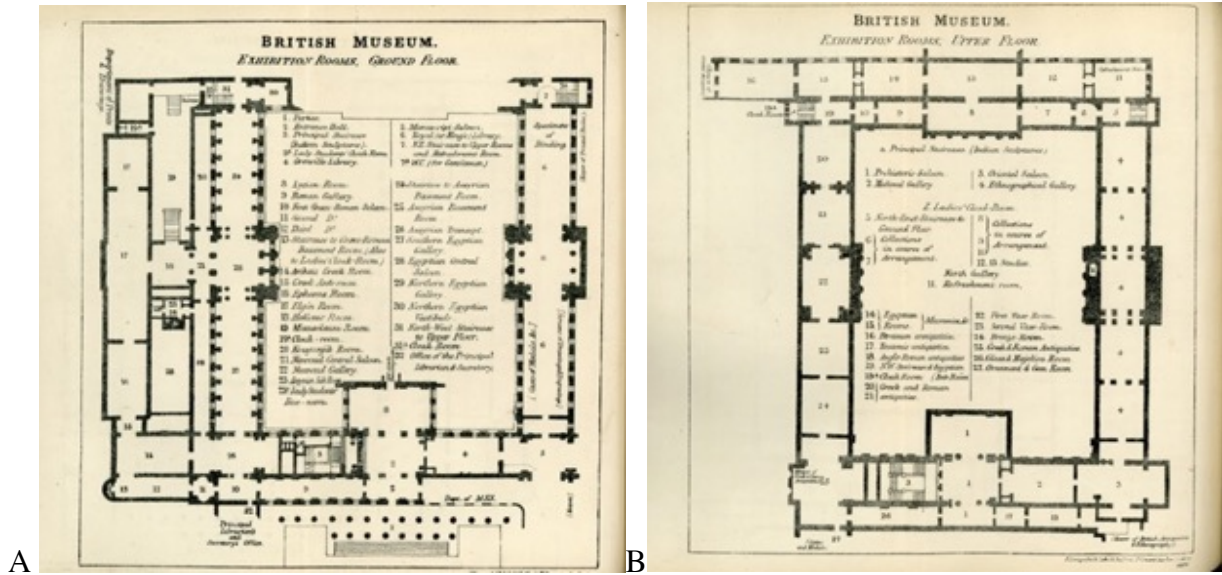


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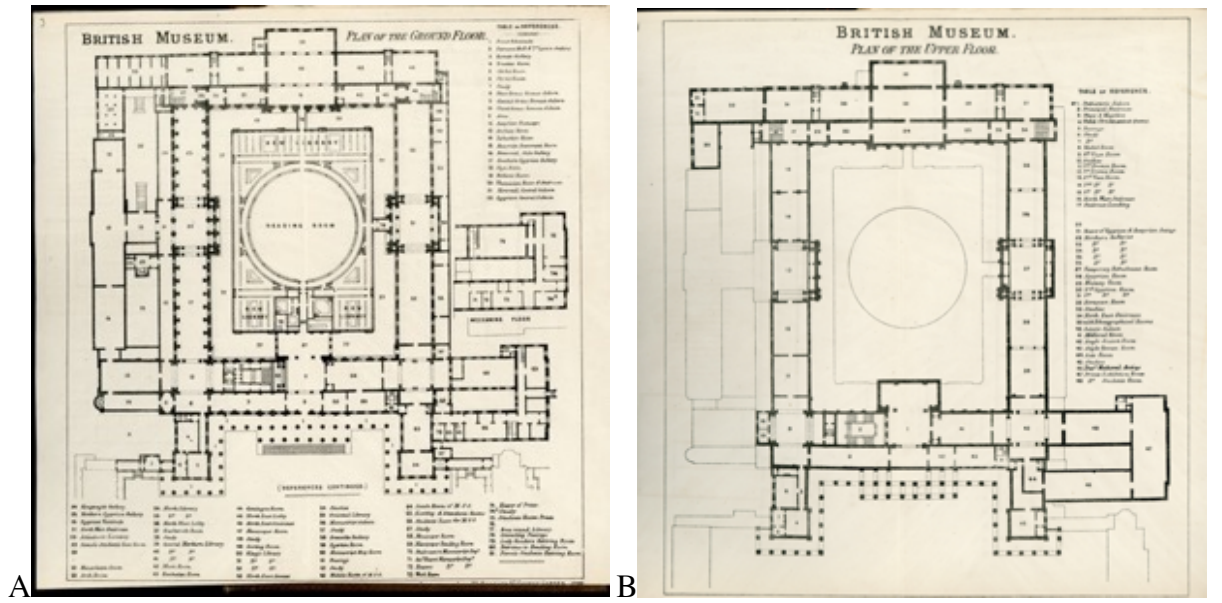


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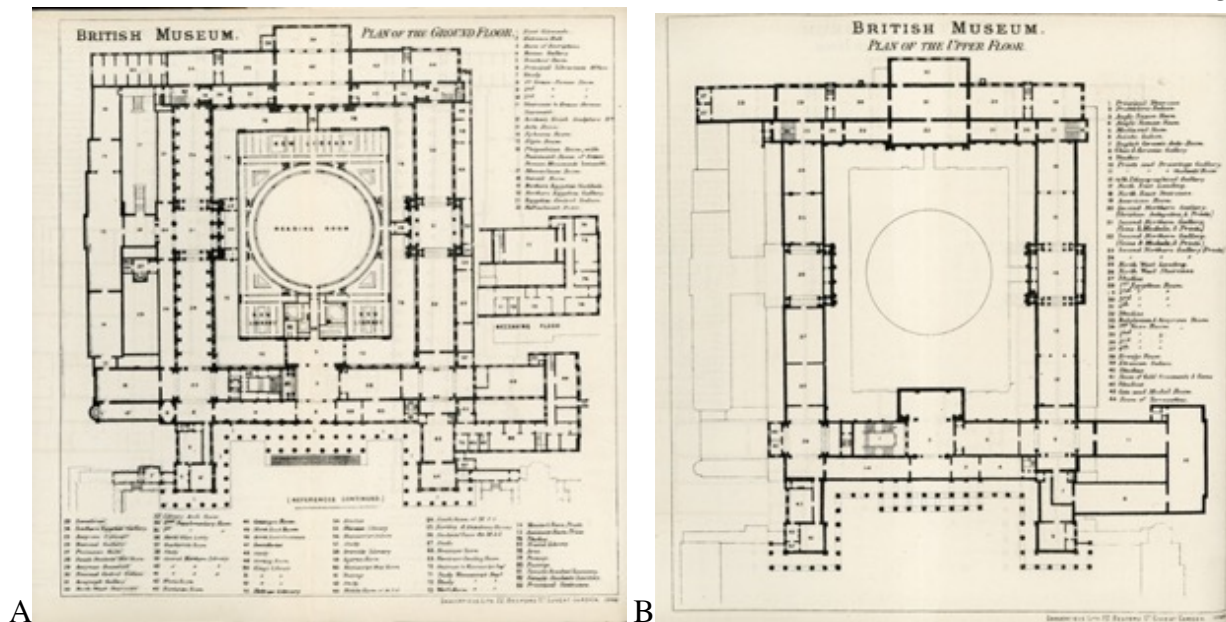


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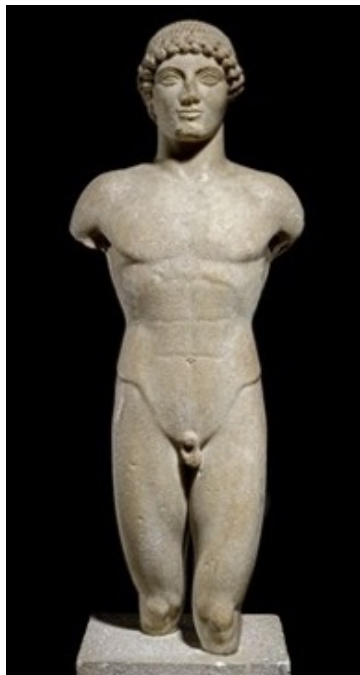


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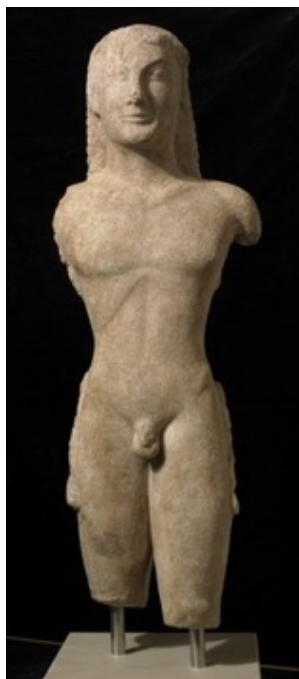


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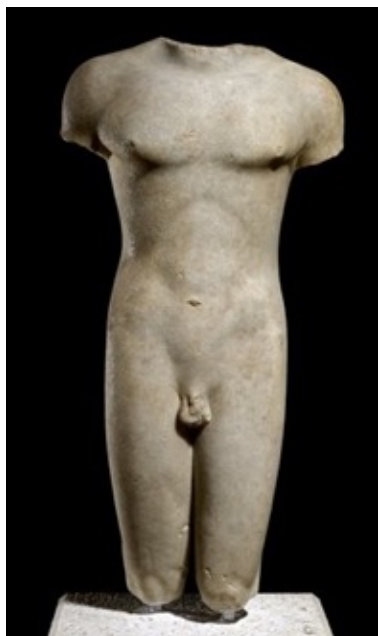


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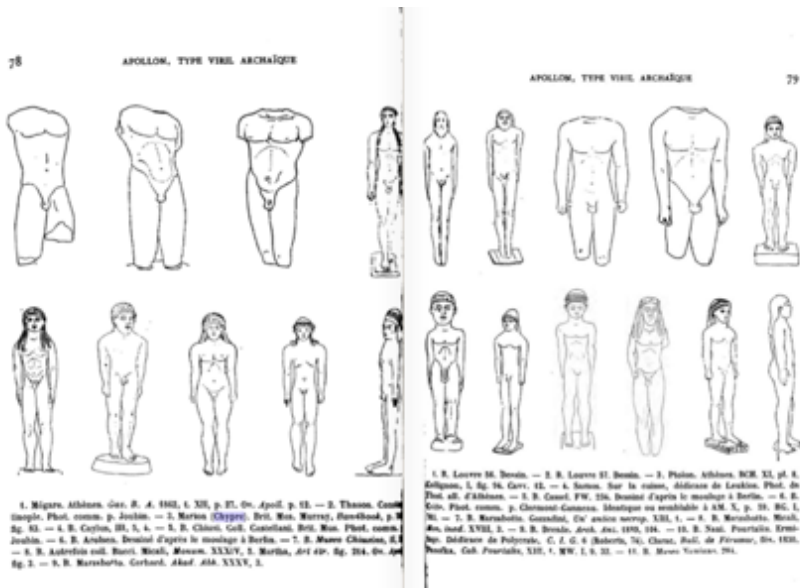


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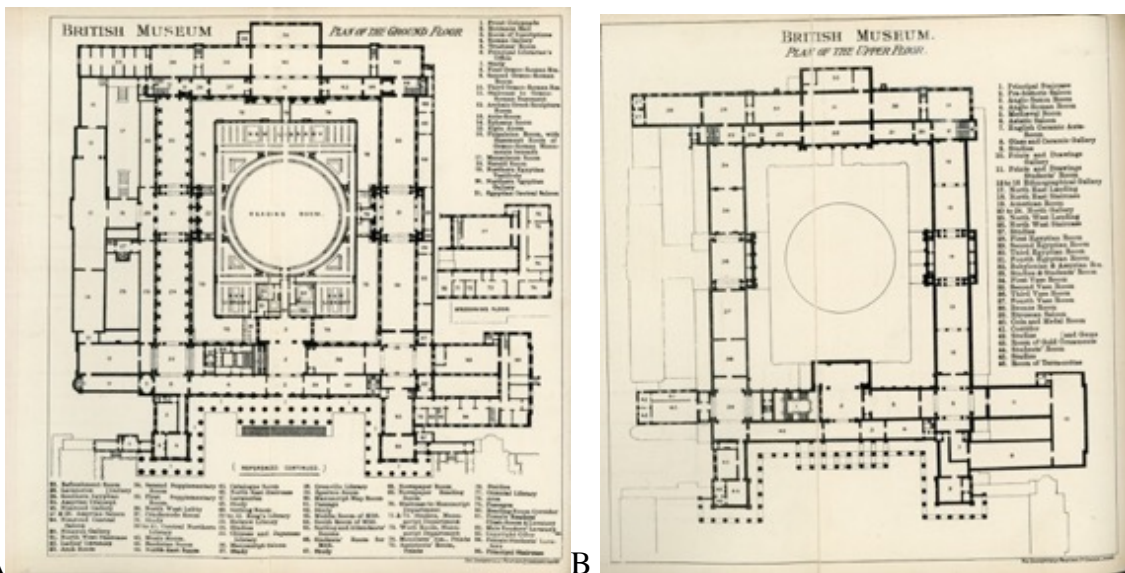


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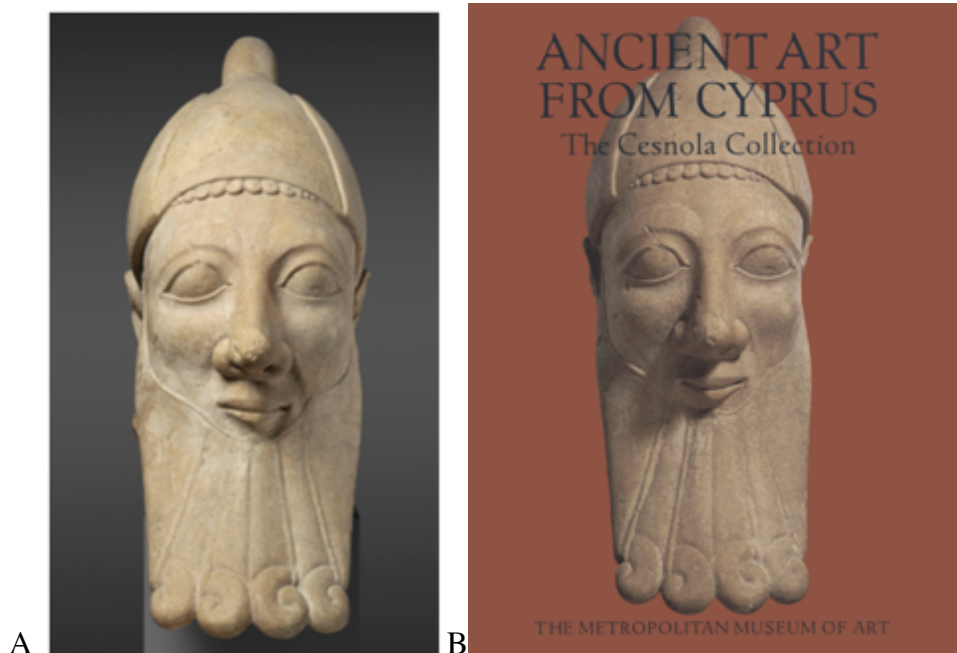


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