The Diaspora of Cypriot Antiquities and the British Museum (1860-1900)

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Abstract

This thesis examines the invention of Cyprus' ancient history through the diaspora of Cypriot antiquities in the latter half of nineteenth century and the role of the modern museum in it (1860-1900). It maps the movement of the objects from their excavation sites, to their circulation in metropolitan museums and, finally to their display in museum galleries. In doing so this thesis explores the emergence of archaeology as a field-based discipline in the broader colonial, imperial and geopolitical context. The research of this project was conducted mainly at the Cyprus State Archives, the Greek and Roman Departmental Archives (British Museum), Dartmouth College Archives (NH).

The first part of the thesis provides the theoretical framework in which this research is situated. Chapter 1 introduces the project, its research questions, its research questions and outcomes. Chapter 2 discusses the literature providing the main concepts that formed the arguments of this thesis. Chapter 3 contextualizes the diaspora of Cypriot antiquities within the broader history of archaeology and Chapter 4 overviews the methodology followed and the archival sources that were used for this project. The second part consists of my empirical work and maps the diaspora of the antiquities. It is thematically divided in three chapters. Chapter 5, Law, looks at the colonial and legal context of the excavation and exportation of the objects. Chapter 6, Excavation, discusses the every-day conduct of Cypriot archaeology in the field. Chapter 7, Circulation, examines the practices of collecting Cypriot antiquities, their exportation and circulation in metropolitan museums, and their display in museums (particularly in the British Museum). Chapter 8 brings the thesis into a conclusion and highlights the main findings and arguments of this project.

The thesis explores the production, circulation and display of scientific knowledge regarding the ancient past of Cyprus by following the antiquities in their various forms (texts, impressions, photographs, objects). By following the objects' social lives it addresses the issues of the circulation of scientific knowledge, of the criteria for asserting its authenticity and credibility and of the local/global nature of

archaeological science. It will demonstrate that the methodological tenor of writing the objects' biographies links the different scales of science's making and illuminates its hidden stories, such as the practicalities of collecting in the field.

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PART I

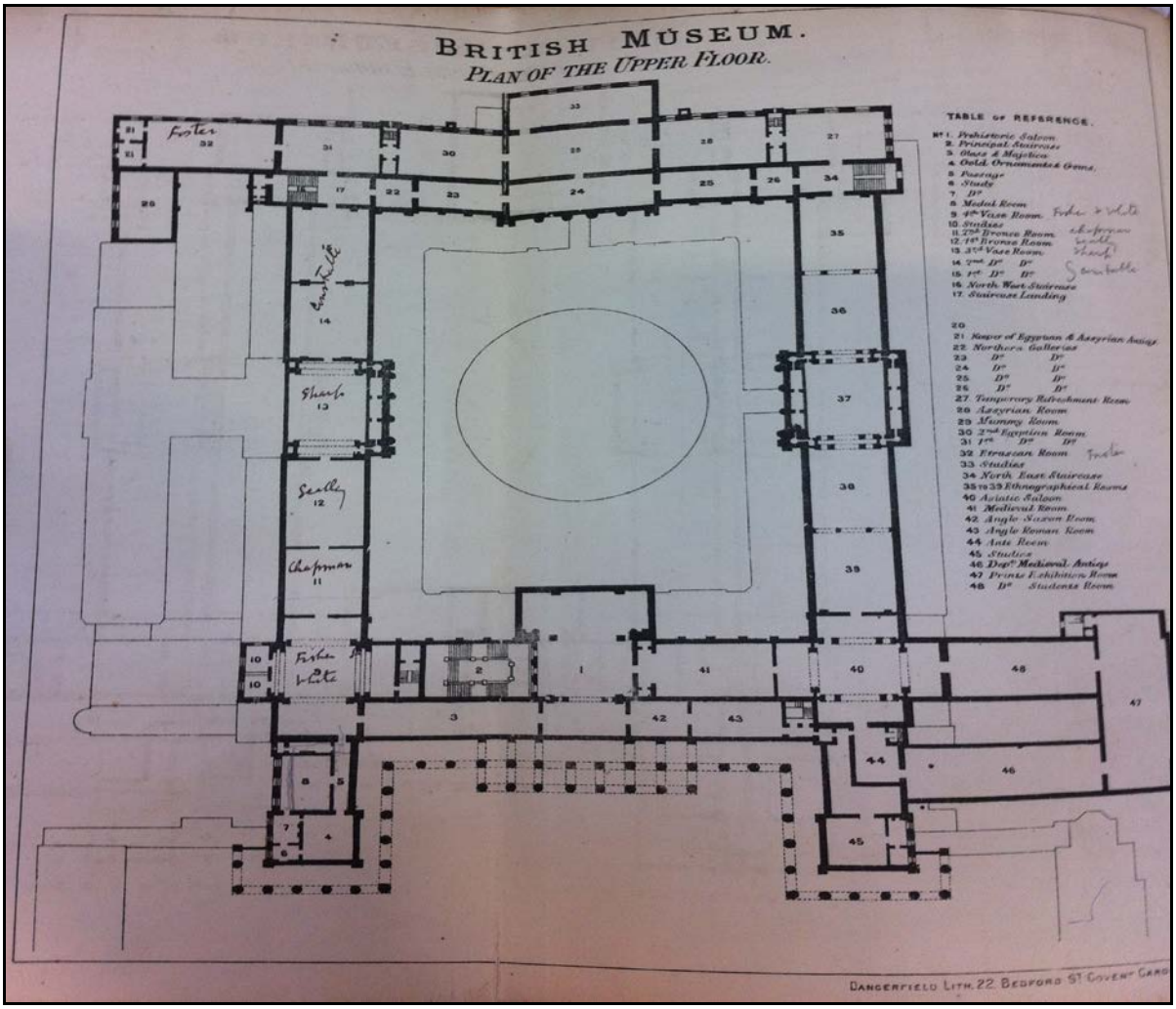
Concepts, Contexts and Methods

Chapter 1 The diaspora of Cypriot antiquities, 1860-1900: histories, theories, research questions and outcomes

Figure 1.1 Map of the Eastern Mediterranean, 1894 Guide Book to the Galleries of the British Museum, Copyright Trustees of the British Museum.

The map in fig.1.1. acted as a prologue to the Department of Antiquities' section in the 1894 guide book to the British Museum. It was an attempt of nineteenth-century archaeological cartography to depict the geographical boundaries of the Classical World's "four great nations, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Greeks and the Romans" (Newton 1880, 41). Sir Charles T. Newton, the formidable Keeper of the Greek and Roman Department of the British Museum (1862-1885) (see subsection 6.2.2, page 157), ascertained that these "four great nations" provided the organizational categories for the classification of the various ancient civilizations' material remains. Although the island of Cyprus, as shown in the

above map, was located within the ancient civilizations of the Eastern Mediterranean, its historical status in relation with the “great nations” was not clear. Likewise, the material representation of the island’s history through its discovered antiquities in museum displays remained blurred; for instance, in the British Museum, Cypriot antiquities were scattered in the Upper Floor Galleries without being assigned to a particular “great nation” or having their own display room (see fig. 1.2 and 1.3). To complicate further the blurred “imaginative geographies” of Cyprus, according to the nineteenth-century strategic cartography the island was defined as the Near and Middle East (Holland and Markides, 2006).



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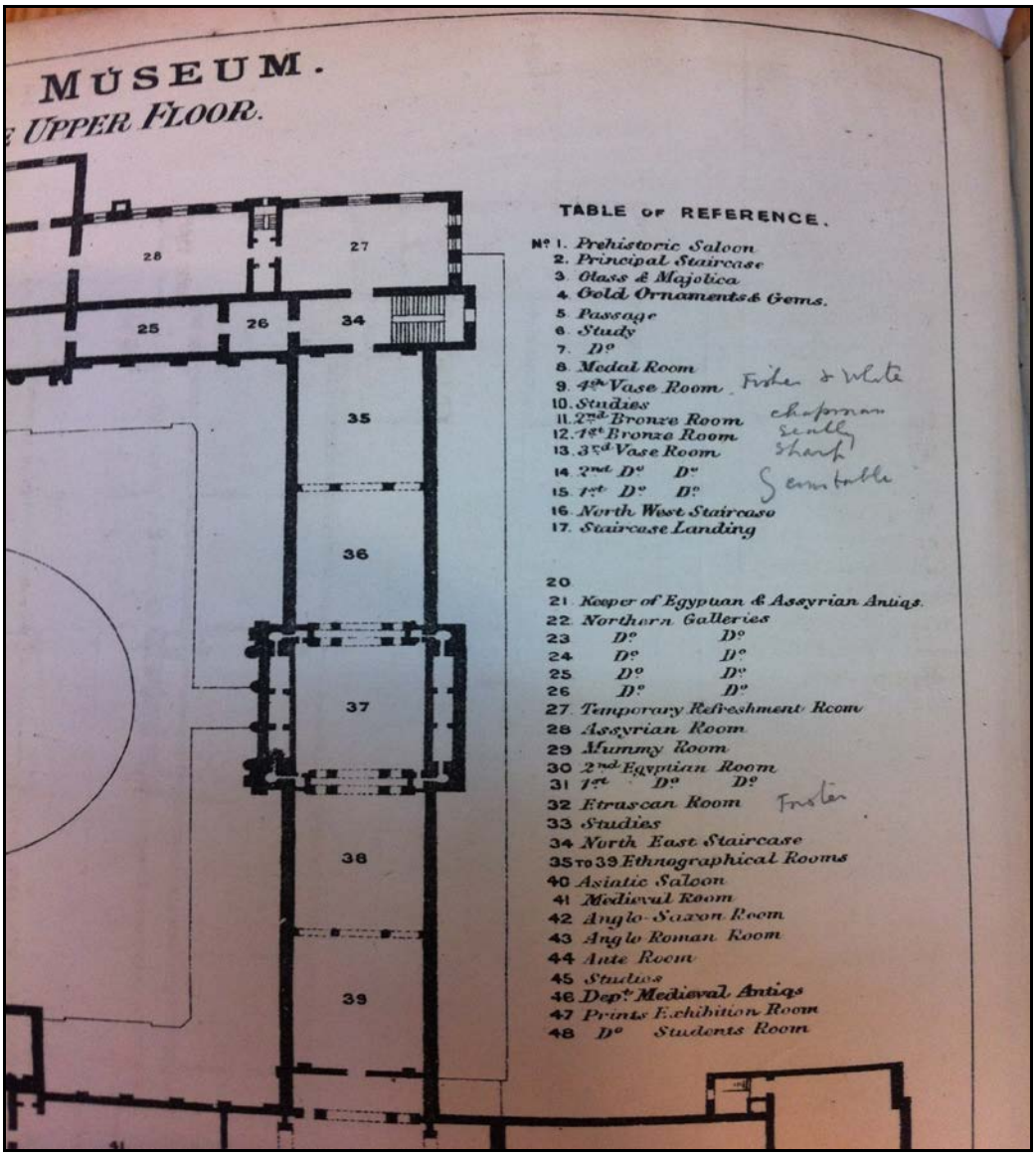

Figure 1.3 Table of Reference to the Upper Floor plan (fig. 1.2), 1886 Guide Book to the Galleries of the British Museum, Reproduced with permission of the Trustees of the British Museum[1]

The island's ambiguous positioning on the archaeological map and in the museum galleries prompts (and introduces) the main question of the thesis. The main question is how the ancient history of Cyprus was invented in the latter half of nineteenth century by the diaspora of the island's antiquities and what was the role of the modern museum in it? By focusing on the collection of Cypriot antiquities - their "excavation", their "movement" from the island and their "display" in metropolitan museums - this project seeks to decipher the ways in which

[1] Antiquities associated with the Greek world were displayed in the Vase Rooms.

archaeological knowledge about Cyprus was produced, circulated and represented. Through the examination of Cypriot antiquities' movement and appropriation this thesis explores the rise of archaeology as a modern academic and field-based discipline in the context of the wider imperial, colonial and geopolitical developments.

Having set the key aim of the research, the remainder of this chapter introduces the research project: it provides a brief historical summary of the antiquities' diaspora; it outlines the research questions posed for addressing the manifold main question; it presents the structure of the thesis and it overviews the main arguments of the research and the project's contribution to the related body of literature.

1.1 Introducing the diaspora of Cypriot antiquities

Cyprus is a mountainous island which according to the description of nineteenth-century cartography was located 44 miles south of the nearest point of Asia Minor and 69 miles west of the Syrian coast with an area of 3.584 square miles (third largest island of the Mediterranean) (Biddulph, 1889; Myres, 1914). During most of the nineteenth century Cyprus was under the direct rule of the Ottoman Empire[2]. In 1878 the colonial regime altered as the island was ceded to the British Empire. The local population of Cyprus by the second half of the nineteenth century was 80 per cent Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians, a little under 20 per cent Turkish-speaking Muslims and other minorities such as Latins, Maronites, and Semites (Holland and Markides, 2006; Severis, 1999). To the habitants of Cyprus one should add the foreign consuls and officers dwelling on the island.

The island of Cyprus was still hardly visited despite the extensive European mobility in the region due to the Grand Tour (Edbury, 2001). The Grand Tour was consisted of educational travels in Italy, Greece and the Mediterranean region. These educational travels were embedded within a wider imperial narrative by which elite Europeans imagined themselves as the modern and progressive

[2] The island became an Ottoman colony in 1571.

successors of the perceived great ancient Greek and Roman Empires (Della Dora, 2010). During the first half of the nineteenth century the phenomenon of the Grand Tour became widespread owing to steamships and railways which enabled a wider social group to travel (Gascoigne, 1998). Cyprus was not part of the Grand Tour as it was considered to be peripheral in the archaeological narratives of the day. The island was not perceived as belonging either to the ancient Greek civilization or to the Near Eastern civilization making it, thus, of minimal importance in antiquarian pursuits. In this context, only a few French travelers visited Cyprus as a stop on their way to their diplomatic missions in the Levant (Serghidou, 2001). The French travelers carried out the first extensive archaeological explorations on the island and their discoveries in the early 1860s demonstrated to European archaeology the possibility of Cyprus having valuable antiquities. Following the excavations conducted by the French travellers, extensive archaeological diggings were carried out on the island.

Excavations on the island were influenced by of the changing narratives of science, imperialism and antiquarian interests. For instance, the archaeological “discovery” of Cyprus by State-sponsored French explorers demonstrates the influence of European imperial aspirations in the collection of objects and the formation of knowledge. Imperial claims over a common Classical ancestral past were used in the geopolitical rhetoric of the legitimization of colonial expansion in the region (Bayly, 2004); evidenced by the European political and military involvement in the form of paternalistic missions in the Greek revolution and in Egypt (Della Dora, 2007a and 2007b; Heffernan, 1994). Archaeological explorations constructed Eurocentric histories of geographical territories that exceeded the physical limits of the European continent and reached the, then, provinces of the Ottoman Empire (Della Dora, 2007b). The provinces of the Ottoman Empire, as Cyprus was in this period, were depicted as the uncivilized “other” from which the antiquities had to be rescued (Challis, 2008; Hogarth, 1896).

It is proper then to talk of “cultures of exploration” (Driver 2004, 75) whose boundaries between adventure (sensational) and science (analytical) were blurred. In the period 1860-1900 the “cultures of exploration” of Cypriot archaeology

depicted precisely these blurred lines. In the 1860s and the 1870s large-scale archaeological excavations were carried out partly due to commercial interests and partly due to the antiquarian interests of the foreign consuls residing on the island. In the late 1880s and 1890s, due to limitations imposed by the British colonial government, large-scale excavations were carried out mostly by archaeologists interested in illuminating the ancient history of the island and funded through collaborations between universities and museums. The literature produced throughout this period projected the archaeologists and consuls as heroic figures that survived the local conditions of extreme heat and managed the uncivilized indigenous population (Hogarth et al, 1888; Lang, 1878). Stuart Poole[3] ascertains that the scientific value of one of the consul's collections lay in the fact that it was gathered "with the utmost care under the eye of the discoverer who was not deterred by the extreme heat of the summer" (Lang and Poole, 1878, 54). Importantly, in this case both amateur and professional archaeologists lacked governmental support and the pursuit of Cypriot archaeology was an individual project, which at some points was under the patronage of polite societies such as the Dilettanti Club (Hogarth, 1896).

The various "cultures of exploration" in Cyprus were simultaneously based and distinguished by the mode of practising the main functions of archaeology. The three functions of archaeology were identified as the collection, classification and interpretation of the material culture, which provided evidence of human history that was not already incorporated in the ancient literature (Newton, 1880). These scientific functions of archaeology - similar to other field sciences - can be described as scientific expeditions in the field, *in situ* documentation of the findings and classification and display in museum galleries (Kohler, 2007). The credibility of the archaeological knowledge produced from these functions relied on the method of recording the discovery of the antiquities through the use of literary means (narrative) and visual graphics (sketches and maps) in a manner that would render the findings as placeless and universal (Evans, 2007). After their recording *in situ* the antiquities were collected and circulated in museums (either via donations or purchases) for display. Having provided an account of the archaeological "cultures

[3] Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum (1870-1893).

of exploration" in Cyprus the next section sets the research questions that facilitate the examination of the multifarious conditions under which the objects were discovered, interpreted, collected and displayed.

1.2 Research Questions

In the previous section it has been stated that the key aim of this research project is to examine how the ancient history of Cyprus was invented through the diaspora of Cypriot antiquities. By setting this question and following the antiquities' life-paths, this project primarily explores modern archaeology's main functions - collection, classification and interpretation of antiquities - as they were established in the latter half of nineteenth century (Hogarth, 1896; Newton, 1880) and the ways in which they produced scientific (and credible) knowledge about the island's past. This examination explores the nature (and means) towards the "legitimacy" of the nascent archaeological discipline. Three thematic and interrelated sets of questions have been posed in order to assist this examination.

1. How did the socio-political context and locality of Cyprus affect the excavation and exportation of antiquities?

Following the literature on histories and geographies of science (e.g. Livingstone and Withers, 2011; see section 2.1), the discipline of archaeology is considered in this thesis as a situated and social practice. This premise leads to the critical question of how the particular space in which archaeology was practiced affected and facilitated the every-day conduct of science's making, namely the production and circulation of knowledge. In other words, this question attends to the "biographies of place" (Naylor 2005, 11) in which Cypriot archaeology was practiced. The exploration of the island's "biographies of place" is concerned with the imperial and colonial context of the objects' diaspora and it is informed by a postcolonial perspective (see section 2.3).

2. How did Victorian cultures of collecting regulate the acquisition of Cypriot antiquities?

Collecting has been recognized as a practice of valuation and preservation part of broader social, political and economic practices (e.g. Clifford, 1988; see section 2.2). Following this concept, it is necessary to move beyond the monolithic view of the collection of Cypriot antiquities as merely being a colonial act of looting and sale. For this reason, the second research question is set in order to examine the contemporary values according to which modern archaeology interpreted, valued and thus collected Cypriot antiquities. In other words, it is a question of how Cypriot antiquities attained meaning and when? This question is examined by looking at the intersection of people and objects and the ways it affected the movement of the objects from the field to the museum.

3. How were Cypriot antiquities interpreted and displayed by modern museums?

The final function of archaeology was the display of antiquities in museums. Museums in the nineteenth century were predominant sites for the production of what was considered to be credible knowledge (Alberti, 2011). The spatial arrangement of the museum displays presented an “empire in microcosm” (Naylor and Hill 2011, 72; see section 2.2) based on the evolutionary theories developing in Europe from the middle decades of nineteenth century. In this context, the objects were thought of as sources of knowledge regarding the progress of human history, demonstrated by the linear and comparative mode of the exhibitions’ arrangement. Following this literature, the third research question addresses the issue of the material representation of Cyprus in museum exhibitions. It asks how Cypriot antiquities were interpreted and classified by museum curators, and in what manner the objects were incorporated in existing exhibitions for demonstrating the island as an historical entity in relation with the “empire in microcosm”.

The methodological tenor of this research’s main aim and questions is that it focuses on the Cypriot antiquities themselves (see subsection 2.2.1). The object-focused research offers a holistic view on the interpretation and “utilization” of the antiquities as it follows the objects through the different stages of their diaspora: their excavation, circulation and display. Following Newton’s (1880, 41) definition, the term “antiquities” is used in this thesis to connote all the different types of the

Cypriot ancient relics that were excavated and exported to museums; for instance, pottery, glassware, terracottas, statuettes, life-size statues, jewellery, coins, metals etc.

Crucially, the issue of representativeness comes up here (Ogborn, 2008). It is a question of how to connect the individual stories of different collections of Cypriot antiquities and collectors with the general themes of excavation, circulation and display. This issue is addressed by following Ogborn's (2008, 12) assertion that there is some truth in the idea of everyone being "typical and exceptional". Certain criteria were set for the selection of the "typical and exceptional" examples. First, as has been noted, the research is focused on the period from 1860 to 1900 for it was the peak stage of the excavation and circulation of Cypriot antiquities in Europe and North America in the nineteenth century. Large-scale excavations were conducted and thousands of objects were exported and the first large displays of Cypriot antiquities in museums emerged.

Second, archaeological excavations were carried out by individual collectors and by universities and museums, either concurrently or in different decades. Third, this project focuses on the Anglophone expeditions - although the island was also excavated by the French and the Germans[4] and objects were displayed in museums in France and Germany. The British Museum, in particular, has one of the largest collections of Cypriot antiquities outside the island, mostly assembled in the latter half of nineteenth century (Tatton-Brown, 1987). Fourthly, the examples of institutions and individuals should present well-rounded stories of the diaspora of the antiquities and provide insights in the different types of exploration in Cyprus. For those reasons the following representative cases were selected. Luigi Palma Di Cesnola and Robert Hamilton Lang, both consuls on the island, act as my representative examples of individuals – hobbyist collectors - as they were the most prolific collectors on the island in the 1860s and 1870s and their findings offered the bulk of the collected Cypriot antiquities in the British Museum. In the late 1880s and the 1890s scientific excavations were carried out by the Cyprus Exploration Fund and the British Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of New

[4] Their work was significantly restricted after the British occupation

York in this period. Because of the extensive archival records and the limitation of this project's space, the thesis focuses only on the British-Museum sponsored explorations.

Key nineteenth-century publications on Cypriot archaeology, in particular, and on British archaeology, in general were used as the primary source material that enabled me to follow the objects through the archives and explore the conduct of late nineteenth-century archaeological practice. The antiquities were followed in all their different forms through a number of archives, as texts, photographs, impressions and as material objects. The empirical research was conducted using three main archives - Cyprus State Archives, the Greek and Roman Department Archives of the British Museum and the Dartmouth College Archives (New Hampshire, USA).

1.3 Thesis structure, main arguments and contributions

The thesis is divided in two main parts. The first part is entitled "Concepts, Contexts and Methods" and provides the theoretical and methodological framework of the research. Chapter 2 reviews the literature that forms the theoretical basis of my project and my arguments. The first section looks at the histories, sociologies and geographies of science; it discusses the tension between the local and the global nature of science and the current work on field science. The second section reviews the literature on nineteenth-century collecting and discusses the merits of the "object diaspora", "object biography" and "collections biography" approaches in the examination of the diaspora of Cypriot antiquities. The third section discusses the work related with the postcolonial perspective adopted in this thesis. Chapter 3 provides an overview of the transformation of archaeology, from antiquarianism to an academic discipline, in nineteenth-century Europe, and focuses, particularly, on Great Britain. This review provides the theoretical context for the interpretation and collection of Cypriot antiquities and the formation of Cypriot archaeology. The methodologically-focused Chapter 4 provides a chronological account of my archival research preceded by some thoughts on the nature of the archive and the position of the researcher within it.

The second part is entitled “Mapping Object Diasporas” and consists of my empirical chapters. It is thematically structured and adapted to the three main elements that constituted the diaspora of the objects; law, excavation and circulation (including display). Each of these elements is dealt with in turn. Each empirical chapter is subdivided into two temporal periods: 1860-1878, the period when the island was under the direct Ottoman rule; and 1878-1900, when Cyprus was under the control of the British Empire. Chapter 5 examines the legal framework of archaeology through the Ottoman and British Empires’ attitudes towards antiquities with a particular focus placed on the legislation conditioning the excavation and exportation of antiquities. Chapter 6 discusses the excavation of Cypriot antiquities, the population that inhabited the excavation sites and how the diggings operated. Finally, chapter 7 explores the circulation of the antiquities by looking at their collection from the digging sites, their exportation in metropolitan museums and their display in the British Museum.

This research contributes to the different lacunas currently present in the literature of archaeology and geography. First, this study responds to Kiely’s (2009) call for a social history of archaeology in Cyprus that presently is lacking from the current literature on Cypriot archaeology. There have been efforts through a historical contextualization of the excavations in Cyprus in which emphasis has been placed on the colonial and imperial framework in which archaeologists operated on the island (see the edited collection of essays in Tatton-Brown, 2001; see also Given, 1998). However, besides setting the colonial framework there has not yet been systematic study of the particular ways colonialism affected the every-day conduct of Cypriot archaeology. In addition, although this literature provides an historical account of the archaeological practices carried out on the island (for example see Marankou, 2000), they lack contextualization within the broader transformations in European sciences (in general) and, thus, they cannot avoid anachronistic critiques (Fitton, 2001).

Secondly, even though Anglophone historical geographers have extensively studied European “cultures of exploration”, their main focus is set on the natural-history and geographical expeditions in overseas territories, predominantly Africa.

There has not been an extensive (and systematic) body of work regarding the historical geographies of explorations in the Mediterranean region, besides the discrete work done by V. Della Dora on Greece (for example 2007a, 2007b, 2010) and research done outside British institutions (for example Giaccaria and Minca, 2010; Goren, 2001). The study of archaeological expeditions in Cyprus fills this gap in historical geographies of science about Mediterranean explorations.

This thesis will make two main arguments that relate to concerns in historical geography and science studies. First, it is argued that, alongside the use of regional geographies in historical geographies of science (for a review see Finnegan, 2008), the issue of scale and global/local networks of knowledge can be dealt with by utilizing the concept of “telling stories” with objects (Desilvey, 2006; see also Daston, 2000; Driver and Ashmore, 2010; Hill, 2006). Following the scientific objects’ life-paths, the researcher attends their transformations and transmutations in different localities and scales. Secondly, by following the objects, hidden stories of the making of science are illuminated. For example, the complex and practical implication of colonialism in the daily conduct of Cypriot archaeology is unveiled.

Chapter 2 Conceptualizing science, field, museum and empire

2.1 Histories, sociologies and geographies of science

Recent decades have witnessed what might be described as a "geographical turn" within science studies and the social sciences in general, evidenced in the publication of journals such as the journal *Science in Context* in 1987. The concern over the contingent nature of science originates within sociological arguments against the positivist approach to scientific knowledge. The positivist model depicted science as a unified, placeless and autonomous realm with an essential and unchanged nature (Golinski, 2012; Livingstone, 1992). In this model the scientist was presented as a solitary and rational philosopher with a view from nowhere. The socio-cultural context of science in these histories was merely the backdrop for the hagiographical stories of key individuals (Lightman, 1997).

In the 1970s Bloor, Barnes and Shapin's "Strong Programme" challenged the positivist view and presented scientific knowledge as "a relativist cultural product", or, in other words, a social enterprise (Livingstone 1992, 16; see also Ophir and Shapin, 1991; Shapin, 1988). The Strong Programme advocates that any explanation of scientific claims should be addressed in relation to issues of ontological truth and of the sociology of the localness of science (Finnegan, 2008; Shapin, 1995). The acceptance of the temporal and spatial situatedness of knowledge by the Edinburgh school are viewed as a "*political challenge*" because what was thought of as universally true was proposed to be seen as a local experience (Powell 2007, 312 original emphasis). In other words, the concept of 'science as a practice' was produced, which meant viewing science as a situated and social enterprise (Golinski, 2005). Adopting the premise of science-as-a-practice, and paraphrasing Bourguet et al (2004, 3), the main questions taken from science studies for this project are the following: what were the conditions of the emergence of Cypriot archaeology in the period between 1860 and 1900 and how did it produce a "universalist conception" of the island's ancient history? This question encapsulates the three research questions stated in section 1.2 and the following section reflects on the literature that will form the theoretical basis for their examination.

The “spatial turn” of the last twenty years has resulted in science being seen as not “one thing” (Shapin 1998, 6; see also Golinski, 2012) but as being contested and negotiated methodologically and conceptually through a variety of practices of training and socialization in different spatial dimensions or sites (Elliott, 2010). According to Withers (2010, 4) the “spatial turn” has two significant achievements: first, the recognition that science in its different stages “…everywhere bears the imprint of local circumstances...”; and, secondly, that science is a social construction, “reflecting and directing particular social and political interests in those localities” (see also Burns, 2011; Kuklick and Kohler, 1996; Livingstone, 1992, 2005; Naylor, 2010; Offen, 2012; Withers, 2007, 2009; Withers and Livingstone, 2011). Spary (2005) makes a germane historiographical point about colonial botany that can be applied broadly in science studies. She suggests that the “big histories” of empire and botany rested on a teleological account of practitioners’ identity and that instead the analysis should focus on the making of science, such as the controversies and negotiations between the practitioners.

Shapin and Schaffer (1985) provide a great early example of this direction in science studies. *Leviathan and the Air-Pump* is a small-scale temporal and spatial history of the debates between Robert Boyle and his critic Thomas Hobbes over Boyle’s air-pump experiments. In other words, the spatial turn has contributed by shifting the focus from abstract and large-scale models of research to an analytical model which recognizes that science was affected by a multitude of influences; for instance, individual motivations, the social and cultural context, and the specific site of the individual conduct (Elliott, 2010). From the mid-1980s historians of science have examined science in various contexts and with different theoretical approaches: gender, class, linguistic, imperialist, and social (Golinski, 2005; Inkster and Morrell, 1983; Kohler and Olesko, 2012; Kuklick and Kohler, 1996; Olby et al, 1996; Shiebinger and Swan, 2005; Smith and Agar, 1997).

The history of science acquired an inter-disciplinary character and has been flourishing within various disciplines, including geography (Cahan, 2003; Della Dora, 2007a; Finnegan, 2008; Livingstone, 1992, 2003, 2005; Livingstone and Withers, 1999; Lorimer and Spedding, 2005; Naylor, 2005, 2010; Withers 2007,

2011). Charles Withers and David Livingstone (1999) put forward the argument that space becomes constitutive of scientific conduct, and their work was followed by programmatic statements within geography, which paid attention to the spatiality of science (Finnegan, 2004; Lorimer and Spedding, 2005; Naylor 2005; Powell, 2007; Withers, 2002; Withers and Livingstone, 2011). Museums and botanic gardens have received a lot of attention from historical geographers (Geoghegan, 2011), although a variety of sites have gradually drawn considerable attention as sites of knowledge making including the field, lecture theatres, observatories and field stations (Alberti, 2011; Barrow, 2011; Lorimer and Spedding, 2005; Naylor 2002, 2005; Vetter, 2011; Withers and Livingstone, 2011). Each site is associated with different knowledge-making projects and with distinctive traits (Harris, 1995; Livingstone and Withers, 1999). The common ground in the diverse literature on the historical geographies of science is that the sites of the production of scientific knowledge offer a definite locus for examining science in site and its spatial and social relations (Finnegan, 2008). This focus can be described as the micro-geography of science and is used in this project for examining the making of Cypriot archaeology, namely the every-day conduct of excavations, including the study of instrumentation, skills, personal relations, and the social practices.

However, Shapin (2003) has criticized the ways the argument over the spatiality of science has been formed, by pointing out that geography is a necessary condition of science to exist and not merely a factor influencing its production. This critique is not a rejection of the geographies of science: it is established that geography matters, but further research is needed on *how* space matters (Lightman, 2011; Naylor, 2005; Withers, 1998 emphasis added). Related to this matter is a crucial question addressed by human geographers: what is included in the concept of “place” or “local” (Driver and Samuel, 1995; Legg, 2009; Lester, 2006; Matless, 2003). According to Massey (2005) space is the product of interrelations (spatial, social and temporal) and as such is always under construction. Massey’s (2005) relational view of space has been adopted by historical geographers of science (Finnegan, 2008). The experience of producing science at a specific local site varied depending on the social activities of the different visitors at different epochs

(Livingstone and Withers, 2011; Withers, 2011). At the same time science constructed spaces for enabling (and constraining) the production of knowledge, such as laboratories in the nineteenth century (Naylor, 2005; Shapin, 1988). Place and space, therefore, are not just the background or the factor that influence the making of knowledge but are constitutive of scientific practices and the ways in which they are carried out.

The premise adopted from this literature for addressing the questions of what were the conditions of the emergence of Cypriot archaeology and how scientific knowledge regarding Cyprus' history was produced, is that there is not an essential nature in science eternally fixed and independent of historical context; science meant different things to different people in different times which made its nature negotiated (Livingstone, 1992). The sites where knowledge is produced are understood in this project as specific locations embedded in broader systems of meaning, authority and identity (Finnegan, 2008; see also section 2.3). Science is constituted broadly by its intellectual tradition – including ideas, concepts, views and intellectual trends – and by the context in which it operates – including institutions, networks and social context (Driver, 2000; Livingstone, 1992). Cypriot archaeology is seen, in the words of Livingstone (2002, 236), as a "cultural formation, embedded in wider networks of social relations and political power, and shaped by the local environments in which its practitioners carry out their tasks". Following this literature, this thesis consists of an historical geography of archaeological science that pays attention to "how" space matters, namely how it facilitates and legitimates facticity and scientific claims.

2.1.1 Geography and the local/global nature of science

The spatial turn in science studies has been criticized for not addressing adequately questions of how locally produced knowledge is rendered universal and travels between places (Ophir and Shapin, 1991). The main argument stemming from these critiques is that the emphasis on specific sites of scientific conduct does not give room for the examination of the relationships formed at the different levels

of science's operation (Harris, 1995). Focusing on local circumstances aids in the understanding of the socially embedded nature of science, nonetheless it does not adequately examine 'science on the move' (Finnegan, 2008). Reiterating, micro-studies of science entail the risk of decontextualization (Jordanova, 1993). These arguments pose the fundamental question: "how and why does knowledge circulate" (Secord 2004, 664). This is a critical issue that needs to be addressed so as to find a methodology for studying archaeology's dual nature (local and global) when it is necessary to look at its micro-geography for deciphering the making of scientific knowledge.

In recent years historical geographers of science have addressed the question of travelling knowledge and have produced nuanced methods of engaging with the examination of the mobile and situated nature of science (an overview of which can be seen in the collection of essays edited by Livingstone and Withers, 2011). The geographies of science are defined by the mode of production of scientific knowledge and its dissemination through complex circulatory networks (Cresswell, 2011; Harris, 1995; Offen, 2012; Withers and Livingstone, 2011). In the nineteenth century, scientific knowledge, produced either in local, regional or overseas sites was communicated to various locations through international congresses and associations, and through publications (Wiell, 1999; Withers, 2011). Withers and Livingstone (2011) have argued for the idea of scientific knowledge being moved around space through circulatory networks in different forms, such as correspondence or publications (see also Ogborn, 2002, 2008; Vetter, 2011a; Withers, 2011). Secord (2004) suggests that science should be understood in terms of these communicative actions contextualized in local settings.

A principal idea adopted in this project is that in order to understand how archaeological science was made it is necessary to follow it through the various temporal and spatial contexts of its performance (Naylor, 2002; see also section 2.2). Said (1983) has argued for a four-stage movement of knowledge; knowledge's point of origin; the distance it travelled; its sets of conditions; and its new situated position. At its final stage scientific knowledge is reorganized, disseminated and received in various spaces such as museums, exhibitions and

lecture theatres (see Naylor, 2002). Said's four-stage model may act as a flexible analytical framework adapted to the specific details of the situation under scrutiny, depending on the type of knowledge, its context and the medium of communication (Golinski, 2005). Others have argued for a three-fold approach of the (non-exhaustive) organizational categories of site, circulation and region (Dritsas, 2005; Finnegan, 2008; Harris, 1995; Livingstone, 2003; Withers, 2010). Thrift, Driver and Livingstone (cited in Matless 2003, 357) in their outline of the "geographies of truth" have proposed the three-fold focus on the geographies of science: focus on sites of scientific production, on networks for science to be constructed at a distance, and fields through which science is legitimately gathered. These organizational principles present different aspects of the nature of science; simultaneously it was produced *in situ* in specific sites and social spaces and it was mobile, it travelled between communities, individuals and different (expert to lay) audiences (Livingstone and Withers, 2011). Drawing from these various approaches to the circulatory practices of science, a two-fold approach is applied in this thesis and examines archaeological science *in situ*, which includes the spaces of making and reception (the field and the museum), and archaeology in motion, which follows the movement of knowledge across space and communities (Harris, 1998; Livingstone and Withers, 2011).

Although the manner in which the dual nature of the production of archaeological knowledge in this thesis is established, the issue of a decontextualized narrative is not adequately addressed as the question of how did knowledge travel between spaces is not dealt with. For this reason, this subsection now turns to the new mobility turn, which has been formed in social sciences and can be traced back to anthropology, literary and cultural studies, in an effort to complement a holistic examination of science on the move (Bhabha, 1994; Clifford, 1992 1997; Cresswell, 2011; Hannam et al, 2006; Sheller and Urry, 2006). The mobility paradigm proposes - contra to "static" and sedentarist social theories - to view the world as being tied up in various networks of connections, such as ships, sea routes, diasporas, migrants, and telecommunications (Sheller and Urry 2006, 210). Crucially, Sheller and Urry (2006; see also Urry, 2007) propose to view the mobility turn not as a grand and totalising narrative of the world but as sets of questions

and tools for mapping the discourses, practices and infrastructures of mobility (termed as fixities or moorings), which produce both movement and stasis. The mobility turn is substantiated by geographers and sociologists who argue for the centrality of mobility in an increasingly globalised world marked by time-space compression (Cresswell, 2011). As Cresswell (2011) suggests, this idea can be applied to historical studies, as moving around is a basic geographical fact of life. Actor Network Theory (henceforth ANT) has significantly influenced this mobility turn (Sheller and Urry, 2006).

ANT is a posthumanist methodological approach - influenced by Latour's laboratory ethnography (1987) - by which human and non-human agents are treated symmetrically and equally in relational networks (through which they travel) (Powell, 2007). As Law (1999, 3-4 original emphasis) notes ANT "is a ruthless application of *semiotics*": entities have no inherent qualities and take their form and characteristics in relation with other entities. Latour (1999, 8) distanced himself from the inflexibility of ANT on the premise that it has been so successful that its topological assumptions are naturalized and homogenized, in other words they have become flat networks (Legg, 2009). Although Latour (1987, 1999) has argued that the original meaning of networks included translation and transportation with deformation in various locations, he has been criticized for being ahistorical and not attentive to local specificities (Della Dora, 2007a; Secord, 2004). Geographers have called into question the ability of the network model to move between the local and the global (Finnegan, 2008; Matless, 2003). The question that lies here is how the mobility and network paradigm can be used in examining the microgeography of Cypriot archaeology and, simultaneously, being attentive to the translations and transformations of science in different settings such as the fields of Cyprus and the British Museum galleries (see also Finnegan, 2008; Powell, 2007).

The disciplinary language of geography of space, scale, territories can be very useful in mapping travelling knowledge (Withers and Livingstone, 2011). In human geography there has been a wide theoretical discussion on the concept of place in relation with the various scales at which spatial processes function (Massey, 2005; see also Legg 2009 for a review); for example the examination of the binary

periphery/metropolis in postcolonial geographies (Lester, 2006; see section 2.3). Legg (2009) sees these discussions as a reaction to the spread of the network metaphor within the social sciences. Indeed, networks are accepted as being useful in considering distance and closeness; however it must be done by attending to their complexity and heterogeneity (Legg, 2009). Scale becomes important when thinking about the distance between networks.

Withers (2011) illustrates scale as a relational matter by working across different scales for the examination of the provincial meetings of a national body, the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in the latter half of nineteenth century. Withers (2011) affirms that geographies of science must attend to the relationships between geographical scales - site, region and nation - and how they affected the practices conducted within them (see also Livingstone and Withers, 1999). Matless (2003) in the same vein, stresses that researchers should consider the ways in which the senses of local, global and national are produced through scientific debates. In a similar manner geographers have shown that mobility, or networks are broad terms that include different types and scales of movement: from bodily movements in a small site to global flows of goods and people. The concept of mobility or of networks links different scales of movement from small-scale bodily movements like walking or through means of transportation to global flows of labour or finance (Cresswell, 2011; Driver, 2001; Lorimer and Spedding, 2005; Ogborn, 2007). Scientific knowledge was produced through a range of embodied practices such as travelling, dwelling, recording, collecting and narrating (Driver, 2000; Kuklick and Kohler, 1996).

In summary, advocates of the mobility paradigm have pointed out that mobility is always located and materialised – objects need local infrastructure to facilitate their movement (Sheller and Urry, 2006). The network model has been accepted as a productive analytical model for examining science: large-scale networks of mobility and circulation allowed science to transcend locality and cultures, in the form of translation and replication (Golinski 2005, 2012). However, they fail to grasp the space between the networks of mobility as they argue that “material “stuff” makes up places, and such stuff is always in motion, being assembled and reassembled

in changing configurations" (Sheller and Urry 2006, 216-218). Geographers have shown that mobility operates across and within different scales and stress the importance of local scientific conduct and its positioning in wider narratives and practices (Cresswell, 2011; Finnegan, 2008; Legg, 2009; Livingstone and Withers, 2011; Naylor, 2002; Withers 2001, 2011).

As shown by Naylor's (2010) examination of the production of natural knowledge in Cornwall and Withers' study of Scotland (2001), the critical issue is not to examine each site as an autonomous realm but as part of a broader context (see also Elliott, 2010; Inkster, 2007; Livingstone, 1992). A regional perspective analyses the various boundaries and scale of space without assuming their fixed structure and existence. Regional geography can be combined with the commonly adopted, "contextual" historiographical approach (Bourguet et al, 2004). This approach is applied in this project and examines Cypriot archaeology as predicated on its socio-political context. Following this literature, the contextual history of Cypriot archaeology includes the study of its dynamic assemblage of people, objects and practices, operating at different scales from the local, to the national and the international. The contextual approach along with the regional geography of Cypriot archaeology offers the opportunity to address the tension between the local and global in the making of science and the process of the universalization of archaeological knowledge from its production sites such as the excavation sites to its exhibition in the museum display rooms.

2.1.2 "Being in the field"

This subsection returns to the micro-geography of Cypriot archaeology, namely the practice of gathering antiquities on the island's ancient sites, in order to set the theoretical basis for the examination of archaeology *in situ*. In accordance with Moser (2007), the existing little systematic research on archaeology's social history and disciplinary culture necessitates the analysis of archaeology *in situ* through the work done on the history of other field-based subjects such as geography and natural history. The "spatial turn" in the history and sociology of science has produced a proliferation of studies of the "practices of place", including fieldwork

(Finnegan, 2008; Kohler, 2002). The field has become a fashionable subject of research, having previously been somewhat marginalized in favour of elite sites of knowledge-making such as the laboratory (Driver, 2000; Kohler, 2011; Naylor, 2009; Vetter, 2011; Withers, 2010; Withers and Finnegan, 2003). For example, historical geographers have critically engaged with their own disciplinary histories of travelling and field practices (Dewsbury and Naylor, 2002; Driver 2000, 2001; Lorimer 2003, 2005). The field has been recognized as a scientific space and has generated extensive discussions on the authority and reliability of the knowledge produced (Outram, 1996; Withers and Finnegan, 2003). The field was produced *in situ* through various spatial practices – through representational practices such as publications, scientific practices such as recording or social practices, such as networking (Dewsbury and Naylor, 2002; Driver, 2000; Kennedy, 2008). In connection to these matters, Kuklick and Kohler's (1996, 3) seminal study on field practices provides the agenda for examining archaeological fieldwork in this thesis:

> "We must attend to the exigencies of getting to and staying in the field; to the affective aspects of natural places; to the heterogeneity of field science workers and tasks; and to the chronic issues of status and credibility that derive from the social and methodological tension between laboratory and field standards of evidence and reasoning. We must see how practitioners deal with the difficulties of bringing some order to phenomena that, far more than those of the laboratory, are multivariate, historically produced, often fleeting, and dauntingly complex and uncontrollable".

This agenda points to the idea of the field as produced by a variety of spatial practices that may be characterized broadly as movement, performance and encounter (Driver, 2000). Likewise, Lorimer and Spedding (2005) note field sites become "spatial entities constructed and comprehended through the meanings, intentions and actions" that materialize field science (see also Dewsbury and Naylor, 2002; Harvey, 2010; Matless and Cameron, 2006; Withers and Finnegan, 2003; Yusoff, 2010). In other words, the field is not a passive setting of science but is made as a scientific site by the actions of a variety of practitioners. This idea of

the field being in a constant process of construction is captured by the definition offered by a modern Dictionary of Science (cited in Driver 2000, 267):

> "Field. A region in which a body experiences a force as the result of the presence of some other body or bodies. A field is thus a method of representing the way in which bodies are able to influence each other"

This definition follows a recent historiographical trend of science studies that focuses on individuals and their careers, aims, patronage, audience and networks of institutions and individuals (Inkster and Morrell, 2007). The field has been recognised as an unrestrictive space, with its perceived uncontrollable nature that appears to be in contrast with the laboratory, whose space was bounded and exclusive (Vetter, 2011a). Thus, fieldwork entails questions about the relationships of being in the field, seeing and knowing, and the boundaries set around those embodied practices for attaining credibility and authority (Driver, 2000; Withers and Livingstone, 2011). The quality of the field versus the laboratory can be related to five, intertwined, main subjects: claims for authority, methodology, representation, movement and heroism (Driver, 2001). These five subjects provide the fundamental framework for examining how archaeological science, as practiced in the ancient sites of Cyprus, was "legitimized". For this reason each subject is reviewed in the rest of this subsection so as to provide a better understanding of their analytical efficacy in the project.

According to the modern metropolitan scientific academies and societies, authoritative field knowledge was produced by accurately recording findings *in situ* (Driver, 2004). However, field sites lacked the authority of the formally institutionalized spaces such as laboratories, observatories and medical clinics. The spatial arrangement of scientific sites demarcated the matters of access, visibility, mobility, social interaction, affecting the reception of knowledge as either authoritative or fraudulent (Ophir and Shapin, 1991). Following Ophir and Shapin's (1991) point that this spatial arrangement was a matter of culture, the problem of credibility in the field can be linked with the development of standardization and measurement in nineteenth-century experimental science (Golinski, 2005). The reliability of archaeology and other field sciences, including geography, botany and

natural history in general, was inextricably linked with the methodology of collecting specimens. Driver (2004) using the examples of famous nineteenth-century explorers has identified the main modern reliable methods of recording information in the field: the use of authorized instruments, of techniques of observation and of inscription. The epistemologies of being in the field consisted of observing, collecting, classifying and reporting, resembling laboratory activities (Withers and Finnegan, 2003). In relation to this project, these epistemologies are associated with the question of how antiquarians and the British-Museum archaeologists stabilized their observations and findings in the excavation sites in Cyprus into scientific facts accepted by the archaeological community (see also Daston, 2008).

The credibility of scientific knowledge rested on the representations of the recorded information, which in turn legitimized field knowledge (Hoffman and Wittman, 2013; Kohler, 2002; Matless, 2003). Field instruments were introduced, also, for reducing subjectivity in the recording of the collected information (Kohler, 2011). With the prominence of “Humboltian science” visual representations of the collected information had to include measurements, maps and analysis in a precise form by appropriate instruments (Driver, 2004). It must be acknowledged that recording methodologies encompassed the whole body of the explorer as observation was an act disciplined by education and training, checked against instruments and communicated in various forms (as indicated by the institutionalization of science - see chapter 3) (Daston, 2008). These recording methodologies were employed for securing the travelling of knowledge, by establishing trust and credibility, and then displayed to third parties, such that the lab-field divide was diminished (Kohler 2002, 201; Withers, 2007). The collected information (for collecting sciences such as archaeology, palaeontology and anthropology) was transformed into scientific knowledge in a bounded indoor space like the museum (Kohler, 2011). This movement of scientific knowledge in the form of objects and ideas points to the issue of the distributed nature of science: in order to be perceived as truthful and thus credible scientific knowledge had to be able to replicate itself in various and distant locations (Naylor, 2010).

Finally, the field was populated by a variety of inhabitants producing different kinds of knowledge, in this case the excavation sites on the island were populated by the local diggers, the museum agents and the European antiquarians and archaeologists. Relating to this is Kohler's (2011, 230) concept of "residential science", by which he denotes a "mode of expert practice" requiring knowledge possessed by long-term residents. In colonial settings for example, two different sets of knowledge existed, that of the indigenous populations (local) and that of the travelling scientist (cosmopolitan). Indigenous populations had the local knowledge of where the specimens (animals, plants or objects) were located and how they could be collected (Kohler, 2011). The travelling scientists had the cosmopolitan knowledge of taxonomy, meaning how to classify the collected specimens (Kohler, 2011). Residential knowledge can be linked with the idea of the heroic explorer that had to cope with the local exigencies of being in remote, and often perceived as hostile, environments (Driver, 2001). The concept of residential/cosmopolitan knowledge is utilized in order to comprehend the ways the ancient sites were transformed into excavation sites during the archaeological explorations of the island.

As stated in subsection 2.1.1 the researcher cannot avoid the global nature of archaeology, which as a collecting science was linked with the cultures and spaces of display (Driver, 2001; Knell, 2000; Dritsas, 2005). In this matter the argument of new imperial histories (see section 2.3) to view empire as a network locally articulated can be applied here. Collecting sciences can be viewed as a network of practices, people and objects constituted locally in various places such as the field and display rooms and connected by relationships of mobility. This view can provide an advantage over the imperial perspective as the research may transcend the model of colonial exploitation (Kohler, 2011). For this research, the global/network perspective establishes this polycentric view and includes the diverse spectrum of human interactions between colonial authorities, museum curators and collectors both in Cyprus, the broader area of the Mediterranean and their connections with the British-Museum curators which evade the Eurocentric model of metropole/periphery.

In summary, archaeology as field science is viewed in this thesis as simultaneously distributed and locally articulated and the field, being both a material and an epistemic space, is another point of knowledge diffusion (Golinski 2005). Following Kohler (2007; 2011), archaeology is taken as a placed activity. Crucially, though, the field is not taken as a bounded and stable space, but rather is viewed here as an unstable and transient space emerging out of the scientific practice (Finnegan, 2008; Kennedy, 2008). Therefore, the study of the production of scientific knowledge is a mapping exercise of different activities pursued at different scales. The mapping of material and bodily movement of antiquities and archaeologists can be used to connect the different physical and theoretical scales and spaces at which archaeology operated, in this case the British Museum galleries and the Cypriot fields. This perspective allows the simultaneous examination of the local and distributed character of scientific knowledge (Harris, 1995).

2.2 "Diasporic" objects and nineteenth-century colonial collecting

The previous section (2.1) has set the research agenda for examining the conduct of Cypriot archaeology. This section (2.2) turns the attention to the objects and conceptualizes the diaspora of Cypriot antiquities within the broader nineteenth-century collecting practices, imperial narratives and their material manifestations in museums. The three key stages of collection, display and reception of objects formed nineteenth-century museum exhibitions (Moser, 2006). Museum objects, as Shelton (2000, 155) notes, were not merely the "imprint of a dominant social classification like evolutionism or diffusionism". As the "spatial turn" in history of science has shown, the collection and display of objects was crucial in the validation of scientific claims (Elliott, 2010). The contextual and regional geographical approach in conjunction with material culture studies is used in this project in order to examine the topography and taxonomy of collecting and its concurrent role in formulating a sense of place (Duclos, 2004) and the various geographies of archaeological science. Two interrelated geographies of the modern museum are examined in this project: the mode of the objects' display in the internal space of the museum and the "imaginative geographies" that were

produced, referring to the people and territories whose material culture was exhibited (Naylor and Hill, 2011; *cf.* Bennett, 2004; Edwards et al, 2003; Pearce, 1992; Vergo, 1989).

In nineteenth-century museology, emphasis was placed on the displayed objects as instructive scientific sources of knowledge of the universal laws of human history (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). This new instructive role attached to the nineteenth-century museum aimed at the education of the broad population (even though the public visiting the museum was largely made up of the middle classes) to the concept of citizenship (Bennett, 1995). The produced knowledge-meaning was demonstrated by the visual arrangement of the objects in a linear and comparative mode (Moser, 2006). The temporal arrangement of the objects reflected the evolutionary theories developed in Europe (Bennett, 2004). This type of spatial arrangement correlated with the imperial narratives as the museum became “empires in microcosm” (Naylor and Hill 2011, 72; *cf*. Geoghegan, 2010). The imperial microcosm of the museum presented the development of civilization from its early primitive stages to the civilized European present. The incorporation of Cypriot antiquities in similar “empires in microcosm”, for example their display in the Upper-Floor galleries of the British Museum, points to the issue of the interpretation of artefacts and their arrangement in these exhibitions according to the meanings they attained.

Objects did not attain meaning only when they entered the museum space but rather from the moment of their discovery and collection (Gosden and Knowles, 2001; Pyenson, 1996). Imperial expansion has been implicated in the reconfiguration of European culture and science in many different ways; collecting and museum displays have played a major part in this. The prominent characteristic of many nineteenth-century collections is that they were gathered from overseas territories and were displayed in European museums. The classic era of colonial collecting was the period between approximately 1880 and 1915 (Basu, 2011). The collection of material culture during this time was entangled with colonial projects (Coombes, 1994; Peffer, 2005). Likewise, the collections of Cypriot antiquities were mostly assembled during the final decades of the

nineteenth century by colonial authorities and metropolitan institutions. By the late nineteenth century national pride was strongly linked to the acquisition of material culture. In accordance with Pearce (1992), the economic discourse of the capitalist market system contributed to this national definition of the European self as it was one of the main causes for the continuously increased demand for goods. For the European imperial powers the expanding colonies became their main resource of objects (Coombes, 1994). In other words, the nineteenth century was an era characterized by the exchange of material goods, with museums focused on increasing the acquisition of objects. Black (2000) suggests that in Victorian Britain it was considered to be an imperial obligation to collect for the exhibition of the empire.

The diaspora of Cypriot antiquities shows that the collected material culture served various functions depending on the type of space it was exhibited in, the private house or the public museum. Art collections displayed in private houses characterized a modern bourgeois home. The proliferation of public museums in the nineteenth century demonstrated modern Europe's self-definition through the possession of objects, which in turn produced a museum-oriented Victorian public (Black, 2000; Pearce, 1992). In other words, museums were transformed into "temples of empire" (Coombes, 1994). The museum display of material culture (gathered in the colonies) - part of the public European high culture - celebrated nineteenth-century European civilization through the preservation and exhibition of the colonial 'Other' (Stoler and Cooper, 1997). Objects in the museum space were part of the narration of a universal and coherent story of the history of human civilization; essentially, it was a story of progress leading to the, perceived, peak of human civilization: modern European society (Black, 2000; MacDonald, 1998; Vergo, 1989). As Bhabha (1994) stresses, modernity's (and to an extent, the European self's) constitution is located in this perspective of cultural difference.

The values of progress and civilization evidenced by colonial material culture displayed in museums shaped the imperial geographies of power (Barringer and Flynn, 1998; Bennett, 1995; Coombes, 1994). Crooke (2000), in her examination of the formation of the National Museum in Ireland, shows this political relationship of

the museum with the past. She argues that the institutionalization and construction of the past in the nineteenth century was linked to the awareness of its political value in present political aspirations (Crooke, 2000). This example also presents the construction of the colonial "periphery" as a space of discovery, which was manifested, culturally and physically, through the display of discovered objects in metropolitan museums (Clifford, 1997; Bhabha, 2003). Notably, the movement of objects from the perceived periphery to the centre could be seen as a symbol of the participation of the metropolitan museum in the imaginative geographies of colonialism (Barringer, 1998; Edwards et al, 2003; Sherman and Rogoff, 1994).

Many authors argue that the formation of museum collections in Europe depicted the complex intersection of loot, sale and inheritance, joined with the orientalist views of the West and colonialism (Appadurai, 1986; Coombes, 1994; Hooper-Greenhill, 2000; Pearce, 1992). However, this is a monolithic framework for conceptualizing the complex enterprise of collecting and circulating Cypriot antiquities. Instead, in this project collecting is recognized as a varied process; part of wider social, economic and political practices, and, as such, needs to be more closely examined and more carefully theorised (Basu, 2011; Henare, 2005; Meinel, 2005). For example, institutional collecting[5] of material culture began in the early nineteenth century and was gradually transformed into a multi-purpose activity – for education and knowledge, for entertainment and social politics – and was connected to the socio-cultural changes associated with the emerging middle class (see chapters 4 and 6) (Knell, 2000). In this research, the study of colonial collecting becomes a question of how to map the intersection of moving people and things (Basu and Coleman, 2008).

Collecting material culture was a practice of valuing, preserving and exchanging by certain groups of individuals (Clifford, 1988). As Pearce (1992) argues, the practice of collecting is comprised of two acts in different settings: the first one was the gathering of objects in the field by the collector, grounded on contemporary social ideas of value. The second act occurred once the objects arrived at the museum where the curator selected the objects for display. Similar to Pearce's (1992) dual-

[5] Institutional collecting in this project denotes the organized collection of objects by academic institutions such as museums and universities.

act model of collecting is Alberti's (2005a) concept of the three-phase museum career of objects. In this concept the life of the museum object consisted of: its movement to the museum through collecting and exchange intertwined with shifting meanings and values; its conjunction with a collection; and, finally, as experienced by visitors through its display (Alberti, 2005a). The common ground between Clifford (1988), Pearce, (1992) and Alberti (2005a) and the main premise taken from this literature is the acknowledgment of the complexity of objects and their collecting: they were never static but were, throughout their life, always in a state of becoming (Gosden and Knowles, 2001; Hill, 2006; Knell, 2000). Collecting is comprehended in this project, then, as an act inherently geographical, by which Cypriot antiquities were constantly moving through modes of acquisition, exchange, display and disposal through space and time (Duclos, 2004; Gosden and Knowles, 2001; Hill, 2006; Knell, 2004; Naylor, 2002). The link between objects collected in the field and museum practices lay in the interpretation and meaning imbued to things while they were travelling (Alberti, 2005a; Naylor and Hill, 2011).

A useful metaphor to employ for mapping the various geographies of collecting Cypriot antiquities is the concept of "object diaspora", connoting the material culture that "flourishes in exile"; referring to the recontexualising spaces of metropolitan museums (Basu 2011, 28; Peffer, 2005). The term diaspora was first used with a neutral meaning for describing the dispersal of ancient Greek civilization; it was only during the twentieth century that the term became loaded with meanings of exile, loss and dislocation. The change of meaning of the word diaspora shows that the movement of people – and by extension of things – was influenced by a multitude of factors that cannot be interpreted by rigid frameworks. The context of an object's movement becomes central to this type of investigation (Peffer, 2005). The examination, then, of "object diasporas" – that is objects in motion – involves tracing their movement across space and the relationships they form during their travels (Basu, 2011; Hill, 2006). The concept of "object diaspora" stems from the recent work on "migrant worlds"; a notion concerned with the materiality of migration, the material effects of movement to a different place and the intertwinement of people and objects in motion (Basu, 2011; Basu and

Coleman, 2008; Jensen, 2011; Peffer, 2005). In this concept the term materiality refers not only to the physical objects but also to forms of experience constituted through object-people interaction.

The metaphor “diaspora” in this research connotes the act of the Cypriot antiquities’ migration to overseas territories; however it does not address adequately the methodological issue of examining the different scales in which this movement was materialized. For this reason the metaphor of the “network” is employed in this project in order to track the relationships of objects and people through small-scale links that constantly shift (Larson et al, 2007). Migrant materialities are created differently depending on the mode of mobility and the contexts affecting people as well (Larson et al, 2007; Peffer, 2005). This is a methodology that moves beyond what Tolia-Kelly (2013) terms “surface geographies of materiality” and engages with politics, grammar, and the effectiveness of place. Following this literature, therefore, the conceptual map moves away from rigid colonial frameworks and links the place of the antiquities’ origin with its diasporic locations such as metropolitan museums (Peffer, 2005). Drawing on this idea we can see objects as persons with biographies and collections as a “classification lived, experienced in three dimensions” (Elsner and Cardinal, 1994, 2).

2.2.1 “Object diaspora”, “object biography” and “collections biography” in the examination of Cypriot antiquities

Cultures of collecting in nineteenth-century museums can be analyzed through objects, in that the “history of museums is written through the biography of objects in their collections” (Alberti 2005a, 559). When they enter a museum collection, objects have already developed a life history (Henare, 2005). Jude Hill (2006, 340) in her exploration of the travelling Wellcome Collection, ascertains that “collection and practices of collecting are inherently geographical”. The gathering of a collection includes processes of acquisition and exchange: objects have been either made or found, and then they travel through space and time by complex processes of exchange, as purchases, gifts or exchanges through social relations.

The analysis of collections entails mapping the museum's socio–material connections between curators, collectors and objects or, put simply, "the cartographies of collecting" (Duclos, 2004; Larson et al, 2007). This project explores the "cartographies of collecting" Cypriot antiquities and maps the objects' ongoing lives as they are circulated in various locations.

Approaches with various connotations have been used for the theorization of objects including biographical, processual, postprocessual and metaphors attributing agency to things (for a review see Gosden and Knowles, 2001). As stated in section 2.2 the thesis adopts the "object diaspora" approach in that it focuses on the source territory of the artefacts and traces the objects' distribution in overseas locations. This approach follows the direction established in Basu's (2011) study of the historical formation and distribution of Sierra Leonean collections in three British museums. Thus the "object diaspora" approach acknowledges that the roots and routes of the objects' displacement are entangled with colonial relationships, flows and networks, including administration, commerce and exploration (Basu, 2011; see also Clifford, 1997). The main concern of the "object diaspora" approach, however, is that it does not provide the methodological tools for attending to the various geographies of the people-object-place network, which conditioned the movement of objects (see section 2.2). It requires the analytical merits of the "object biography" and "collections biography" for an in-depth exploration of the networks that facilitated the diaspora of Cypriot antiquities.

The biographical approach considers the different phases of a single object's life-story, which includes its production, circulation and consumption in different sites (Gosden and Marshall, 1999). The concept of the biography of objects can be traced back to Appadurai's (1986) premise that the analysis of things-in-motion exposes the objects' social contexts and inscribed meanings. As Kopytoff suggested (1986), and others have endorsed (Alberti, 2005a; Barringer and Flynn, 1998; Gosden and Marshall, 1999), it is possible to ask similar questions to when investigating peoples' biographies: for example how has a particular socio-political context affected an object's path or trajectory through time and space? In doing so,

the “object biography” enables the charting of the object’s movement through different spaces and the social interactions that were formed along the way (see Basu, 2011; Cook, 2004; Daniels and Nash, 2004; Gosden and Marshall, 1999).

By following the ways objects are gathered, histories of scientific practices and knowledge production are illuminated (Alberti, 2005a). In other words, as Stoler (2002, 89) notes, “we are no longer studying things, but the making of them”. The production of scientific knowledge through the collection of objects connects museums with wider scientific cultures. Similarly, Riepel (2012) argues that the goals of scientific research that were mapped onto collections are unveiled by examining the histories of objects. The focus on the textual form of the objects, namely correspondence and telegrams, will address the issue of archaeology’s operation at different scales (Appadurai, 1986; Dritsas, 2005; Harris, 1995; Ogborn, 2002). Tracking down the “life geographies” (Livingstone 2005, 99) of the various forms of Cypriot antiquities will enable the mapping of the different links that connected the diverse and distant spaces of the ancient sites in Cyprus and the British Museum (see also Dritsas 2005; Harris, 1995). However, this project is not concerned with the biography of specific objects. Instead, the “object biography” approach is used in this thesis as a tool to ‘think with’ the situated nature of objects in the charting of the intimate historical geographies of modernity and colonial power.

The emerging work on “collections biography” provides the basis for understanding how collections of Cypriot antiquities were formed and operated at a local, regional and international scale. The literature on “collections biography” has demonstrated that collections can be seen as aggregates in the “state of becoming” conditioned by spatial, historical and social specificities that influence the histories and geographies of their lives (Gosden and Larson 2007, 7; see also Hill, 2006; Larson, 2009). Hill (2006) traces the movement of 30 000 objects of the original Wellcome Collection in 1965-66 from London to the then Laboratory of Ethnic Arts and Technology (what is now known as the Fowler Museum) at UCLA. In doing so, Hill (2006, 341) explores the manifold geographies of the “travelling objects” rather

than considering one object in one site or one moment. Along a similar line, Larson (2009) examines how the Wellcome Collection was assembled and traces the links between the various individuals that collected for Sir Henry Wellcome.

Particular attention must be given to Gosden and Larson's (2007) project on the Pitt Rivers Museum and their resulting influential model of the "relational museum". Gosden and Larson's (2007) *Knowing Things* is based on quantitative statistical analysis of the museum's collection database and on archival research and charts the history of the relations that formed the Pitt Rivers Museum from 1884 to 1945. The principal premise of Gosden and Larosn's project is to view museums as transcultural artefacts comprised of social relations extending from their physical boundaries. Gosden and Larson (2007, 10) note that the consideration of collections "in their entirety" oscillates from the micro-stories of individual collectors to the macro-stories and, thus, produce "a broader history of shifting relationships, working practices, and ideas". In a similar vein, Basu (2011) points out that the "material migrations are intertwined with the itineraries of individual collectors along routes established through changing colonial interests". In other words, biographies of individuals entangled with collections show how social networks and gathering preferences affected the politics and poetics of collecting. It must be noted that although collectors are at the centre of the examination, it is the sets of objects that keep the various stories of individuals together (Larson, 2009). This approach is what Larson (2009, 6) notes as the "biography of a collection" and is relevant to this thesis since it provides the conceptual tools for attending the sites and networks of relations that formed the Cypriot collections.

These studies attribute agency to objects and it is crucial to point out that the assumption that both human and non-human agents should be treated equally – echoing Actor Network Theory – is not adopted here. Following the critiques that have been raised on the subject, agency is not attributed in this project to inanimate objects as equivalent of humans (Golinski, 2007). Rather they become the lens through which to examine the collectors of Cypriot antiquities, their ideas and their institutional practices (Alberti, 2005a; Riepel, 2012). This is based on the

idea that objects are not agents but are moved by the meanings and values attached to them by people (Gosden and Knowles, 2001). However, it is understood here that even though objects do not have agency, their status does not remain passive or stable. Their meaning and significance change over time as social relationships are constantly constructed around them (Gosden and Knowles, 2001). These are relationships "between people and people, between objects and objects, and between objects and people" and, depending on the phase in which they exist, they form differently (Alberti 2005a, 561).

In summary, this thesis adopts a spatial perspective for exploring the roots and routes of the diasporic Cypriot antiquities as they came together, formed various collections and then moved to different overseas locations. The theoretical basis for approaching the antiquities is given by the concept of the "object diaspora". According to this concept, the source territory becomes the principal focus of inquiry and looks at the distribution of antiquities as the product of historical relationships (social, spatial and temporal). This project does not examine the lives of specific objects and collections, with the exception of the Cesnola Collection, or conduct quantitative comparison of various collections. Instead, it strives to chart and contextualize the patterns of circulating Cypriot antiquities in different sites. The purpose of adopting the analytical tools of the "object biography" approach is to illuminate the process by which objects acquire meaning through their social interactions (Gosden and Marshall, 1999). The "collections biography" approach acts as the theoretical framework for understanding how the object diaspora operated in the wider context of museums, colonialism and cultures of collecting by putting at the centre of examination the people-object-place network. Crucially, as it is too rigid to frame the colonial collecting of Cypriot antiquities in terms of movement of objects from "periphery" to "centre", attention must be given to those different contexts of their collecting.

2.3 Empire, networks and science

A situated history of science is premised on the idea that the content of scientific practice was affected by its socio-cultural context, both locally and globally. The context of the antiqutiies' diaspora was colonial Cyprus positioned within wider imperial and colonial politics (see section 5.2). This section begins with the premise that Victorian science was influenced by the British colonial empire through imperial concepts, metaphors, data collection and career opportunities (Dritsas, 2005; Driver, 2001; Hunt, 1997; MacLeod, 2000; Ogborn, 2007; Ryan, 1997; for a review on the history of the theoretical approaches towards colonial science see Harrison, 2005). The dissemination of Cypriot archaeology, akin to other colonial sciences (Ogborn, 2007), was materialized through the circuits of empire by travelling specimens, imperial correspondence, and papers of colonial scientists. Therefore, the examination of Cypriot archaeology and the understanding of its practices can be informed by a postcolonial perspective.

Postcolonial theory may be argued to have been produced by the examination of the "colonial testimony" of Third World countries, in other words the study of hegemonic European discourses of imperialism (Bhabha 1994, 171). The colonial discourse, in its Foucauldian sense, is described as the nexus of language and practice that informed the social and institutional practices of colonial regimes both in Europe and in the colonies (Chun 2000; Cook and Harrison, 2003). The term discourse is used in order to give space to the different historically situated practices, attitudes, concepts and institutions under examination (Ryan, 1997). Drawing from Young (2001, 16-17), this section begins with the understanding of imperialism as a state-policy driven by ideology and colonialism as its material manifestation developed locally. Similarly, Ryan (1997) has demonstrated the concept of imperialism as a process followed by the Empire to fashion, maintain and extend itself.

Said's study, *Orientialism*, was very important to the development of postcolonial theories. Drawing on Foucault, and based on an analysis of literature, Said (2003) presents the incorporation of knowledge with power through a complex grid of literary representations, including references to visual images, of the Orient. These

representations constitute the “imaginative geographies” that formed a universalizing knowledge of Orientalism. According to Said (2003), Orientalism became the means by which European colonialism shaped its understanding of the colonised “Other”. In other words, it is a study of Eurocentrism and, in effect, racism that affected both the material and conceptual colonial encounter (Domosh, 2004). Crucially, these “imaginative geographies” constructed the European self as much as the colonies were constructed by imperial encounters (Stoler and Cooper, 1997). Through the products of Orientalism, global empires provided what Drayton named (2012, 162) “a synoptic perspective, a way of seeing dispersed parts as linked in one system”. This was a new totalising view of the world constructed by the European gaze. Collecting and display were critical parts of this process of identity formation of Western Europe (Clifford, 1988).

Although Orientalism is considered to be the cornerstone of postcolonial studies, it has been the subject of various critiques (Bhabha, 1994; Young, 1990). One of the major critiques is that although Said argues against totalising schemas, Orientalism is itself a totalizing notion that focuses on colonisers instead of the colonised, to which he does not offer an alternative theoretical form of knowledge (Loomba, 1998; Schwarz, 2000; Young, 1990). Another significant critique is that according to the notion of Orientalism, colonialism was mainly an ideological construct without any material dimensions (Loomba, 1998). Young (1990, 168-170), points out that a pitfall of Said’s argument is the absence of an alternative form or, indeed, a theoretical model for “such” knowledge. Young (1990, 170), notes that Said attempts to solve the problematic of “how the representation articulated with the actual” by dividing Orientalism into two distinct types. The first type is Orientalism as “representation”, an apparatus of constructing the Orient; and the second type is Orientalism as “real” which emerged in early nineteenth century as the description of the present perceptible Orient as expressed by pilgrims and travellers. However, Young (1990, 170) ascertains that this methodology is unsuccessful as it does not solve the theoretical problematic of how a representation that is claimed not to be related with its object is put into service for its control.

These critiques underpin the general homogenizing tendency of postcolonial theory that obscures the diversity and materiality of the colonial experience (Dirlik, 1994; Eagleton, 1998; McClintock, 1992; Nash, 2002; Said, 2003; Shohat, 1992; Young, 1990). Here lies the critical importance of postcolonial geographies that is adopted in this research: colonial culture is not viewed as a homogeneous diachronic discourse but a diverse and multifaceted phenomenon that should be situated in specific temporal, spatial and socio-political contexts (Lester, 2002, 2006; Shohat, 1992). Recent imperial histories aligned with the insights offered by postcolonial geographies have contested the traditional binary of "centre" and "periphery" as an adequate model for addressing the complex projects and politics of the British Empire (Drayton, 2012; Osborne, 2007; Raj, 2002). Imperial histories have been reconsidered from an alternative geographical perspective, which decentre the "centre" and the "periphery". Attention is given to the special characteristics of different imperial sites and networks (Lester, 2001). The argument is that the unity of the British Empire was based on a network with multiple different sites within it and various kinds of connections between them. Wilson (cited in Ogborn 2007, 3) has furthered this argument by stressing that "all empire is local", as it was constituted locally through the colonial arrangement of space, landscape and people and networks of connection in between.

Following this literature, in this research colonialism is understood as a network linking various local sites helps to avoid the binary centre/periphery. In this perspective the imperial and colonial space is viewed as a network made up of "specific juxtapositions of multiple trajectories of people, objects, texts and ideas" (Lester 2006, 135). Indeed, Clifford (1988) has suggested that societies were systematically interconnected; therefore there was no such thing as an independently functioning system. Similarly, Stoler and Cooper (1997, 4) argue that social transformations – both in the colonies and metropolis – were constructed through "global patterns and local struggles" and as such they treat colonies and metropolis "in a single analytic field". The network model – characterized by the "mobility turn" (see subsection 2.1.1) – is another flexible framework for examining the diaspora of Cypriot antiquities and the production of archaeological knowledge as it addresses all of the complexities of imperial

projects; such as the formation of identities in the metropolis, the production of scientific knowledge in the colonies or the demands of the colonized and enslaved people for rights (Ogborn, 2007). It is the flexible and critical model Shohat (1992) called for some twenty years ago, which incorporates all the above perspectives for addressing the historical and geographical differences and the possible links of colonialism. Using this method in this project neither the colonial space of Cyprus nor the metropolis (metropolitan museums) is privileged over the other. Both spaces are indeed remade by the process of being linked together (Lester, 2001). Drawing from the burgeoning field of island studies (Dodds and Royle, 2003; Giaccaria and Minca, 2010), the island of Cyprus is not considered as a discrete entity but as part of networks that situate them into much bigger processes.

Edward Said has had a significant influence on geographical examinations of colonial discourse as he articulated the relationship between colonial projects and geographies, whether they were imaginary, material or metaphorical (Blunt and McEwan, 2002; Said, 2003; Gilmartin and Berg, 2007; Nash, 2002). Through this relationship Said (2003) stressed the inherently political features of place and its intersection with politics. Recent work on the construction of colonial imaginative geographies and colonial identities by geographers have emphasized the complex sets of discourses, politics and representation through which identities were shaped in the colonies and imperial centres (Driver and Gilbert, 1999; Lester, 2002). As Blunt and McEwan (2002, 1) state, postcolonial geographies “address the on-going struggle over geography as both discourse and discipline and investigate the intersections of place, politics and identity in colonial and postcolonial contexts”.

One of the main critiques of postcolonial geographies is this preoccupation with textual representations and with the past, which obscures its material effects upon the present (Cook and Harrison, 2003; Dirlik, 1994; Eagleton, 1998; Gilmartin and Berg, 2007). McEwan (2003) responds to this criticism by arguing that there are works in postcolonial geography that use the colonial past so that the present could be analysed through a new perspective, by linking revisionist histories and contemporary political claims. Another criticism of postcolonial theories is their

preoccupation with one form of imperialism – that being colonialism – and its territorial claims, over other forms such as commercialism and the economic claims of imperial power (Domosh, 2004). The main theme stemming from these critiques is that even though cultural representations in the understanding of imperial power are of critical importance, of equal significance is the recognition of different forms of empire. Similarly, imperialism is a broad term that connotes many different things; from an external regime that gained the maximum financial profit using the labour (and usually with the help of local agents) and resources of a foreign territory (Drayton, 2012); a multifaceted phenomenon of territorial claims, economic and political interests; and as a cultural formation, in the sense of attitudes towards the world, such as practices of patriotism and the racial connotations of the civilizing mission (Ryan, 1997).

On a final note, this new research agenda – the integration of imperial histories with geography – opens up space for a variety of research themes: the examination of small-scale geographies of sites such as commercial posts, cities (both colonial and imperial), plantations, scientific expeditions, imperial spaces of maps and surveys (Naylor and Ryan, 2010; Ogborn, 2007; Schiebinger and Swan, 2005). These research themes invoke different approaches to colonial history. Most importantly postcolonial geographies decompose existing knowledge traditions: first, the rigid dichotomy of the binary colonizer/colonized; and, secondly, the one-dimensional view of the colonial world as either the experimental laboratory of modernity or the expression of European self (Bhabha, 1994; Stoler and Cooper, 1997). This perspective is most relevant to this project in that it allows colonial science to be seen, not as unified, but as a project that differed depending on its various locations of production. It is understood that as colonial infrastructure varied so did modes of scientific practice in the different colonies (Schiebinger and Swan, 2005). By adopting the network model for a geographical postcolonial approach, the spatial characteristics of colonial discourse, the spatial politics of representations and the material effects of colonialism can be effectively examined (Blunt and McEwan, 2002; Crush, 1994; Lester, 2006).

Chapter 3 Histories of science and archaeology

3.1 Introduction

The story of the diaspora of Cypriot antiquities is a story of nineteenth-century collecting practices, archaeological narratives and their material application. This chapter reviews the different phases of modern British and the broader European archaeology so as to theoretically locate Cyprus's position on the archaeological map. In particular it examines the "cultures of antiquity", according to which Cyprus's past was imagined, portrayed and operated as the conceptual framework of the excavations (Harvey, 2007, 55). A broad literature has demonstrated that archaeology was not a value-free discipline, but a product of the social and political agendas of nineteenth century that incorporated national, colonial and imperial motivations (Diaz Andreu, 1995, 2007a; Kohl, 1998; Kohl and Fawcett, 1995; Meskell, 1998; Shanks and Tilley, 1992; Trigger, 1984). Shanks and Tilley (1992), state that archaeology is an interpretative practice with implicit political narratives. In a similar manner, Kohl and Fawcett (1995, 5) argue that archaeology was, and still is, both a "scientific and political/literary enterprise" with political manifestations such as colonialism and nationalism (see also Diaz Andreu, 2007b; Hamilakis and Duke, 2007; Silberman, 1995; Shanks and Tilley, 1992).

Nonetheless, it would be anachronistic to use the terms science and ideology in a nineteenth-century historiography as we know them today. Outram (1996) stresses that science and ideology were not two discrete entities that interacted; rather, science was part of ongoing political, social and religious struggles and, thus, was inextricably bound up with culture in the eyes of the Victorians (Levine, 1997; Lightman, 1997; Livingstone, 1992). The Victorian interest in science was evident in all the realms of society: from discussions in the pub, to the literary clubs, and the publication of novels (Fyfe and Lightman, 2007; Inskter, 2007; Jardine et al, 1996; Lightman, 1997). In particular, the later nineteenth century was a period of social crises that produced state-sponsored invented traditions in Europe (Hobsbawm, 1983). The archaeological enterprise, much alike historians, invented the past by the interpretation of antiquities through a theoretical prism that corresponded with the nineteenth-century value of progress (Bowler, 1989). Along

this line, Sweet (2003) points out that in order to understand who comprised the antiquarian community one should examine how the social and intellectual elite comprehended and imagined the past and its meaning for the contemporary life.

Drawing on this literature chapter 3 provides an account of nineteenth-century archaeological scholarship through which we can understand excavatory and collecting practices in Cyprus.The first section (3.1) introduces nineteenth-century histories of archaeology by contextualizing their emergence within broader transformations taking place in other scientific disciplines. It is an effort to understand the professionalization of archaeology and the set of criteria that legitimized archaeological knowledge as scientific knowledge. The second section (3.2) traces the early stages of archaeology and its first steps as a scientific discipline. The third section (3.3) discusses the evolutionary turn of archaeology as it was influenced by the natural sciences and Darwin's theory of natural selection. The fourth section (3.4) outlines the cultural-historical turn of archaeology and the consequential re-conceptualization of antiquities. The fifth section (3.5) pays particular attention to the later nineteenth century and the preoccupation of archaeologists with the so-called "Mycenaean Question". By way of conclusion, the sixth and final section (3.6) links the different archaeological narratives together and situates the island of Cyprus within them.

3.2 From antiquarianism to archaeology: conceptualizing the emergence of a scientific discipline

The period during which science took its modern institutionalized form was the long nineteenth century, which began in the late eighteenth century and ended in the early twentieth century. It has been termed the "Second Scientific Revolution", but this terminology is too simplistic to describe such a diverse set of events spread across various countries (Cahan 2003, 3). This was also the period when disciplinary archaeology emerged from out of an intense fascination with the past, or as Bowler (1989, 3) puts it, from an obsession with age (see also Schnapp, 2002). Archaeology and history were the offspring of antiquarianism, a

phenomenon of collecting ancient relics combined with reading historical works (Bowler, 1989; Daniel, 1975; Schnapp, 2002; Stiebing, 1993; Sweet, 2003; Trigger, 1989). In the eighteenth century antiquarianism was practiced by the landed elite and was used to legitimate the ruling classes' dominant position in society. The sense of belonging and rootedness was provided by the historical landscape as it materialized a coherent, socially and nationally, timeless identity (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988; Till, 2005).

By the nineteenth century the narrative had changed: antiquarianism was about restoring the past for people. The past was omnipresent in Victorian modernity: historical knowledge informed modern culture and identity (Sweet, 2003). This fascination stemmed from the understanding that the world was changing and history offered the way for understanding the development of both the social and material world (Bowler, 1989). For example, excavations in the 1840s, such as Layard's in ancient Mesopotamia and his subsequent book *Nineveh and its Remains* (1849) and the following exhibitions at the British Museum, increased the public interest in the ancient world (Bowler, 1989). Throughout the nineteenth century the arts of antiquity were strongly associated with Greek art. Layard's discoveries of the ancient Assyrians excited the public as they were thought to be a potential link between classic Greek art and its primitive origins (Jenkins, 1992). It must be noted, as Lowenthal (1985) highlights, the Victorian period was a period of a simultaneous lament of the past and of the growth of sciences that looked into the future.

This concept of the past having a public purpose produced a culture of history of being more than just a fact-gathering endeavour (Bowler, 1989). In order for ancient artefacts to become part of human history, first they had to be collected and secondly arranged in museums (Newton, 1880). As in other modern disciplines, such as botany, classification became a defining act of collecting objects in archaeology (Kohler, 2007; Pearce 1992). In the nineteenth century, the terms archaeology and antiquarianism were generally used interchangeably (Evans, 2007). Antiquarianism in the nineteenth century was composed of three

elements – neoclassicism, medievalism and global natural history – each defining differently the term antiquity (Herringman, 2013). The term archaeology came into greater use in the latter half of nineteenth century in relation to excavated remains, while antiquarianism connoted the study of the materials of the past (manuscripts, standing buildings, jewellery and so on).

The division of archaeology from antiquarianism is conceptualized here within the broader professionalization of the sciences. Before outlining the concept of professionalization the use of the word scientist and professional in this project should be explained. The word “scientist” was coined by William Whewell in 1833 at the third meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (Morrell, 1996). This presents a form of “self-fashioning” (Mayhew 2005, 74): a linguistic description and cultural identification of individuals engaged in the study of natural history in a collective term (Barton, 2003). Through her review of the language used by Victorians, Barton (2003) demonstrates that the term “men of science” was the most commonly used. In Britain, the term men of science could be used to connote both the leisured gentlemen and the learned professions. Morrell (1996) notes that even though, modern definitions of professions are used when describing the past, we can use those terms in order to identify significant shifts in the social structure of science. Likewise, Lightman (1997) proposes, the terms “scientist” or “professional” are legitimate anachronisms when used for the description of the formation of scientific disciplines in the early and mid-nineteenth century.

In the early Victorian period it was thought that three learned professions existed, associated with divinity, medicine and law; and a fourth one related to the armed forces (Morell, 1996). The early learned professions were supposed to be a vocation whose produced knowledge could either be applied directly to people or to a practice that aimed on the development of society. It was, also, the period that the ecclesiastical hierarchy was considered to possess the cultural authority (Livingstone, 1992). The traditional thesis of professionalization suggests the change of the identity of men of science from the untrained gentleman amateur of

natural theology to the disciplined expert of methodological naturalism. This view has been dismissed as teleological (Barton, 2003; Fyfe and Lightman, 2007). It is contended as merely an assumption that the aim of early professionals was the transformation of individual pursuits of science into an avocation (Morell, 1996).

One of the main arguments rising from this literature is that rigid models of professionalization should be abandoned and instead studies should focus on disciplinarity in local settings, on identities and self-fashioning (Barton, 2003; Golinski, 2005; Pickstone, 1996). Similarly, for Morrell (1996), professionalization should be seen as a strategy by occupational groups to seek higher status, financial rewards, and control over the conditions of their work. Shapin (1982) points out that scientific representation in the modern world stemmed from the disputes with traditional authorities such as religion about where scientific authority should lie (see also Livingstone, 1992). It has been noted that different social groups had different opinions on how scientific practice should be conducted and this depended on their aim; (career or social order) (Shapin, 2007).

Profession was a dynamic notion whose meaning changed multiple times over the course of nineteenth century: it was related with the questions of who was considered to be “scientist” and of where science was produced in order to attain authority and credibility. The process of transformation from leisured activity to vocational pursuit is what Golinski (2005) calls professionalization. Golinski’s (2005) assertion acts as a flexible framework and a set of main characteristics, associated with the newly-established forms of authority, have been attributed to the professionalization of science (Barton, 2003; Morrell, 1996). The main professional trait emerging through the course of the nineteenth century was the paid academic alongside the amateur gentleman. This may be linked with the increasing number of paid positions offered by universities (in Britain in the period 1820-1850 and even though academic chairs doubled the numbers were still small). Universities were transformed to key sites of knowledge confirmation with their curriculums and formal academic qualifications (Daunton, 2005). The specialist qualifications (such as doctoral awards) and the new curricula (as formal training procedures) offered by universities provided authority as “public

certifications of scientific competence" (Morell 1996, 983) and displaced private patronage. The award of qualifications was another indication that the various sciences were demarcated in specialist fields of skill, knowledge and expertise (Morell 1996). The centrality of training in the conduct of science can be seen as the connection between institutional and theoretical developments. A great example being the rise of the laboratory to become a space that provided scientific training and produced credible, meaning considered placeless and universal, knowledge (Kuklick and Kohler, 1996).

The publication of papers in refereed professional journals was a critical form of authority. This was indicative of a change in cultures of publication, with scientists learning about new discoveries from these academic journals. By the 1870s and 1880s authoritative magazines offered a common space for writing about the advances in the various scientific fields (Daunton, 2005). Even so the need for more authoritative journals arose, prompted by leading figures such as Thomas Huxley and other members of the X-Club, such as John Tyndall and Joseph Hooker, who in association with Macmillan established the academic journal, *Nature* (Barton, 2003). The drive towards scientific archaeology was also publicly established by the foundation of the *Archaeological Journal* in 1845 (Evans, 2007). Elite bodies and societies such as the Dilettanti Club and the X-Club or the more formal British Association for the Advancement of Science provided authority to their members (Daunton, 2005; Evans, 2007; Fisher, 1996; Sweet, 2003; Withers, 2010). All of these changes led to the formation of specialized scientific communities with group solidarity from the 1870s onwards and new terms that described them (Cahan, 2003; Lightman, 1997). It is important to note professionalization's set of characteristics varied in different locations and disciplines (Morell, 1996). With the professionalization of science came its separation with philosophy (Ede and Cormack, 2004). The new social group that emerged was the "scientific community" (Cahan, 2003).

As it has been suggested from the recent literature on professionalization, historians should not take uncritically the agenda of historical actors and use as a framework solely the rise of the professional for the examination of science

because important aspects of the story are marginalized (Fyfe and Lightman, 2007; Mayhew, 2005).[7] In the first half of the nineteenth century, the aristocratic gentlemen educated in Cambridge and Oxford dominated science (Lightman, 1997) The aristocratic gentlemen of science argued for a social order grounded on natural theology and exchanged ideas in pubs and clubs (Secord, 1994). Science from this perspective was deeply involved in Victorian politics. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards middle-class men of science educated outside of the elite Oxbridge, like T.H.Huxley, came to the fore arguing for a social order based on evolutionary concepts (Lightman, 1997).

Likewise, archaeology tended to be dominated by members of the middle class, who affected its professionalization with their biases, preferences and interests – great examples being Augustus L.F. Pitt-Rivers, Flinders Petrie and Heinrich Schliemann (Trigger, 1981; see section 3.4). Natural history and archaeology were allied sciences with dialectical relationships: they were practiced in a single knowledge project by self-educated aristocrats in provincial or colonial settings (Herringman 2013, 3). Scientific archaeology was produced in the context of the social and political reformations that resulted (broadly) from the industrial revolution, the political and economic rise of the middle class and the emergence of nationalism (Daniel, 1975; Hamilakis, 2007; Trigger, 1989; see section 3.3). Since the beginnings of the nineteenth century the European economy had advanced rapidly through industrialization, capitalism, trade and imperial expansion (Diaz Andreu, 2007a). The production of knowledge on various subjects offered the opportunity for societies to define themselves in a world of rapid change (Lightman, 1997) (see section 3.3).

As modern archaeology gradually specialised, it emphasized a scientific curriculum, while the knowledge it produced became more esoteric and the discipline dependent on scientific data management (Steel, 2001). The recognition

[7] Other perspectives have been incorporated in the study of the history of science for this end; such as “popular” science in terms of focusing on the audience, language and emphasizing the role of site and experience in the communication of science through publications and public speeches (an overview of which can be found in Fyfe and Lightman, 2007 and Livingstone and Withers, 2011).

of archaeology in university curriculums was a slower process and, thus, the acceptance of archaeology in academic circles and the creation of their community was a similarly slow process (Levine, 1986). By the 1880s antiquarians were being pushed aside as they were not identified as academics and, thus, professionals. In the later nineteenth century the term archaeologist connoted the trained and professional individual and the term antiquarian the amateur hobbyist (Levine, 1986). Levine's (1986) influential study shows that a great distinction between antiquarians and archaeologists can be found on the area of scientific interest: archaeologists avoided general antiquarian interests and focused on the specific study of the past through material remains. Crucially archaeology, with its adoption of geological techniques, was considered more scientific than antiquarian study. Particularly, archaeology was compared to natural history (Poole, 1878)

Trigger (1989) notes that disciplinary archaeology originated and evolved through two movements in different regions: first, in Scandinavia in the beginning of nineteenth century and secondly, in the latter half of nineteenth century, in France and Britain (see also Daniel, 1975). In Scandinavia, by the first half of the nineteenth century, prehistoric archaeology was well formed and its cornerstone was the construction of relative chronologies by using seriation and stratigraphy, which also demonstrated that archaeological findings could become the means of the examination and interpretation of human history (Trigger, 1989). Generally, by the 1840s revolutionary advances were applied in the various subjects and the laboratory was increasingly dominating science (Inkster, 2007). Crucially though many disciplines - such as geography and archaeology - continued to place emphasis on fieldwork (Driver, 2001; Kohler, 2007; Naylor, 2009). In the natural sciences (see for instance geography, botany, geology) observation in the field necessitated the explorer's training with manuals and instructions (Driver, 2004). Following rules for observing was connected with the idea that the credibility of knowledge depended not only on what to look for but how to record. In other words, the institutionalization of the various disciplines provided the field workers with a particular way of seeing (Daston, 2008). These changes affected the conduct of archaeology; however, the methods of excavating or recording

antiquities in the field, although crucial to the discipline, were not standardized (Evans, 2007). In this context the Scandinavian movement pioneered new techniques, principles of typology, and comparative methods for dating artefacts, which enabled the study of late prehistory. It was grounded on the work of Christian Jurgensen Thomsen (1788-1865), Sven Nilsson (1787-1883) and Jens J. A. Worsaae (1821-1885) (Daniel, 1975; Trigger, 1989).

C. J. Thomsen, a museum researcher, while classifying artefacts in the National Museum of Denmark, introduced new techniques of dating based not on written records but on the analysis of style, decoration and context (Daniel, 1975; Renfrew, 1980; Trigger, 1989). Through the combination of this type of analysis with seriation he reaffirmed chronologies of the Three Age System (firstly articulated by the historian Vedel-Simonsen): the divide of human history into the ages of stone, of bronze and of iron (Daniel, 1975). Nilsson, like Thomsen, was a cultural evolutionist and his contribution to the further development of Scandinavian archaeology lay in the specification of the uses of stone and bone objects (Trigger, 1989). According to Trigger (1989), however, the first trained prehistoric archaeologist and field worker was Jens J. A. Worsaae. Worsaae conducted stratigraphic excavations and produced data that demonstrated evidence of cultural change, which confirmed Thomsen's chronologies (Daniel, 1975; Trigger, 1989). He was also the first archaeologist that linked the past with race, progress and independence and argued for antiquity as being a representation of the nation.

The first attempt of a synthesis of prehistory in the English language according to the Scandinavian model was made by the Scottish antiquarian Daniel Wilson (1816-1892). He used the Three-Age system, after Thomsen's book, *A Guide to Northern Antiquities*, was translated into English, to classify the artefacts held by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in Edinburgh in 1848 (Renfrew, 1980; Trigger, 1989). Wilson coined the term "prehistory" as the study of the history of a territory in a temporal period before the emergence of written records (Trigger, 1989). However, the Three Age System was not widely embraced in Britain as it was highly criticized as being only a hypothesis. This view altered in 1875 when

data from the excavation in a Swiss lake provided evidence for a temporal sequence according to this system of chronology (Daniel, 1975; Trigger, 1981).

According to D.G. Hogarth (1899, vi) (see subsection 6.2.2) the term archaeology by the end of nineteenth century had three meanings. The first meaning connoted "the propaedeutic training of the aesthetic faculty by the study of style in antique art – a frequent connotation of the term in universities and other places of education" (Hogarth 1899, vi). The second meaning is the connotation given by Charles Newton (Hogarth 1899, vi) by which archaeology was considered as the science of all the human past and was termed as Greater Archaeology. According to this meaning all documents, literally or material, were archaeology's objects of study. The third meaning defined archaeology as the "science of the treatment of material remains of the human past" - termed Lesser Archaeology. The third connotation of the term as a "science" was adopted by archaeologists of Hogarth's generation in an effort to restrict the scope of the subject following the trend of all sciences to limit the boundaries of their study as their potential scopes grew (Hogarth, 1899). This may be seen as a principle of limitation, which argues that disciplines arose out of efforts to limit the discourse involved in the formal process of knowledge making (Whitehead, 2007). It was a form of boundary work and Hogarth's was reductive boundary work in opposition of Newton's expansive boundary work (see subsection 6.4.1). By the end of the nineteenth century the boundaries of archaeology were well defined (Levine, 1986).

The early antiquaries in Britain were concerned primarily with antiquities from their homeland – often preoccupied with a specific locality either a town or a site and with specific types of objects (Sweet, 2003). – and arguably their greatest contributions were the discovery and record of the ancient past of Scotland, Wales, Ireland and England (Naylor, 2010; Sweet, 2003). These studies were highly regarded in their time. During this period local societies were founded such as the Archaeological Association in 1843, the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1845, and Glasgow Archaeological Society in 1856 (Daniel, 1975). Antiquarians and natural historians had similar research agendas, the same regional and epistemological framework and socialised in similar circles. By the

mid-nineteenth century the visualization of the past varied from scholarly works, to topographical guides and costume evocations (Smiles, 2007). However their research did not seem to have a greater applicability or lessons as historical accounts of nations and wars seemed to have.

British antiquarianism very slowly developed a rhetoric of class-neutral disciplinarity (Herringman, 2013). The practitioners of archaeology were still considered as gentlemen; social and economic issues remained factors in the inclusion or exclusion of the archaeological community. Institution-based archaeologists derived from the gentlemen of leisure (Evans, 2007). In particular, Hogarth (1896, 6) states that "… for polite societies, like the English Dilettanti … under whose patronage archaeological wandering has become now a professional calling". Along the same line, Levine (1986) finds the gap between amateurs and professionals in antiquarian, archaeological and historical studies in their social standing: their background and the institutions and organizations they gathered around. The practitioner of science was at the same time both a social and political being.

3.3 Evolutionary archaeology: 1850-1870

By the mid-nineteenth century nation-states were formed in Europe; the projected ethnically homogeneous nation concurred with the territorial and the political unit of the state. The narratives, stemming from the concept of the nation-state, emphasized that the biological differences can explain the cultural and political differences, particularly the differences between the colonizers and the colonized (Daniel, 1975; Diaz Andreu, 1995, 2007a; Silberman, 1995; Trigger 1984, 1989, 1995). In other words, the world was "naturally" divided into the, so called, primitive and the advanced cultures (Trigger, 1989). This was a method of ordering nature (Lightman, 1997).

The cultural boundaries with their, perceived, homogeneous national identities were equated with the political boundaries of the state. For instance, the values of technological progress, of the rationality of European systems of government, and of social and economic progress demarcated European national identity and the

political state (Stoler and Cooper, 1997). Notably the newly-formed middle class, in its majority, believed in the idea of progress and its members considering themselves part of it, demonstrated it in exhibitions such as in the Great Exhibition of London in 1851 (Trigger, 1989). Indeed, a defining moment in British archaeology was the decade between 1850 and 1860, with the Great Exhibition of 1851 celebrating industrial and imperial Victorian Britain, and the publication of Darwin's book, *The Origin of Species*, in 1859 (Evans, 2007).

Nineteenth-century archaeology was premised on the idea that the record of all human societies, either the considered barbarous or civilized, was embedded in the physical form of their material remains, whether architecture, painting and sculpture (Newton, 1880). O' Brien (2005, 30) describes eloquently the link constructed by modern archaeologists between ancient civilizations and their material remains:

> "…objects in the archaeological record, because they were parts of past phenotypes, were shaped by the same evolutionary processes as were the somatic (bodily) features of their makers and users. This is a shorthand way of saying that the possessors of the objects were acted on by evolutionary processes".

By the collection of ancient relics, archaeologists sought to discover modern Europe's origins and the discovered objects acted as the evidence of human history's continuous progress (Daniel, 1975; Trigger, 1989). The middle-class scientists offered a different view on society which was based on evolutionary theories (Lightman, 1997). In particular, Daniel (1975) argues that the recognition of archaeology as the doctrine of progress was manifested in 1867 at the Exposition Universelle and the meeting of the Congress in Paris. Archaeological authority was no longer associated with tradition and personal individuals but with abstract and objective codes communicated through institutions (Hodder, 1989). Archaeology became the medium for unravelling human history and for providing evidence of the continuous progress and evolution which were considered to be the main factors of the perceived universal historical development (Daniel, 1975; Trigger, 1989).

In this context, prehistoric archaeology focused on the Palaeolithic period and on the question of human origins; although interests in the “Great Civilizations” of Greece and Rome did not diminished (Diaz Andreu, 2007a; Trigger, 1989). Two broad branches of archaeology with different theoretical perspectives were formed: prehistoric and classical archaeology; and as Schnapp (Schnapp cited in Diaz Andreu 2007a, 2) points out, “natural” archaeology and “philological” archaeology (see also Daniel, 1975; Johnson, 1993; Trigger 1989). Classical or philological archaeology was based on the humanistic traditions of the Renaissance and focused on the early civilizations and on “high art” objects of the classical world, aided by written records (Johnson, 1993). Prehistoric or natural archaeology emerged as an evolutionary study of human history, with a distinct positivist orientation, and focusing on civilizations and periods that did not produce any written texts (Johnson, 1993; Trigger, 1989). Trigger (1989, 1995) also divided classical and prehistoric archaeology into romantics and evolutionists, representing classical and prehistoric archaeology respectively: romantics, associated with German Romanticism, searched for their favourite golden age, while evolutionists looked for progress and were associated with French Liberalism (Silberman, 1995). Whether classical or prehistoric, European archaeology during the nineteenth century focused mainly on the regions of the Mediterranean and the Near East (as it will be explained in the sections 3.4 and 3.5) (Diaz Andreu, 2007a).

Palaeolithic archaeology (and archaeology in general) in the third quarter of nineteenth century was highly influenced by evolutionary geology and in some extent by palaeontology, since they both provided the scientific means of studying human antiquity (Stiebing, 1993; Trigger, 1989). Charles Lyell’s (1797-1875) idea of transmutation, that being the development of species from one another in a continuous past without geological interruptions and published in his book *Principles of Geology* (1830-33), was well received by British scholars and demonstrated the graduate prevalence of evolutionism (Daniel, 1975; Trigger, 1989). Evolutionism at first was a radical theory, nonetheless through time it gained acceptance in the majority of archaeologists (Diaz Andreu, 2007a; Trigger, 1989).

The initial thorough articulation of an idea of evolutionism belonged to Joseph-Arthur, Comte de Gobineau and his four volume *Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races* (1853-55; a translation in English can be found in 1915) (Trigger, 1989).

In 1859 two significant events occurred that linked archaeology inextricably with geology and palaeontology in unearthing the origins of humankind (Diaz Andreu, 2007a; Trigger, 1981). First, stone tools and fossil animals were found during excavations in Brixham Cave in south-western England and were dated before 4.000 B.C. (Trigger, 1989). This discovery was used as evidence[8] by the British Association for the Advancement of Science, the Geological Society of London Science and the Royal Society of London, for the coexistence of humans with extinct mammals, and used to demonstrate the antiquity of humans (Trigger, 1989). This discovery initiated the departure from interpreting the antiquity of human according to traditional theological views to the search of human origins in a more scientific framework (Diaz Andreu, 2007a; Trigger, 1981).

A few months later Charles Darwin (1859) published his thesis, *On the Origins of Species*, where his theory of evolution, according to which the species were transformed through time, was developed (Trigger, 1981; Trigger, 1989). Darwin's theory – which caused heated controversies among his contemporaries - was premised on the idea of the struggle for survival of the species "as natural selection by the survival of the fittest"; his theory was not initially applied to human beings (Daniel 1975, 64; Diaz Andreu, 2007a; O'Brien, 2005). T.H. Huxley applied Darwinian theory to humans in the publication of *Man's Place in Nature* (1863) (Daniel, 1975). Later, Darwin, in his explanation of human origins in the books *Descent of Man* (1871) and *Expression of the Emotions in Man and the Animals* (1872), affiliated cultural and biological evolution and shaped the ideological context for racial interpretations of human behaviour. In this discourse cultural progress, although a universal concept, occurred unequally in the world with

[8] For a discussion on the relationship between archaeology and evidence see section 6.5 and subsection 7.4.2.2

Europeans benefited from it, whereas all the other cultures were thought of being static and unchanging (Daniel, 1975; Trigger, 1981; Trigger, 1989).

Darwinian theory was incorporated into archaeology by John Lubbock in his influential book, *Pre-historic Times* (1865), where he posed the temporal division of the Stone Age in the Palaeolithic (or Archaeolothic) and Neolithic. Lubbock initiated the tracing of the supposed development of ancient civilizations through technological progress (Daniel, 1975; Trigger, 1989). Evolutionary archaeology was beginning to be shaped on the conviction of cultural progress. This was the idea of progress; as noted above, the Victorians believed that society advanced through time and its understanding was vital for the prediction or the control of the future (Bowler, 1989). Diaz Andreu (2007a) suggests that one of the main reasons for the development of archaeology in Great Britain and France was due to colonialism, because the colonial encounter with indigenous population led to discussions about human origins. The visualisation of colonized people through archaeological descriptions helped in elaborating the image of the European past according to the evolutionist narrative (Diaz Andreu, 2007a). Europeans classified their subjects racially and through the relationship of rule and knowledge those classifications became organizing principles of daily conduct (Stoler and Cooper, 1997).

Archaeological narratives depicting native inhabitants as uncivilized populations, in contrast with the civilized and progressed Europe, were used to legitimize colonial expansion (Diaz Andreu, 2007a). In particular, the answer to the critical question of why some civilizations advanced and others did was found in the surrounding environment (Bowler, 1989). From this period onward, evolutionary theory established the status of a dominant narrative: it provided a totalising theory for the natural and human sciences (Shelton, 2000). The main focus was to formulate universal evolutionary laws that would provide adequate explanations for the organisation of societies and enable their ranking based on their intellectual and technological achievements.

3.4 The dawn of a new era, 1870-1890: cultural-historical archaeology

One could speak of a modern science by the 1870s (Cahan, 2003). Knowledge in this period was synonymous with progress and was separated from philosophy and theology and was aligned with specialized and institutionalized disciplines (Cahan, 2003; Inkster, 2007). Victorians did not include in the term “science” humanities such as history (Daunton, 2005). “Good science” was the science that produced knowledge in a standardized form, which appeared, at the same time, as universal (Daunton, 2005). In this form scientific knowledge could be compared with the information deriving from remote locations. This concept of credible knowledge was applied to archaeology. By the end of the century science was clearly split into many restrictive fields and ceased to be practiced as an occupation for an isolated individual; rather it had been transformed into an organized group activity (Schroeder-Gudehus, 1996). Standards and units of measurement had to be agreed so that practitioners in different localities could be assured of collecting data in the same way. In this context, the relationship between artefacts and archaeology by the end of the century became closely defined and was established around a more rigorous methodological approach (Levine, 1986).

In the subsequent twenty years, under the impetus of socio-political developments such as growing nationalism and of the economic depression of the 1870s, the efficacy of evolutionary archaeology began to fade (Diaz Andreu, 2007a; Trigger, 1989; Trigger, 1995). From now on there was a stronger alignment between archaeology and historical narratives that formed the cultural-historical approach (Diaz Andreu, 2007a; Trigger, 1995). In this approach ethnicity became the critical factor of human history, which was equated with the historical and biological unity of the nation (Diaz Andreu, 2007a). Trigger (1981, 1989) argues that evolutionary theory was set aside because cultural progress was no longer viewed as an inherent characteristic of humans. However, Diaz Andreu (2007a) argues that evolutionism continued to be part of archaeological narratives in the form of positivism which was premised on the belief in progress and the, supposed, superiority of the white race and its nation. In this concept, evolutionism (in the new positivist form) did not oppose the cultural-historical approach but as Diaz Andreu puts it “accepted its tenets and moved beyond them” (Diaz Andreu 2007a, 389; see

also Shelton, 2000). The idea of progress and its relationship with archaeology is summarized in D.G. Hogarth's (1896, 3) assertion that

> "Antiquities are the relics of ancient times that remain to us of the conditioning circumstance of the young world's life and they pertain to the infinitely little in which our autobiography begins and are not to be looked at with wide-eyed wonder by the modern, who is himself the roof and crown of things..."

The new theories of diffusion and migration were initially articulated by the German ethnologists Friedrich Ratzel and Franz Boas and formed this cultural-historical approach in archaeology, one that would dominate the field for many decades (Trigger, 1981, 1989). According to these theories there was no simple pattern of culture in human history and cultural patterns were related to particular ethnic groups, which varied temporally and spatially (Kohl, 1998; Trigger, 1980, 1981, 1989). The theories of diffusion and migration, encouraged also by nationalism, were closely linked with the question of the European origins and of how specific groups in Europe dwelled in prehistory (Fowler, 1987; Trigger, 1981).

Through this new cultural-historical context the notion of archaeological culture as a universal and bounded whole was produced (Trigger, 1989; Van Dommelen, 1997). The first major figure who argued for the idea of the world as a culturally bounded whole was the Swedish archaeologist Oscar Montelius (1843-1921) (Daniel, 1975; Trigger, 1989). His typological method, based on Thomsen's seriational approach, included the analysis of the variations of artefacts in form and decoration from Europe, in order to form regional chronologies (Daniel, 1975; Trigger, 1989). Montelius believed that his produced chronology indicated that in prehistory cultural development occurred in the Near East; which then came to Europe by diffusion and migration (Daniel, 1975; Trigger, 1989). The idea of identifying archaeological data from specific spatial and temporal regions with ethnic groups and language came from German archaeology and their adoption of the French word culture (Diaz Andreu, 2007a; Trigger, 1989). The British ethnologist E.B. Tylor published *Primitive Culture* in 1871 in which he adopted the word culture and gave the classic definition: "that complex whole which includes

knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Trigger 1989, 162). This conception was popularized by Ratzel (Trigger, 1989). In the *History of Rome* (1854-5) the German historian Theodor Mommsen identified nation with language and race and projected the development of history through evolutionist cycles (Diaz Andreu, 2007a). He proposed that ancient civilization passed from the Great Civilizations of the Mediterranean to the Aryans; the Aryan race was central in archaeology as it was considered to be the superior race within in European narratives at the time (Diaz Andreu, 2007a).

The key development in this period was the equal focus on geographical and chronological differences instead of the previous emphasis on temporal variations based on Darwinian evolutionism (Trigger, 1980, 1989). Positivism supported the racial division of unequal value of the human cultures and races and was used to explain the movement of the Aryans (or Indo-Europeans) (Diaz Andreu, 2007a; Kohl, 1998; Wailes and Zoll, 1995). This perception of the origins of Europe influenced and dominated archaeology as it gained many supporters in academia; for example, the British archaeologists John Linton Myres (1895) and Arthur Evans (1896) adopted this idea and expanded it further by arguing that Europeans, especially Britons, were able to improve the innovations brought from the Near East (Trigger, 1981). The tracing of the origins of European civilization in the Near East appealed to the majority of Christians as it reaffirmed the biblical view of human history (Bowler, 1989; Daniel, 1975; Trigger, 1989). The Near East was brought to the attention of the British and French as early as the beginnings of nineteenth century by the Napoleonic invasion in Egypt and Palestine. Nevertheless, it was the conception of Europe originating in those territories that biblical and Near Eastern archaeology developed distinctively with many excavations being conducted there (including East Mediterranean) (Daniel, 1975; Stiebing, 1993). Archaeological discoveries strengthened the Christian-Creationist universe and furthered the socio-evolutionary drive of empire.

In the nineteenth century, cultures were well-defined concepts defined as internally homogeneous with physical external boundaries. This allowed, as Van Dommelen (1997) suggests, colonialism to create a clash between cultures in which the progressive one would always prevail over the primitive one (see also Silberman, 1995). The Near East was then simultaneously “ours” and “other” and the present inhabitants were disassociated from the European civilized past (Bahrani, 1998). Both nationalism and imperialism, in archaeology, were connected with certain types of material culture and the changes in material culture provided proof for the movements and the different stages that people went through (Diaz Andreu, 2007a). This new archaeological narrative was incorporated into imperial discourse as it projected and justified the supposedly natural superiority of European nations (Fowler, 1987; Harvey, 2007; Silberman, 1995).

At this point excavations and preservation should be mentioned since they became a critical part of the practice of archaeology. In the late nineteenth century, Britain’s significant developments in excavation techniques were made by the archaeologists Augustus Lane Fox Pitt Rivers (1827-1900) and Flinders Petrie (1853-1942) (Daniel, 1975; Johnson, 1993). These men are considered to be, along with Heinrich Schliemann and Arthur Evans, the fathers of scientific excavation, who first used accurate planning, description and preservation (Daniel, 1975; Evans, 2007). As Daniel (1975, 171) argues: “Pitt-Rivers and Petrie were mainly responsible for the transformation of the archaeological outlook from one of curiosity to one which was frankly sociological”. Pitt Rivers conducted excavations in England and Wales between 1880 and 1900 and his analysis of objects were made according to progress and typological sequence (Daniel, 1975). Pitt Rivers was by all measures an amateur archaeologist: he did not receive archaeological training or education; he was an army officer for twenty years before becoming a full-time archaeologist (Levine, 1986). His enormous contribution to archaeology that constituted a turning point in the discipline was the rejection of the treasure-hunting of beautiful objects (Levine, 1986). Pitt Rivers advocated that archaeological attention should be turned to ordinary artefacts and to the necessity of collecting complete collections of prehistoric artefacts (Daniel, 1975). Similarly

Petrie argued that archaeology wrongly placed value only on inscriptions or sculptures (Levine, 1986). Petrie excavated in Egypt and Palestine and he deployed comparative archaeology by cross-dating Egyptian and Greek artefacts (Daniel, 1975). Furthermore, German and Austrian excavators in the Aegean such as Curtius and Dorpfeld advanced the excavations of classical archaeology (Daniel, 1975).

These archaeologists developed excavation and archaeological techniques such as typological sequence dating and stratigraphically-based pottery chronologies (Daniel, 1975; Stiebing, 1993). Diaz Andreu (2007a) points out that in the cultural-historical approach maps constituted one of the knowledge making practices of archaeology, as well as a colonial practice, which aided in the visualization of the archaeological narratives by the geographical allocation of material culture and by the identification of typological series (see also Meskell, 1998; Mourad, 2007). This illustrates the close relationship in nineteenth century between the practices of anthropology, geography and archaeology, since they all focused on the examination of the past and of the human origins and often blurred the boundaries between them (Diaz Andreu, 2007a; Driver, 2001).[9]

3.5 The "age of the Mycenaean Question"

In the period between 1870 and 1890, archaeologists were concerned with the temporal subdivision of Bronze and Iron Ages and the application of these chronologies in Europe. One question dominated archaeology according to Daniel (1975, 149): "was the prehistory of Europe to be studied on a dual basis, the Eastern Mediterranean basis of named civilizations and cultures and the European basis of named epochal subdivision of the Three-Age framework?" (cf. Diaz Andreu, 2007a). The possible ways of approaching this question were: Montelius' extension of the three age system in the Mediterranean and Near East; Worsaae's and Chantre's geographical distinctions by extending Eastern Mediterranean archaeology to Europe; and, finally, the application of names with historical or linguistic connotations with migrations to prehistoric groups of Europe geographical

[9] See footnote 186, page 202 for an example of this relationship.

or epochal such as Phoenician, Aryan and Iberian (Daniel, 1975). All these different theories indicate that during this period there was a general doubt whether archaeology was an adequate means of getting information about the prehistoric past and about the evolution of human societies (Hogarth, 1899). Victorians turned to the disciplines of philology, linguistics and palaeontology in order to link language, race and prehistory (Daniel, 1975; Hogarth, 1899). In the midst of all these theories, the excavations carried out in Greece and Minor Asia by the German Heinrich Schliemann caused a profound impact on archaeology and generated the appearance of new hypothesises (Daniel, 1975; Poole, 1878).

Schliemann was a merchant (1822-1890) and after his retirement at the age of 41 he studied prehistoric archaeology in Paris (Daniel, 1975). He was fascinated by Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and his aim was to find the remains of Troy (Daniel, 1975). His interests demonstrate German archaeology's philhellenism and fascination with ancient art history (Kohl, 1998). Schliemann conducted excavations at Hissarlik, the site of the historic Ilion, namely Troy (see figs. 3.1. and 3.2.), in 1871-1873, 1879, 1882-1883 and 1889-1890, and he applied stratigraphy to his diggings (Daniel, 1975; Stiebing, 1993). His published works - *such as Mycenae* (1878) and *Ilios* (1880) - were translated into French and English immediately (Daniel, 1975). Schliemann's publications stimulated a great interest in his excavations even amongst the archaeologically-uninformed public. Daniel (1975) finds the reason for this lying in the resemblance of the findings such as masks and jewellery with the ones used in modern times in Europe, as they seemed to show a substantive link between prehistory and the present (see also Fotiadis, 2006; Stiebing, 1993). Schliemann found evidence that Hissarlik was a prehistoric settlement of great antiquity with fortifications and he identified seven cities - layered in the same location -, the second as the Homeric Troy (Daniel, 1975; Stiebing, 1993). In 1892-4, Wilhelm Dorpfeld, leading German archaeologist, during some confirmatory excavations discovered two more layers, which Myres sees as an indication that Schliemann's excavations were not observed closely (Myres, 1895). The discoveries in overseas locations had a dual importance: they provided insights in existing knowledge and at the same time posed questions which often led, as in this case, to fundamental shifts in theories (Hunt, 1997).

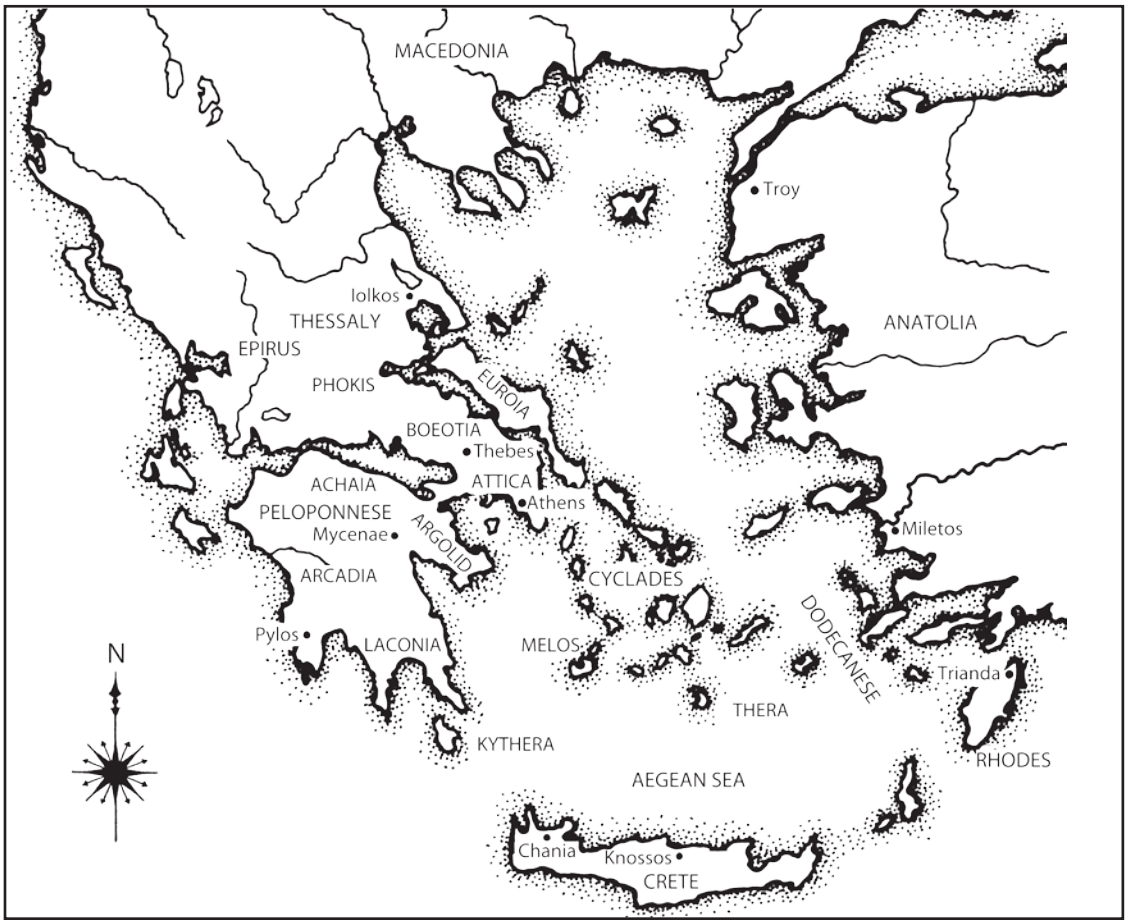

Figure 3.1 Map of the Bronze Age Aegean showing the geographical boundaries of the Mycenaean civiliazation (Feuer 2011, 522)

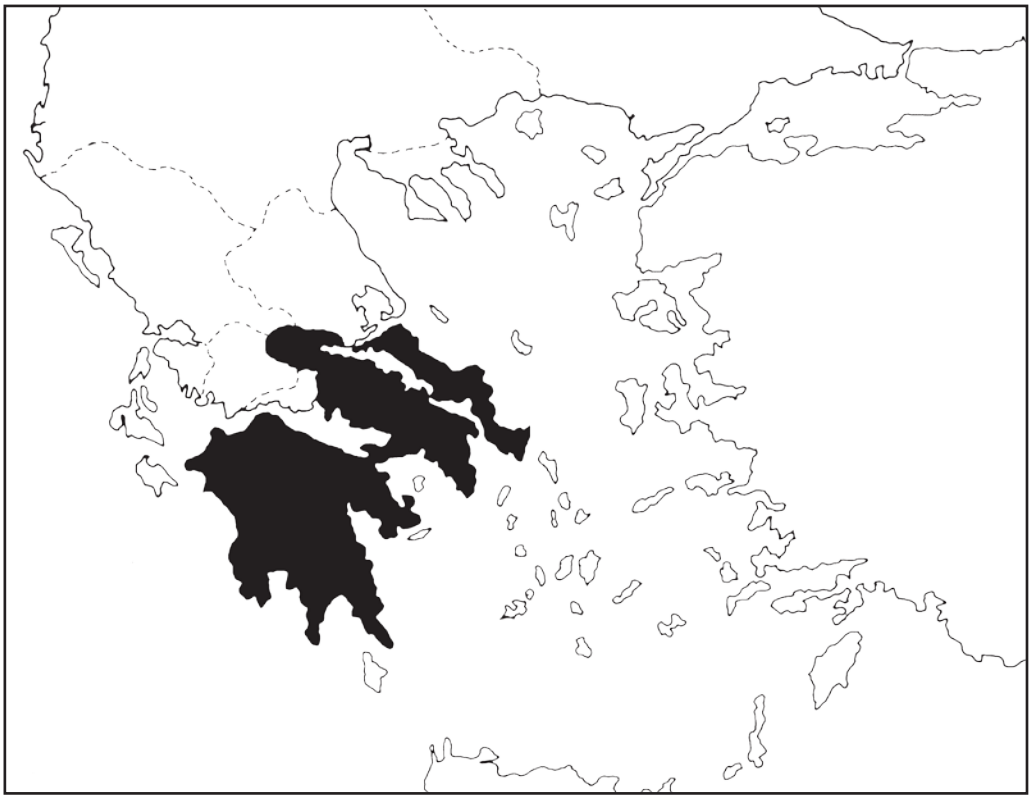

Figure 3.2 Mycenaean Core Zone (Feuer 2011, 523)

Schliemann's contribution to archaeology also rested on the discovery of the pre-Hellenic civilizations of the Eastern Mediterranean, the Mycenaean civilization of Greeks (Bronze Age) and the pre-Mycenaean Anatolian civilisation of Troy II (Daniel, 1975). Schliemann advocated that the antecedents to these civilizations should be searched for outside of Greece (Daniel, 1975). The importance of Schliemann's excavations at Hissarlik was determined not only by the discovery of the Homeric Troy but in the discovery of pre-Homeric and prehistoric remains along with a non-Greek civilisation (Daniel, 1975). The excavations of Mycenae revealed the graves of king Agamemnon and Queen Clytemnestra, the so-called Shaft Graves (Daniel, 1975; Stiebing, 1993). The findings from these excavations divided the archaeological world regarding the origins of prehistoric European culture. Schliemann and his supporters believed that they belonged to the Homeric Greeks and other archaeologists argued that they were Byzantine, Celtic or Oriental (Daniel, 1975; Fotiadis, 2006). While, he was a controversial figure – some

suggested that he was the first modern archaeologist, others argued that he was simply a robber – his excavations crucially contributed to the further advancement and re-orientation of archaeology, which would become evident in the last decade of the nineteenth century (Daniel, 1975; Fotiadis, 2006). He influenced many German, British and French archaeologists such as the British Arthur Evans and John L. Myres, evoking the proliferation of excavations in Greek territories, since he ignited new questions such as the question of the interrelations between origins and dates of the new found civilizations (Daniel, 1975).

In the last decade of the nineteenth century the impetus of Schliemann's discoveries in Mycenae shaped the archaeological discourse of Europe's prehistoric past (Fotiadis, 2006). The archaeologists Arthur Evans and John L. Myres in their publications *"The Eastern Question" in Anthropology* (1896) and *Prehistoric Man in the Eastern Mediterranean* (1895) (respectively) supported the idea that the Aegean civilization owed something both to the East and to Europe (Daniel, 1975; Fotiadis, 2006; Stiebing, 1993). Simultaneously the Italian Giuseppe Sergi published *La Stirpe Mediterranea* in 1895[10] in which he argued for a Mediterranean race from North Africa that progressively spread towards Europe; creating the idea of "Eurafricans" (Daniel, 1975; Fotiadis, 2006). According to Sergi, Eurafricans were a Mediterranean race that created the civilizations of Greece and Rome (Fotiadis, 2006). As a result of all this activity the last decade of the nineteenth century was the age of the "Mycenaean question", in other words the question of the spatial and temporal limits of Mycenaean civilization and how it was applied into the sequence of culture in Greece and the East Mediterranean (Fitton, 2001). Hence a newfound interest in the Mediterranean region was prompted and proliferated by the discoveries in great Middle Eastern ancient sites, namely Nimrud and Nineveh in the beginning of the nineteenth century and later Schliemann's discoveries at Troy (Karageorghis, 2007; Van Dommelen, 1997). In fact, many archaeologists of the late nineteenth century claimed that the 1890s constituted a breaking point in archaeology since the previous conviction that the

[10] An English translation was published in 1901

Europeans originating from Asia was proved to be wrong by the archaeological discoveries in the Mediterranean (Fotiadis, 2006).

3.6 Archaeological narratives and Cyprus

This section provides an account of Cyprus' ancient history as interpreted by the contemporary discoveries on the island in the context of the broader archaeological narratives discussed in this chapter. The empirical chapters of this thesis demarcate the ways in which the archaeological knowledge of Cypriot ancient history (presented in this section) was produced, circulated and displayed. According to both evolutionist and cultural-historical European archaeological narratives, Cyprus did not belong either to the ancient Greek world or the civilization of the Near East. Due to the lack of any evidence in the form of antiquities, modern archaeologists could not identify Cyprus's early racial affinities and so the island's ethnographical origins remained unknown (Lang, 1905; Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1899; Perrot and Chipiez, 1885). The first known culture of Cyprus was considered to be an indigenous development on the basis of two reasons: first, because of the lack of physical evidence that would connect the island with other places and secondly, due to the dissimilarities of this early Cypriot material culture with the neighbouring ancient cultures. Because of the lack of physical evidence this early form of civilization was thought to be an indigenous development (Ohnefalsch-Richter, M., 1891). Even as late as the last decade of the century the question of the racial origins of Cyprus remained open.[11] Gradually, however, the discovery of material evidence showed influences from both the Hellenic world and the Levant, especially Phoenicia (Evans, 1896; Myres, 1895; Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899; Perrot and Chipiez 1885). These were the first steps toward discovering the ancient past of the island.

Nineteenth-century archaeology divided ancient Cyprus into nine kingdoms: Salamis, Soloi Chythroi Curium, Lapethos, Kerynia, Nea-Paphos, Kition and Amathus (Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1899; see fig.3.3). Each kingdom had its

[11] In accordance with G. Sergi, the contemporary, considered, specialist ethnographer of the Mediterranean area cited in Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899

own individual character, for instance Kition remained Phoenician until Alexander the Great colonized the island, and Salamis was purely Greek (Perrot and Chipiez, 1885). Poole (1878) ascertained based on the characteristics of the Cypriot antiquities that the island in its whole was dominated by the Phoenician influence until the Macedonian period (although the island was hellenized by then). That was based on the fact that not a single Phoenician inscription was found in Salamis. The oldest objects from Salamis evoked Mycenaean style and even though the discoveries were not numerous they could show evidence of the development of Greek influence in Cypriot art. The acceptance of Cyprus's colonization by the Hellenes in 12BC occurred when a Greek-Phoenician bilingual inscription was found on the island in the 1860s (Perrot and Chipiez, 1885).

In consequence of this development, the population of Cyprus was accepted as being comprised of two elements, the Hellenic and the Phoenician. Hellenic colonizers established themselves alongside the Semites/Phoenicians, who were intermingled in different proportions in various parts of the island (Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899). Sculpture found on the island demonstrated that Hellenic civilization and language were the dominant elements in Cyprus and were, perceived, as being aesthetically richly endowed (Birch 1884; Perrot and Chipiez, 1885). It was therefore thought that Cyprus was "an isolated corner of the Greek world" even though the story of the Hellenic colonization of the island was still obscure (Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, 22).

The closest parallel to ancient Cyprus was thought to be the civilization of Hissarlik, the site of the historic Ilion, discovered by Schliemann in 1876 (see section 3.5) (Evans, 1896; Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899). Poole (1878, 356) commented that "from Cyprus to Mycenea it is not an unnatural transition". The pottery of Hissarlik had affinities with that of Cyprus in form, technique and ornament. It was thought that the indigenous art of Cyprus was modified and eventually transformed by the importation of new processes and motives during the Bronze Age, from Cilicia – Hittite, Lebanon, Egypt and Mycenae (Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899). Hence, it was supported that Cyprus was the principal meeting point of the Mycenaean civilization with traders from the West and Phoenicians from the East,

whose influence varied temporally and spatially. According to modern archaeologists this explained the deep contrasts found amongst the discovered antiquities. For example, it was thought that objects of Hellenic style indicated the period whence Cypriot was under Greek influence and the local art had attained its, perceived, highest artistic level (Birch 1884; Perrot and Chipiez 1885).

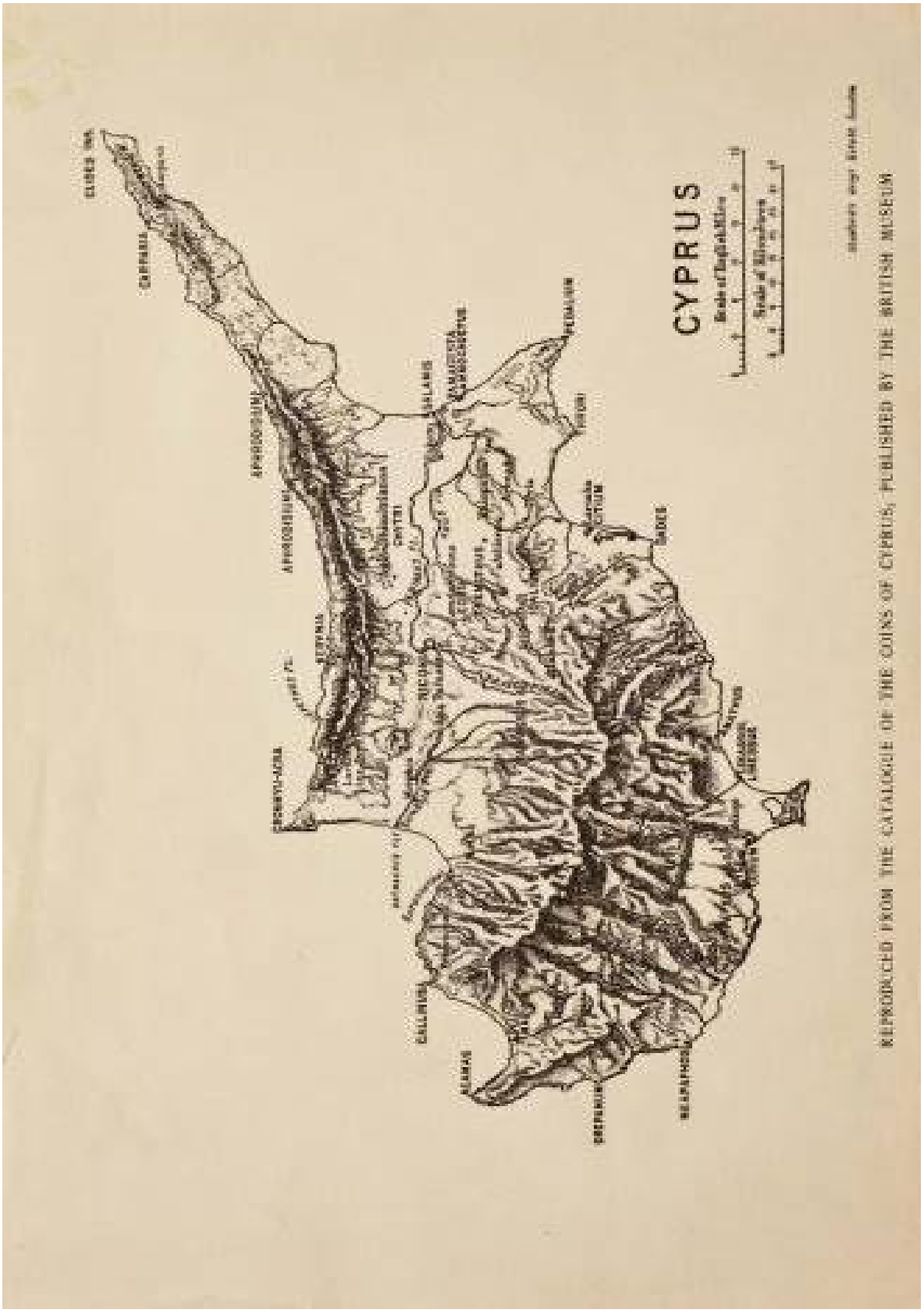

Figure 3.3 Map of Cyprus including references to the ancient sites (Myres 1914, 2)

Modern archaeologists' criterion for ascertaining the character of the ancient Cypriot civilization was the level of accuracy of nature's stylistic representation on the discovered material remains. The representation's level of accuracy was the borderline that differentiated the so-called civilized and barbarous races (Newton, 1880). In accordance with this criterion, it was argued that the inhabitants of this "Greek corner" did not achieve the great skills of the mainland Greeks in representing human beauty on physical objects (Perrot and Chipiez, 1885; see section 7.2). On the contrary the local Cypriot culture was thought of as a peculiar and distinct type; "they always lagged behind" (Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1899; see fig. 3.4). A generally graceful Cyprio-Hellenic art and culture did not exist for the nineteenth-century archaeologist (Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1891). As such, Cypriot art was to a great extent dismissed as a hideous abnormality, undefined and incomprehensible, with no continuous organic development (Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1891).

Figure 3.4 Statues found at Golgos*, Harper's New Monthly Magazine* page 201, July 1872, Courtesy of the Dartmouth College Archives

The Greeks of Cyprus were thought to be half Greeks; “imperfect”. Few objects of pure Greek work were thought to have been imported. Cypriot art represented in Victorian culture the “primitive” character of the island’s civilization. In general, “primitive” civilizations were described as the societies that did not develop and were, just, the “immature versions of the highest” (Bowler 1989, 11). This may also reflect the Victorian conception that human races were endowed with different capacities for intellectual development (Bowler, 1989). This was a common pattern of viewing colonized indigenous populations as uncivilized (Shiebinger and Swan, 2005).

Bahrani’s (1998) arguments about the conjuring of imaginative geographies of Mesopotamia by colonialism and archaeology can be applied to Cyprus through the archaeological classification and interpretation of antiquities. Archaeological theories provided material evidence for the construction of Cyprus’s “imaginative geographies” as barbarous and oriental. For Victorians the primitive character of Cypriot material culture provided proof of the island’s primitive population and undeveloped character. The discovered statues provided evidence for the resemblance between the local population and their primitive. Foreign officials residing on the island reinforced these imaginative geographies, describing Cypriots as sagacious and dishonest, while the island’s orientalist character was evidenced by palm trees and camels (Knapp and Antoniadou, 1998; see fig.3.5).[12] For instance, Sir G.Wolseley, the first High Commissioner of the island, described Nicosia – the capital of Cyprus – as “a filthy hole” (quoted in Holland and Markides 2006, 165). Like Cesnola (see subsection 6.2.1) Wolseley appears to be unpleased with his post on the island.

Cypriot antiquities were not seen as aesthetically valuable since they never marked the beauty of Greek sculpture, which was thought to be the ideal (Jenkins, 1992). Perrot and Chipiez (1885) explicitly stated that the importance of Cyprus did not lie within arts and literature but with the fact that the island was the contact point of the West and East. This was supported by Birch (1884), Keeper of the Middle East Department in the British Museum, who noted that Cypriot antiquities were

[12] Letter from J.T. Wood to C.T. Newton (22nd March 1879), BM GR OL, Vol. 1879-1882

important in archaeology simply because they provided an important link to the Greek and Phoenician civilization (for the classification of Cypriot antiquities see section 7.2). In other words, Cypriot antiquities were not considered “pleasing to the general spectator” but were more interesting to the science of archaeology (Ohnefalsch-Ricter, 1891).

Figure 3.5 Famagusta, Cyprus photograph taken by John Thomson, Wellcome Library no. 18984i, Courtesy of the Wellcome Trust[13]

This chapter sought to map the nineteenth-century archaeological attitudes towards Cyprus and the excavatory practices on the island, contextualizing them within the broader transformations of the discipline. Modern archaeologists acknowledged influences of the ancient Greek world and the Near Eastern world on Cypriot antiquities but they could not fit the objects entirely in either of the ancient civilizations. At the same time modern archaeology did not attribute any indigenous civilization to the island. Cypriot antiquities were not considered as beautiful or exotic artefacts (Edbury, 2001; Ulbrich, 2001). Only in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the material remains of Cyprus emerged from their supposed peripheral state to being scientific historical objects whence nineteenth-

[13] http://catalogue.wellcomelibrary.org/record=b1176862

century archaeology was preoccupied with the Mycenaean Questions and finding the origins of Europe. The interpretation of ancient Cypriot art, even though, it was aligned with the nineteenth-century idea of cultures being well-defined homogeneous and bounded concepts was ambiguous.

Chapter 4 Methodology: archival encounters

4.1 The nature of the archive

Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 have provided the concepts and the contexts in which this thesis is situated. This chapter provides an account of the research methodology and archival sites that were utilized for examining the diaspora of Cypriot antiquities. Archives - either held in museums, libraries or universities - are material sites for the excavation of a diverse range of histories (Lorimer, 2002; Withers, 2002). There has been a lot of discussion amongst archivists and scholars (Ketelaar, 2001; Mannof, 2004; Osborne, 1999; cf. Trace, 2002), about the archive, evident in the various terms produced regarding its nature; for example, “imperial archive” (Craggs, 2008), “postcolonial archive” (McEwan, 2003), “colonial archive” (Stoler, 2002), “geographical archive” (Withers, 2002) and the archive as “the historical consciousness of science” (Daston, 2012). This theorization of the archive –stemming from the recognition of history as a narrative and historical writing as a political act – has led to the move from “archive-as-source to archive-as-subject” (Drayton, 2012; Stoler 2002, 93).

History becomes political, as Drayton (2012) stresses, when it silences the ideological, temporal and spatial context of the construction of historical narrative. However in this discussion I will not engage with broader questions concerning archives with political connotations such as public and national relevance, memory, and digitization (Hedstrom, 2002; Schwartz and Cook, 2002). Instead, following the work of historical geographers and drawing from science studies, I examine the archive as a contested site of power and as a constitutive site of knowledge-making, in particular of historical knowledge (Lorimer, 2002; Lynch, 1999; Withers, 2002). The purpose of this discussion is to provide a theoretical framework for situating and comprehending my personal archival research.

The “cultural turn”, by drawing methodological tenets from Foucault, Derrida, and phenomenology, has produced different vocabularies for approaching archives (Gagen et al, 2007). Core concerns with the archive have become “the value of theory, the purpose of narrative, the place and performance of politics and the nature of encounters with the archive” (Gagen et al, 2007). The various

methodological vantage points demonstrate the fundamental shift of the reconceptualization of the materialities of the archive, stated at the beginning of this section, and its truth-claims (Stoler, 2002). A common starting point in discussing archives is to pay attention to the etymology of the word. The traditional view sees the archive as a static store of documentation: a repository and collection of artefacts and documents, most commonly referring to the contents of museums and libraries (Manoff, 2004). Derrida (Derrida and Prenowitz, 1995) finds the origins of the word archive in the Greek word archeion, denoting a domicile, the house of the archons – the superior commanding magistrates – where the official documents were filed. The archons were, simultaneously, the guardians and the interpreters of the documents. The main point to be taken from Derrida's etymology is to view the archive as both a nomological and topological site. Borrowing from Lynch (1999, 67),

> By situating archives in historically specific arrangements of 'archontic power' – offices, institutions and practices for gathering, filing, authorizing, certifying, classifying and redacting records – Derrida's etymology enables us to recognize that archival data are never 'raw'.

A critic of Derrida's concept is Steedman (2001, 1163), who argues for the inappropriateness of the "archive fever" metaphor and bluntly asserts that "archives are not like that at all". Steedman (2001) sees the archive as a very literal and concrete space and criticizes Derrida's archive as a broad concept of an abstract power, which excludes the individuals who actually amassed the archive. Foucault's archive is even more abstract; the archive is not a site or an institution but "the sum of all texts that a culture has kept upon its persons as documents attesting to its own past, or as evidence of a continuing identity" (quoted in Withers 2002, 304). In this sense the archive is a metaphor for the system that establishes statements and for the law of what can be said. Steedman's (2001) critique and Derrida's and Foucault's abstract notions of archive bring to the fore the tension between the material and metaphorical spaces of archives.

Osborne (1999, 53) finds a middle space for the archive, between Foucault's abstract function and Derrida's constitutive function, as "a principle of credibility"; which is, simultaneously, epistemological (as a site of knowledge) and ethical (as a provider of the authority to speak). The function of the "principle of credibility" stems from Osborne's analogy of the archive with the natural scientist's laboratory and Latour's (1987) "centre of calculations". Osborne (1999, 52), drawing from Latour, sees the archive as a "centre of interpretation" that itself can be subjected to interpretation, akin to the laboratory. The parallel is being made on the premise that both spaces are sites of knowledge. The laboratory, like Derrida's archive, is a private space where skilled individuals mobilise instruments to produce knowledge, while at the same time it is supposed to be universally applicable and publicly available. For the historian the archive is, simultaneously, a context of discovery and a site of authority in which the production and categorization of knowledge is managed (Withers, 2002). Knowledge in the archive is produced privately and disseminated to the public through various modes of justification (Daston, 2012). However, a difference exists between the laboratory and the archive: for laboratory knowledge to be credible it needs to be applicable elsewhere, while the credibility of archival knowledge comes from it being a unique record. Thus, universalist claims over archives are not productive for historical reconstructions (Mayhew, 2007).

What emerges from the various debates and tensions regarding the archive is that it is not a straightforward place of power or just an abstract notion, but is a product of contingency and accumulation of "stuff" sustained by classificatory systems (Withers, 2002). Archival research brings to bear questions of credibility and interpretation and as a knowledge-making enterprise it is more fruitful to view it as a situated practice. It is accepted that "knowledge is always situated and empirical observation is always governed by theoretical assumptions" (Drayton 2012, 167). Echoing non-representational ideas, archival research is not understood solely as the consultation of records and documents but as a practice incorporating movements and gestures as well (Bailey et al, 2009; Lorimer, 2002). Archives are materials, sites and bodies that create variable conditions of the construction of knowledge.

4.2 Being in the archive

The main task of being in the archive is to read written sources and subject them to textual analysis and interpretation (Gagen et al, 2007). An historian's authority derives from the archive in two ways: the form of the archive and the reference to it in the narrative (Steedman, 2001). In the 1980s and 1990s historical and cultural geographies were influenced by the ideas of Foucault and Derrida and approached archival documents as "text" (Mayhew, 2007). Analysing the archive through the metaphor of the "text" entails its interpretation as structures of meaning, which embody the binary of power/knowledge. Mayhew (2007, 24) notes that this methodological approach is insensitive to the "historical nature of evidence", meaning that the archive be understood within a specific temporal and spatial context (*cf.* Withers, 2002). This is associated with the preoccupation of developing a philosophy as the key for the interpretation of documents. To avoid an ahistorical approach in favour of a historically rigorous methodology, the term "print cultures" is proposed instead of the nature of textuality (Mayhew, 2007). Borrowing from the literature of the "history of the book" the concept of "print cultures" is applied here to denote records as historically contingent products whose modes of authoring, production and dissemination are important to the historical geographer (Ogborn, 2007; Stoler, 2002).

Reading documents is only a part of being in the archive. As said in the concluding remarks of the previous section the archive is understood as a complex process of bodies, movements and materials. This can be linked to an emerging understanding in recent scholarship that knowledge is generated through a negotiation between the archive and the researcher (Bailey et al, 2009; Manoff, 2004; Rose, 2000). It has been recognised that the position of the researcher in relation with the archive is of crucial importance in the performance of research (Steedman, 2001).The researcher brings to the archive a personal "body" of knowledge, which makes the experience of the archive an individual project (Withers 2002, 305). The work of feminist geographers can help us to understand this, through their formulation of the concept of positionality (Rose, 1997, 2000). Indeed, the concept of positionality refers to the role of the researcher's self (consisted of various identities such as class, gender, nationality, age) that plays a

critical role in the process and outcome of archival research (Hopkins, 2007; Rose, 1997). Another critical factor, part of the researcher's positionality, is the intended material outcome that constructs the research (Bailey et al, 2009). For example, my research is a crucial part of a doctoral award, affected by the qualification criteria and time frames set by the university.

Through the researcher the archive is actively at work (Featherstone, 2000). First, the researcher reads documents that were not necessarily intended to be read by anyone else than the receiver and must think continuously about the presences and the absences of the archive. Secondly, theoretically and literally the researcher moves through the archive and becomes the embodied subject of geography (Bailey et al, 2009). Research is then recognised as an embodied and situated practice that may affect the researcher's claim to authority in the passage of knowledge from private to public. Steedman (2001) offers a holistic view of the archival experience; for her this experience does not include only being in the archive but the journey made and the anxieties that are involved: trip expenses, the stress of not finishing on time, to get through all the files the researcher has ordered, the dust of all the previous people that used the room. This is the archive fever for her. Drawing on this literature, archival research is considered as a performance of the re-imagination of the past, which includes everyday anxieties generated by the need to uncover distant, yet significant, phenomena (Bailey et al, 2009).

On a final note, it is important to emphasize that archival documents often form 'official histories' and not the, supposedly, marginal 'unofficial histories' (Lorimer and Philo, 2009). This links to the idea of absence in documents that can form another source of historical knowledge (Lorimer and Philo 2009; Ogborn, 2011; Rose, 2000). In particular, Ogborn (2011, 93) states that "the archive shapes what can be written about the past through its gaps: through what is missing from the archive, and through what is unclear and ambiguous". Archives are contested places, since they are sites of knowledge production with political context. In other words, they are social constructions of their time, which makes them subjects of epistemological and ethical reliability (Lorimer and Philo, 2009; Rose, 2000;

Schwartz and Cook, 2002; Stoler, 2002; Withers, 2002). The act of situating knowledge is, thus, critical; however there is an inherent difficulty in doing this. All archives hold some kind of classificatory system and all documents are numbered in the “archival grid” (C. Pinney cited in Rose 2000, 558). The “archival grid” is a space in which documents are intentionally positioned in specific places that order and fix their meaning (Lorimer and Philo, 2009; Rose 2000).

Reflexivity in archival work has been promoted as a strategy for situating knowledge as it emphasizes the embededness of the individual in the research and, thus, aids in the avoidance of the supposed universality and neutrality of academic knowledge (Lorimer, 2002; Rose, 1997, 2000). By situating knowledge it is understood that the production of knowledge is shaped by those who make it. Reflexivity is a complex process that has two positions: one that looks inward at the identity of the research and one that looks outward at the researcher’s relationship with the project. This task is rendered as the gaze (Rose, 1997). This gaze makes the researcher’s position visible and the perspectives clear. The process of reflexivity is adopted for the illumination of the research project as the research aims to influence what material one will see and what one will disregard (Bailey et al, 2009).

The researcher is included in the “archival grid” and the relationship between the documents and the researcher is established by the regulations imposed by the institution that houses them. Therefore, being in the archive, the ways we construct a historical archive and the imaginary and material spaces through which we move is affected by the format of the documents (Bailey et al, 2009). Archives are, also, situated in different grids and this affects the construction of knowledge either restraining it or enabling it on a practical level and on an abstract level the records, like Rose’s (2000) photographs, are altered in different interpretative spaces (cf. Withers, 2002). A critical approach is to read along the archival grain, which entails reading its regularities, omissions, its organization, rules of placement and reference, distributions and mistakes in order to understand the production of the archive (Stoler, 2002). Nevertheless, partiality remains a common denominator in all the different approaches to the archives due to the unavailability of sources and

the absence of voices (Gagen et al, 2007; Withers, 2002). The recognition of the inherent partiality of archives helps in the prevention of producing generalizing and universal knowledge.

4.3 Reflecting on my archival encounters

Three main archival sites were used in this PhD research: the Cyprus State Archives; the archives housed at the Greek and Roman Department of the British Museum; and the archives held at Dartmouth College (NH). My research was complemented by visits to various other archival sites, some that defined the course of the project and others that produced more trivial results. My archival work involved sets of conditions such as access, location and classification systems, which affected and disciplined the research process and established the relationship between me and the documents (see a further discussion on these issues in Ogborn, 2011 and Rose, 2010). In the next section, the exploration of these themes alongside the chronological outline of my research process is done in order provide an insight into how this project was gradually formed.

The beginning of my research began early in the first year of my PhD with preparatory visits to the British Museum archives and was concluded with a defining moment in the summer term. In July 2011 I booked an appointment to visit the archives housed at the Metropolitan Museum of New York for the purpose of examining documents relating with Luigi Palma Di Cesnola. The Museum Archives are a restrictive space where access is strictly monitored by the museum authorities. I was informed that the Museum Trustee minutes and in consequence Trustee related to Cesnola, were closed for research.[14] The curator of the Museum

[14] The museum archivist, in our latest communication in April 2014, confirmed that all minutes of meetings of the Board of Trustees of The Metropolitan Museum of Art are closed to research, not only those associated with Cesnola's directorship. The restriction is imposed by a Trustee Policy enacted in 1979, which restricts access to certain materials to "protect individual privacy rights and proprietary rights of the Museum" and to unprocessed and uncatalogued documents (The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives Access Policy and Procedures page 1 in http://libmma.org/digital_files/archives/Policy_and_procedures.pdf, last accessed 14th May 2014). This policy pertains to a variety of documents such as personnel files, legal actions, donor records and so on. A personal collection of L.P. di Cesnola's correspondence, ephemera and clippings, which was unprocessed and uncatalogued, is included in an archival processing project now underway (funded by the Leon Levy Foundation) and will be open for research in early 2015.

Archives was helpful (and kind) enough to inform me about the records I did have access to. The only records I was allowed to examine were printed material (early printed copies of the Museum's charter, constitution and by-laws) held in the Museum's Watson Library and press clippings (from the 1870s and later) concerning the Cesnola Collection housed in the Museum Archives. I was free to reproduce these documents in whatever form I liked.[15]

From the start of my research I therefore encountered the archival site as a contested space of power that excluded me from some sites of knowledge and included me in others. This encounter caused the first partiality of the research as I could not reconstruct the whole journey of the Cesnola Collection, from the moment of the objects' excavation to their display in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. The Image Library was also closed to the public for image research but one of the associate museum librarians kindly allowed me to consult the image record card, although I could not be provided with copies or photograph the cards myself. The image cards were photographs of individual objects and not of the entire exhibitions. As much as the visible spaces of the museum were unrestricted spaces to visitors where they could photograph and walk through the objects, the hidden spaces of the museum, the libraries and archives, were restricted to anyone not working there. In order to be allowed access to those hidden spaces I had to obtain a pass from the Information Desk at the entrance of the museum. This first episode of my research demonstrates that archival research is not simply an act of visiting a library, but is a process involving politics, restrictions of movements and passes pinned to your clothes that, literally, open doors.

Despite my frustration I examined the printed documents held at the Thomas J. Watson Library and Onassis Library and found more booklets relevant to Cesnola besides the ones I was informed about. Such a discovered booklet was an old inventory of documents regarding the Cesnola Collection housed at Dartmouth College. Even though I had already enquired Dartmouth College about any archives relating to Cesnola I did not know the extent of the archive as I was only

[15] The managing archivist gave me a photocopy of the paper clippings relating to the Cesnola Collection

informed of its basic existence. According to the inventory Cesnola was a close friend of Hiram Hitchcock, an honorary-degree recipient from Dartmouth College and hotel owner. Hitchcock left to Dartmouth College a large amount of material relating to the Cesnola Collection through his estate in 1912. The Cesnola documents were acquired by the Rauner Special Collection Library in 1957 from the College's Department of Art and Archaeology. These documents are stored in five boxes and are five linear shelf feet long. The next stop of my travelling and research was Hanover, New Hampshire.

The archives held at the Rauner Library concerning Cesnola vary in type (coded as MS-68): first, correspondence between Cesnola and Hitchcock in the period 1863-1885; second, pamphlets, periodicals and paper clippings relating to the Cesnola Collection; third, papers connected with the law-suit filed against Cesnola by G.L. Feuardent; fourth, correspondence between Hitchcock and others, and between Cesnola and others (mostly Trustees of museums in the United States such as the Boston Museum of Fine Art and the Metropolitan Museum of New York); and, fifthly miscellaneous papers regarding the collection and Cesnola, such as biographies in Italian and English, guides to the collection displayed in New York, photographs of the antiquities and so on. The encounter with this archive was a completely different experience. The access to these documents is unrestricted without any limitations in the examination apart from certain policies, signing a form with your personal details including the scope of the visit. The only disciplining of the body occurring in the library space was to leave some kind of personal identification at the front desk and the restriction of consuming beverage and food. As in New York I could reproduce the material I was given access to in any form I liked. The difference with the restriction politics of the Metropolitan Museum of New York may be found in the fact that the Rauner Library is part of an academic institution devoted to research. The Cesnola archive held in Dartmouth College provided me with detailed information about the first part of the collection's story and only a few glimpses of the second part (display in New York). Nonetheless, it restored some of the partiality and became one of the main sources of knowledge about the various aspects of the diaspora of Cypriot antiquities in general. Cesnola was very

descriptive of the socio-political context of Cyprus and of museum politics in his correspondence.

The second year of the PhD began with a three-month research trip to Cyprus. The archives relating to the excavation and exportation of antiquities and the Cyprus Museum are not held in the Cyprus Museum but in the Cyprus State Archives, administered by the Ministry of Justice and Public Order. The Cyprus State Archives were established in 1878 by the Cyprus Government[16] as a repository of public records; documents were deposited by the different government departments to hold them for official use. In the present day one of the functions of the Cyprus State Archives is to make these records available for research to the general public.[17] To comprehend the limitations of this archive the understanding of the institution it served is needed first (*cf.* Stoler, 2002). The Cyprus State Archives is a distinctively British colonial archive; it served as storage site for the modern state for the accumulation of (imperial) administrative records (*cf.* Craig, 2002; Featherstone, 2000; Withers, 2002). To this end the appropriation of a postcolonial approach entails the positioning of the researcher's self in the archive, by considering its use and thinking of it as a system of power (Craggs, 2008). The scope of the colonial archives was the gathering of knowledge about the Empire: they produced stories about the British Empire and its various 'others' (Craig, 2002; Craggs, 2008; Featherstone, 2002). The British Empire was built around knowledge-making institutions like the Royal Geographical Society and the archives were such an institution; it was a means of recording and documenting the empire (Driver, 2001). The colonial archive positioned the British officials at the centre of documenting foreign subjects.

The first limitation of these archives is that they begin from 1878, the year of the British occupation of the island. Limited numbers of documents can be found before 1878 as the previous colonial powers that possessed the island did not leave any paper traces behind them. The documents in the Cyprus State Archives are categorized by year and within each year are divided in various themes such

[16] In the archives the British Government in Cyprus is referred to as the "Cyprus Government" and this term is used henceforth to connote the British authorities on the island.
[17] The States Archive Law of 1991

as “Public Works”, “Agriculture” and “Miscellaneous”. Identification of the relevant documents is made through comprehensive catalogues brought in the room by the personnel. The catalogues and indexes are divided in sections, which correspond with the administration of the island. The documents that I use are under the division SA1 and under the category “Excavations, Antiquities, Museums, Exhibitions”. The documents are preserved in numbered folders; however the manuscripts themselves are not numbered. The records located there include reports, correspondence, and minutes of excavations, requests for permission of excavating or exporting antiquities, permissions or refusals for excavating or exporting antiquities, lists of people who excavated, values of the antiquities that were exported, reports on illicit excavations, catalogues of the discovered antiquities, regulations for excavating, and minutes on the Cyprus Museum. This archive, just as with other colonial archives, produced the documents and authored them by categorizing them in a “colonial order of things” (Rose, 2000; Stoler 2002, 87). Colonial sites were both figurative and institutional sites that constructed histories in relation to the power of the state and provided justification for colonialism (Manoff, 2004; Stoler, 2002).

The imperial archives of the British Empire had an inherent tension between the accumulation of records for governmental purposes and the public records of national memory (Featherstone, 2000). The second limitation of the Cyprus State Archives for the period of 1878-1900 lies in this tension materialized in the absence of local voices. Colonial archives are themselves cultural artefacts constructed on an institutional structure that, simultaneously, silenced some information and valorised others (Craig, 2002; McEwan, 2003; Stoler and Cooper, 1997; Trace, 2002). A crucial issue was to locate the voices of the Cypriots in relation to antiquities. The lack of local voices during this period may be linked with the lack of national consciousness among the Cypriots. Nationalistic aspirations, on the part of Greek Cypriots, began in late nineteenth century. This was the time when the first opposition voices for the excavation and exportation of the antiquities are found in the archive. However, still, they cannot be found directly in the documents only indirectly through references of the British officials and through commentaries in local newspapers.

The third limitation of the Cyprus State Archives is the bureaucratic procedure followed for examining the documents. It must be born in mind that the Archives are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice and Public Order and governed by the States Archive Law of 1991 (not so far off from its colonial past). One of the main issues of conducting researching in archives is time – whether the researcher will be able to go through all the relevant documents in a specified period. This was my main issue in examining the records – the constant stress of reading all of the documents I ordered. The Reading Room of the Cyprus State Archives is open to the public four days per week (Monday-Thursday), from 8:30 a.m. to 13.30 pm. The researcher has to submit an application requesting to read specific documents (15 documents/files are allowed per application), which will be ready for reading after one working day. The researcher is allowed to order another document only when the previous ordered documents are returned. The archivists working there kindly facilitated my research because I had to go through documents of a forty-year period in a limited amount of time. I could order twenty files in one application and they would bring them after an hour or so.

The access to the documents was made through a variety of disciplining procedures that alienated the researcher from the document. To order documents I had to fill in a form with my personal details, including my nationality, my identification card number and scope of research. The form then was signed by an official of the Archives. At the desks of the Reading Rooms instructions stated that the researchers had to read and abide by: the researcher has to wear white gloves when working with the archives; only the use of pencils and computers are allowed; no consumption of food besides water; only three files are allowed on the desk of the researcher at the same time; and no photographing the documents is allowed. Immediately a distance is created between the record and the, perceived, disrupting body of the researcher. The possession of any reproduction form of the documents is only allowed if the researcher fills in a Photocopy Request Form similar to the access application form. Even though access is unrestrictive to the general public the archival space itself restricts the movements of the researcher and shapes the research in terms of time management and, in consequence, the decision of what to read or leave behind. Nonetheless, rich material was found

regarding the excavation and exportation of antiquities and the procedures followed. However, the second partiality of the research can be found here: in Cyprus I could not find any documents regarding the period 1860-1878 as the Cyprus State Archives begin in 1878. The information regarding this period is obtained by references made in the Cesnola Archive of Dartmouth College and the documents held at the British Museum.

The final extensive field trip was made in May 2012 at the archives housed in the Greek and Roman Department of the British Museum. The archives housed there are open to the public but the researcher has to contact the department beforehand. The archives are located in the Library of the Department and were brought to me by the curator of Cypriot antiquities. The access to the archives, besides a pencil-only policy, is unrestrictive and I could photograph as many documents as I wanted to. A more immediate relationship is established between the researcher and the documents as I could have around me as many documents as the desk could fit and could touch them without using any protective gloves.

The documents relating to my project are in the departmental registers of the Greek and Roman Department (Tatton-Brown, 2001). For instance, the documents that I examined include reports of excavations, reports of discoveries, requests for funding excavations, and purchases of antiquities. The documents I have consulted can be found in bound volumes entitled the *Trustee Minutes* (copies of the minutes of the Trustees meetings), *GR Reports* (submitted reports of the department to the Trustees), *Original Letters* (letters written to the department), *Letter Book(s)* (1829-1946) (copies of replies to letters from the then Keeper of the department). The bound volumes are arranged by year and date and in the volumes of the letters according to the name of the correspondent (Tatton-Brown, 2001). Reports dating from 1805 to 1869 are located in the Officer's Reports and reports concerning donations to the museum and correspondence, dating from 1897 (to 1974), are situated in the Book of Presents (1756-1974). There is also a bound volume titled Correspondence: Excavations in Cyprus (1892-1900) and a volume of photographs, contained in Miscellaneous Photographs 2. The documents are bound in books according to chronology and within each book, the

documents are ordered alphabetically. Also I have consulted the Museum Guide Books (1860-1900), excavation note books and the Parliamentary Reports.

There are only a few photographs of the exhibition of Cypriot antiquities in the nineteenth century. This can be correlated with the general omission in the archives of the documentation of the Upper Floor of the British Museum. In the nineteenth century the Museum was preoccupied with the sculpture collections it exhibited on its Ground Floor (Jenkins, 1992). In the archives detailed descriptions of the sculpture display rooms and minute documentation of their changes exist, whereas there is almost nothing on the other galleries. In particular, the curators of the Greek and Roman Department documented in detail the Greek sculptures and only referenced the Cypriot antiquities. However, rich material was found in the correspondence of the museum curators with excavators in Cyprus about the proceedings of archaeological practices on the island, and in trustees' minutes about the British Museum policies. Correspondence is a valuable tool for the historian of archaeological science, as for other sciences, as exchanging letters was a common practice amongst archaeologists and antiquarians for exchanging ideas, thoughts, specimens and most importantly share knowledge (Levine, 1986). In this sense the British Museum documents are informative because they are informal communications between archaeologists and antiquarians. As Lorimer (2002, 300) states, small stories make better sense of "big words or strange and distant deeds".

The limitation of the British Museum Archives is found in the omission of voices that practiced Cypriot archaeology, either "minor figures" (see subsection 6.2.3) or archaeologists themselves. The most prominent example is the German archaeologist M. Obhnefalsch-Richter. Richter conducted excavations in Cyprus in early 1880s, funded by the Keeper of the Greek and Roman Department of the British Museum. He supervised excavations on behalf of the Berlin Museum and the Cyprus Government, and co-authored a book on the Cyprus Museum with John L. Myres, a distinguished British archaeologist. However, the documents and correspondence relating to the excavations carried out under the aegis of Charles T. Newton, the then British Museum Keeper could not be found in the archives.

There is only a reference to them in Richter's complaint about the matter in 1912 where he bluntly said that A.S. Murray, the next Keeper of the Greek and Roman Department, destroyed the documents.[18] The reason for this may be found in Murray's refusal to permit Richter lecture on Cypriot archaeology in the British Museum because he thought Richter was not an authority on the subject. According to Given (2001, 256) Richter was an "… anomaly in Cypriot archaeology in the first twenty years of the colonial rule… who was shunned for being German and pompous (or so British society declared)…".The loss of Richter's documents is an issue that relates to the question of what constitutes legitimate knowledge and data worthy to be preserved in the archives[19]. This in turn mirrors concerns over the nature of the nascent discipline of archaeology and its professionalization. Richter's example demonstrates that the archive is already a reconstruction, a record of history from a particular perspective in which some histories are privileged and some stories remain hidden (see Lorimer, 2002; Manoff, 2004).

Throughout the three years of the research project I visited a variety of archival sites in an effort to put together the story of the Cypriot antiquities. Some sites have been proved fruitful and others did not provide anything. There is some correspondence between the two prominent excavators of the 1860s, L.P.Di Cesnola and R.H. Lang, and the Keeper of the Middle East Department S. Birch, which are housed at the Middle East Department in the British Museum. Interesting photographs depicting the ancient sites of Cyprus are held by the Rita and Costa Severis Foundation in Cyprus. The Cultural Centre of the Laiki Bank holds photographs of the Cesnola Collection and Cesnola himself (I was allowed to see only a digital form). In an effort to discover more about Cesnola's publications I visited the John Murray Archive in Edinburgh, however the documents held there are concerned only with issues relating to the publication of his books and the information was of secondary relevance to me. I contacted the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge for any archives they might hold regarding the Cyprus Exploration

[18] Letter from Ohnefalsch-Richter M. to Murray A.S. (2nd August 1912), British Museum Central Archives, Original Letters, Volume 1911-1912

[19] It must be noted however, that Ohnefalsch-Richter's 1883 findings semi-sponsored by Newton and a British-Museum Trustee were indeed displayed (and still are) in the British Museum galleries. This may be an instance of credibility being attached to objects by their association with, perceived trustworthy archaeologists (see section 7.4.2.2.).

Fund and the answer was negative. I tried to visit the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford late in my first year but the archives were closed due to renovations. This was another limitation in my archival research.

In summary, I have experienced the archives as sites of “situated expression of political and intellectual authority” (Withers 2002, 305) and the museums they were housed in as a “three-dimensional imperial archive” (Barringer 1998, 11). Barringer (1998) uses this metaphor in the sense that the displayed objects were acquired from territories that were colonies of the British Empire and were exhibited in museum spaces that were formal British institutions. The difficult task in uncovering the story of the diaspora of Cypriot antiquities and its hidden stories was to address the partiality of the archives and the elitist archive that does not give voice to the marginalised people in the colonies. These issues were tackled by piecing together the fragmented stories I discovered in the various archives in one coherent narrative. However just like the archives, for the purposes of this PhD I could not avoid privileging some stories and silencing some others.

PART II

Mapping Object Diasporas

Chapter 5 Law

5.1 Introduction

The reconstruction of the history of Cypriot antiquities' diaspora requires its contextualization within both the broader socio-historical background that constituted its imperial context and the local exigencies that shaped its scientific traditions and institutions (see Benton, 2005; Butlin, 2009; Evans, 2007; Hunt, 1997 Lester, 2006; Nash, 2002; Young, 1990). As Naylor (2005, 11-12) notes, a fruitful way to do so is by examining the "biographies of place" and how they relate with practices and theories of science. In particular, the practices of Cypriot archaeology were affected by the legal framework set by the different colonial administrations and by their attitudes towards excavations and exportation of antiquities. This chapter accounts the intricate relationship between colonial law and Cypriot archaeology, drawing on recent literature that has recognized that law matters in the formation of geographies of power (see Blomley, 1994; Blomley and Clark, 1990; Delaney, 2001; Forman, 2006; Howell, 2004; Ogborn, 1992; Silvern, 2002).

The emergence of geography's interest in the dynamic relationship between space, state and law can be traced in the 1980s (Blomley, 1994; Economides et al, 1986). Blomley and Clark (1990) suggest that as a result, geographers have conceptualized law as an institution that aids in the creation of spatial structures and is mediated through space. Legal geographies have acknowledged three main components in the relationship between geography and law (Delaney, 2001; Forman, 2006). The first component is the "spatialization" of law, which refers to the ways geography and social environments affect law; the second is the role of law in the social production of space ("legalizing space"); and thirdly, there is the appropriation of a conception that integrates the notions of legal and spatial, which Blomley calls "splicing" (Forman 2006, 799). In colonial settings this nexus of law and space was informed by the attitude and the role of colonial authorities in constructing the social environment (Forman, 2006; Howell, 2004; Legg, 2005). Scott's (1995, 197) set of questions provide an agenda informed by the three

components stated above for examining the relationship between colonial law and the practice of Cypriot archaeology:

> In any historical instance, what does colonial power seek to organize and reorganize? For what project does it require that target-object? And how does it go about securing it in order to realize its ends? In short, what in each instance is colonial power's structure and project as it inserts itself into – or more properly, as it constitutes – the domain of the colonial?

The first section, Mediterranean Politics and Cyprus (5.2), discusses the broader imperial context of Cyprus as shaped by the Ottoman and the British Empire. It outlines the state of the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century and traces the story of the acquisition of the island by the British Empire. The aim of this section is not only to provide the geopolitical background of the island but, most importantly, to illuminate the rationale behind the administration of Cyprus by the two different colonial powers. The second section, Law and Archaeology (5.3), focuses on the enactment of various regulations relating to antiquities, the establishment of the Antiquities Law by the Ottomans and the use of the existing legislation by the British. Through the discussion of these regulations this section maps the British and Ottoman attitudes towards Cypriot antiquities and archaeology.

5.2 Mediterranean politics and Cyprus

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire gradually went into decline due to military losses sustained during the Crimean War; political and economic crises; and the administrative disorder of a weak central state (Jelavich, 1973; Pamuk, 1987; Severis, 1999). At the same time this was an era characterized by efforts for political reformation, mostly initiated by European powers (Jelavich, 1973; Pamuk, 1987; Shaw, 2003).[20] In the 1860s the rapid

[20] The term European powers in this period denotes France, Russia, Great Britain, Austria, and Prussia. Germany is included in the term after 1871, the year of the country's official unification.

decline of the Ottoman Empire was not that clear-cut to European powers (Holland and Markides, 2006). The period of political reformations was named *Tanzimat*, meaning Orderings, and spanned in the period from 1839 to 1876. The reform movement was attributed, to a great extent, to growing European pressure for a reformation that acknowledged civil rights and economic power within the Ottoman Empire (Shaw, 2003). The Tanzimat was attributed to the major French influence in the High Porte[21] for the duration over the period 1856 to 1871 (Shaw, 2003). For the Turkish government the aim of the Tanzimat was to modernize the administration of the Ottoman Empire and integrate its increasingly rebellious non-Muslim population.

The reform movement included the re-centralization of the administration of the Empire and the limitation of the power of the provincial dominant lords. Whilst the leaders of the movement used mainly French models for reforming the Ottoman Government and administration, the new civil code remained Islamic in essence and was under the umbrella of the newly formed and Europeanized Ministry of Justice (Bayly, 2004). A different view is given on the European policies regarding the Ottoman Empire by Robert H. Lang (1878)[22] (for a biographical note see subsection 6.2.1, page 150) in 1878: the European powers consented that the High Porte should ruin itself (although at the time the destruction of the Ottoman Empire was not that clear-cut to the European powers). Even if European ambassadors would protest to any abuse in the Ottoman provinces, such as the Mediterranean territories, it was in vain as a non-interventionist policy (especially by the part of Great Britain) into local Ottoman affairs was followed. The changes made under the Tanzimat in the Ottoman provinces affected Cyprus.

Cyprus was put into the vilayet system[23] and under the direct administration of the High Porte in 1861 (from the province of Rhodes it previously belonged to)[24]. This system consisted of more liberal institutions promoted equality amongst the subjects of the Ottoman Empire; in particular for commercial dealings (Luke, 1921).

[21] The High Porte was the Central Government of the Ottoman Empire based in Constantinople.
[22] Lang's (1878) book on Cyprus is mainly used in this section as it provides valuable insights on British imperial narratives in relation with the island and its resources.
[23] The vilayet system was the mode of the administrative division of the Ottoman Empire.
[24] This decision was reversed in 1868 and reinstated in 1870.

The island was not administered by the various Pashas under the Grand Vizier but by the Caimakams[25] (Severis, 1999). The Caimakams administered Cyprus with the assistance of a council that included local representatives of the island's population. The result of the reformation of Cyprus' administration, by the middle decades of the nineteenth century, was a certain degree of economic development (Lang, 1878). All the habitants of Cyprus (including the Greeks of Cyprus and the foreign residents) had the right to possess land and could directly deal with the central Ottoman Government for their commercial affairs. This change in the administration of the island was crucial for the conduct of archaeology on the island regarding the issue of who had the right to possess the discovered antiquities (see section 5.3 and 7.3).

At the other end of the continent, Great Britain was becoming increasingly powerful internationally and was striving to gain influence in continental Europe (Holland and Markides, 2006). In the British political scene there was a growing awareness of the empowerment and development of new imperial powers such as Russia (Bayly, 2004). Imperial ambitions and the Crimean war were amongst the key political events of the nineteenth century for Great Britain (Lightman, 1997). The Crimean War epitomized the British efforts of acquiring land power in Europe. However, their efforts were counteracted by other competitors, including France and Russia. The British, then, directed their efforts towards making the Mediterranean into an "English lake" (Holland and Markides 2006, 6).

The Ottoman Empire became central in these geopolitical tensions for two main reasons: the growing turbulence with the nationalistic movements in the Balkans; and the rivalry between the British Empire and Russia (Jelavich, 1973; Richter, 2006). The global rivalry between the two European powers was known as the Great Game. Crucial to the Great Game was the retention of a balance of power through the acquirement in equal terms of territories or political influence over autonomous lands. This was evident in the increasing detachment of lands from the Ottoman Empire in the form of annexations and of independent political units by European Empires throughout the latter half of nineteenth century (Bayly, 2004;

[25] Caimakam was the Ottoman Governor of provincial districts.

Jelavich, 1973). Russia's aim was the annexation of Ottoman provinces for territorial security, which was supported by its allies, Germany and Austria; for Germany the ulterior motive of this support was keeping the alliance intact and for Austria the fragmentation of the Ottoman Empire (Bayly, 2004).

At the centre of British imperial policy was the control of Egypt – in particular the Suez Canal; thus, it was necessary to annex a port either in the Black Sea or the Eastern Mediterranean that would serve as a naval base close to the Canal (Jelavich, 1973). This focus was part of the wider strategic policy for the British Empire, namely the control of the access zones to Britain's commercial and maritime interests, especially India (Butlin, 2009; Holland and Markides, 2006; Jelavich, 1973). The preservation of this access was crucial to Britain in order to sustain its economic supremacy, which was based heavily on overseas markets and raw materials (Butlin, 2009; Hobsbawm, 1987).

Great Britain's main aim in the area was therefore to keep the "life line of the empire" – the route to India – away from the Russians, which in turn meant the control of the Mediterranean territories (Richter, 2006). However, the British Government under William Gladstone followed a policy of "splendid isolation" and did not take any drastic measures over the matter (Richter 2006, 12). In contrast, Benjamin Disraeli wanted to expand the British Empire – albeit employing non-violent means – and secure its maritime routes of communication. For Disraeli the old balance of power in Europe as controlled by Great Britain was threatened by the unification of Germany. For that reason, as soon as Disraeli succeeded Gladstone in office (1874), he took measures to protect the Empire, such as by buying shares of the Egyptian Khedive in 1875, which brought the Suez Canal under British control.

At the same time, in the Balkans, the Serbian and Slav revolt caused the declaration of war between the Serbians and the Ottomans. Soon after a Russo-Turkish war broke out in 1877-1878. European powers wanted to avoid another extensive war and a series of peace conferences took place. Amongst them, was the 1877 Treaty of San Stefano – signed between the Ottomans and the Russians – that threatened the British Empire's route to India (Richter, 2006). Following the

treaty, Russia advanced as far as the outskirts of Constantinople, gaining the Black Sea harbour of Batum, some strategically-important Armenian towns, and Kars; in addition to these annexations, the newly-founded state of Greater Bulgaria became a Russian satellite. In Britain, Disraeli's Conservative government wanted to acquire a new port administered similar to Gibraltar, as a territorial compensation for the San Stefano Treaty (1878) which resulted in the expansion of Russian influence in the Balkans (Holland and Markides, 2006). For Great Britain the best solution seemed to be the acquisition of a Place d'Armes in the Eastern Mediterranean. At the same time an older idea came to the fore: the creation of a railway from Alexandretta to India (Markides, 2006).

At this point Cyprus – until then the island was not part of any British imperial planning – was found to be the best place for facilitating both projects (the railway and the Place d'Armes plan), instead of Rhodes and Crete. Crete was a serious candidate for this scheme, but due to the considerable, and seemingly uncontrollable and troublesome nature of its population and the island's size, it was rejected (Lang, 1878; Markides, 2006). Cyprus, however, was projected as having the necessary characteristics for this purpose and the Cypriots were thought of as being easily governed (Lang, 1878). Publicly the island's value was put forward for two reasons: the commitment to defend the Ottomans; and its appeal as a strategic colony to the British public (Lang, 1878; Markides, 2006). Disraeli argued that the island had an advantageous position in the broader area and along with Alexandretta provided the keys to Asia; in particular the route to India through the Euphrates River (Holland and Markides, 2006). In the House of Commons Disraeli said very bluntly that "in taking Cyprus the movement is not Mediterranean; it is Indian" (quoted in Holland and Markides 2006, 15). This decision caused surprise in Europe and controversy in Great Britain. Many notable English public figures such as Lord Northbrook the ex-viceroy of India were against the possession of Cyprus. One of the popular objections was that the island did not have a decent port to accommodate large naval ships.

These territorial issues were decided in numerous conventions such as the Congress of Berlin in 1878, which focused on the scramble of the Balkans. In a

similar convention the fate of Cyprus was signed. In the summer of 1878, the administration of Cyprus was ceded to the British Empire as part of the Convention of Defensive Alliance (Edbury, 2001; Goring, 1988). The annexation was settled in a secret arrangement between the Ottomans and the British in the Cyprus Convention held in July 1878. The terms of the agreement between Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire were that if Russia took possession of Batum Kars or Ardahan (which was already agreed between the two powers) Great Britain would aid the Ottoman Empire in defending her territories, and in exchange the Ottomans would cede Cyprus to the British Empire and would begin political reforms in the Asian provinces (Jelavich, 1973). Along with the proximity to Egypt and the assurance of imperial communication this agreement secured for Great Britain an important position and influence in Constantinople. Hence, as Russia gained authority in the Balkans and Central Asia, the British would dominate the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire, technically, still had the nominal sovereignty of Cyprus. Power was, thus, balanced.

The arrival of the British on the island was a peaceful invasion of administrators (Markides, 2006). The aim of the British Government continued to be the avoidance of war and a non-violent invasion of the British into the Ottoman Empire, in the form of working for the Sultan and for the construction of the railway. This plan depended heavily on A.H. Layard, the Ambassador of the British Empire at the High Porte. Importantly this pacific invasion was part of the broader narrative of the British civilizing mission, considered a defining feature of the British rule (see subsection 5.3.1). As Lang (1878, 191) articulately put it in accordance with this narrative, Cyprus's "long night of suffering thus ended and a day of bright prospects dawned upon her". A great part of Great Britain's civilizing mission was the Victorian campaign against slavery (Drayton, 2012). This narrative of ending slavery within the Ottoman Empire was a key part of the broader discourse of civilizing Middle East and in the 1870s anti-slave proposals were made by British Consuls in Cyprus (Luke, 1921; Markides, 2006). An anti-slave trade convention took place simultaneously with the Cyprus Convention (June 1878).

However Disraeli's plan, of a pacific invasion in the Ottoman Empire and the construction of the railway never materialized for two main reasons: first, in 1882, Gladstone was re-elected as Prime Minister and did not authorize the funding of the railway; secondly the High Porte was reluctant to co-operate in Britain's plans (Markides, 2006). This shows that for the case of Cyprus British colonial politics were not monolithic as they have been appeared to be thus far. Instead, they depended on the beliefs of the people leading the political parties that formed the then British government and were somewhat conflicting. Varnava (2012) argues that the acquisition of Cyprus should be further contextualized within the Conservative Party's imperial narratives based on moral and strategic grounds regarding the Mediterranean region. British philhellenic narratives stated that the Greek civilization (including Cyprus) should be protected from the Russian advancement and the Ottoman Empire. In public, these measures were justified by the argument that Russian influence in Turkey would not benefit the local population (Lang, 1878) (for a discussion on British colonial politics based on moral and paternalistic discourses see subsection 5.3.1). Also as discussed above the Conservatives saw a potential military value in Cyprus. The Liberals under Gladstone were against the acquisition of Cyprus as it was believed that Great Britain's naval supremacy was sufficient for the protection of the Empire's interests and Russia had the moral rights to protect the Balkans as they shared a common religion (Varnava, 2012).

Sir Garnet Wolseley was the first High Commissioner appointed to the island as the Queen's Official Representative (Goring, 1988). Even in these early years the British military did not arrive in Cyprus in large numbers (Markides, 2006). Indeed, the initial importance of the island as a British military naval base in the East Mediterranean was soon to become void (Goring, 1988; Knapp and Antoniadou, 1998). The annexation of the Suez Canal and Egypt in 1881, along with the halting of the Russian advance in Armenia and in the Mediterranean, made Britain's occupation of Cyprus with less significance. The Nile provided the route to India and not the Euphrates (Holland and Markides, 2006). Recent literature (Holland and Markides, 2006; Varnava, 2009) has argued that the only reason for retaining hold of Cyprus was the fear of the loss of political prestige, the difficulties of

uprooting the administration and the strong feeling that could be evoked in Europe and Great Britain against handing back to the Ottoman Empire a country with the majority of the population being Christians.

However, there was another reason for keeping Cyprus that may have informed attitudes towards the administration of the island and its resources (including antiquities). The Ottoman Empire signed a series of loan agreements with France and Great Britain in a period of 20 years (1854-1874). The loan agreed in 1854 was used for the Crimean War and the consecutive loans to cover the Ottoman Empires vast expenditures and to overcome the financial crisis (Ozekicioglu and Ozekicioglu, 2010). The total amount of the 15 loans was calculated to 16, 346, 667 Ottoman liras with an average interest of 5.6% (Ozekicioglu and Ozekicioglu, 2010). Despite the consecutive foreign borrowing the High Porte could not prevent the ever increasing state expenditures and in 1877 the Ottoman central government came to a default. Since the British Government was one of the guarantors of the loan if the Ottoman Empire failed to pay the British citizens had to do so. Instead, Cyprus paid the annual interest of the Ottoman loan to the British through its revenues (Ricther, 2006; Varnava, 2009). Indeed, it can be argued that the Cypriot revenue played a greater part in retaining the island than its strategic value, while Markides (2006) sees the main military value of Cyprus being the denial to any other power of obtaining it (see also Varnava, 2009).

Varnava (2009) calls the acquisition of Cyprus an “inconsequential possession”, evident in the lack of fortifications on the island, which were apparent in other key British colonies in the region such as Malta and Gibraltar. By the early 1880s the island became “the backwater in Britain’s overseas imperium” (Holland and Markides 2006, 164). The island never acted as a naval base. The status of Cyprus within the British Empire remained ambiguous until the first decades of the twentieth century. In 1914 the island was described by legal advisors of the Foreign Office as a “bit of Turkey in British occupation, under British administration” (Markides 2006, 19). The de jure international status of the island was Ottoman colony and the de facto status was British occupation. Cyprus wasn’t either a

colony or a protectorate and never acquired an official identity until 1925 when the island became a Crown colony.

5.3 Law and archaeology

Having set out the contemporary imperial context of Cyprus the focus of the chapter now shifts to the local colonial administration of the island in relation to its antiquities. Until 1869 the Ottoman Empire did not have any official regulations regarding the excavation or exportation of antiquities. Following Wright's (2001) and Shaw's (2003) historiography of the Ottoman legal system in relation to ancient material culture, I will try to set out the possible attitudes of the official Ottoman government towards Cypriot antiquities during the 1860s. The Ottoman Empire was an Islamic state – essentially a theocratic state – and even after the reform movement the imperial provinces were ruled by the Islamic (religious) Law (Shari'a, Sheri'). Briefly, Islamic law provided the framework for the provisions of "regulating the conduct of persons so that they remain in a state of grace with God" (Wright 2001, 262).

The Ottoman administration's main structure was still organised in traditional mode according to religious terms. Its provincial societies were organised in quasi-national religious divisions (Muslims, Greek Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox, Jewish, and smaller communities), called "millets" (Shaw, 2003). Cyprus was divided as such (millets of Greek Orthodox Cypriots, Turkish Muslim Cypriots and other religious minorities). The millets were organized under a religious leader, which for the Greek Orthodox Cypriots was the Archbishop, and for the Turkish Muslim Cypriots the Mufti. The island was divided into five districts (Larnaka, Famagusta, Limassol, Kurinia and Morphon, and Paphos) whose chief administrator was the Caimakam. Even though the religious groups and communities led by religious leaders were subject to the Ottoman Laws, they were endowed with a certain civic and legal autonomy (Shaw, 2003).

According to Wright (2001), there is no indication of the existence in Cyprus (or in the Ottoman Empire in general) of any secular state law (Qanun)[26] on the prohibition of the excavation or exportation of antiquities, or indeed any reference to antiquities at all. An explanation for this could be that Islam was shaping the attitudes towards the ancient past and in doing so excluded the pre-Islamic past and, consequently, disregarded its material remains (Wright, 2001). If any regulation regarding antiquities existed the only possible mention of it would be in firmans (Shaw, 2003). The firman (or farman) was a decree issued in the name of the Sultan. It had the Sultan's official cipher (tughra), it referred to a specific affair and was an official ordering about a certain activity (Wright, 2001). The *firman* was a Qanun, and if issued it overruled the existing law on that matter. Although Wright (2001) argues that no firman of such nature (which would have formed an Antiquities Law *sui generis*) was found in the 1860s, Stanley-Price (2001) argues that imperial firmans giving permission to individuals for excavation had been granted. For instance the French Edmond Duthoit in 1862 acquired an inscription that was built into a house by using an Imperial firman so as to override the objections of the local Madi to his removing of stones from the site of Soloi (Stanley-Price, 2001).

It is therefore worth examining the Shari'a Law in a different way in order to decipher the possible official attitudes towards antiquities. Wright (2001) proposes looking at the provisions about treasures (rikaz), which he considers as the closest analogy to antiquities. According to the Shari'a Law a treasure consisted of precious materials that lie beneath the soil (Wright, 2001). The finder had ownership rights on the found treasures but these rights were profoundly conditioned on the basis of the Islamic and non-Islamic binary. If the findings were of non-Islamic origin the finder had a *de jure* ownership. However, if they were of Islamic origin the ownership rested with the original owner and not the finder. Another vital condition that came up in all the subsequent regulations through the rest of the century was that of land. Shaw (2003) notes that new relations were formed between the state and the general public as a result of the political reformation; such as the recognition of the rights of the individual to a fair legal

[26] An organic law of the land and complimentary to the Islamic law.

system and the recognition of private land tenure (see also Pamuk, 1987; see section 5.2).[27] If the treasure was found on private (milk/mulki) land the State had no claim on it, but if it was found in Crown (miri) land the finder had to give one fifth of the value to the State. The land owner, on principle, owned anything that rested underneath his property and was allowed to dig it for any reason (Wright, 2001).

The afore-mentioned law on property became of high importance. For instance, Cesnola, the American and Russian Consul, and Robert Hamilton Lang had in their possessions the leased land on which they conducted legal excavations according to Shari'a Law. Although there was a relative freedom in the excavation of antiquities (or treasure), according to Shari'a law exportation was subject not to the Law but to the regulations of the local customs and, in this case, to the whims of Cypriot Customs (Wright, 2001). An indication is given by Cesnola on the matter, who in one of his letters mentioned that there were no custom fees for sending objects of art in Europe but he did not mention the types of those objects or their size.[28] This mention points out that, at the time, there were no restrictions on exporting antiquities, except for the imposition of fees for doing so.

The first regulation referring to antiquities was enacted in 1869 and it was comprised of seven articles (Stanley-Price, 2001). By that time a thriving market for antiquities existed. This was the first case of a generalised official attempt to formalise certain policies and attitudes towards antiquities (Stanley-Price, 2001). According to this regulation all individuals that wished to excavate had to address their request to the Ministry of Public Instruction. If a foreign citizen wanted to dig, he had to obtain a special imperial decree (Irade) or a firman (see also Challis, 2008). For example Cesnola obtained a firman from the Ottoman Sultan to dig wherever he wanted.[29] However, in 1871, Cesnola informed his friend Hiram Hitchcock that the Ottomans had forbidden all diggings under the influence of the English.[30] This statement contradicts the non-intervention British policy and the information given by British consuls. Lang (1878) informs us that out of the consuls

[27] Land Code of 1858 and by 1867 land ownership by foreign subjects was made legal.
[28] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (9th July 1869), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 2
[29] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (17th June 1869), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f.2
[30] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (25th April 1871), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f.3

on the island in this period only the British consul could not obtain a firman from Constantinople for the excavation of antiquities; a phenomenon not confined to Cyprus alone.[31] It is important to remember that this was a period of great European influence in the High Porte.

Lang (1878) applied for a firman; however the answer he received was negative on the grounds of the High Porte's intention to form a museum of antiquities. The British Embassy did not interfere on the matter. On the other hand Cesnola's firman was renewed yearly, and permitted Cesnola to dig across the whole island (Lang, 1878). According to the Vice-Consul of Rhodes the British officials got "so much less than the Americans".[32] The ambiguity of the formal imposition of the regulations regarding antiquities was broadly evident. Individuals continued to dig on the island even without firmans and were not disturbed.[33] Lang was such an individual and Newton attributed this to his influence in Cyprus, which did "better than a firman".[34] Lang carried on his excavations quietly and the local authorities did not interfere with his work (for interpersonal networks on the island between colonial authorities and collectors see subsection 6.4.1 and section 7.3).[35]

As for the exportation of the findings coming from authorized excavations, it was explicitly forbidden. Even the American Consul received a firman forbidding the exportation of antiquities.[36] However, because of the personal relationships Cesnola developed with the Turkish authorities he was informed about the order and could export the antiquities before the firman arrived in Cyprus.[37] Similarly for Lang exportation was conducted with considerable difficulty (Lang, 1878). For instance, he had to load a colossal statue into an Austrian frigate during the night and under cover because the object was going to become Turkish property if the Ottoman officials found out about it. The High Porte was acquiring the antiquities discovered in the Ottoman provinces for the newly-founded Ottoman Imperial

[31] Letter from A.Billioti to C.T. Newton (29th July 1869), BM, GR OL, Vol. 1869-1872, fol.45
[32] Letter from A.Billioti to C.T. Newton (29th July 1869), BM, GR OL, Vol. 1869-1872, fol.45
[33] Letter from A.Billioti to C.T. Newton (29th July 1869), BM, GR OL, Vol. 1869-1872, fol.45
[34] Letter from C.T. Newton to R.H. Lang (2nd June 1869), BM, GR LB, Vol. 1861-1879, fol. 175
[35] Letter from R.H.Lang to C.T. Newton (15th September 1869), BM, GR OL, Vol.1869-1872, fol.361
[36] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (25th April 1871), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f.3
[37] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (11th October 1871), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 3

Museum.[38] The Imperial Museum became highly involved in the excavation and exportation of antiquities in Cyprus as it made efforts to stop it by issuing firmans (see also Shaw, 2003).[39]

The change in the Ottoman attitudes towards antiquities and the official efforts of acquiring the objects can be contextualized within the wider political reformation, which was addressing the crucial issue of the national fragmentation of the Ottoman Empire (Shaw, 2003). The Ottoman Empire's population consisted of a population of diverse ethnic origins and affiliated with a variety of religions. The different ethnic groups – especially in the South Balkans – rebelled against the Ottomans and along with the losses in the Crimean War they caused the territorial fragmentation of the Empire. One of the main aims of the reform measures was the creation of communal identities and a body of citizenry through the provision of civil liberties and rights (such as land ownership) to the non-Muslim population (Shaw, 2003). Thus, the Ottoman Imperial Museum in Constantinople was established in the early 1870s under French influence (Shaw, 2003). As part of this movement the High Porte invited individuals to conduct excavations sponsored by the Ottoman Empire.[40]

Cesnola indicated in his correspondence with Hitchcock that the Ottoman policies were not consistent and that the Turkish Government would issue other firmans.[41] This was true as in the following year Cesnola was waiting for the issue of another firman that would enable him to conduct excavations.[42] The first official Antiquities Law was enacted in 1874 and drafted by the German Philipp Dethier, the then director of the Imperial Museum (Stanley-Price, 2001). The Antiquities Law was part of this new political movement and composed under the direct influence of the French. Perhaps it is not a surprise then that the French could export antiquities freely.[43] Critically, the Antiquities Law, enforced in the entire Ottoman Empire, and its successive alterations (1884, 1906) mirrored both the new values embedded in

[38] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (30th August 1871), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 3
[39] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (17th January 1872), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 3
[40] Letter from A.Billioti to C.T. Newton (15th May 1869), BM, GR OL, Vol.1869-1872, fol.42
[41] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (17th January 1872), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 3
[42] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (17th January 1872), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 3
[43] Letter from A.Billioti to C.T. Newton (5th September 1869), BM, GR OL, Vol.1869-1872, fol.46

antiquities – which were shaped by responding to both the thriving archaeological excavations throughout the Empire's possessions – and the new nationalistic psyche (Shaw, 2003). The legislators were also aware of the antiquities' value as mobile objects and the way possession of antiquities could enhance their status (Shaw, 2003). For the duration of the nineteenth century, and especially in the latter half, all the sites of a certain archaeological interest were possessions of the Ottoman Empire, such as Minoan Crete, Minor Asia and in the latter half Cyprus (Wright, 2001).

The Antiquities Law included Cyprus but was not enforced adequately, if at all as shown by the examples above. The Ottoman Law on Antiquities was formed by 36 articles (as found in the Cyprus State Archives, see Appendix 1). The 1874 law contained more details in the regulation terms and was stricter in State ownership but more liberal on exportation than the 1869 regulations (Shaw, 2003).[44] The Antiquities Law was divided into four substantive chapters. The first chapter was concerned with the right of possession and details respecting antiquities. The second chapter was concerned with the terms under which antiquities and treasures could be searched or excavated for. The third chapter was concerned with the apportionment of antiquities and their proceedings and the fourth chapter with the provisions respecting the importation, exportation, sale, purchase and concealment of antiquities. Even after the enactment of the Antiquities Law, excavations for antiquities were carried out all over the island both legally and illegally; specifically Cesnola had in his possession a firman allowing him to dig.[45]

Shaw (2003) indicates that the 1874 law, with its copious loopholes, did not give a definition of what constituted an antiquity. According to the law all kinds of objects of art dating from ancient times were antiquities with a clear distinction between two kinds; that of coins and that of "any other" type of object. I would agree with Shaw (2003) that there was no specification of what was considered to be an "article of art". There was, however, an indication of what was considered to be a valuable antiquity according to an official injunction (issued in 24th March 1874) that

[44] Trasnlated transcript in English of the Ottoman Antiquities Law (undated), CSA, SA01/8
[45] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (27th April 1875), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 3

was included in the translation of the law. The official injunction referred to directions that were issued through a Visorial order[46] to all the provinces to prevent people henceforth from removing or breaking up stone from fortifications, temples, palaces and houses found in ancient and celebrated towns and to see that no injury was caused to the state of buildings and of other things that were considered as antiquities. Also coins were considered as valuable antiquities as they could not be exported to any land outside the Ottoman Empire but they could be sold either to individuals within the Empire or to the Ottoman State.[47] These directions were issued because the Ottoman Government was informed that marbles with engravings and designs in relief found on the walls of such buildings which were thought as valued monuments of antiquity were removed in order to be used as ordinary stones (even large size objects were broken into pieces for this purpose).[48] Finally, although excavations were pronounced illegal by both the 1869 and 1874 laws (unless a firman was given), in Cyprus excavations for antiquities were still thriving, both legal and illegal, and thousands of objects were exported overseas (as shown from the Cesnola example above) (Goring, 1988; Knapp and Antoniadou, 1998; Pilides, 2008).

In summary, the period prior to the 1869 regulations were not, widely, concerned with any matters relating with antiquities. After the enactment of the 1869 regulations under the nationalist movement, and along with the French and German influence, the High Porte was starting to put regulations on possessing the material culture of its colonies. However the population of Cyprus, both local and foreigners, used all the means at their disposal to escape the regulations. Nonetheless, it was the beginning of an attempt to synthesize a standard way of operating justified by a legal framework on the part of the Ottoman Empire. This was the methodology followed by the British in administrating their colonies and, particularly to this case, to regulate the conduct of archaeology.

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[46] Order issued by senior governors of Ottoman provinces.
[47] British Museum Trustee minutes of meeting (13th April 1872), BM, GR TM, Vol. 1870-1876, pages 134-137
[48] Official injunction of Visorial order (24th March 1874) in the Ottoman Antquities Law, CSA, SA01/8

5.3.1 British administration of the island

This section situates the British regulation of the antiquities within the broader imperial and colonial narratives of the British Empire. The administration of the island by the British was shaped by two conflicting policies: first, the need to keep the Ottomans on side; and, secondly, the intention of having Cyprus as the blueprint for the British administration of Western Asia (Markides, 2006). The idea of "the little England" became linked with islands across the British Empire; islands provided, a perceived, a powerful and bounded space where the national met the local (Peckham, 2003; Sivasundaram, 2011). As soon as the British settled in Cyprus and for the first twenty years of the occupation, the British officials continuously passed ordinances and laws for the better administration of the island (Given, 2002; Stanley-Price, 2001). This was also part of the wider colonial policy of dominance, which was enabled through the administration of the subjugated territories by means of legal and educational systems (Bayly, 2004; Benton, 2000, 2002; Butlin, 2009; Legg, 2009). Kostal (2000; 2005, 1) shows that a core element in the British governance of the colonies was the "centrality of law in the world-view of the English politics". He positions the origins of this centrality in the pessimism that characterized the British political scene regarding humanity's proneness to aggression and violence. The contested claims for citizenship in Europe produced the question of the applicability of those principles in the colonies (Stoler and Cooper, 1997).

In this view, secular legislation was considered to be society's essential safeguard against humanity's inherent depravity. The conduct of dominant men and institutions was thought to be constrained by the application of secular law, which acted as the stage for negotiation of the basic terms of political power (Given, 2002; Kostal, 2005). In a similar way, E.P. Thompson stated that the English political class was characterized by the relentless adherence to the ideal that the hallmark of a civilised society was the "accountability of office and authority to a tangible and effective political jurisprudence" (quoted in Kostal 2005, 467). Constitution became the "most sacred symbol of Englishness" (Kostal 2005, 463) and the master narrative of Victorian political discourse. This new way of governing saw the building of the state by the dominant elite and its government with the

different departments handling its administration (Bayly, 2004). Bayly (2004), following the sociologist Michael Mann, proposes to view the state in this period as an idea that depicted the aspiration for complete power and territorial sovereignty. The ideal model of the liberal constitutional state of the developed world had to include a homogeneous territorial state and was internationally sovereign; it had to be large enough to provide the basis of national economic development; it needed a single set of political and legal institutions of a broadly liberal and representative kind (rule of law); a fair degree of local autonomy and initiative; and it had to be composed of citizens (aggregate of the individual inhabitants of its territory who enjoyed certain basic legal and political rights) whose relation with the government had to be direct (Hobsbawm, 1987).

This meant that the moral imagination became a legal imagination, as secular modernity gradually committed to the rule of law (Blomley, 1994; Howell, 2004). Thus a moral rhetoric was rendered in the administration of the Empire: Cyprus was considered as benefiting from the “moral influence of the near proximity to England” (Lang 1878, 199). The political accountability to law then became “sacrosanct” (Kostal 2005, 20) for the majority of the English political classes. The imbued sense of British moral superiority in the legal system was based on the certainty that the British Empire’s power was not absolute as it was constrained and accountable to law, which supposedly made it just (Kostal, 2000). The modern idea of civilization was embodied in a progressive and ordered technologically-bounded society and in the perfectibility of individuals where legal practice as explained above became essential (Bayly, 2004). Imperial power was self-justified by projecting what was thought to be attractive of the empire: for the British, imperialism was the ideology of the “colonisation of hope”, which incorporated the principles of Christianity, antislavery, free trade and parliamentary government (Drayton 2012, 163). Reiterating, it was believed that the British Empire exported democracy to the world with all its beneficial products.

The British sovereign state was promoted as prioritizing the well-being of its subjects with a generous and enlightened populace (Lang 1878, 191). The concept of the jurisprudence of power became simultaneously the hallmark of nineteenth-

century English civilization and the endowment that warranted its imperial dominions (Kostal, 2005). The colonial governments were formed according to the necessities of the colonial power, and usually the governmental system was adjusted to the existing local one (Bayly, 2004; Benton, 2005; Butlin, 2009). The British Empire tried to embed this authoritative and centralized system in its colonial policy as could be seen by the draft of bills by the Colonial Office as early as 1809 (Bayly, 2004). Colonial governance was encompassed within ideological claims about the liberal-democratic political principles that introduced the rule of law (Scott, 1995). The British Empire applied this programme to the colonies, since in the official view of the British, a legitimate empire could not be tyrannous or arbitrary (Kostal, 2005). This attitude correlates with the above-mentioned view that legal systems formed a, supposedly, just British imperial power. The diversity of the British Empire is evident in the colonial jurisdiction. According to Butlin (2009) in the Europeanized colonies such as Australia, the legislation was democratic, but in the non-Europeanized colonies in Asia and Africa was despotic. In Cyprus as it will be demonstrated below it was the combination of these two attitudes.

The self-defined paternalistic mission of the British Empire as a, perceived superior civilization that should govern the uncivilized was evidenced in Cyprus, not only in the necessary administration of the, supposedly, primitive inhabitants but also in the regulation of the preservation of the material remains due to the inadequacy of Cypriots (Stanley-Price, 2001).[49] The acquisition of the island was publicised as part of a larger regional development for the benefit of Asia Minor under English patronage in collaboration with the Ottoman Empire (Holland and Markides, 2006). Disraeli's Government imagined Cyprus having two, seemingly conflicting, qualities in need of protection: first, the island was imagined as being linked with the Holy Land; and, secondly, as being part of the "Greek world" (Varnava, 2009). The British and European perception of the island's identity was based on intellectual predispositions, imperialism, and strategic interest (Markides, 2006). The population of the island was for the first time described as Greek or Turkish (Given, 2002). However, these "imaginative geographies" of Cyprus were soon altered. In

[49] See also J.L.Myres' letter Thompson (16th May 1894) page 3, CSA, SA1/186/1894

the last two decades of the nineteenth century the equivalence between the "unspeakable" Turk and the erring Greek was common in the Victorian imagination; by that time philhellenism was already dead (Holland and Markides, 2006). The oriental characteristics of the island were already portrayed by the foreign consuls of the previous period (Goring, 1988). The common ground of both discourses was the, projected, immediate need of democratic governance of the island, which also legitimized the imperial project in Cyprus, and was clearly summarized by Lang (1878, 370) in civilizing and religious overtones:

> The island has known many masters and paid homage to nearly all the great conquering dynasties of the past. It is now united under the beneficent scepter of the Queen of England to a rich and generous people whose aim in its acquisition is neither empire nor profit but the diffusion of the blessings of civilization and the elements of an enlightened progress. With a population docile and peace-loving and a government which emanates from neither military or dynastic despotism but from the paternal solicitude of a nation whose watchword is Freedom, Justice and Tolerance it needs no prophet to foresee the future prosperity and enviable happiness of both the Mohammedan and Christian populations of Cyprus. Amen!

Drawing on Blomley and Clark (1990), law in Cyprus was structured around a central-universalist language that offered the necessary legitimacy and contextual interpretations (*cf.* Ogborn, 1992). The interpretive context of law became the representation of the superior relationship between colonial powers and local people in the legal system (Benton, 2005; Fowler, 1987; Given, 1998; Hamilakis, 2008; Silvern, 2002). Many of the new laws were concerned with conservation or preservation, such as the regulation of woods or protection of birds (Given, 2002; Stanley-Price, 2001). However, the British authorities kept a distinctive part of the existing Ottoman legal system, including the Antiquities Law. In this case it was not, as Benton (2002) suggests, the retaining of the previous administration's regulations as a way of sustaining social order, or as Bayly (2004) notes that colonial systems inherited aspects of legislation from the former governments; it

was imperial politics. Wolseley, the first High Commissioner of Cyprus, was instructed to

> "govern Cyprus along Turkish lines as far as possible and to make the sultan and his pashas feel that in conceding us the privilege of governing any of the Asia Minor provinces no violent disturbance of Turkish laws or customs would be attempted" (orders quoted in Markides 2006, 24).

Cyprus was on paper still an official colony of the Ottoman Empire. The ambiguity of the current status of the island and the uncertainty of its future resulted in the ambivalent administration of Cyprus (Markides, 2006). Nonetheless, Cyprus acquired a role, that of a model of good governance (Lang, 1878). This was a common colonial practice. The colonies of France, Britain and the Netherlands were spaces, both imaginary and physically, in which to experiment with notions of citizenship, sovereignty and participation (Stoler and Cooper, 1997). It was a social project towards western standards and of defining what could be done and what could not. However the rationalizing, accumulating and civilizing European tendencies could not escape militarism and strategies of racial rule. In this matter, the task was not "to make Englishmen of the Cypriotes but to possess as subjects happy and prosperous Cypriotes (sic)" (Lang 1878, 202). The liberal narrative of the colonizers was never transformed into actual political equality between them and the colonized people (Scott, 1995).

The Ottoman Antiquities Law passed on the 24th of March 1874[50] was still in force and was to be found in the Leg. Ottoman Vol. III (Appendix 1). Even though this law was enacted under the Ottomans, the British authorities in 1878 essentially enforced it on the island. The enactment of the new law could be seen as a response by the British to the exportation of valuable resources by other European countries and museums. The enforcing of the Ottoman Antiquities Law was a formal effort to impose the British control over antiquities. The Antiquities Law was

[50] According to the Ottoman calendar the date was 20 Sefer 1291

put in force in the event of antiquities being accidentally dug up or discovered.[51] Col. Falkland Warren, Chief Secretary of the island in 1880, sent a circular order regarding the discovery of antiquities to act as a guideline for the British authorities whence antiquities were found by accident.[52] According to this order, prior to discovery all antiquities were considered to be the property of the Government and discovery could only occur by accident since purposely searching for antiquities was prohibited. Everything that lay underneath the soil was governmental property including tombs, whether regarded as antiquities or monuments. Upon discovering antiquities all individuals were bound by this law to give notice to the local authorities within ten days, under a penalty of one fourth of the value of antiquities, excluding the third belonging to the government. The Antiquities Law as imposed by the British on the excavation space was an effort to regulate the circulation of antiquities and archaeology in general.

5.3.1.1 Regulating Cypriot antiquities

The previous subsection (5.3.1) has outlined the imperial and colonial framework of the British governance of the colonies and this section looks closer at the regulation of Cypriot antiquities. After the acquisition of Egypt the supervision of the island was moved from the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office and the military governors were replaced by civilians (Edbury, 2001; Goring, 1988; Knapp and Antoniadou, 1998). Because of Cyprus' ambiguous status within the Empire, Conservatives and Liberals, alike, did not have a consistent policy of ruling the island or, as Varnava (2009) suggests, know how to do so. Nevertheless, British officials acknowledged that the island was in need of continual rule[53] but, as Varnava (2009) points out; great financial investments had to be made for infrastructural development - construction of railway and harbour - of Cyprus. In this period the Cypriot imperial project focused on the organization of the island

[51] Circular Order sent by F.Warren (Chief Secretary of Cyprus) to the District Commissioners (11th September 1880), CSA, SA1/ 5919/1880

[52] Circular Order sent by F.Warren (Chief Secretary of Cyprus) to the District Commissioners (11th September 1880), CSA, SA1/ 5919/1880

[53] Letter from H.G. White (District Commissioner of Limassol) to C.T. Newton (27th May 1879), BM, GR OL, Vol. 1879-1882, fol.545

and, indeed, it created an efficient and administration and a well-working road network (Varnava, 2009). British regulation of Cypriot antiquities was part of this project that affected all aspects of the administration of the island, including education, taxation, agriculture and municipalities. Given (2001) finds the reasoning behind the control of excavations on the island in the ideological force of archaeology and the colonial need to control the sources of information and interpretation that derive from it. The Cyprus Government not only regulated the sources of archaeological information (i.e. excavations) but authorized its members for the interpretation of the past in terms of documenting the island's history (Given, 2001; see for example Cobham, 1894). This can be seen as part of the broader processes of colonization whose first stage was "discovery" and exploration (Royle, 2004).

A central part of colonial rule was the demarcation of both land and people embedded into classificatory schemes for their better control and governance (Given, 2002; Said, 2003). While the colonial population was controlled, disciplined and managed so ancient sites became colonial spaces regulated by the colonial power through the organization of the conduct of excavations. In this context, the British did not leave any space for the locals to have a voice in the matters regarding antiquities. These issues were dealt by the British authorities as the silence of local voices in the archives indicates. One of the justifications for authorising private excavations was that the Government share of any findings would help to enhance the, newly established, Cyprus Museum collections (see subsection 5.3.1.2). The official explanation given to the applicants was that there were pending changes to the regulations. A distinctive change of attitudes occurred in 1887 by Sir Henry Bulwer, who took the post of the High Commissioner of Cyprus in 1886 and was president ex-officio of the Museum committee. He decided that private excavations were not good for the cause of historical or antiquarian knowledge but only for speculative and commercial purposes. In 1887 officially private excavations were banned. This demonstrates that efforts to create boundaries for controlling excavations were stemming from initiatives of private individuals and not from collective projects of the British colonial state.

Rights to excavate were given to the Cyprus Museum, who's Committee held the antiquities in trust for the public for educational and scientific purposes.[54] In a similar way excavation permits were granted only to foreign museums and recognised antiquarian institutions, which were allowed to obtain (subject to certain conditions) only a share of the antiquities. In this way the Government could regulate the proper use of the objects. The Cyprus Government thought that if permission was given to an individual, then more applications would follow that would be difficult to reject and, thus, control. Principles upon which the question of excavation and exportation of antiquities was to be dealt with were laid down in a minute by Bulwer dated 16 June 1887 and approved by the Secretary of State. Bulwer's active involvement in the drafting and enforcement of regulations demonstrated the important role of local British officials in the shaping of the colonial policies and law. [55] This supports Butlin's (2009) suggestion that geography shaped law through the actions of people where social power relations emerge as a primary link between the legal and the spatial (see also Benton, 2009; Forman, 2006). Those principles were stated in the series of Resolutions of the Executive:[56]

1. The antiquities found on the island should be preserved in the island as much as possible.
2. It is not desirable as a general rule to grant permission to private persons to excavate.
3. The Government may permit in certain cases public museums and antiquarian institutions to excavate every such permission to form the subjects of a special arrangement to be approved by High Commissioner in the Executive Council.
4. Until the existing law is amended its provisions should be adhered to.

[54] Bulwer's minute about excavations, which can also be found in Colonial Office Dispatch 206 22/12/1887 and Colonial Office Dispatch 71 20/04/1893, CSA, SA1/1422/1893

[55] Bulwer's minute about excavations, which can also be found in Colonial Office Dispatch 206 22/12/1887 and Colonial Office Dispatch 71 20/04/1893, CSA, SA1/1422/1893

[56] Principles laid down by H.Bulwer in a minute (16th June 1887) and approved by the Secretary of the State for the Colonies (22nd December 1887), CSA, SA1/1422/1893

5. With regard the question of the exportation of antiquities the export will be allowed of those articles falling to the share of an authorized excavator but permission is not to be given in the case of articles purchased by private individuals unless the applicant satisfies the Government that they are not the result of illicit excavation.

A key condition in the excavation permits was the appointment of a Government superintendent who would oversee the excavations. The government overseer's duties were to watch the excavations on behalf of the Government and to submit plans and reports of them to the museum. The keeping of the record was considered to be the most important part of his work as it was essential for the proper recording of all excavations. [57] This practice was due to the fact that in the majority of cases it was considered not safe to trust the excavator to do so.[58] The sum paid to the overseer was not fixed by the regulations and it would be necessary for every person applying for permission to excavate to state the amount he was prepared to give for superintendence. If the sum was low, for example two shillings per day, the Government would refuse the applicant a permission to excavate since they would be unable to a find a man to work for that sum.[59] Thus, the Government had to fix some standard for guidance to avoid disputes. The appointment of the Government overseer could be seen in the broader context of the advancement of a trained civil service and the expansion of bureaucracy for the better governing of the colonies (Bayly, 2004). The overseer's surveillance of antiquities reminds us of Ogborn's (quoted in Howell 2004, 447; see also Ogborn, 1992) suggestion that 'law positions the subject for discipline; law frames and organizes discipline; law and discipline are inseparable', arguments that were central to the conceptualization of the development of archaeology on Cyprus.

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[57] Letter from Lieutenant Hugh M. Sinclair (Honorary Secretary of Cyprus Museum) to F.G.E. Warren (Chief Secretary) (19th November 1885), CSA, SA1/4596/1885

[58] Letter from Lieutenant Hugh M. Sinclair (Honorary Secretary of Cyprus Museum) to F.G.E. Warren (Chief Secretary) (19th November 1885), CSA, SA1/4596/1885

[59] Letter from Lieutenant Hugh M. Sinclair (Honorary Secretary of Cyprus Museum) to F.G.E. Warren (Chief Secretary) (19th November 1885), CSA, SA1/4596/1885

Many drafts of the Antiquities Law (see Appendix 2) were made in the following years in an effort to adapt the provisions of the Ottoman Law on antiquities to the present regime and to form an even more regulated legal system in which archaeology was practised. These drafts and the enactment of a series of related regulations were part of the attempts to reinforce the Ottoman Antiquities Law of 1874. These included the Famagusta Stones Law passed by the Cyprus Government in 1891 by which the removal of stones from the ruined buildings of the old town was prohibited. This law was consistent with the Ottoman Penal Code that forbade the destruction of or damage to public buildings and documents (Stanley-Price, 2001). It was the first law introduced under the British aimed at improving antiquities' protection (Stanley-Price, 2001).

A new law on antiquities was enacted in the Ottoman Empire on 9 February 1882 (sefer 1299), which repealed the law of 1874 (1291). Under Osman Hamdi Bey, the successor to Philipp Dethier in directing the Ottoman Imperial Museum, the liberal terms of antiquities' exportation in 1884 were repealed. The revised Antiquities Law (Asar-i Atika Nizamnamesi) of 1884 attempted to rectify most of the former law's omissions, in part in response to large-scale exportation of finds such the one occurring at the time at Bergama (Shaw, 2003). The Government of Cyprus was initially informed about the new Ottoman law in the early 1890s and did not apply it to the island, asserting the premise that it was enacted after the occupation and thus had no force. Some British officials cited it in an effort to put in force stricter regulations in order to stop the illicit excavations and the exportation of valuable antiquities.[60] In 1897 the Cyprus Government drafted a law to amend the existing law with regard to the discovery of antiquities, in an effort to regulate antiquities even more tightly.[61] The intention was to deal with the issues of double machinery of valuation - namely the different valuations made by the excavator and by the government's and museums' agents -, of illicit excavations and of the existence of

[60] Letter from H. Thompson (Chief Secretary) to Sir W.Sendall in minute papers pages 3-4 (28th February 1893), CSA, SA1/256/1893.

[61] Legislative Council Minutes of Meetings (May 1897 – January 1898), CSA, SA1/2604/1896

the museum. This was circulated to members of the Executive Council and introduced to Legislative Council and proposed by its elected members.[62]

In the 1896 draft bill, the elected members of the Legislative Council and British officials expressed their approval of the prohibition of the exportation of all antiquities except those that had a duplicate in the Cyprus Museum.[63] The Secretary of State opposed this and he informed them that he will not advise Her Majesty's Government to sanction the bill. As a result, "The Museum Law 1897" (see Appendix 3) and the antiquities law 1897 were under consideration until the end of the nineteenth century owing to the Secretary of State not having answered the dispatch number 215 of 22 September 1897. It was, therefore, pointless to draft a bill with provisions that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had objected to because the Legislative Council would never vote for it.[64] Once again, the firm nexus between metropolis and colony is manifested here, as the Government of Cyprus did not function independently from the Government in Great Britain in the matters of the regulation of antiquities and of the Cyprus Museum. The colony of Cyprus was linked with the metropolis through the bureaucracy placed upon the administration of the island. The British Government in London opposed the enactment of stricter conditions, as explained by the Secretary of State, because these conditions would not allow any exportation of antiquities. In the Secretary of State's opinion no museum would want to excavate in a country that forbade the exportation of antiquities.[65] This reasoning shows that the main aim of metropolitan museums to excavate in Cyprus was not to dig for purely scientific reasons such as elucidating the ancient history of the island but the gathering of a great amount of objects for display (see subsections 6.2.2 and chapter 7).

Crucially, the case of regulating the antiquities was more complex than the one appearing on the "official stories" of archaeology. The reporting of illicit diggings began in 1878 as soon as the British settled on the island. Illicit excavations were considered to be all excavations that were carried out without having an official

[62] Legislative Council Minutes of Meetings (May 1897 – January 1898), CSA, SA1/2604/1896.
[63] Legislative Council Minutes of Meetings (May 1897 – January 1898), CSA, SA1/2604/1896.
[64] Legislative Council Minutes of Meetings (May 1897 – January 1898), CSA, SA1/2604/1896.
[65] Letter from A.H. Young (Chief Secretary) and Sir William Haynes Smith (High Commissioner of Cyprus) (15th May 1899) in minute papers page 3, CSA, SA1/1154/1899

permit by the Cyprus Government; they were unauthorized, thus illegal. The District Commissioners were instructed to stay vigilant and take measures in an effort to put a stop on the illegal excavations.[66] The measures included: patrolling the sites where illicit diggings were reported, informing the villagers about the prohibition of excavations, and the personal inspection of the sites by the District Commissioners.[67] The punishment - set by the ordinary judges sitting in district magisterial courts - for unauthorized excavations was either five Turkish liras or one month imprisonment in default.[68] Two main motives were identified for the illegal diggings by the British officials: first, it was a resource for poor villagers to gain money for substinence and secondly, it was a fruitable method of assembling collections and make profit out of it since sufficient law regulating the trade of antiquities and they could sell them directly to ready markets on the island.[69]

At the beginning of the 1890s illicit excavations were conducted frequently and in the Cyprus State Archives the reports on illegal diggings were diminished to only a few cases. However, it was reported to the British Museum by a local agent that there was "a tremendous lot of digging going on".[70] For example, in 1892 at the ancient site of Amathus illicit diggings were carried out almost daily.[71] The District Commissioner of Limassol could not stop the diggings as he did not have enough men to send out and the rough ground offered escape routes for the diggers. The lack of control was clearly linked with the fact that excavations were carried out in an open space: the diggers had "good look outs", they could get away "over the broken ground" and as such the "troopers could hardly follow them".[72] The many cases of illegal excavations show a different aspect of the colonial regime. The colonial government was not omnipotent: even though it regulated very strictly the

[66] Circular from Sir H. Bulwer to the District Commissioners (9th July 1887), CSA, SA1/1035/1887
[67] Circular from Sir H. Bulwer to the District Commissioners (9th July 1887), CSA, SA1/1035/1887
[68] Clause 7, Ottoman Antiquities Law, CSA, SA01/8
[69] Minute paper to Sir Walter Sendall (High Commissioner of Cyprus) (17th July 1894), CSA, SA1/1585/1894
[70] Letter from P. Christian to A.S. Murray (5th December 1896), BM, GR OL, Vol. 1896-1897, fol. 68/1 page 3
[71] Letter from R.L.N. Michell (District Commissioner of Limassol) to Sir Walter Sendall (High Commissioner of Cyprus) (16th April 1892), CSA, SA1/1184/1892
[72] Letter from R.L.N. Michell (District Commissioner of Limassol) to Sir Walter Sendall (High Commissioner of Cyprus) (16th April 1892) page 1, CSA, SA1/1184/1892

official excavations (see also Kiely, 2009), it could not control the “illicit” archaeologies. The reciprocal relationship between colonialism and space is demonstrated here: not only did colonialism shape local environments but the very physicality of the local surroundings affected the ways colonial projects were able to manifest themselves.

The Cyprus Government continually tried either to make the existing law on antiquities stricter or change it in order to stop illicit excavations and regulate excavations and exportations more thoroughly. The Cyprus Museum was not officially regulated by law but in the last decade of the nineteenth century efforts were made in the enactment of bills concerning the museum. The continual changes in the regulations regarding Cypriot antiquities suggest that the hierarchical legal system was intrinsically unstable (see Benton, 2000). The Antiquities Law when enforced by the British authorities on the island established specific relationships, or put differently, networks between individuals, objects and the Cyprus Government. The importance of the socio-temporal context of an historical geography of archaeology is shown explicitly here since the same law under two different regimes was used differently. The Antiquities Law enacted by the Ottomans was never adequately enforced and the exportation of Cypriot antiquities was prevalent. The Antiquities Law, as enforced under the Cyprus Government, gradually systematized and structured the temporal and spatial organization of the authorized archaeological practice (see subsections 5.3.1.2, 5.3.2 and section 7.3). Officially conducted archaeology and its practitioners were directly authorized by the legal system, recorded, monitored, ordered and disciplined. In other words the British regulationist project used the Antiquities Law to impose discipline on the spatial operations and extent of excavations.

5.3.1.2 The establishment of the Cyprus Museum

The British effort in regulating antiquities resulted in the foundation of the first archaeological museum of Cyprus in 1888. As mentioned in subsection 5.3.1.1, the Cyprus Museum was in effect a colonial apparatus of power for controlling the diaspora of Cypriot antiquities as the Government’s share would be housed there.

The organization of the Cyprus Museum and its utilization in Cypriot archaeology by the Cyprus Government will be explored in this subsection in more detail. A formal committee comprised of the Cadi[73] of Cyprus, the Archbishop of Cyprus, and the Mufti (Islamic scholar) presented by appointment to the High Commissioner the petition" for the formation of an Island Museum (see petition in Appendix 4).[74] The formation of the Cyprus Museum was approved in a meeting in 15th of June 1882 with the said committee and Sir R. Biddulph (High Commissioner of Cyprus), who agreed on the basis of establishing a scientific institution which can be authorized - according to the Ottoman Law (in the Ottoman Law's chapter 1 p.162 and chapter 3 p.165 vol 3 leg. "ott") - to keep a record of the excavations conducted on the island and to claim a share of the findings.[75]

Even though the petition was officialy considered to be one of the most important movements towards the formation of an Island Museum[76], as indicated in Cyprus Museum Committee letter to Sir H.Bulwer (4th of July 1882) the principal reason for forming the Cyprus Museum was the regulation of the excavation and circulation of antiquities by the Cyprus Government. The controlling of the antiquities was made by the provision of an official space for storing the objects (Cyprus Museum) and by the imposition of surveillance on the archaeological conduct by record-keeping methods. The Cyprus Museum was housed in two rooms of the Government offices in Nicosia. These two rooms were rented by the Cyprus Museum for temporary use.[77] A Governing Body of the Cyprus Museum was formed and was called the "Committee of Management of the Cyprus Museum". This Committee consisted of nine members exclusive of the High Commissioner: three members would be appointed by the High Commissioner to represent the interests of the Government of Cyprus, three members to represent the local community, and three members would be any subscribers of the museum funds and elected by the said subscribers.

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[73] Judge ruling according to the Islamic religious law

[74] Petition for the formation of Cyprus Museum (15th June 1882), CSA, SA1/6543/1882

[75] Minute papers , CSA, SA1/2089/1886; Clipping from Cyprus Herald (5th August 1882)

[76] It has been accepted that the initial proposal for the establishment of the Cyprus Museum was made by H.H. Kitchener who made the first survey of the island on behalf of the British Government in 1878 (Stanley-Price, 1878).

[77] Letter from F.G.E. Warren to H. H. Kitchener (23rd June 1882), CSA, SA1/6543/1882

The appointed Committee of 1890 included representatives of the Government of Cyprus: W.R. Collyer, M. King Esq. the Commissioner of Nicosia, C. Delaval Cobham Esq. the Commissioner of Larnaca. Representatives of the Island community were His Eminence the Chief Cadi, His Beatitude the Archbishop and D. Pierides Esq. Senior. Representatives of the subscribers included F.G. Law, P.G. Michaelides and G.Smith.[78] The Committee took over all the articles belonging to the museum for their identification and safe custody until a scientific catalogue was prepared. Also, a subscription list was agreed to be set in train to enable the Committee to take suitable premises and to arrange and classify the antiquities and make them generally available for inspection. The paternalistic attitudes of the British imperial politics were evident here as the native Cypriots were considered inadequate to preserve the antiquities and the British intervention seems necessary. Silvern's (2002) suggestion that in order to function or at least appear as impartial and thus protect local people's interests, legislation should be able to constrain power, could also be applied here.

Colonial relations quickly became manifest in the administration of the Museum. As a colonial museum the Cyprus Museum depended on metropolitan museums for organization models, with their qualified staff and architectural designs (Sheets-Pyenson, 1988). To enhance the Cyprus Museum's insufficient funds the Museum Council applied for a grant from public money. For that means the council of the Cyprus Museum, considering the number of duplicate objects in its possession, decided periodically to sell or exchange such duplicates that would seem unnecessary to keep.[79] This decision was forwarded to the Chief Secretary who approved the selling of duplicates by the Museum Council, which he did not consider necessary to keep and could be sold for the advantage of the museum.[80] The final decision on the matter rested with the Secretary of State (Lord Derby),

[78] Letter from F.G.E. Warren to H. Kitchener (23rd June 1882), CSA, SA1/6543/1882
[79] Letter from H.M. Sinclair to F.G.E. Warren (11th January 1884), CSA, SA1/99/1884
[80] F.G.E. Warren (Chief Secretary of Cyprus) reports to H.M. Sinclair on the Cyprus Museum meeting (14th February 1884), CSA, SA1/443/1884

who also approved selling or disposing to the advantage of the museum such duplicates of antiquities by the Museum council.[81]

A few years after the establishment of the Cyprus Museum its committee began to actively participate in the regulation of the excavations for antiquities. The committee agreed to make changes to the existing law and proposed amendments to the list of conditions required for people conducting excavations. Once again, however, they had to be approved by the Cyprus Government.[82] The High Commissioner approved the revised rules by the Committee of the Cyprus Museum with some amendments. The importance of the Government overseer was apparent in these provisions as they thought it was important to fix the rate allowed to the overseer. The rate was specified in clause three of the law: the words "not more than 10/-" were used to end disputes between excavator and superintendent which under clause eight would have to be referred to and settled by the museum.[83] Or if the rates were not fixed beforehand there would be lengthy correspondence between the excavator and the Honorary Secretary of Cyprus Museum as to the proper amount he should pay in the circumstance of this case.

5.3.2 The Royal Berlin Museum and British colonial politics

In 1889 the Royal Berlin Museum was given permission to excavate at the village of Politico on the property of the monastery of Agios Heraklides, where they discovered two tombs containing valuable antiquities.[84] The District Commissioner of Nicosia decided that the state should take measures to preserve the findings because it seemed to him that the discovered antiquities were in the class of monuments defined by article 6 of the Ottoman Law (see Appendix 1). Even though the land was owned by a private individual (the Archbishop of Cyprus), the British Commissioner rejected the Berlin Museum representative's proposal to

[81] F.G.E. Warren (Chief Secretary of Cyprus) reports to H.M. Sinclair on the Cyprus Museum meeting (14th February 1884), CSA, SA1/443/1884
[82] Minute papers (26th June 1885), CSA, SA1/2065/1885
[83] Minute papers (26th June 1885), CSA, SA1/2065/1885
[84] Letter from F.G.E. Warren to M. King (District Commissioner of Nicosia) (1889), CSA, SA1/3461/1889

include the findings of these two tombs in the division. In addition police were placed to guard the objects with the official justification being the prevention of demolition by the local villagers, which it was thought to be only a matter of time if left unattended.[85]

The brief incident with the Berlin Museum demonstrates how the Antiquities Law became the legal arena for the structuring of the spatial politics between Cypriots, the British and European excavators. In this period British archaeology's advancement in the Eastern Mediterranean was limited by the strict laws imposed by the Greek and Ottoman states (Kiely, 2010). Therefore Cyprus being part of the British Empire allowed the British to conduct their excavations undisturbed – in other words, "science followed the Crown" (Reidy, 2011; see chapter 6 and subsection 7.3.1). As soon as the British arrived on the island the Trustees of the British Museum informed the Foreign Office that they wished the Cyprus Government to reserve the right to all treasure or antiquities found there.[86] The British Museum excavated in Cyprus on the most favourable terms as the Cyprus Government sped up the application process and developed regulations regarding the exportation of antiquities. In particular, in the draft laws of the late 1890s exceptions were taken on behalf of the British Museum by the Cyprus authorities: the restrictions contained in the new draft law were no more restrictive than the Ottoman law.[87] However, this was not the case for any other European museum, as the case of the Berlin Museum indicates.

The imperial rivalries between Great Britain and Germany were moved to the fields of Cyprus forming a new type of geopolitical tension. The Antiquities Law was interpreted not only in legal terms but most importantly in geographical terms and was used by the British authorities either to give or deny access to antiquities that were over or under the ground. In essence, this law assigned the territory of the island as the property of the Cyprus Government and, thus, of the British Empire.

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[85] Letter from F.G.E. Warren to M. King (District Commissioner of Nicosia) (1889), CSA, SA1/3461/1889

[86] British Museum Trustee minutes of meeting (12th October 1878), BM, GR TM, Vol. 1877-1881, pages 161-162

[87] British Museum Trustee minutes of meeting (9th October 1897a), BM, GR TM, Vol. 1897-1898, pages 55-56

Through the officialdom of the Antiquities Law the ancient sites of Cyprus became a homogeneous bounded territory and the Cyprus Government was in a position to control their content. The incident with the Berlin Museum, mentioned above, was not an isolated event: it was a general policy that was pursued to restrict who was allowed to excavate. Indeed, the ancient sites were not bounded only by abstract legislation but also physically, as seen from the following picture (see fig. 5.1.).

Figure 5.1 Venus Temple Paphos, c. 1882 Courtesy of the Costas and Rita Severi Collection

This photograph was taken at the ancient site of the temple of Venus in Paphos by the Hutchinson family, who had travelled to Cyprus.[88] It was taken after the British occupation of Cyprus and what strikes the viewer is the demarcation of the ancient site into a bounded space using barbed wire. This picture demonstrates how sovereignty is a territorial concept in a very literal form (Legg, 2005). The British

[88] The photographs are not accompanied by any information regarding the purpose of the Hutchinson's family travels or regarding the route of their travelling.

officials had the absolute authority to demarcate the land and exclude everyone from entering. Besides the more permanent measures the Government reacted to each individual case accordingly. Tombs were discovered at the village of Pera and, according to the British accounts, during the first night the local villagers tried to plunder the tombs for valuable objects. The Cyprus Government in an effort to put a stop to this took possession of the tombs by constructing doors at their entrance with locks. The keys were handed to the village judge and an individual was going to make periodical inspections of the site and report later to the authorities.[89] However this was not a temporary measure as it was originally claimed to be. A couple of years later the Government increased the measures for securing the site at Pera by placing a police force to protect the tombs and the keys of the doors were now given to the police station of the local village.[90]

Law became "the absolute territorial definition of sovereignty" (Silvern 2002, 38). The concepts of sovereignty and property were key features of nineteenth-century Victorian society: territoriality, based on proprietorship, was an ideological medium for social organization (Delaney, 1992; Ogborn, 1992). Geography thus became deeply intertwined with legislation and jurisdiction where space was comprehensible when related to the wider socio-political context (Blomley, 1994). The enforcement of the law had a specific geography that included the whole island with centre of power being Nicosia, the headquarters of the Cyprus Government. The various applications for excavations show that District Commissioners could not operate individually; rather they had to account to the High Commissioner who would give the final order: all applications for excavations had to be forwarded for the High Commissioner's consideration. The colonial legal rule operated across "the spatial levels of the state apparatus between central bureaucracies and local authorities" (Ogborn 1992, 215). Marking the territory for the purpose of making it a bounded space was a common practice of British officials in Cyprus using various materials, such as the case of marking the

[89] Letter from F.G.E. Warren to M. King (District Commissioner of Nicosia) (1889), CSA, SA1/3461/1889

[90] Letter from G.T.M. O'Brien (Chief Secretary) to M.King (25th November 1891), CSA, SA11851/1891

boundaries of forests with cairns (Given, 2002). The demarcation of the forest limits were made in the context of saving them from destruction.

At the same time another incident with the Royal Berlin Museum's representatives shows the complexity of the territorial interpretation of the law in relation with imperial tensions. Initially the Cyprus Government gave permission to the Berlin Museum to excavate at the ancient site of Idalium. A.S. Murray called the attention of the Principal Librarian to the matter, who in turn applied to the Colonial Office for information.[91] After enquiring on the matter the Colonial Office forwarded to the British Museum the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the High Commissioner of Cyprus on the subject which is summarized here.[92] According to Bulwer permission was given for a reservation of a spot at Dali that the Government desired to retain in its own hands. The authorities of the Berlin Museum applied to excavate at that very spot and the Executive Council of Cyprus would consider the application. This decision was made on the grounds that there was not any probability for the British Museum to undertake any excavations or antiquarian researches on the island. Nonetheless the Secretary of State telegraphed Bulwer to suspend action in the matter of reservation of the ancient site for its excavation. Bulwer replied that the Cyprus Exploration Fund was excavating at the spot as part of the 1887 regulations and that the second communication from the Berlin Museum afforded a second opportunity for the Cyprus Government to reconsider the question.

The colonial authorities worked in favour of the British institutions: the Cyprus Government reserved a portion of land at Dali wherein antiquities were found.[93] As demonstrated above, the British Museum Trustees were informed by the Colonial

[91] British Museum Trustee minutes of meeting (9th March 1890) BM, GR TM, Vol. 1889-1890, page 37

[92] British Museum Trustee minutes of meeting (13th April 1889), BM, GR TM, Vol. 1889-1890, pages 79-80

[93] Report on the Executive Council decision, minute papers page 3 (2nd March 1889) with the correspondence about the applications for excavations from the Royal Berlin Museum, (1889), CSA, SA1/769/1889

Office that the Cyprus Government reserved land at Dali[94]: the Chief Secretary deliberated that the place wherein antiquities have been found and reported to the Government by its own officials should be reserved for excavation by the Cyprus Government or the British Museum and not be given over to foreign or private individuals until declared to be not required by either of the former.[95] However since the Chief Commissioner of Cyprus was informed by the Secretary of State that the British Museum did not apply for permit authorization it was given to the Royal Berlin Museum to continue the excavations.[96] The complex relationship between archaeology, territorial claims and imperial politics is demonstrated in the general consensus in these documents: if a permit for excavating the site of Dali was given to the British Museum instead of the Royal Berlin Museum it would lead to much unpleasantness in Berlin. Eventually, on the basis of discoveries being made earlier at Dali on Government land, British officials decided to reject the Royal Berlin Museum's application to dig at a particular spot in Dali and reserve that same spot for the immediate future. In contrast with the British Museum application the Berlin Museum's application was delayed with the excuse of being made generally (in the application the German representatives did not specify the sites they wanted to excavate at).[97]

This, however, was not the end of this story. In 1894 the Royal Berlin Museum wanted to excavate at the same spot and complete the excavations at Tamassus (permit was given for that site a few years earlier). This time the German Government strongly recommended this application and the German Emperor gave Ohnefalsch-Richter (the German representative of the expedition) 25000 marks for this purpose.[98] According to the records the London Government was

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[94] Report on the Executive Council decision, minute papers page 3 (2nd March 1889) with the correspondence about the applications for excavations from the Royal Berlin Museum, (1889), CSA, SA1/769/1889

[95] Report on the Executive Council decision, minute papers page 3 (2nd March 1889) with the correspondence about the applications for excavations from the Royal Berlin Museum, (1889), CSA, SA1/769/1889

[96] Report from H,Bulwer to F.G.E. Warren (14th January 1889), minute papers page 3-4, CSA, SA1/769/1889

[97] Report from H.Bulwer to F.G.E. Warren minute papers pages 1-2 (8th April 1889), CSA, SA1/1058/1889

[98] Telegram from Secretary of State to W.Sendall (4th January 1893), CSA, SA1/81/1894

anxious to meet the German Emperor's views.[99] Richter wanted to excavate at site 4 in Dali but it was reserved for the Cyprus Exploration Fund. After consideration the Cyprus Government granted the permit because there was no prospect of anyone else digging there.[100] It can be argued here that, once again, broader imperial politics interfered with Cypriot archaeology and dictated its local practices.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter was an effort to contextualize historically and spatially the British and Ottoman colonial project in Cyprus in relation to the archaeological practices conducted on the island. It was divided in two themes: the first theme explored the Mediterranean politics of the European powers and the Ottoman Empire and the second theme focused on the colonial governance of the island and the regulations imposed to the excavation and exportation of antiquities. The analysis of the colonial attitudes towards Cypriot antiquities was informed by literature on legal geographies and their suggestion to view law as a concept that contributes in the creation of governing structures mediated through space.

The first section (5.2) paid particular attention to the geopolitics employed by European Empires and the Ottoman Empire in gaining or retaining power in the Mediterranean region for various reasons. Cyprus became part of these geopolitical tensions for the safeguarding of the British Empire's Indian route. However soon after the occupation of the island, it was accepted that Cyprus would not become the great naval base it was envisaged to be. It was argued that one of the main reasons for retaining the island was that the Cyprus's revenue was going to be used to service the Ottoman dept.

The second section (5.3) explored the relationship between colonial legislation and the archaeology practiced on the island; first, by looking at the period under the Ottoman Empire, and secondly, looking at the period under the British Empire. Until the later nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire did not impose any

[99] Telegram from Secretary of State to W.Sendall (4th January 1893), CSA, SA1/81/1894
[100] Telegram from Secretary of State to W.Sendall (4th January 1893), CSA, SA1/81/1894

regulations regarding antiquities. Only after a long period of reformations – which aimed at the unification of the nationally fragmented empire – the Ottoman enacted the Antiquities Law. The regulations were not imposed adequately. However, by using the existing Ottoman Law the British authorities made fervent efforts to regulate the excavation and exportation of antiquities. The regulative efforts included bureaucratic application procedures, physically taking over ancient sites and excluding any other European museum to excavate, establishing the Cyprus Museum, and, finally, forbidding any private individual to excavate. However, alongside the "official archaeologies" illicit excavations existed. This illustrates that the British authorities even though could exercise strict control over the official excavations they could not control the illegal diggings due to the uncontrollable and unbounded quality of the field.

The case of Cyprus demonstrates that colonialism was not monolithic or omnipotent. The island's resources, i.e. antiquities in this case, were administered by a combination of internal self-government and outside authority (Royle, 2004). Different colonial strategies and agendas were adopted which were often competing. The Ottomans, with their haphazard use of the Antiquities Law, allowed the conduct of extensive excavations and exportation of antiquities and their dispersal in Europe and the USA. The British use of the law was a more multifaceted phenomenon. The interpretation and use of the Ottoman Law by the Cyprus Government created a privileged regime for the benefit of the British Museum. Crucially though, archaeology in Cyprus was not initiated or sponsored by a wider imperial project; it was, rather, a set of individual initiatives entangled with imperial narratives and colonial realities. Cypriot archaeology was imperial more in the sense that its everyday conduct benefitted and was promoted by the local colonial regime.

Chapter 6 Excavation

6.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the first act of the diaspora of Cypriot antiquities, the excavations conducted on the island. Drawing on literature from the historical geographies of science (see section 2.1), this chapter discusses archaeology in situ. Archaeology has been accepted as not operating only at the level of discourse but most importantly as being a social practice contingent with its historical context, which makes fieldwork central to the investigation of the discipline's past (Moser, 2007). A history of archaeological science, then, should attend to its technologies and media of communication which involved not only seeing but, most importantly, reading the past (Evans, 2004). This chapter maps the activities taking place at the excavation sites of Cyprus, in order to identify: first, the population at the excavation sites; second, how ancient sites were transformed into excavation sites; and thirdly, the different practices of antiquarians and archaeologists carried out there. Borrowing from Turner (1997, 288) this chapter looks at the microcosmic social world of archaeology, namely the practice of science.

Kuklick and Kohler's (1996) call for attention to the daily conduct of science situated in its own local exigencies is complemented by an equal focus on the identity of the scientific practitioners. Scientific explorations in nineteenth century were also driven, alongside imperialistic and national imperatives, by individual motivations (social, economic, academic and so on) (Driver, 2004; Elliott, 2010; Mayhew, 2005). It is an effort to locate socially the antiquarians and archaeologists – their education and employment (see Levine, 1986). Following the career of individual practitioners allows the exploration of the relations between antiquarianism, professionalization and specialization (Herringman, 2013). This chapter poses questions relating to the individual practitioners – what were their backgrounds and motives - in order understand nineteenth-century Cypriot archaeology's "cultures of exploration" (Driver, 2004).

This chapter uses Morell's (1996) "trait" approach in relation to the concept of professionalization (for a broader discussion, see section 3.2) as the basis for identifying who practised Cypriot archaeology (see also Moser, 2007 for the use of

the “trait” approach in the examination of the gendered associations of archaeology’s disciplinary culture). By following Cale and Craciun’s (2011, 2-3) argument for a “disorder of things”, instead of having a “traditional map of disciplines” this chapter looks into people, objects and identities. Critically, this chapter adopts Cale and Craciun’s (2011, 2-3) suggestion and takes a “predisciplinary stance”. The main argument of the “predisciplinary stance” is that modern disciplines did not emerge in the nineteenth century (Cale and Craciun, 2011). It is claimed, instead, that disciplines already existed; their techniques were being transformed in order to perpetuate scientific knowledge according to the changing rhetoric (Golinski, 2005; see also Whitehead, 2007). The “predisciplinary stance” is founded on the literature that disrupts Eurocentric knowledge binaries such as centre/periphery (see section 2.3). By following this stance the “reorganization of knowledge appears to disperse what were once parts of a single order of knowledge” (Cale and Craciun 2011, 8). While Cale and Craciun (2011) position the predisciplinary period in 1750-1830, it will be shown in this chapter that for (Cypriot) archaeology - characterized by the concurrent activities of trained and hobbyist collectors under the rubric of archaeology - this period was extended throughout the nineteenth century (see also Evans, 2007).

This chapter is in part “island-centered” (Sivasundaram 2011) and the field sites on the island of Cyprus, considered here as a region, are moved into the centre of the thesis’s conceptual map (Vetter, 2011a). Regions have been suggested as powerful analytical units for examining field sciences (Naylor, 2010; Vetter, 2011a). Critically, however, Sivasundaram’s (2011) proposal on pushing aside the wider context of the island-based science is not adopted here because colonial science is viewed, in this project, as a global encounter manifested locally (see section 2.3). The chapter is thematically divided into four sections and each subsection follows a chronological order. The first section (6.2) populates excavation sites. The second section (6.3) discusses the transformation of ancient sites to excavation sites. The third section (6.4) discusses the establishment of human and correspondence networks and their contribution in the regular operation of the excavations. The fourth section (6.5) discusses the methodologies followed for the recording of the excavations.

6.2. Populating Excavation Sites

6.2.1 Amateur explorers

Field sciences in colonial contexts were practiced by a vast array of individuals coming from different social and educational backgrounds (Bonneuil, 2002; Driver, 2001). Pyenson (1996) suggests that even the examination of scientific institutions essentially involves the study of (seemingly similar) individuals who were both the actors of knowledge production in the field and the authors of scientific texts (Sweet, 2003). The complexity of these different individual identities affected scientific conduct in the field (Golinski, 2005). Drawing on this literature and examining each period's distinctive cases of individual practitioners, this chapter seeks to understand the rationale of their activities in the ancient sites of Cyprus. In other words, it is an effort to identify the community of Cypriot archaeology and its characteristics by using local and personal histories.

Throughout the nineteenth century, antiquarian, archaeological and historical studies attracted a large body of individuals who either had the financial means to pursue their interest full-time or as part of their leisure activities (Della Dora, 2007a; Kohler, 2011; Levine, 1986; Naylor, 2010). Such was the case for Cypriot archaeology. The common trait of the practitioners of Cypriot archaeology in this period was that they were travelers and settlers who came to the island in connection with the expansion of European Empires. As Bourguet et al (2004) point out there was no displacement of scientists or of instruments without some kind of social and material work enabling their movement from one place to another (see section 6.4). Colonial expansion and imperial ambition provided the infrastructure for this social and material work. First, the British Empire was expanding globally, and by the end of nineteenth century it possessed one fifth of the world's land area (Hunt, 1997). Second, colonies provided the necessary resources in the form of specimens (a widespread selection of plants, fossils, artefacts) for the production of scientific knowledge (Gascoigne, 1998; Strasser, 2012). Thirdly, rapid industrialization and the improvement of technologies such as

steamships and trains offered the means for travelling and exploring overseas territories (Gascoigne, 1998). However, it must be pointed out here that even though there were improved modes of transportation, travelling remained the privilege of a certain group of Europeans such as the affluent middle class and an elite class of artists, colonial officers, writers, soldiers, artists, and scientists (Della Dora, 2007a).

European colonies became one of the most prominent settings for scientific practices (Raj, 2002). People and instruments - set in motion through scientific expeditions - travelled and made empirical trials in different locations aiming to tell something about the human and natural environment (Bourguet et al, 2004). Travelling through the colonies provided the opportunity for extensive and biologically diverse data collection, which in turn gave rise to new theories. In this context, Henry William Waddington and Count Melchior de Vogue visited Cyprus on their way to the Levant as part of Napoleon III's policy of sending nationally organized scientific missions to the Holy Land (Ede and Cormack, 2004; Severis, 2001). This scientific expedition was called the "Phoenician mission" and was originally set up to be directed by Ernest Renan as complementary to his previous researchers in Phoenicia; however, Renan pulled out of the exploration due to medical illness (Gautier, 1999; Severis, 1999). Unlike Great Britain, the French state (as the German one) was the patron and sponsor of overseas scientific researches (see subsection 6.2.2). French savants and scholars became the most widely-travelled Europeans. The idea behind the state sponsorship was that the scientific production of knowledge would satisfy the political and cultural needs of the nation-state (Heffernan, 1994).

The Mediterranean basin was a profitable field for the broader French scientific endeavour; first for practical reasons (proximity and safety) and secondly it was politically and intellectually important (Heffernan, 1994). In the mid-nineteenth century French research focused on historical and archaeological studies which Heffernan (1994) sees as being motivated by the complexity of the contemporary French political scene; the establishment of Napoleon III's Second Empire by 1860 and its expansion. As in Great Britain, evolutionism – framed with imperial

connotations of perceived European superiority – influenced French ethnographic researches of the human origins (Serghidou, 2001). Waddington and de Vogue's visit to Cyprus was part of this broader mission of collecting antiquities and information for the French State through ethnographic tours to the Orient (Severis, 2001).[101] In particular the aim of the Phoenician mission in Cyprus was to collect inscriptions and take possession of the famous vase of Amathus (Severis, 1999).[102]

Waddington and de Vogue's 1862 expedition, and exploration for antiquities in Cyprus encouraged further attention – both local and overseas – to be paid to the significance of the ancient remains on the island and initiated the period of intense excavation of Cyprus's ancient sites (Goren, 2001; Lang, 1905). The proliferation of the discoveries of valuable antiquities attracted the interest of both native and foreign residents and excavating became a popular occupation (Cesnola A.P., 1884; Cesnola, L.P., 1878). Gathering "exotic" specimens and artefacts was not a distinctive characteristic of the European travellers in Cyprus; it was quite a common colonial interest of the period (Ede and Cormack, 2004). In colonial settings imperial officials, mostly individuals working in consulates, actively engaged with collecting activities, and often sold their collections to leading international museums (Basu, 2011).[103]

In particular, during the period 1860-1878, as there was not any coherent policy regarding the restriction of the excavation and exportation of antiquities on behalf of the Ottoman Empire, the island's ancient sites became subject of unceasing diggings. Indeed, even after the enactment of various laws (1869 and 1874) it was possible to carry out large-scale digs (see section 5.3 and subsection 6.4.1). Extensive excavations were sponsored by foreign consuls residing on the island in 1860s and 1870s and here the stories of Robert Hamilton Lang and Luigi Palma Di Cesnola, the most vigorous and prominent amongst them, are explored (Goring, 1988).

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[101] In the first half of nineteenth century foreign visitors to Cyprus were mostly French explorers sent by Napoleon III.

[102] The vase was later exhibited in the Louvre.

[103] An example of this practice is found in the letter from A.S. Murray to Col. Thynne (16th December 1886), BM, GR LB, Vol.1880-1896, fol. 123

Lang and Cesnola exemplify the idea of Westerners briefly visiting a part of the (supposedly) underdeveloped world, and becoming the main drivers of collecting (see Kuklick and Kohler, 1996). Antiquarians of this kind were highly motivated and often self-taught, sharing a common body of knowledge (Levine, 1986; see section 6.3). Antiquarianism was considered to be a suitable gentlemanly pursuit. A recreational activity of collecting that was entangled with narratives about benefitting the public and moral improvement (Kohler, 2011; Sweet, 2003). It was considered to be a pursuit of truth in opposition to politics and religion and this trait appealed to the educated individuals. In addition, the fact that one had the time and resources to engage with the collecting of antiquities was itself an indicator of wealth and education. Most of the antiquarians of that period, as the case of Cypriot antiquarianism shows, were men belonging to the professional class, such as lawyers, who had the time to engage in leisure activities (Naylor, 2010). Archaeologists such as Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt Rivers and Arthur John Evans, who Evans (2007, 271) calls “the bewhiskered patriarchs of the day”, were men of private means: their talent and intellect were supported by strong affiliations in high society. The examples of R. Lang and L.P. di Cesnola will show, despite their obvious similarities in the motivations of engaging with the collecting of Cypriot antiquities, there was “no such thing as a single amateur identity” (Withers and Finnegan 2003, 335).

Robert Hamilton Lang (1832-1913), a Scotsman, was a financier with an upper-class education, having studied in the University of Glasgow (McFadden, 1971). He arrived in Cyprus in 1861 as a clerk working for a merchant firm with Levantine connections. In 1863 he took the position of the Director of the Imperial Ottoman Bank (Lang, 1905). Lang resided on the island for twelve years and during this period he acted as a Vice-Consul of the British Empire on three different occasions and as a Consul in 1871-1872. Even though he was an educated gentleman and successful in his business, Lang did not have any prior antiquarian knowledge (Lang, 1905). Lang was introduced to Cypriot antiquities by Demetrius Pierides, a leading local antiquarian and Lang’s colleague at the Imperial Ottoman Bank. The acquaintance with Waddington and Count de Vogue, after seeing their findings, stirred Lang’s antiquarian interest (Lang, 1905). Lang eventually became the most

forceful collector of Cypriot antiquities on behalf of the British Museum (Kiely, 2010). Lang provides a great illustration of European residents' motivation in getting involved with archaeological digs:

> ...a peasant, from the site of the ancient Salamis, brought me for sale a gold coin which the sock (sic) of his plough had uncovered. It was in perfect preservation, and its beauty at once fascinated me....I bargained with the peasant, who had asked £10, and finally purchased the coin for £5. General Fox had asked me to send him any interesting coins which I might acquire, and so I sent him my new and first acquisition. To my surprise, by return of post I received a letter of the most grateful thanks, and a cheque for £70. The coin was rare...I had thus in my hands a profit of £65...(Lang 1905, 623)

The above passage depicts that, as in other colonial contexts (see Shiebinger and Swan 2005), interest in collecting Cypriot ancient relics was sustained by the interest in commerce. European government representatives in Cyprus had a commercial attitude informing their interest in the administration of the island, with trade of all kinds being one of their most important preoccupations (Given, 2001). The trade of antiquities in Cyprus became one of the most profitable engagements for Consuls (Lang, 1905).[104]

Cyprus acted as a colonial resource of goods for the Victorian consumerist culture. By the mid-nineteenth century Britain was the pre-eminent world economic power (Macleod, 1996), and by the second half of the century Victorian society became more avid in its consumerism and desire to participate in the world of goods (Fyfe and Lightman, 2007; Pearce, 1992). As Turner (1997, 286) notes, in order to understand the practice of Victorian science one must recognize that it was enmeshed "in the warp and woof of commercialism, empire, militarism and capitalism". The intersection of commerce, imperialism, and exploration provided not only materials, but also problems, which shaped the direction of the production of scientific knowledge (Smith and Findler, 2002). Turner (1997) reminds us that decisions on scientific theories and knowledge were made under the pressure of

[104] See also correspondence between A.Billioti and C.T. Newton in BM, GR OL, Vol. 1869-1872

the relationship between military and commercial worlds with, for example, the establishment of time zones as a result of railways expanding globally.

The monetary value of Cypriot antiquities also drove Luigi Palma di Cesnola (1832-1904)[105] to engage with excavation. Like Lang, he did not have any prior archaeological training, though his social background differed from Lang's. He was an Italian-born naturalized American citizen who acted as the American, Greek and Russian Consul on the island, and is perhaps the most notable excavator of that time.[106] Cesnola was a cavalry officer in Italy and immigrated to the United States in the early 1850s, where he took part in the American Civil War as a Union Officer and was imprisoned for a period of time (McFadden, 1971). He was in a very poor state by the end of the war and begged for an official position. Cesnola was finally appointed as the Consul in Cyprus in 1865, although this appointment was not considered as a success (McFadden, 1971). Cyprus was an ephemeral consulate for forty years and was not favoured amongst politicians and diplomats (McFadden, 1971). Cesnola resided on the island as a Consul until 1871 when his post was recalled; however, he returned to Cyprus in 1873 and conducted extensive excavations until 1876.. Being a member of the British Consulate, Lang was acquainted with Cesnola and welcomed the American Consul, providing him with information about the island. Cesnola's low income (his annual salary consisted of US$1000, from which $425 were deducted for the payment of the Consulate's employees) forced him to find other means of gaining profit.[107] On arrival in Cyprus he got involved with the commerce of local wine, but this did not generate the required profit, and so he turned his attention in finding antiquities.[108] This case demonstrates that because of the lack of raw exportable materials, Cypriot antiquities came to the fore as resources that offered economic status to their possessor (see also, Balandier, 2001; Given, 2001; Ulbrich, 2001).

[105]Although Cesnola was an American-naturalized citizen of Italian descent, his collecting practices in Cyprus are contextualized within the European and British archaeological and collecting values since he operated within their framework as well.
[106] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (7th February 1869), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 2
[107]Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (7th October 1866), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f.2
[108] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (7th October 1866), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f.2

Figure 6.1 L.P.Di Cesnola photographed with the discovered antiquities c.1874 Laiki Bank Cultural Centre Archives

Cesnola had another reason for his decision to engage with collecting Cypriot antiquities: as he frankly stated to Hitchcock when he returned to the island in 1873 "for more work, glory and money!".[109] In the period 1873-1876 Cesnola conducted another series of large-scale excavations with an initial financial contribution of the New York Museum. In this three-year period he gathered his infamous collection which Cesnola named "Curium Treasure" (see subsections 7.4.1 and 7.4.2.2). Turning to the examination of his motivations and field experiences in Cyprus, it appears that Cesnola found the opportunity to gain moral virtues and reputation that were highly acclaimed in metropolitan societies (Camerini, 1996; Driver, 2001, Kuklick and Kohler, 1996).[110] From the early nineteenth century the emerging middle class transcended the respectability deriving solely from social rank by placing emphasis on morality, sobriety, duty and work (Secord, 1994). The field, therefore, became a space were individuals belonging to lower-ranked classes

[109]Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (5th November 1873), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 3, p.1 original emphasis

[110] New York Times, 11th December 1882, MMNY, CA

could gain longed-for social respectability (Driver, 2001). In particular, nineteenth-century archaeology had a quality of heroic individualism, as shown from the examples of Evans, Schliemann, and Pitt Rivers, and of being a scientific enterprise (Evans, 2007). In a manner that is similar to other field sciences, such as geography (Driver 2001), part of archaeology's glamour derived from its association with adventure, danger, physical challenges and exotic places (Jordanova, 2000; Moser, 2007).[111] Scientists, particularly in Victorian Britain, participated in the broader popular culture – of performances, exhibitions and literature – and had a special place in society (Lightman, 1997). Through Cypriot antiquities, Cesnola was able to attain social status and on his return to the United States became the first Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (see section 7.4).

In summary, Lang and Cesnola's motive for financial profit presents one of the main traits of Cypriot antiquarianism: it was part of a general commercial resource-harvesting attitude, carried out by foreigners residing in Cyprus.[112] Lang, and Cesnola can be seen as adventurers who collected in the spirit of the "era of commodities, the era of equivalence, exchange and capitalism" (Hamilakis 2007, 16). However, it would be too simplistic and perhaps unjust to characterize them as mere looters of ancient relics. Crucially, though, both Lang and Cesnola's example portrays how the early excavations for antiquities as field practices were intrinsically linked with other activities (see Kuklick and Kohler, 1996). They were also partly leisure activities since, as Cesnola plainly notes, he was digging because he did not have anything else to do outside his official business.[113] Digging for Cypriot antiquities was, as Myres (1914, xiv) termed it, a "fashionable amusement of the day". It must be acknowledged that they also developed a love for the past, alongside other motives (Sweet, 2003). They referred to the ancient sites as "my site", and were excited when they discovered an ancient monument or deciphered an inscription. As McFadden (1971) notes after the novelty of collection

[111] Antiquarians and archaeologists were also respected for the intellectual skill of possessing ancient languages and for revealing lost worlds (Jordanova, 2000).
[112] The commercial preoccupations of foreign consuls were also discussed in a letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (7th February 1869), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 2
[113] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (10th June 1868), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 2

waned, however, Lang abandoned the search for antiquities, leaving Cesnola with the monopoly. The possessiveness expressed by the collectors may be seen in Cesnola's photograph with antiquities (see fig.6.1.) where he stands behind the objects and leaning on them. Collecting Cypriot antiquities, therefore, was not purely about gathering objects but was a practice that was social, economic and cultural. These early antiquarians initiated the birth of Cypriot archaeology with extensive diggings framed by interpretation. As Myres (1914, xv) noted,

> A start was being made with interpretation, the moment certainly was near when Cyprus must be won for archaeology and digging be transformed from a mischievous pastime into a weapon of historical science.

After a couple of decades, archaeological expeditions were organized by trained archaeologists under the auspices of universities and museums. The excavations carried out by the Cyprus Exploration Fund and by the British Museum initiated the early attempts of systematic archaeology on the island.

6.2.2 Scientific organizations

The involvement of scientific institutions in archaeological projects contributed to the shift towards a more scientific archaeological practice in the eastern Mediterranean (Goren, 2001). The first steps of conducting scientific archaeology were undertaken by archaeologists from the British Museum and the Cyprus Exploration Fund.[114] The Cyprus Exploration Fund was organized jointly by the initiative of fellows at Oxford University, Cambridge University, the Hellenic Society of London and the British School of Archaeology at Athens (Gill, 2011). This type of expeditionary funding was common in the Mediterranean area (see Gill, 2011; Goren, 2001 for Palestine) and E.A. Gardner (1862-1939), the Director of British School at Athens, became the Director of the excavations in Cyprus. Gardner studied Classics in Cambridge University, graduating in 1884, and was also a student at the British School of Athens before becoming its director from 1887 to

[114] Crucially, in this period small-scale excavations were, still, conducted by a variety of individuals, being either Government officials or travellers.

1895. Digging in Cyprus was in line with one of the British School's main objectives in establishing a programme of archaeological excavations in the Mediterranean (Gill, 2011).

The British Museum conducted three large-scale excavations in Cyprus sponsored by the Turner Bequest Fund directed by A.S. Murray.[115] The first excavation was conducted in 1893-1894 by Arthur H. Smith and John L. Myres who carried out excavation work in cemeteries at Amathus (Bailey and Jockey, 2001). In 1895 Henry B. Walters dug in the cemetery at Curium, and then in 1896 excavations were conducted at Enkomi by Alexander S. Murray, Arthur H. Smith and Percy Christian. These British Museum excavators were university-trained archaeologists: J.L. Myres (1869-1954) was educated in Oxford University and in this period was a student at the British School at Athens. A.S. Murray (1841-1904) spent time at the University of Edinburgh (though not graduating from there), before continuing his studies in Berlin University in 1865. Having worked as an assistant to the formidable C.T. Newton, Murray succeeded Newton as the Keeper of the Greek and Roman Department in the British Museum in 1886. According to Myres (1897, 134) the principal objective of the British Museum's excavations in Cyprus was to "test certain theories current in Cypriote (sic) archaeology". The term "certain theories" points to the preoccupation with the Mycenaean Question (see section 3.5)

The first common trait of the individuals that participated in these expeditions was that they were trained specifically as archaeologists in universities and their work was supported by state-controlled institutions. By this time archaeology was considered to be a calling, pursued professionally in the field, , from both nature and intellectual curiosity (Hogarth, 1896; Newton, 1880). In Victorian culture a profession was considered to be an occupation involving intellectual labour with training leading to a specified type of work (Barton, 2003). Professional in mid-Victorian culture had a dual connotation: meaning both the members of traditional learned professions and also the ones who earned an income from it in contrast

[115] Parliamentary Report of 1893 (BM GR): Miss E.T. Turner bequeathed the amount of £2000 to the British Museum for carrying out excavations in Europe, Asia or Africa for furthering the study of antiquities of Greece, Rome, or Egypt of Biblical Antiquities.

with the amateur (Barton, 2003). However, both categories were part of the scientific community. In archaeology this changed with the formation of university curriculums and degrees. Perceived credible research was carried out by universities which gradually acquired national prominence. Universities became sites for the training of future political elites, and acquired the status of national institutions of moral, political and cultural significance; 'Oxbridge' being the most prestigious example (Levine, 1986).[116] The creation of university departments of archaeology and paid positions resulted in the fragmentation of archaeological knowledge in specialist fields. The 'modern archaeologist', therefore, was no longer associated with the polymath individual but with the specialist academic possessing quantitative techniques based on technical testing (Hogarth, 1899).

Related to the professionalization of archaeology was the concept of the trained archaeologist, along with imperial geographers and anthropologists, being "an agent of science, a collector of raw material for the studies of other men" (Hogarth 1896, 2). As such, the archaeologist had to travel, excavate, collect, arrange, delineate, decipher and transcribe (Hogarth, 1896; Newton, 1880). For that end archaeologists had to be wandering scholars and not carry out their research merely in the library as the "man of letters" did (Newton, 1880). It was during the nineteenth century that field sciences took their expeditionary form: indoor projects were transformed into pursuits in the field funded by state-institutions (Kohler, 2011; Outram, 1996). The transition to field collecting can be correlated with the increasing provision of empirical evidence for authoritative scientific claims (Kohler, 2011). Sir Charles Newton (1816-1896) epitomized all the above characteristics attributed to professional archaeologists. He was considered a leading personality in professional archaeology for he was trained in universities in the 1830s (held a B.A. and M.A. degrees from Christ Church at Oxford University); he conducted extensive excavations in the fields of his inquiry; his vast publications on his fieldwork[117] (and lectures) were widely accepted by the academic community; he he held key positions in highly respected institutions, he was curator and the

[116] However this was a very slow process, archaeological chairs in universities were rare until the late nineteenth century.

[117] Newton discovered the celebrated Mausoleum of Halicarnassus whose remains were later displayed in the British Museum Ground Floor.

Keeper of the Greek and Roman Department of the British Museum and was appointed in 1880 as the first professor of classical archaeology at University College, London. (Jebb, 1895; see also Kiely, 2010). Pursuing archaeology in the field was the second common trait of British Museum and the Cyprus Exploration Fund archaeologists.

The scientific orientation of the Cyprus Exploration Fund is presented through the statement of the excavation's main aim on the island in their application to obtain digging permits (for the British Museum's scientific claims over its excavatory practices on the island see sections 6.3 and 6.4). For example, the Fund applied to excavate near the village of Amargetti because they thought that an ancient site existed there whose worship centre could be connected with the ancient site of Kuklia that they had already excavated (Hogarth et al, 1888). These excavations would be carried out on the hope of shedding further light upon the history of the Aphrodite worship. The Cyprus Exploration Fund's work in Cyprus was part of the British School at Athen's main objective of forming a programme of archaeological fieldwork (Gill, 2011). Through the British School at Athens British archaeologists were able to dig in Cyprus and along with their specific scientific purposes they were able to collect antiquities for the major British museums. This is clearly stated in an application made to the Cyprus Government by saying that the findings would go to British museums for the advancement of the knowledge on ancient art.[118]

As in natural history (Outram, 1996) a professional archaeologist was considered the individual who was scientifically trained and supported by state institutions – most predominantly by museums. Mostly museums offered the means for archaeological excavations and were a principle drive for archaeology's professionalization (Kiely, 2010; Pyenson, 1988). The case of the Cyprus Exploration Fund, sponsored by universities and learned societies demonstrates that universities started funding archaeological expeditions in late nineteenth century (see also Pyenson, 1988). Crucially, though, the sponsorship of scientific excavations was a complex process of politics, intellectual orientation and

[118] Letter of application from J.A.R. Munro for excavations by Cyprus Exploration Fund at the site of Polis tis Chrysokhous to F,G,E, Warren (13th June 1890), CSA, SA1/1720/1890

projected museum aims and thus should not be interpreted in simplistic terms; the British Museum excavations in Cyprus being case in point.

The funding by the Turner Bequest Fund depicts a certain degree of “individualism” and lack of state support, which were prominent characteristics of the scientific culture in Britain (see Inkster, 2007). The Keepers of the Greek and Roman Department, Newton and Murray, proposed many times to the Trustees of the British Museum to conduct excavations in Cyprus (Kiely, 2010). However, the British Museum did not fund multiple excavations due to limited endowments. The British Museum was founded as a repository of books and manuscripts with other natural history specimens (Jenkins, 1992). This orientation is evident both in the title of the director of the museum (Principal Librarian) and in the large amounts given for printing manuscripts and purchasing books as shown in the Parliamentary Reports of the Greek and Roman Department. The percentage of the funds attributed to archaeological diggings, under the impetus of Schliemann’s discoveries, went for excavating ancient sites in Minor Asia. The British Museum carried out excavations in Cyprus only after a private endowment was given to the museum, the Turner Bequest Fund which was later supplemented from the grants of purchases.[119] The selection of digging sites depended on the museum curator’s intellectual affiliations and the internal allocation of funds by the Trustees of the British Museum. The patronage, stemming mostly from private sponsors, of museums and elitist learned societies was the third common trait of the nineteenth-century scientific community of Cypriot archaeology. In conclusion, the traits discussed in this section characterized the professional archaeologists working in Cyprus, according to the emerging rhetoric of scientific archaeology.

6.2.3 “Minor figures” of Cypriot archaeology

The field was a space inhabited by a socially diverse population (Kuklick and Kohler, 1996). The regular operation of excavations needed a broader public participation, including labourers who would dig, field assistants who would negotiate with the diggers, and trained archaeologists who would organize

[119] Parliamentary Report 1897 (BM GR) page 57

proceedings (see Kohler, 2007; Vetter, 2011a). Until recently, these “minor figures” (Lorimer 2003, 200) or “marginal people” (Clifford, 1988) were silenced by the dominant narratives of the mythical age of exploration that favoured the heroic individual. Minor figures such as laboratory assistants or non-European assistants in colonial settings or even instruments were ignored from the histories of science as they privileged the genius and individuality of the scientist (Camerini, 1996; Turner, 1997). Recently, it has been presented that exploration was essentially a collective work consisting of different types of relationships (Dritsas, 2011; Driver, 2012; Harvey, 2010; Herringman, 2013; Naylor and Ryan, 2010). Drawing from Driver and Lowri (2009), this section brings to light the stories of the minor figures. The closer look to the minor figures offers another view to European empires distant from the simplistic one-way models (Kohler, 2011).

The physical practice of excavating the sites and of extracting antiquities was carried out by locals – Greek and Turkish Cypriots – in both periods. For instance, Cesnola mentioned to his friend Hitchcock that 20 diggers were working for him at the site of Amathus.[120] Maier and Karageorghis (1984) inform us that the Cyprus Exploration Fund in the 1888 season of excavations employed 230 diggers to dig trenches at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Kuklia. The same pattern was followed in the British Museum excavations as well. The excavations were conducted when the local workers were not engaged with other agricultural activities. Lang reported to Newton that he had to “suspend temporarily the operations on account of the harvests”[121]. Local workers (and the local environment)[122] conditioned in the same way the excavations of the British Museum: Percy Christian (agent of the museum) asked Murray if he could authorize excavations in February as the diggers were sitting between the seed and harvest time.[123] Even though this population was crucial to the regular operation of excavations they were considered to be “minor figures” in the archaeological practice as they were scarcely mentioned in

[120] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (6th August 1875), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 3
[121] Letter from R.H.Lang to C.T. Netwon (27th April 1869), BM, GR OL, Vol. 1869-1872, fol. 359, page 3
[122] Excavations were conducted during spring and autumn because of the mild weather. The considered extreme heat in the summer and the rainfalls in the winter were thought of as factors that archaeologists could not work under.
[123] Letter from P.Christian to A.S. Murray (13th February 1897) BM, GR OL, Vol. 1896-1897, fol. 70

correspondence or the reports. Although the diggers were a nameless population, they were photographed by some explorers. Cesnola (see fig. 6.2) photographed his diggers either alone or with the discovered antiquities and mentioned only their ethnicity. Colonel Falkland Warren, chief administrator of the Cyprus Government, excavated on the island and along with his findings he photographed his anonymous diggers (see fig. 6.3).

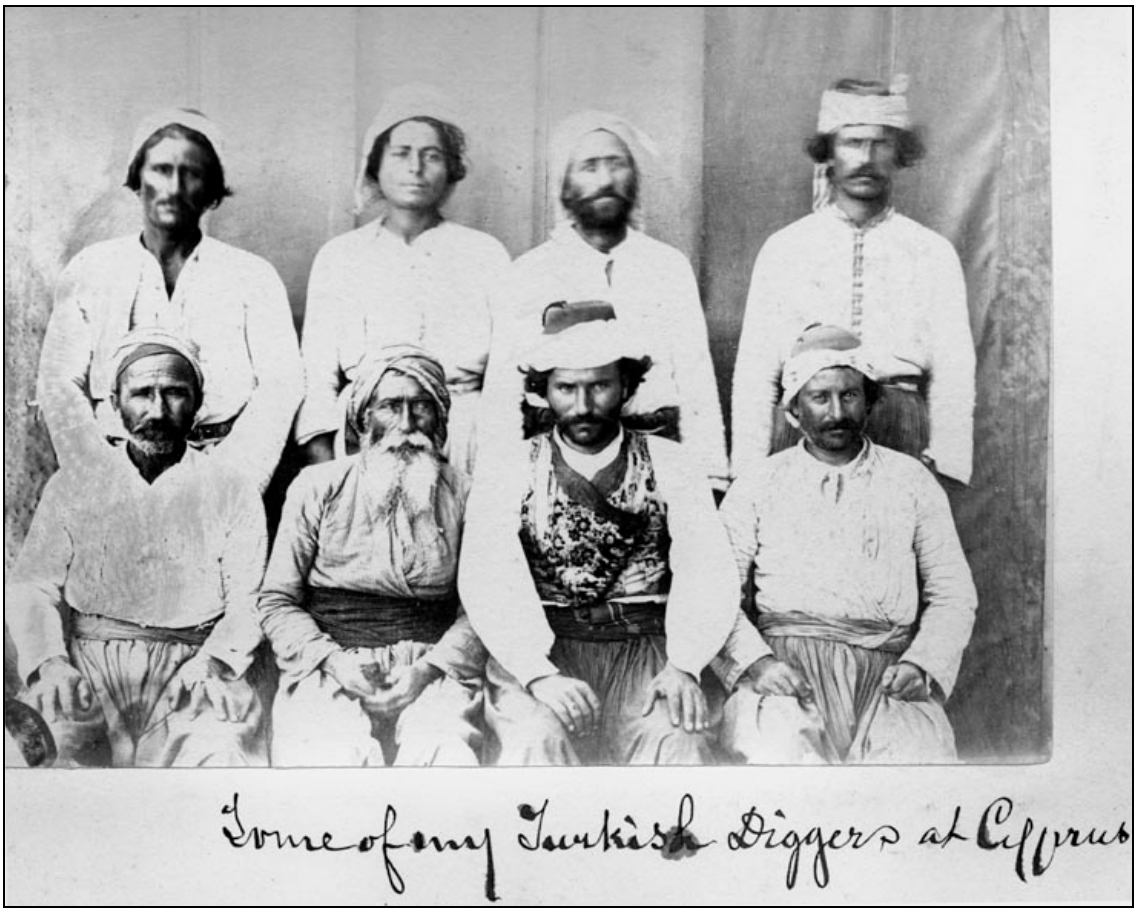

Figure 6.2. Turkish Cypriot Diggers in Cesnola's excavations (undated) Courtesy of the Laiki Bank Cultural Centre Archives

Figure 6.3 Heads of statues found at a shrine near Tamassos in 1885 during the excavations commissioned by Colonel F.Warren, who is standing on the right (photograph displayed in the Cypriot Gallery (Room 72) of the British Museum, photograph: Polina Nikolaou, May 2012).

The link between the local diggers and the individuals or museums funding the excavations was the agents employed by the directors of the excavations. The relationship formed was for facilitating the process of excavating: both hobbyist antiquarians and professional archaeologists on the island employed local agents to act as intermediaries with the diggers. Their job was to enable the communication between supervisors and diggers and to direct the diggers on minor issues. The employment of intermidiaries was Cesnola's mode of digging, as well, and it was very effective: he could move between digging sites and collect a large amount of antiquities from his local supervisors (McFadden, 1971). Only one such individual was named in the correspondence: Gregori, of Greek Cypriot origin, who was acknowledged by the excavators as important in the regular operation of the diggings. This may be linked with the contemporary perception that the Greek Cypriots were more industrious than the Turkish Cypriots (Lang, 1878). Although, in literature the Oriental character imposed by the colonizers on the island is stressed (for example Given 1998, 2001), the employment of Greek

Cypriots as agents demonstrates that the colonial narrative regarding Cyprus' population were not that uniform.

As in the case of other European societies conducting archaeological expeditions in overseas locations (for an example see Goren, 2001), the British Museum employed English gentlemen residing locally to work as their agents. Scientists in colonial settings thus depended on the cooperation of the local population and colonial personnel (Camerini, 1996; Turner, 1997). A.S. Murray cooperated with the brothers, Percy and Charles Christian, along with W.J. Williamson, all English businessmen who resided on the island and were applying on behalf of Murray for permissions. For example, a permit was given to Percy Christian and Williamson to dig on behalf of the British Museum under the supervision of W.A.H. Smith, curator of the Greek and Roman Department in the British Museum.[124] This demonstrates that in Cyprus salary-dependent professional archaeologists collaborated with gentlemanly amateurs for the excavation of antiquities.

The gentleman amateurs and local English businessmen, however, were not directly supervising the excavations. This role was played by trained archaeologists working at the British Museum and students from the British School at Athens (see subsection 6.4.1).[125] The role of the museum agents was to communicate with the local landowners, purchase the lands that were proposed for excavation and communicate with the diggers. Percy Christian stated quite explicitly that the other less formal practicalities of an overseas agent by asking Murray to make him a permanent agent on the island to "look after excavations and your interests generally in Cyprus or anywhere round and to keep you informed of the discovery of any new sites and of any antiquities of interest".[126] The British Museum's local agents served as vital contributors in the field and part of the archaeological network that connected the two spaces of Cypriot ancient sites and the British Museum. Scientific discoveries not only provided personal fame but also gave glory to their native countries (Schroeder-Gudehus, 1996). This was a period

[124] Letter of authorization from R.L.N, Michell (District Commissioner of Limassol) to H.L. Thompson (Chief Secretary) for excavations (16th November 1893), CSA, SA1/1977/1894
[125] A.S. Murray report, (6th December 1894), BM, GR R, Vol. 1893-1894, fol.259
[126] Letter from P.Christian to A.S. Murray (5th December 1896) BM, GR OL, Vol. 1896-1897, fol. 68, page 3

where national rivalries between old and new Empires increased. It is not suggested here that science was characterized as a whole by these sentiments but there was certainly a drive to protect the nation's prestige (Diaz-Andreu, 2007; see subsection 5.3.2). Their actions may be seen in the context of Victorian values: human efforts were considered to be meaningful only when they were made for the benefit of the nation and the fulfilment of its destiny (Bowler, 1989).

Whether drawn from the indigenous population or foreigners residing on the island for a long period of time, these local agents were essential for the regular operation of the excavations. They covered necessary aspects of the diggings such as the communication between the diggers and the supervisors, and doing the required procedures for abiding with the colonial excavation law. The indigenous and the foreign agents were assigned a role that was corresponding with their respective social background. Excavation sites, therefore, acquired another meaning, replicating the nineteenth century social structure where the two social groups were not blended (Harvey, 2010; Kuklick and Kohler, 1996). These "minor figures" had another crucial part in the excavation of antiquities: they helped the excavators in identifying ancient sites.

6.3 Transforming ancient sites to excavation sites

In this section the focus shifts to the interpretation of ancient sites and their promotion to excavation sites by examining how the excavators comprehended Cypriot antiquities. The question here is how the developing modern archaeological narratives produced a preconception of Cypriot ancient sites which enabled their transformation from being "the field" to being labelled as "sites of excavation". Following Harvey (2010), I argue that each archaeologist's interpretation of ancient sites affected the specific landscape's physical quality. In other words, this personal interpretation affected the selection of specific excavation sites among the various ancient sites of the island.

Kohler (2002) notes that there are two ways of knowing the environment: first, there is the cosmopolitan method of books and theories; and secondly, one can

know the environment by living in a locality (see also Dritsas, 2011; Driver, 2001; Outram, 1996). Each type of knowledge contributes to field science; residential knowledge helps in locating the objects and the cosmopolitan enables the classification of the objects, thus complementing each other (see section 2.1.2). This system facilitates the understanding of how the practitioners located ancient sites for excavations. Cosmopolitan knowledge in this sense is not only considered to be about scientific taxonomy, but also the theoretical context of Cypriot ancient sites stemming from ancient writers and modern archaeology.

The ancient relics were most commonly not located above the ground and so were not visible. Cesnola (1885) commented that of the numerous ancient towns only a few remained above ground to serve as landmarks. The excavators had to trace the specific location of ancient sites by using the classic writers. Ancient literature was a common site of knowledge as the majority of educated men of nineteenth century could re-construct a mental history of the Mediterranean through ancient writers and the Bible (Levine, 1986; Pearce, 2007). An in depth knowledge of history was an essential part of the education of the gentleman elite (Sweet, 2003). In particular, Cyprus was known from the ancient literature as the island of the goddess Aphrodite and, as such, much information could be found in classical literature about Aphrodite's birthplace, Paphos (Hogarth et al, 1888; Ohnefalsch-Ricther, 1891; Serghidou, 2001).

Nineteenth-century travelers to Cyprus knew the location and the history of some of the island's ancient cities because ancient writers talked about them in their scripts; few examples of which follow (Hogarth et al, 1888).[127] In Homer's *Iliad*, Cyprus was represented as being thoroughly Phoenician and in the *Odyssey* was described with Phoenicia and Egypt as a land at the end of the world (Perrot and Chipiez, 1885). For instance, Amathus and Tamassos were the oldest towns mentioned in Homeric poems (Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1891). The names of the famous shrines of Paphos, Golgos and Idalion were cited in the works of Greek and Latin poets (Hogarth et al, 1888; Perrot and Chipiez, 1885). Tacitus, the ancient Latin writer, referenced in general the great wealth accumulated in temples

[127] A comprehensive review can be found in Hogarth et al, 1888.

on the island (Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1891). Strabo and Herodotus cited the temple of Curium and Stephanus Byzantinus wrote about Curium as being a Greek city (Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1891). Perrot and Chipiez (1885) highlighted that the temples of Idalion and Golgos were well preserved until the nineteenth century precisely because little information existed about them in the ancient scripts and as such they were not explored by travelers on the island. Another critical factor that aided the excavators in locating ancient sites was modern place names. For example, the ancient Idalion was easy to discover because the ancient name was preserved in the modern village's name (Dhali) (Gaber, 2008). The ancient site of Amathus was also famous because of the two stone vases positioned on the top of the acropolis (Gautier, 1999).

Due to the lack of reference of ancient towns in the work of classical writers and the lack of the existence of material remains above ground, residential knowledge was of critical importance. Cesnola (1877) remarked that the most difficult part of excavating on the island was finding ancient sites to dig. Excavators learned the methods for finding tombs and sanctuaries from local people (Cesnola, 1877). This is also depicted in Cesnola's claim that his success was based partly on his "inside track" with local people and the unsuccessfulness of excavations undertaken by Europeans was "on the account of their ignorance of the island".[128] This statement also further implies the collective nature of archaeological expeditions during this period. Even though the excavators possessed cosmopolitan knowledge, without the residential knowledge of the local population they could not find the ancient sites.

Kohler (2011, 230) terms this as "residential science": knowledge in this mode was acquired by long-term residents of a specific local. Travelling scientists could potentially gain residential knowledge however as it would be time consuming the local population provided the necessary information (Dritsas, 2005). Confidence in the native population for giving information and narrating events was common in the British Empire (Raj, 2002). As Driver and Jones (2009) have shown in their research of the Royal Geographical Society's explorations, although cast as "minor

[128] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (21st January 1874), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 3, p.4

figures", the local population was considered as authoritative source in finding excavation spots (see also Cook 2005). The knowledge deriving from local population was sometimes considered as more accurate than the information and testimonies given the collectors (see passage from Wood's letter to Newton below). When knowledge was acquired, Europeans overwrote its context (Cook, 2005; see section 6.5). The vital importance of residential knowledge remained for the excavations carried out during the British occupation; the only difference lay in the source. By that time the number of British travellers in Cyprus who became acquainted with island increased. They acquired residential knowledge and transmitted it to the excavators. J.T. Wood, a British Consul in the Eastern Mediterranean who also undertook excavations for C.T. Newton in Minor Asia, gave him advice for his forthcoming travel to Cyprus

> "...You will find our old friend Pierides the most obliging and useful man. There are not many honest men in the island...I have spoken of Dali in a letter I wrote from Cyprus, Dali to Athieno is two hours... you will want a long day there for there is much interesting ground in Golgos and the adjacent places...From Athieno to Tremethusia is 11/2 house when within half a mile of the latter village you will see in your left hand at about 300 yards distance from the road the tombs explored by Cesnola in which he says in his book he found nothing but slab objects. My muleteer told me on the contrary that here Cesnola found beautiful gold earrings etc you will see how little of the ground was opened and at what small expense that adjacent ground might be tried-but this remark may apply to all the sites of Cesnola's exploration none of them been nearly exhaustive... A site near Ormidea excited A. Cesnola who wanted to excavate in spite of the British authorities..."[129]

Mostly based on residential knowledge, this passage portrays the different methods, besides knowledge deriving from local population, that were employed by archaeologists in this period for finding ancient sites. Cesnola's discoveries had a

[129] Letter from J.T. Wood to C.T. Newton (22nd of March 1879), BM, GR OL, VOl. 1879-1882, fol. 555, pages 4-8

profound impact in Europe and America, most particularly through the purchase of his findings by the Metropolitan Museum of New York. This is evident in the British Museum excavations where the Trustees plainly stated that they desired the excavation of the ancient site of Curium, as it would probably "yield good results".[130] Following Cesnola's footsteps therefore, became a common method for finding antiquities: individuals chose to dig at Curium (located in the Limassol district), which was considered to be the richest part of the island in antiquities and historic sites. For instance J.W. Williamson and Co applied in 1885 to excavate as they said it was in"the interests of science we think it desirable that the mystery which has hitherto existed with regard to these Chambers should be thoroughly cleared up and we therefore request that a permit be granted as for this purpose only".[131]

It can be argued that previous excavations carried out on the island provided a type of residential knowledge, as they informed the prospective excavators which ancient sites contained large quantities of antiquities. Critically Wood's example also shows that English individuals who travelled to and resided in Cyprus provided information, obtained locally, on ancient sites to the British Museum, and their advice was taken under consideration by the Trustees.[132] The English travellers and residents of Cyprus, in other words, were thought of as authoritative sources of information (see also Hogarth et al, 1888). Having, generally located ancient sites to dig, the excavators had to decide which specific sites should be excavated. This decision was based on the value attributed to Cypriot antiquities and the interpretation of ancient sites based on cosmopolitan knowledge.

One of the main qualities of Cypriot antiquities whilst under the Ottoman Empire was their monetary value (see sections 7.2 and 7.3). This choice was premised on the idea that it was easier to find a greater amount of antiquities in tomb sites than sites of ancient ruins (Cesnola, 1885). This interpretation of land as a rich source

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[130] Letter from E.M. Tompson to J.W. Williamson and C.Christian Limassol (2nd November 1894) page 1, CSA, SA1/5/1895

[131] Letter from J.W. Williamson and Co to F.G.E. Warren (26th November 1885) page 1, CSA, SA1/4658/1885

[132] British Museum Trustee minutes of meeting (8th February 1879), BM, GR TM, Vol.1877-1881, fol. 201

of valuable objects was fundamentally connected with the exportation of Cypriot relics to metropolitan museums (Kiely, 2010). Here Perrot and Chipiez's (1885) assertion, that the main aim of excavating on the island was gaining profit by the sale of antiquities to museums, is demonstrated. The commodification of antiquities as valuable and exportable objects was aligned with the imperial need for unearthing and collecting materials (Goring, 1988; Hamilakis 2007; Jenkins, 1992; Meskell, 1998; Mourad, 2007; Patterson, 1999). In accordance with Pearce (1992), the economic discourse of the capitalist market system contributed to this definition, since it was one of the main causes for the continuously increased demand for goods. In other words, the nineteenth century became an era characterized by the exchange of material goods; museums focused on increasing the acquisition of objects and the ancient sites of Cyprus became fields of environmental resource exploitation and the produced materials became part of imperial commodity networks (see also Vetter, 2011a; Withers, 2007).

The understanding of space in terms of the quantity of objects they could "produce" remained in force in the excavations under the British Museum. Crucially, though, for the British Museum excavators the main quality of Cypriot antiquities was their scientific value in the reconstruction of the island's ancient history. The most important aspect of an ancient site for the British Museum was whether it could, in the words of C.D. Cobham[133], yield "rich harvest" in Mycenaean objects, and this criterion characterized it as a "promising site"[134] (see also Munro 1891, 298). A.S. Murray attached a new interpretation to Cyprus's ancient landscapes during the British Museum excavations. As explained in section 3.5 the Mycenaean Question was preoccupying British archaeology (and the European one in general) and Cypriot antiquities were originally linked with the Mycenaean civilization in 1878 (Fitton, 2001). Following these developments Murray's excavations in Cyprus aimed to discover and gather Mycenaean objects (Bailey and Jockey, 2001; Steel, 2001). Mycenaean objects in the Cypriot ancient sites appeared to modern

[133] Letter from C.D. Cobham to A.S. Murray (21st October 1894), BM, GR OL, VOl. 1892-1895, fol. 210, page 2

[134] Letter from A.S. Murray to H.B. Walters (7th December 1894) page 2, CSA, SA1/5/1895

archaeologists as imported artefacts of higher culture located alongside local “rude insular products” (Evans 1896, 918).

Expectations and background were brought to the field by Murray. Cyprus fitted its Mycenaean orientation (Fitton, 2001). Aligned with Serghidou (2001), Ulbrich (2001) argues that in this period the cultural-historical approach (see sections 3.4 and 3.5) was the major motivation for investigating Cypriot antiquities. This was associated with the British Museum’s philhellenic orientation and the pursuit for ideal beauty envisaged in the Greek and Roman material remains (Jenkins, 1992). Murray interpreted the findings in Mycenaean terms only and viewed Cyprus as the easternmost extension of the Mycenaean world (Steel, 2001). This preoccupation is evident in the reports of the excavations and the correspondence between Murray and the practitioners in Cyprus. In his reports to the Trustees, Murray mentioned only the findings of Mycenaean Age and disregarded any other findings of local ware:[135]

“...objects have been found in a site in Paphos of Mycenaean age...adjoining finds have yielded so many objects belonging to the finest period of Greek Art”.[136]

The British Museum excavations with their preoccupation of finding Mycenaean objects demonstrate that new places of exploration were not *terra incognita*. Indeed, the excavators arrived “to the eye fully stocked with expectations, fears, desires and meanings” (Kuklick and Kohler 1996, 6). As Hodder (1989) highlights, the meaning of the excavation sites was linked with conditions of their discovery. Cypriot ancient sites were considered to be important enough to be excavated because they were rich in highly valued scientific relics. This interpretation of ancient space was not uncommon amongst archaeologists (Burns, 2011). The idea that the Mycenaean objects were the most valuable relics defined the spatial preconception of the ancient landscapes. The ancient sites were characterized as “rich” or “fruitless” depending on the origin of objects that they contained; whether they were Mycenaean or not. The archaeological value was, simultaneously, translated in economic and scientific terms. Artefacts once more were treated as

[135] For example A.S. Murray’s report (2nd February 1899), BM, GR R, Vol 1899-1902, fol. 14
[136] A.S. Murray’s report (2nd February 1899), BM, GR R, Vol 1899-1902, fol. 14

resources with market prices decided according to their importance attributed to them by archaeological interpretations (Diaz Andreu, 2007; Goring, 1988; Hamilakis 2007; Jenkins, 1992).

Characterizing Cypriot ancient sites as purely Mycenaean rendered them as spaces of scientific importance. The characterization of ancient Cypriot sites as Mycenaean repositioned them on the archaeological map; from their peripheral location to the centre of archaeological investigation. For archaeologists working both in Great Britain and overseas, emphasis was placed on moveable antiquities and focused on objects found in burials. The tomb sites that were considered to be the most fruitful ancient sites were the focus of British Museum's orientation. Simply stated by D.G. Hogarth (1896), "the happiest hunting ground of the exploring Scholar is a graveyard". Charles Christian proposed to A.S. Murray to carry out excavations at the village of Poli tis Chrysokhous because "they would find richer tombs there".[137] The village of Poli tis Chrysokhous was "the best tomb site at present known in Cyprus"[138] for the Cyprus Exploration Fund archaeologists. Tomb sites (generally termed funerary sites) were the main preoccupation of archaeologists throughout the nineteenth century (Evans, 2007). Sites of ancient cemeteries were preferred because complete collections of antiquities could be found that were necessary for display purposes and for the comparative study of archaeology.

Subsequently finding the right places to excavate and then to assess the right time to move to another site were crucial in successful excavations and required various methodologies. The British Museum once again utilized local knowledge in identifying those promising lands obtained by its local agents. Ancient sites were routinely discovered by local peasants and local agents would go to those places to inspect the findings. Percy Christian was visiting sites where ancient relics were inadvertently discovered in order to inspect them and decide whether that site could be rich in antiquities with a view to securing the land for the British Museum.[139] Based on that interpretation of the monetary and scientific value of

[137] Letter from C.Christian to A.S. Murray (9th January 1888) BM, GR OL, Vol. 1888, fol. 72
[138] Letter from Munro to A.S. Murray (5th May 1890) BM, GR OL, Vol. 1890
[139] Letter from P.Christian to A.S. Murray (5th December 1896) BM, GR OL, Vol. 1896-1897, fol. 68,

objects field sites were chosen to be excavated. If an excavation site proved unfruitful because the findings were not worthy of the work they would find another promising land to dig. For example, Murray noted that if the excavations at Curium were unsuccessful they would proceed to the site of Enkomi.[140] For this reason they tested the sites by making exploratory trenches and if they did not discover anything of importance they would close them and move on.[141] This constant bodily movement through the ancient sites was another characteristic of archaeology as an expeditionary field science which made it a mobile science (see also Driver, 2001; Kohler, 2006, 2007; Naylor, 2005).

In order to understand the reasons for selecting ancient sites for excavations, practitioners and their various interpretations of the landscape were scrutinized in relation to their wider social and intellectual contexts. This analysis shows that ancient sites were transformed into excavation sites by the meanings attributed to them through the spatial interpretation by antiquarians and archaeologists. Therefore, employing those various interpretations of the ancient sites, antiquarians and archaeologists strategically chose to excavate in certain places either for scientific reasons with monetary motivations or for purely treasure hunting purposes. Crucial in this process were the “minor figures” that facilitated the process of selection by employing their residential knowledge and their interpretation of the ancient sites.

6.4 Networking archaeology

6.4.1 Antiquarians, archaeologists and colonial authorities

A contextual historical approach calls for close attention to the networks, both social and material, in which scientists operated (Livingstone, 1992; Naylor, 2010). Antiquarians and archaeologists in Cyprus formed circulatory networks, otherwise termed “circuits of communication” (Secord 1994, 386), that facilitated the transmission of archaeological knowledge through personal relationships and

[140] Letter from A.S. Murray to H.B. Walters (7th December 1894), CSA, SA1/5/1895
[141] A.S. Murray’s report (24th August 1897), BM, GR R/, Vol. 1897-1898, fol. 48

correspondence. It is argued here that these international and local networks employed by excavators affected the conduct of excavations. This section focuses on the social networks established by different kinds of relationships by the antiquarians and archaeologists in Cyprus.

During the Ottoman period, foreign consuls residing on the island formed personal relationships and often collaborated in excavating for Cypriot antiquities (Merillees, 2001). Diaz-Andreu (2010) demonstrates that friendships surpassing nationalities and political rivalries were a common trait of nineteenth-century archaeology. An example of this type of relationship was the collaboration between D.E. Conlaghi, acting British Consul, and Vicomte de Maricourt, brother of the acting French Consul on the island who, at joint expense, excavated at a site near Larnaca.[142] As in section 6.2.3, this demonstrates Levine's (1986) assertion that although the nineteenth century was an age that highly valued individualism and personal possessions, antiquarians worked collectively.

Despite these types of collaborations, however, L.P. Cesnola, appears to be an exception: a case of an antiquarian who was competitive towards the others. As a true opportunist and an American patriot, he worked alone "...in order to stop the English or any other country to conduct excavations".[143] This was not a common sentiment amongst excavators; for example R.H. Lang did not want to rival Cesnola.[144] Even if some of the early antiquarians did not want to cooperate with other consuls in their explorations, all had a common denominator and link in their local networks, namely local knowledge. For instance, Colnaghi was at the spot within an hour after one object was found because local villagers informed him about the discovery.[145] The consuls on the island formed their individual local networks that were often competing in the field for information regarding the location of the richest spots to dig. When one excavator took possession of such spot the rest would not interfere in his diggings.

[142] C.T. Newton's report (7th February 1866) BM, GR R, Vol. 1864-1866, fol. 333
[143] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (17th January 1872), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 3
[144] Letter from R.H. Lang to C.T. Newton (27th October 1869), BM, GR OL, Vol. 1869-1872, fol. 362
[145] C.T. Newton's report (7th February 1866) BM, GR R, Vol. 1864-1866, fol. 333

The excavators formed another crucial kind of relationship with the colonial authorities, namely with the Turkish authorities. Collectors in the Ottoman Empire had to negotiate with the Turkish authorities for the regular operation of the excavations (Challis, 2008). Cesnola was able to carry out extensive excavations without any formal permission since the Ottoman Governor of Cyprus was his friend and, according to Cesnola's claims, allowed him to dig wherever he wanted.[146] Even if we take Cesnola's words with caution, about his close friendship with the Governor, he was indeed able to excavate freely on the island without the interference of the Turkish authorities.[147] Another way of obtaining the favourable firmans[148] was through the donation of Cypriot antiquities as presents to the Ottoman Imperial Museum.[149] Lang was equally a formidable individual of the period and his influence on the local authorities, as acknowledged by Newton, was much more powerful than a firman from the High Porte (see section 5.2.).[150] Lang as a manager of the Ottoman Imperial Bank, through which all the financial business of the Turkish government were made, had close relations with Turkish officials; but also through his antiquarian and farming occupation he came into contact with the peasants of the island (Lang, 1878).

The same pattern of networks was followed in the period under the British Empire, comprised of excavators and the British authorities. After 1887 the British colonial regime supported excavations carried out under the British flag which Murray took full advantage of. Murray acknowledged the help provided by the colonial infrastructure in the regular operation of excavations.[151] Specifically, he acknowledged that the English officials in Cyprus and the Colonial Office promoted the British Museum's interests during the excavations (see also section 5.3.2).[152]

Importantly, in the nascent period of Cypriot archaeology an international network was also formed between excavators in Cyprus and C.T. Newton (Whitehead,

[146] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (17th January 1872), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 3
[147] Letter from A. Billioti to C.T. Newton (29th July 1869) BM, GR OL, VOl. 1869-1872, fol. 45
[148] Royal decree issued by the Ottoman Empire
[149] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (27th April 1875), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 3
[150] Letter from C.T. Newton to M. Feuardent (18th August 1869), BM, GR LB, Vol. 1861-1879, fol. 189
[151] A.S. Murray's report (26th March 1899) BM, GR R, Vol. 1899-1902, fol. 105
[152] A.S. Murray's report (26th March 1899) BM, GR R, Vol. 1899-1902, fol. 105

2007). Newton was aware of the search for antiquities in Cyprus through his communication with the British Consuls residing on the island, who shared valuable information with him (Kiely, 2010; see also section 7.4.).[153] The regular communication established between him and the excavators, such as R.H. Lang, shaped Cypriot archaeology in this period as he provided them with advice on how to dig using scientifically informed methods (see subsection 6.4.1). The scientific strength of these antiquarians lay precisely on the networks they constructed and materialized in publications (for example see Poole and Lang, 1878; see also Sweet, 2003).

For the British Museum excavations in the 1890s a new form of collaboration was constructed. The British School at Athens and the British Museum worked in partnership on the latter's excavations on the island. The British Museum got archaeological assistance from the British School at Athens through its students, who were positioned as directors of the diggings.[154] This network was monitored by the British Government as for the financial arrangements of this cooperation Murray not only had to obtain the Trustees' sanction but the Treasury's as well. A specific procedure had to be followed: Murray recommended an archaeologist from the British School at Athens and his appointment had to be agreed and approved by the Trustees. Then the Principal Librarian would apply to the Treasury for the expenditure of the grant for use in excavations.

This demonstrates that an international web of English archaeologists existed and I will add to Diaz-Andreu's (2007, 30) statement that besides being "unofficial professional networks formed by individuals who support each other professionally", it could be also a semi-official and official web. The overlapping intellectual networks created various formidable spheres of individuals (Evans, 2007); a prominent example was the circle formed around Pitt Rivers which included Lubbock, Darwin, Huxley, Tylor, Spencer, the geologists Dawkins and Prestwich, and the philologist Muller. The idea of unofficial professional networks is

[153] See for example his correspondence with Colnaghi, Lang and Pierides in BM GR, OL Vol. 1861-1868

[154] See for example the correspondence between Murray and the directors of the British School at Athens in BM GR, LB Vol, 1896-1907 and OL Vol.1898-1899

based on the concept of the invisible colleges. The term invisible college is coined by Price (1965, 85) who in discussing the circulation of scientific papers argues that scientists form groups and for each group:

> exists a sort of commuting circuit of institutions, research centres, and summer schools giving them the opportunity to meet piece-meal, so that over an interval of a few years everybody who is anybody has worked with everybody else in the same category.

In the nineteenth century, the invisible college – or otherwise termed “Republic of Letters” (Mayhew, 2005) - was an informal network of elite scholars of a specific subject, located in different geographical areas, whose characteristics were: collaboration, citation of each other’s work and communication (Zuccala, 2006). Mayhew (2005) highlights, though, that researchers should be cautious of citation patterns as this may be simply a matter of access to bibliography. As Henare (2005, 143) notes “scientists cultivated friendships with far-flung colleagues, keeping open supply lines of specimens and ideas”. Similarly it has been presented that knowledge-making projects operated in wider networks of intellectual cultures which included the circulation of specimens or entire collections (Naylor, 2010; Shelton, 2000). Invisible colleges can be traced back as far as 1660 in which natural philosophers formed the Royal Society. The sense of community and status of the individuals that participated in that community was provided by the limited entry in the new professional posts to individuals with rigorous training and qualifications (Levine, 1986). The entry to the “imagined communities” of the invisible colleges was determined by the criteria set for asserting the credibility of scientific knowledge (Mayhew, 2005; see sections 6.4. and 7.4.2.2.).

According to Livingstone (1992) there are two versions of the invisible-college argument the stronger and the weaker one. The stronger version argues that these circles either between scientific associations, institutions or individuals directly formulated scientific knowledge. The weaker version sees the invisible colleges as merely the external context for the organization and diffusion of knowledge and ideas. The collaboration between the British School at Athens and the British

Museum in the latter's excavations on the island can be found in the middle space of the stronger and weaker version of the argument. Archaeologists working in the British Museum and the British School at Athens created informal socio-scientific circles that conditioned the production of archaeological knowledge about Cyprus's past through their preoccupation with the Mycenaean question. Although specimens and ideas were exchanged regarding this matter (see subsection 6.4.2.) this circle did not affect the practicalities of excavating on the island as such or the collecting practices (see subsections 6.2.3. and 7.3.1).

The British Museum's and the School's socio-scientific circle was established by the personal relationships of their curators and directors.[155] As has been noted, even though archaeology celebrated the heroic individual, as an enterprise it was collective (Evans, 2007). Invisible colleges could be seen as the embodiment of the creation of scientific communities and the collectiveness that characterized archaeology. For museum archaeologists, in particular, the professionalization of curators through learned societies, memberships in common clubs and the Museums Association (established in 1890) created a network of personal contacts (Shelton, 2000). The Museums Association encouraged the systematic working of museums through the British dominions. Antiquarians and archaeologists had memberships to various clubs and societies, and as active members of these antiquarian circles they knew each other either personally or through correspondence (Pearce, 2007; see Gosden and Larson, 2007 for the formation of the Pitt Rivers Museum through this type of network). It has been highlighted that archaeologists whose expertise lay outside of England and were working overseas were members of the societies that were directly associated with their own subject (Levine, 1986). The network was composed of trained men or skilled, if not trained, and establishing communal standards of practice. This literature further argues that any complete notion of community includes the social aspects of the common intellectual pursuits and the produced social homogeneity. This denotes not only the common interests but the social value they placed upon their work and their position in it.

[155] See for example Murray's correspondence with the archaeologists based at the British School at Athens in BM, GR OL, Vol. 1890 and 1891

The archaeologists of the British Museum and the British School at Athens became acquainted with each other through memberships in the same societies and clubs such as the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies and the Dilettanti Club (Gill, 2011). Mayhew (2005) points that in reality the international communities of the Republic of Letters were undermined by national and religious disputes. However this was not the case in Cyprus. The community of trained archaeologists working in Cyprus had a similar educational and national background and, most importantly, purpose (see subsection 6.2.2) the community they formed was defined by unity, intellectual and institutional closeness. In meetings of the Society's for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies Committee, held under the presidency of Newton, it was agreed that a general co-operation was needed for conducting excavations in Cyprus (Hogarth et al, 1888). The close relationships between the archaeologists of the British Museum and the British School at Athens were manifested through fieldwork collaboration and through the circulation of their discoveries in their respective facilities, as part of advancing archaeology in Greek and Mediterranean territories (see subsections 6.2.2).

The main means of communication and, thus, connection of the distant members of the invisible colleges was letters (Evans, 2007). Antiquaries and archaeologists were not only enthusiastic travellers but also fervent correspondents (Levine, 1986; Pearce, 2007). Correspondence between Murray and the British School's excavators was an informal means of interpersonal contact (sees section 6.4.2.). The archaeologists of the British Museum and of the British School at Athens founded informal networks of communication and established formal collaboration in projects with common research objectives (Livingstone, 1992; Zuccala, 2006). The informal communication between Murray and the directors of the School led to the formal collaboration of the two institutions in the excavations in Cyprus each providing different things; the British Museum funding and the School the archaeologists.[156] For example, Murray informed Cobham, Commissioner of Larnaka District, that they were thinking of resuming the excavations at the Tekke site in the Larnaka district at the beginning of April 1898 and as he could not "spare any of my juniors just now I have asked Hogarth to send one of his students,

[156] Letter from W.Loring to A.S. Murray (21st January 1899), BM, GR OL, Vol. 1898-1899, fol. 306

Crowfoot, to superintend the work*".*[157] The British Museum Trustees agreed to Murray's proposal to continue excavations at the Tekke site "with the assistance of W. Crowfoot from the British School at Athens to superintend archaeologically and Percy to manage the works as before".[158] The informal link was materialized in the formal collaboration in connection with the excavations on the island; the invisible college was rendered visible. This collaboration provided the context for the scientific commuting of archaeologists in the form of bodily and textual movements. First, students at the British School at Athens found the opportunity to travel in the field and gain experience. Secondly, the link created by this collaboration enabled the exchange of knowledge in the form of correspondence through the Keeper of the Greek and Roman Department in London and the archaeologists working in Athens and Cyprus. The following section looks closer at the networks of correspondence established between archaeologists, antiquarians and colonial authorities.

6.4.2 Corresponding archaeology

The mobile nature of science – either termed "knowledge-in-transit" (Secord, 2004) or "travelling narratives" (Turnbull, 2002) – has been established in science studies. With this in mind, the placing of science becomes insufficient without giving particular attention to the movement of knowledge by considering the things-in-motion and the circulatory practices (Withers and Finnegan, 2003; see section 2.1). The diverse community of collectors, antiquarians, archaeologists and intermediaries formed around Cypriot antiquities was sustained through long-distance networks of communication and travelling. Recent work in the histories of reading, writing, and publishing, under the name of "the history of the book", have provided insights in the examination of the relationships between imperial spaces, travelling knowledge and power (Ogborn, 2007). Knowledge travelled via these networks in various material manifestations (sketches and written word) that were appropriated in other sites of knowledge making (see Latour, 1987; Withers, 2010).

[157] Letter from A.S. Murray to C.D. Cobham (5th March 1898), BM, GR LB, Vol.1896-1907, fol. 90
[158] Letter from A.S. Murray to D.G. Hogarth (15th March 1898), BM, GR LB, Vol.1896-1907, fol. 92

This prompts the critical question posed by Secord (1994): why correspondence networks were sustained. Cypriot archaeology's networks of written work are approached through Secord's (1994) question by following the travelling texts.

Echoing new imperial histories and local geographies, travelling texts are viewed here as being framed by global networks, either material or social, which were local at every point (Ogborn, 2007). As has been noted in subsection 6.2.1, in order for knowledge to be de-localized the displacement of people and objects by a supportive infrastructure, or network, was necessary (Golinski, 2007; Latour, 1987). First, the colonies of the British Empire, scattered around the world, were linked by telegraphs, steam engines and factories (Ede and Cormack, 2004). In particular, telegraphy became a quintessential imperial technology that administrated the vast nineteenth-century empires (Hunt, 1997). In a similar manner, the British imperial infrastructure played a vital role in the regular operation of the scientific conduct (Bowler, 1989). Secondly, with the expansion of the British Empire, global connections were forged between the British Museum and the colonies. Newton's acquaintance with British Consuls was not confined with the ones residing in Cyprus but was extended across the Eastern Mediterranean Sea. Newton created what Kiely (2010, 238) named, a "prosopographic web" whilst he was acting as a Vice-Consul in Mytilene[159] (see also Gunning, 2009) and occasional Consul in Rhodes from 1852 to 1859. For instance, he often corresponded with Alfred Billioti[160], the acting Consul at Rhodes, who informed Newton about the developments in Cyprus regarding excavations.[161] Drawing on Newton's example it can be said that the British Empire, even when Cyprus was under the Ottomans, provided communication routes between the island and the British Museum.

The use of correspondence over the first forty years of Cypriot archaeology's practice acquired multiple functions besides merely the facilitator of exchanging

[159] Town on the island of Lesbos in the North Aegean.

[160] Sir Alfred Billioti (1833-1915) was of Italian origin and joined the British Foreign Service and served as a Consul in various places in the Eastern Mediterranean. He was an active antiquarian conducting many excavations in the Levant and corresponded regularly with C.T. Newton the Keeper of the Greek and Roman Department at the British Museum.

[161] For example, letter from A.Billioti to C.T. Newton (5th October 1869) BM, GR OL, VOl.1869-1872, fol. 48

knowledge between two vastly different spaces (Ogborn,2002, 2007). The examination of Newton's correspondence with R.H. Lang will help us elucidate the ways which Newton contributed to the formation of Cypriot archaeology. A good example depicting this remote exchange of information was the discovery by Lang of an important ancient sanctuary. Lang informed Newton about a considerable find of statuary he made in Dali (the modern site of ancient Idalion), and he shared his belief that he might have stumbled upon the celebrated temple of Venus of Idalion.[162] Lang asked Newton's advice about the objects and the excavation site before he would continue excavating. Newton supported Lang's efforts and encouraged him to continue digging by keeping his collection together since archaeological findings had to remain in groups in order to be scientifically comparable with objects found in other places (Newton 1880).[163] Newton encouraged Lang to record his findings in situ, in other words to record the provenance and find spots (for the function of ancient sites as truth-spots see section 6.4.).[164] This example shows how the experience of an excavation site was shaped by the constant communication of local and cosmopolitan knowledge. Correspondence was the medium by which relationships pervade the practice of fieldwork and provided the epistemic framework for collecting (Camerini, 1996). Lang gave the information on the discovered site and antiquities, while Newton offered his archaeological knowledge on how to collect. Newton provided through correspondence a form of what Evans (2007, 270) terms "site-mentoring", where excavators without formal training in excavation techniques were trained by the experts. A famous example was Pitt-Rivers who was mentored by Canon Greenwell, the perceived expert in barrow-digging of the day. "Site-mentoring" was, therefore, the first function of travelling texts in Cypriot archaeology.

Correspondence in general and telegrams in particular, were vital in the daily conduct of the digging practices at the British Museum's excavation sites. The

[162] Letter from R.H.Lang to C.T. Netwon (27th April 1869), BM, GR OL, Vol. 1869-1872, fol. 359, page 3

[163] Letter from C.T. Newton to M. Feuardent (18th August 1869), BM, GR LB, Vol. 1861-1879, fol. 189

[164] Letter from C.T. Newton to M. Feuardent (18th August 1869), BM, GR LB, Vol. 1861-1879, fol. 189

quick, efficient and effective character of this communication between people in different parts of the continent reading reports within days enabled the normal operation of the excavations. As examined in the previous section, the British Museum Keepers had close relationships with the British authorities in Cyprus. According to the Antiquities' Law, a would-be excavator had to apply first to the District Commissioner of the proposed excavations' location for permission; direct correspondence between Murray and the Commissioners was utilized for the matter. For example, Murray sent a letter directly to the High Commissioner of Cyprus for leave to excavate on the island so that "there may be as little delay as possible after the decision of the Trustees".[165] The colonial officers assisted in hastening the British Museum applications: H.L. Thompson (Chief Secretary) informed Sir Walters Sendall (High Commissioner of Cyprus) that H.B. Walters (one of A.S. Murray's assistants in the Greek and Roman Department at the British Museum), would represent the British Museum in the diggings at Curium which they hoped to be as successful as those at Amathus.[166] The second function of correspondence was, thus, the promotion of the British Museum's interests to the colonial authorities for speeding up the application procedures.

The third function of correspondence and telegrams was their use as mediums for directing excavations in Cyprus from their distant headquarters at the British Museum. When the preliminary steps regarding the permission and purchase of the excavation land were settled, the agents in Cyprus received a Letter of Instructions from E.M. Thompson (Principal Librarian of British Museum). Detailed instructions from the Principal Librarian were sent to the agents of the British Museum in Cyprus about expenditure sums, temporal and spatial limits to dig in. Concurrently, information about digging expenditure and progress travelled from the island to the British Museum in the same form.[167] It has to be noted here that the network of human relations and communication extended beyond colonial officers and archaeologists to the branch of the Ottoman Imperial Bank on the

[165] Letter from A.S. Murray to C.D. Cobham (3rd February 1899), BM, GR LB, Vol.1896-1907, fol. 157 (a)
[166] Letter from E.M. Thompson to Sir W.Sendall (2nd January 1895), CSA, SA1/5/1895
[167] British Museum Trustee minutes of meeting (11th December 1897), BM, GR TM, Vol.1897-1898, pages 74-76

island. This communication was employed to cover the financial issues of excavations, such as transferring money from the British Museum to Cyprus in order to purchase land-owner's rights and pay the museum's agents.[168] The emerging commercial banking sector was, thus, brought into the excavation endeavour.

Quick flow of information was needed to control the Empire and global trade and so was the case for controlling the excavations. Instructions for the direction of the diggings needed constant updating because of the local conditions that affected their conduct (see also section 6.2.2.). Written correspondence proved to be a slow medium (needed approximately six weeks for circulation). For this fourth function, correspondence was replaced by telegrams because telegraphy was faster. Telegrams bested steamships and railways in moving information fast (Ede and Cormack, 2004). Both the excavators and the British Museum preferred using telegrams for quick instructions on beginning or ending excavations. For instance, Williamson (the British Museum's agent on the island) applied in 4th March 1896 after telegraphic instructions from E.M. Thompson to dig at or near Enkomi, in the neighbourhood of the site of Salamis.[169] On another occasion C. Percy received urgent instructions from London to begin at once excavations at Kuklia in late February.[170] The instantaneous character of the telegrams offered a vital link between the directors of the excavations in the museum and the archaeologists in the field. Information as to where to dig, expenditure sums, and permission to continue excavating were exchanged in high speeds through telegrams. In other words the direction of the excavations from a remote location, such as the British Museum was facilitated by the technology of telegraphy. It becomes evident from the archives that the regular operation of excavations was heavily dependent on these directions: Williamson informed Murray that they had not been doing much at the digging lately as they had reduced workmen pending instruction from the Principal Librarian.[171] Telegrams were used for providing brief and instant

[168] Letter from C.Christian to A.S. Murray (14th October 1897), BM, GR OL, Vol. 1896-1897, fol. 66
[169] Letter of application from J.W. Williamson to .H. Young (Chief Secretary) (4th March 1896), CSA, SA1/499/1896
[170] British Museum Trustee minutes of meeting (9th February 1895), BM, GR TM, Vol. 1895-1896
[171] Letter from Williamson to A.S. Murray (14th August 1896), BM, GR OL, Vol. 1896-1897, fol. 734

directions; letters had to follow to give detailed information on the excavations. For example, after sending the telegram on the proceedings of the excavations, Walters confirmed via extensive letter the completion of diggings and reported particulars of the recent discoveries and of the division of results with the Cyprus Government on the 22nd of April 1895.[172]

A fifth function of correspondence was the transmission of knowledge about the ancient sites. In this function letters were preferred over telegrams because they could physically contain the various forms of information that were given. Newton and Murray corresponded either with British officials in the colonies, such as consuls, or with British traders and businessmen residing on the island. Their correspondence was based on the exchange of information: the collectors about their discoveries and the British Museum curators giving directions on how to collect them. For example H.B. Walters submitted a sketch-plan of three plots of ground explored and providing list of principal objects found in tombs examined up to that date.[173] The following step in the process of exchanging knowledge was to send specimens of antiquities to the British Museum to be authoritatively analysed, identified and classified in order to provide information about the continuation of excavations (see Dritsas, 2005 for similar proceedings). Therefore, knowledge did not travel only in written form but in various representations that accompanied the text such as sketches. As seen in figs 6.4 and 6.5, through correspondence the ancient sites were transformed into “travelling landscapes” (Della Dora, 2007a) by which the British Museum became acquainted with the Cypriot fields. Following, Della Dora (2007a) in this way the excavation sites moved away from their physical boundaries and geographical imaginations about the island were created.

[172] British Museum Trustee minutes of meeting (11th May1895), BM, GR TM, Vol. 1895-1896, pages 53-54

[173] British Museum Trustee minutes of meeting (9th March 1895), BM, GR TM, Vol. 1895-1896 pages 27-31

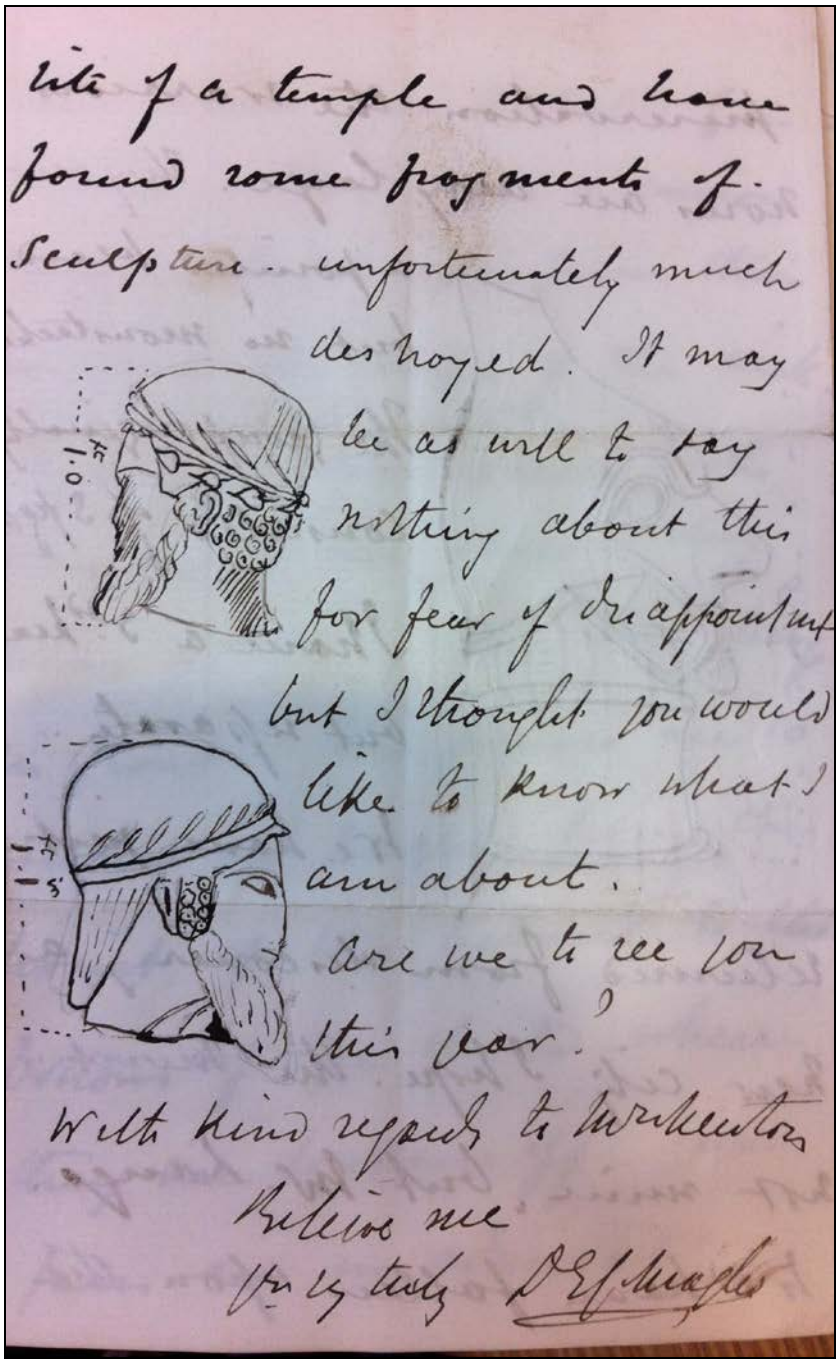
site of a temple and have
found some fragments of
Sculpture. unfortunately much
destroyed. It may
be as well to say
nothing about this
for fear of disappointment
but I thought you would
like to know what I
am about.
Are we to see you
this year?
With kind regards to Workmeister
Believe me
Very truly D. G. Mitchell

Figure 6.4 Sketches of discovered fragments of statues, Colnaghi (15th April 1865), BM GR OL, Vol. 1861-1868, fol. 181 page 4, Reproduced with Permission of the Trustees of the British Museum

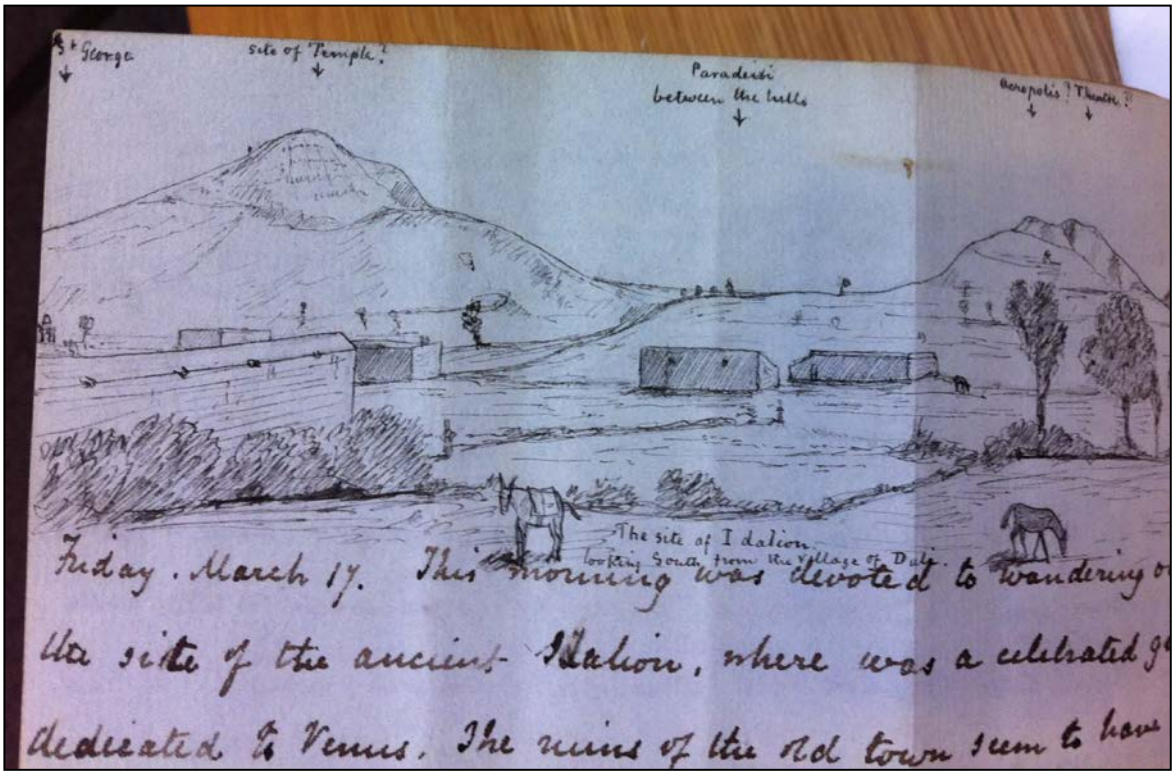

Figure 6.5 Sketch of the site of the ancient Idalion, Colnaghi (16th March 1865), BM GR OL, Vol. 1861-1868, fol. 180 page 4, Reproduced with Permission of the Trustees of the British Museum

The five functions of travelling texts depict Ogborn's (2007, 26) claim that "writing was very much of the action". This leads to the question posed at the beginning of the section asking why correspondence networks were sustained. The answer to this question is multifaceted because the correspondence networks had many functions. On a first level these networks were sustained because, as Secord (1994) notes, the interests of both parties were satisfied; in this case it was a common interest in collecting Cypriot antiquities. As seen in the archives, correspondence networks were created with other museums and individuals (predominantly Cesnola's correspondence with H. Hitchcock in Dartmouth, N.H.) whose construction depended on mutual interests between correspondents about Cypriot antiquities. On a second level – relating to the final three functions – correspondence networks simultaneously organized and sustained the regular conduct of expeditions on the island. The corresponding network between excavators in Cyprus and the British Museum was employed to overcome the geographical distance between the British Museum and Cyprus. As Kohler (2006,

156) notes, “field camp and home base were the two ends of a scientific instrument that depended on the easy circulation of specimens, notebooks, letters and directives” (*cf*. Burns, 2011). This was a common trait of collecting expeditions where good communication between headquarters and field, and swift circulation of knowledge in the form of specimens or reports were vital elements for their sustainability. From this perspective correspondence networks within Cypriot archaeology were not simply constructed outwards from a “centre of calculation”. Necessarily, it was a reciprocal process without which excavations could not operate.

6.5 Claims for authority: archaeologists and antiquarians in the field

This section discusses the process, followed by the practitioners of Cypriot archaeology, of reconfiguring the discovered objects into archaeological knowledge. Drawing on Dewsbury and Naylor (2002), practices in the field are considered as situated performances. The role played by new technologies and book keeping in the field were critical in the way history was made and how it was made historical (Withers, 2000; Yussoff, 2010)[174]. Knowledge was constructed at specific sites by people with certain skills, materials, tools, theories and techniques (Golinski, 2007; Turnbull, 2002). Following this literature, the methodology employed by the excavators in the field for recording their findings is scrutinized in this section. It will be demonstrated that the excavation process in Cyprus consisted of different performances of archaeology in the field dependent on the nexus people-object-place.

The fundamental value attributed to excavation methodologies becomes evident in the law-suit filed against L.P. di Cesnola by G. Feuardent, the famous French art dealer. Feuardent accused Cesnola of tampering with antiquities (see appendix 6). This law-suit caused profound disputes within the academic world of archaeology on both sides of the Atlantic (see section 7.4.2.2.). W.J. Stillman (1885) submitted a report to the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society in 1885 stating

[174] For a review on the literature on writing and drawing as representation methods in science see Hoffman and Wittman, 2013.

that even though some objects of the Cesnola Collection were valuable to the science of archaeology, in general its utility to the students of that science was extensively diminished. Stillman argued that the Cesnola collection was not valuable because the objects were not accurately linked with their place of origin, which made the critical task of determining the place of Cyprus in archaeology difficult. The "how" of knowledge was linked with truth; how knowledge was validated as truthful from competing claims and conflicting interpretations or even outdated information (Daunton, 2005).

Contemporary newspaper reported extensively on the episode. For example, the New York Times commented on Cesnola's misconduct by referencing Ceccaldi, the French antiquarian and his book, published in Paris in 1882, on the ancient antiquities of Cyprus.[175] This book supported the accusation that Cesnola attached false provenance to his findings. In the second chapter of the book Ceccaldi discusses how he visited the ancient site of Golgoi (where Cesnola allegedly discovered a temple) concluding that no traces of such a temple existed there. Cesnola was compared with his contemporary H. Schliemann, and even though the German was amateur his excavations – with guidance – he followed the general guidelines of recording (Myres, 1914). Cesnola in contrast with Schliemann was not an "archaeological genius" (sic) (Myres 1914, xv). Stillman (1885) concluded that Cesnola's paper on his discoveries in Golgoi published by the Royal Academy of Turin deceived the entire scientific world, let alone Lang and Newton.

This episode demonstrates that properly recording the spot of discovery is of crucial significance for scientific archaeology. This issue came up many times in relation with the authenticity of the Censola Collection (see section 7.4.2.2.). For instance, Myres (1933) demonstrated the importance of place when discussing the famous Amathus bowl.[176] The Amathus bowl was said to be found by Cesnola in 1875 in a partially despoiled chamber-tomb in Amathus. According to Myres (1933, 25) Cesnola's account "exaggerated the depths at which the chamber-tombs were

[175] New York Times 11/12/1882, MMNY CA
[176] Exhibited at the British Museum

found in Cyprus", citing Cesnola's plan of a discovered tomb at Amathus (see fig. 6.6). However, Myres (1933) asserted that Cesnola's plan corresponded fairly well with that of a large plan in the low ground north of the acropolis of Amathus.

Field scientists claimed their authority by being close to the objects. However, as Cesnola's case shows, this was not sufficient for authoritative claims in archaeology. It also demonstrates the contested nature of the field in the production of authoritative knowledge. This episode in the lives of Cypriot antiquities brings to the fore the crucial question of what were the considered qualifications of archaeological authority? For addressing this question, one must attend to the two intertwined practices of fieldwork: being physically in the field and the epistemological framework brought into the field (Driver, 2001). As the first practice alone was not a prerequisite of scientific authority attention will be given to the epistemologies applied in the field, namely the methodology of recording the discovered antiquities.

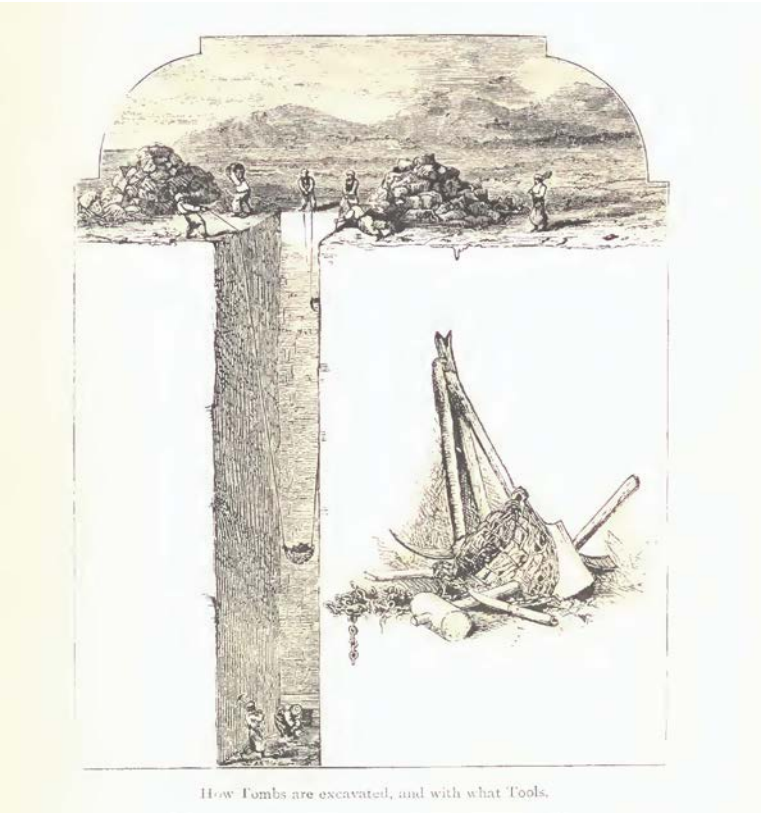

Figure 6.6 Plan of tomb chamber at the site of Amathus by Cesnola, "Cyprus" (Cesnola, 1877), page 255

Methodology was crucial in archaeological scientific claims. The question that comes up revolves around the kind of science the practitioners of Cypriot archaeology conducted. Before examining the case of Cypriot archaeology, however, a look at the general archaeological practices is necessary. This brief overview of the wider archaeological practices leads into the development of the concept of “truth-spot” in relation with authoritative claims at the ancient sites of Cyprus. During the nineteenth century archaeology was at its infancy, with a rigorous methodology of excavating objects only becoming somewhat scientific (according to the later nineteenth-century criteria) after the first quarter of century (Hogarth, 1899; Myres, 1914).

Early antiquarians followed the wider premise - established since the seventeenth century - that knowledge was produced by the empirical observations of the facts of nature (Livingstone, 1992). Antiquaries argued that objects should speak for themselves and evidence could only be derived from the classification and comparison of objects (Sweet, 2003). Archaeology’s emphasis on empiricism and documentation was built on these antiquarian methods and became highly concerned with the crucial question of how the past should be known (Smiles, 2003). However, in archaeology – apart from the need of adopting an empirical methodology reliant on physical data – there was no single methodology of excavating and reporting ancient relics (Evans, 2007; Levine, 1986). Throughout most of the nineteenth century excavations were a personal pursuit and project involving a “trained” director and his hired labourers. This was mainly due to two reasons: the lack of funding and sponsorship that was essential in the organization of the excavations, and the lack of specialist knowledge (Evans, 2007).

In this period, the concept of proof rested on the vertical stratigraphic section and the situation of the artefacts within it (Evans, 2007). This methodology was based on the establishment of principles of stratification by geologists and the Three-Age System established in Denmark during the first half of nineteenth century (see sections 3.3 and 3.4). These principles were accepted by leading British archaeologists in the second half of nineteenth century such as John Evans and

were displayed in exhibitions held by the Society of Antiquaries in the early 1870s. However, archaeological methodologies of stratigraphy (the recording and understanding of soil sequences) were not the norm, and typological artifact classification was in its early stages (Hogarth, 1896). Pitt Rivers was the first antiquarian to introduce a formal sense of proof in the field with the idea of group-adjudication and witnessing (Evans, 2007). In recording a site in London in 1866, Pitt Rivers named two persons who witnessed the discovery. This presents another aspect of the social nature of scientific practice related with authority and credibility in the field (Dritsas, 2011; Driver, 2001; Naylor and Ryan, 2010; Outram, 1996). Knowledge-claims were authenticated at the spot by other members of the scientific community; this process was named as eye-witnessing (Shapin, 1988). Scientific authority was directly related to the question of who had the legitimacy to say what constituted knowledge (Daunton, 2005). Likewise, modern methodologies in archaeology were based on a "group basis of arbitration" (Evans 2007, 289). This brings to mind the point made by sociologists of science that "*communities* rather than *individuals* are the primary bearers of knowledge" (Kusch quoted in Powell 2007, 314 original emphasis; see also Shapin, 1995). The collective decision on the accuracy of the findings was either made on-site after the gathering of archaeologists or through their regular correspondence.[177] Furthermore, in the claims for truthfulness one must take into account the rivalries, orchestration of results, and the mobilization of opinion. Nevertheless, a basic group method existed on the broad terms of recording antiquities: findings had to be recorded in the form of visual representation or lengthy description (Smiles, 2003).

Fieldwork, illustration and classification were fundamental to claims for authority in modern archaeology (Herringman, 2013). Archaeology's authority as a field science was place-bound and, as such, its scientific claims had a distinctive located character, unlike laboratory knowledge which was supposed to be placeless, bounded and universal (Dritsas, 2005; Kohler, 2007; Vetter, 2011b). Ancient sites, therefore, were not merely the locus of antiquities' discovery but, most crucially, provided credibility and authority for scientific claims (Dritsas, 2005;

[177] Nineteenth century archaeology could not yet provide absolute results in terms of chronology as happened in the twentieth century with radiocarbon dating (Evans, 2007).

Gieryn, 2006). This virtue relied on the fact that place provided the necessary reference of origin to the objects (Evans, 2007; Hogarth, 1899) Antiquities had to be correlated with their place of origin in order to be scientifically valuable. In other words, excavation sites acted as archaeology's truth-spots (Gieryn, 2006). A truth-spot is an area with a dual epistemic nature; it is both a field-site and a laboratory. The truth-spot is a found field in which the scientist needs to be close to in order to make empirical on-site observations; and, at the same time it is constructed as a bounded space so as to make universal claims (Gieryn, 2006).

As has been noted two main methods of recording were used in archaeological expeditions: visual representations and lengthy reports. Both antiquarians and archaeologists in Cyprus employed these two methods differently. In the nineteenth century, archaeological reports were largely chronicles of discoveries: they detailed the ways of discovering the objects but only few provided a full inventory of the findings (Evans, 2007). Cesnola and Lang were giving unofficial reports of their excavations in the form of correspondence between them and the Metropolitan Museum of New York (and Hitchcock) and the British Museum, respectively.[178] For example Cesnola provided the Trustees of the New York Museum reports on his excavations one of which was a thirty-seven page report on his explorations on the island in 1875.[179]

Through regular correspondence with Newton, Lang was provided with instructions on how to excavate and his work is considered as the first scientific archaeologist to work in Cyprus (Goring, 1988). Kiely (2010) notes that even though Newton was never personally or physically involved in excavations undertaken on the island, his substantial importance in the formation of Cypriot archaeology lay on his frequent correspondence with the consuls in Cyprus and his archaeological advice. Newton and Lang had constant correspondence during the latter's excavations at the ancient site of Idalion. Newton advised Lang to pursue the lines of the foundation as far as they would carry him and urged him to photograph and make a plan of

[178] This is another function of correspondence in the excavations.
[179] L.P. di Cesnola's report to the New York Museum Trustees (23rd December 1875), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 5

the ruins.[180] Lang provided thorough sketches of the findings and produced the first (and his only) archaeological site map (Kiely, 2010). Mapping, a social construct of its time, guaranteed through the style of its representation of the field the truthfulness of the excavator's observations (see Della Dora, 2007b; see also Harley, 1988). However, as seen from the Cesnola example simply providing a plan of ancient sites was not adequate for scientific claims.

The new technologies of representation and published reproduction (invented in the 1830s), photography and lithography, were used in archaeology from the 1850s onwards when photographers accompanied Mediterranean and Egyptian expeditions (Evans, 2007). Photography became the medium of witnessing the Victorian spectacle culture since it was considered an instrument that revealed the realities of the world. It participated in the imaginative geographies of the empire and was part of its practices and aesthetes of grand spectacle (as seen in the great exhibitions) (Ryan, 1997). In this early period of Cypriot archaeology photographs, sketches and impressions were sent as examples of what has been found and not as archaeological evidence (see fig. 6.4). However, by the end of the century photography was accepted as a useful means of recording excavations (Hogarth, 1899). The usefulness of photography laid in its potential to capture three-dimensional artefacts and thus reduce the need for lengthy descriptions. Generally photography was used to fix an image – invoking the common assumption that if what was shown was real then the camera could not have lied – as it was regarded largely independent from human intervention (Golinski, 2005). Hogarth (1899) asserted that late nineteenth-century archaeologists conducted scientifically-improved excavations in relation with earlier archaeologists precisely because of the mechanical aids borrowed from other sciences: improved instruments for surveying and chemical detergents. Gradually by the end of the century more

[180] Letter from R.H.Lang to C.T. Newton (15th September 1869), BM, GR OL, Vol.1869-1872, fol.361

photographs were taken of the antiquities found in the field; for example see fig. 6.7.

Figure 6.7 Bull's head capital in situ CEF/Salamis season, 1890 BM, GR OP 884714: MP 101 1 , Copyright Trustees of the British Museum

The examples of Cesnola and Lang demonstrate that, in contrast with other field sciences such as anthropology, residential time in the ancient sites alone did not provide place-based epistemic authority. The controversy over Cesnola's tampering with antiquities and Newton's promptness to record the excavations depict the interlinked virtues of trust, expertise and credibility with testimonial authority (see also Dritsas, 2005; Driver, 2001). Drawing on Yussoff's (2010) argument, that the field is configured through photography, the following section demonstrates how the ancient Cypriot sites were configured through the British Museum's excavator's field practices. The basic question that will be examined is how the excavation site was organized and reconfigured into archaeological knowledge by the British-Museum excavators?

6.5.1 The British-Museum notebooks: “authoring” the excavation sites

> “The British occupation in 1878 marks the close of what may be called the mythical age of Cypriote archaeology and has accordingly been taken as a starting point; trustworthy data of earlier researches have been taken into account” (Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, viii).

This statement calls into question the difference in the conduct of excavations carried out after the British occupation and the ones carried out under the Ottomans. As discussed in the previous section the cultures of finding ancient sites to excavate were similar in both periods. On a very basic level they were shaped by broader practices of exploration in that they were mobile, necessitated local labour and required residential knowledge. The main criterion for selecting excavation sites was whether those field sites could produce large amount of objects. For the antiquarians of the Ottoman period, ancient sites were perceived as “promising lands” if they could produce valuable objects or whole collections of antiquities. For the archaeologists of the late nineteenth century field sites were important only if they could yield Mycenaean relics (see section 6.3).

Notably, the excavation sites’ physical integrity remained identical even with all the restrictions so vigorously imposed by the British colonial regime. They remained open sites to which a variety of non-scientific individuals had access to. This could cause epistemic risks, since whole collections of antiquities, crucial for comparative archaeology, could be dispersed. In other words, the ancient sites were not bounded spaces with physical limits of entrance as where the laboratories. An example of the physical appearance of ancient sites is provided by Newton who described it to the Trustees of the British Museum “the site was a low hill parallel to the edge of a salt lake with an artificial tumulus on its summit and traces of a line of wall on its slope where the terracottas were found”.[181] An example of the surrounding environment of a tomb-site is given by the photograph in fig. 6.8.

Figure 6.8 Rock-Cut tomb site at Paphos 1878, photograph by John Thomson, Wellcome Library no. 19024i, Courtesy of the Wellcome Trust[182]

The difference that caused the departure from the mythical age of Cypriot archaeology is found in the third function of archaeology: the methodology followed for ordering the antiquities in the field (Hogarth, 1899). In order to be archaeologically classified, the objects had to be first recorded accurately in the field. Borrowing Withers' (2000, 532) term, this was a process of "authorizing landscape" by using the appropriate authoritative means and people. As I shall argue, however, these were some important differences in the process of "authorizing landscape". The British Museum excavators on the island recorded the three seasons of diggings in notebooks. As Bourguet (2010) suggests, the notebooks as material objects of recording observational data become the focus of the examination. Following Steel (2001), the notebooks are not examined against contemporary standardized archaeological frameworks but are scrutinized in an

[182] http://catalogue.wellcomelibrary.org/record=b1176902

effort to understand the aims and perspectives of the early excavators. This close study of the notebooks provides the opportunity of examining the social nature of authority and record keeping (*cf.* Withers, 2000).

The gradual professionalization of archaeology through courses in universities and publications in specialist journals affected the conduct of excavations. The archaeologist was trained to observe all the findings and to record in a universal manner elements that would be understood across the world (Hogarth, 1899); presenting a general and growing ethos in the sciences of precision and quantification. A new generation of trained archaeologists emerged who were concerned with recording the conditions of the excavations (Myres, 1914). Excavation and proofing methods, therefore, were starting to become standardized. By the end of nineteenth century the archaeologist was not considered to be treasure hunter, anymore, but "*methodical collector of evidence*" (Hogarth 1899, x; emphasis added).

The changes in the discipline of archaeology were a construct of politics and of circumstances (Whitehead, 2007). This was also the case with the British Museum's work in Cyprus. The museum wanted to avoid a scandal like Cesnola's and as such wanted to guarantee that the archaeological finds would be obtained scientifically (Balandier, 2001). The British Museum's efforts of differentiation can be correlated with the growth of authority of science; it became critical to demarcate practices of legitimate scientific knowledge from the non-scientific (Gieryn, 1983; Lightman, 1997). Moser (2007) stresses that archaeologists assumed their cultural identity through the methods of their fieldwork. This is linked with the idea that the status of a discipline as a science was not inherent, but had to be achieved (Nyhart, 2004). The British Museum archaeologists had to "keep of an account of the content of each group, make plans, and manage the workmen….to produce a short report on your observations of the finds" as they proceeded.[183] The instructions given by the British Museum authorities to their archaeologists echo Hogarth's (1899) claim that with the increase of knowledge the

[183] Letter from A.S. Murray to Welch (3rd February 1899), BM, GR LB, Vol. 1896-1907, fol. 156

labour in the field had to be divided accordingly. The division of the labour in the British Museum excavations was made in this manner: the digging was conducted by untrained individuals and the selection of the ancient sites and the recording of the findings were made by the trained archaeologists. It must be remembered, though, that this was the methodology followed for Lang's and Cesnola's excavations. The difference lay in the way the field-notes were produced.

It has been stressed that even though site reportage was a common method of recording, archaeologists did not follow a specific pattern. Rather, they had an incidental quality, meaning that record methods depended on the individual producing the site reportage (Evans, 2007). British Museum notebooks followed the same general patterns: descriptions of the progress of excavations and of the findings accompanied with sketches and maps. Nonetheless, the notebooks followed the typical narrative of site reportage: a chronicle of discovery which used a lot the phrase "we next came to", which included actors and their intentions (Evans 2007, 119; Hodder, 1989). The notebooks were a form of literature about the excavations with the author being present in the story (Zimmerman, 2008). An artefact, signifying the passage of time, removed from the soil and re-presented the past. In other words, even though the site reportages were not standardized they were "fixed in time and place" by telling the story of the excavation (Hodder 1989, 268).

In the British-Museum notebooks, log entries were entered every day giving the date and place of the excavation, for instance (see appendix 5):

> *"4 Feb 1895*
> A move was made today to a site a good deal higher up the valley up which the old Papho road and with a view to seeing whether the land was worth purchasing some tentative excavations were made. The first site chosen was a little way above the pathway leading northwards from the road about half-a-mile from the latter. Three tombs were excavated here of no great size but with complete skeletons and

> containing large quantities of Cypriote potter-some very plain specimens."[184]

In the notebooks alongside detailed descriptions of how the excavations were conducted, descriptions of each tomb found with its contained objects were included:

> "Tomb 13
> A remarkable tomb with many ramifications. We first excavated a sarcophagus (7'3''x3'7"x3'6" E-4" thick) which however contained absolutely nothing. It was not much below the ground level. In the ground near it were found:
> A glass ring, about 2" diameter
> ~~Part of a glass vase~~
> A Roman lamp plain
> On the end of the sarcophagus was found a door of stone, leading into a large tomb with two or three side chambers, but it was absolutely empty and had presumably been plundered together with the sarcophagus."[185]

Myres (1914, xiv) ascertained that being in the field "alone inspires confidence in the record of results". However, as demonstrated by Cesnola's law suit, their physical closeness to the discovery spot was not sufficient for making authoritative claims on findings. As field practitioners they had to deploy a plethora of technological media based on different methodologies for recording and describing their findings (see Naylor, 2009). These notebooks had a dual use: first they were the technological mediums that provided evidence for the accurate observation of the excavations; and, secondly, they were the scientific archaeologist's ideological effort to differentiate his work from non-science. The notebooks acted as the British Museum's boundary-work for distinguishing its archaeologists from the amateur antiquarians operating on the island. Boundary-work was the development of

[184] H.B. Walters, Notes at Curium (1895)
[185] H.B. Walters, Notes at Curium (1895)

arguments and strategies regarding knowledge production that demarcated scientific claims from non-scientific ones (Gieryn, 1983). In the case of the British Museum's excavations in Cyprus the boundary was established by the credibility attributed on the contested nature of the ancient field sites by making them bounded and authoritative spaces through those notebooks. Recording in notebooks - while being in the field - was a general nineteenth-century prevailing enthusiasm for self-registering instruments, since they were viewed as the ultimate mediums for objectivity that rendered subjective observations into quantified objects (Bourguet, 2010; Bourguet et al, 2004; Hoffman and Wittman, 2013; Te Heesen, 2005).

Theoretical developments in British archaeology were an essential instrument in recording the findings akin to the physical instruments of experimental laboratories (see Kohler, 2006). British archaeology provided the framework for the interpretation of the Cypriot antiquities and for their classification. In this examination, then, the corporeal and the material instruments are not divided since it would provoke an artificial dualism between things and actions (Bourguet et al, 2002). The notebooks with their sketches and descriptions were the product of a trained bodily performance; instruments and body techniques worked together. The legitimacy of the observations recorded in those notebooks was produced from the affirmation of the excavator's presence in the diggings (*cf.* Martins, 2004). The British Museum archaeologists in Cyprus were "observers-in-transit" (Martins 2004, 80) and their physical body was a "truth-spot" (Gieryn, 2006). They established another "truth-spot"; their excavation notebooks and sketches. Using this method, they employed virtues common to both laboratory and field: credibility, precision and rule. Nineteenth-century's claims for authoritative knowledge were founded on these virtues (Driver, 2001; Gieryn, 2006; Kohler, 2006).

The narrative form of recording in the notebooks was complemented by a visual representation of the excavations, or as termed by Evans (2007, 283), with "graphic literacy"; in other words the discipline's language was equally textual and visual. The illustration of antiquities in a more artistic form dated back to antiquarianism. Artists were commissioned by antiquaries to illustrate antiquities

acting as high-quality visual records (Smiles, 2007). However, by the end of the nineteenth century, art moved to aestheticism and the contrast between imagination and the rigorous documentation led to the gap between archaeological scholarship and artistic practice. In the nineteenth century the presentation of archaeological information was closely allied with architecture and military engineering (Evans, 2004). The more fanciful interpretation of the past seemed irrelevant to the serious scholarship. Archaeological illustrations were only conventionalized in the 1920s and 1930s.

Nonetheless, as the notebooks present, creative recuperation of the past could act as supplement to empirical enquiry. Drawing, in comparison with painting, was considered to be a form of notation that did not have any detrimental artistic qualities (Sweet, 2003). Importantly the drawings in the notebooks demonstrate the preoccupation of British archaeology with interpreting the objects only in terms of style. Drawing on Martins (2004), it is argued here that this form of art added in the notes was not only a way of illustrating the findings it was an ideological practice of scientific expression. Sketches, drawings and maps became the mediums by which the excavators could scientifically possess the ancient sites that they depicted. In particular maps were considered as a predominant scientific method for recording excavation sites (Hogarth, 1899). As it will be shown in the rest of this section, the British-Museum archaeologists were able to re-inscribe the uncontrollable qualities of the field into a coherent and systematized format in the blank pages of the notebooks.

The British museum notebooks were preoccupied with the objects' style affinities: vases were drawn artfully without providing detailed reports on the broader finding spot. The objects in the notebooks are discussed in terms of their artistic relationships and were not contextualised beyond rudimentary and frequently incomplete tomb lists (Steel, 2001). The preoccupation with style over meaning or context was evident in museum practices and was a key determinant in contemporary practices of attribution (Whitehead, 2007). An economy of value was

deeply embedded as the discovered antiquities would end up in some gallery of the British Museum.

The tomb architecture, number of inhumations, disposition of finds within individual tomb groups, and the state of preservation of the funerary material were not considered to be of great importance and were only intermittently recorded. According to Hogarth (1899, x), the modern science of excavation was embodied by Flinders Petrie and his school, who observed and recorded on a "rigid system" without any preference to any type of antiquity. Murray's publication "Excavations in Cyprus" (1900) (with the contribution of Smith and Walters), comprises the notes taken in the field was exactly the opposite in this matter. The central argument of the book was that the Mycenaean objects found on the island were of Greek origin, since they wanted to associate it with eastern Greek material (Fitton, 2001). The sketches and drawings in the notebooks demonstrate Murray's orientation. In order to support his argument, he neglected any evidence that linked the object with the Near East. This preoccupation with the Mycenaean objects is reflected in the notebooks as well as they do not offer any information of the discovered local ware.

J.L.Myres is considered the first scientific archaeologist to work in Cyprus (Kiely, 2009).[186] J.L.Myres' Amathus notebooks tends to avoid the narrative of exploration or a preoccupation with style, and follow Pitt River's and Petrie's "mechanical" site reportages, which followed graphic conventions and textual formulae. Myres did not describe the exploration of the tombs but only listed and described the tombs and the objects discovered. He also incorporated dense measurements in his depictions of the tombs and the antiquities. Mathematics achieved high standing and they provided a practical tool of precise reasoning; they were accepted as standard in science (Daunton, 200; Lightman, 1997). Neutrality, afforded by standardization, was a powerful cultural context in which the scientific enterprise operated (Turner, 1997). Scientists on the one hand were considered to be gifted

[186] According to his obituary in the *Geographical Journal* (K.M. 1954, 120, 541-542) not only Myres was considered a scientific archaeologist pursuing the discipline in the field but as a great exponent of geography as well. Largely under his influence, as it is stated in this obituary, the first Chair of Geography and Honours School was established at Oxford University. Myres was also in the period 1907-1910 a Lecturer of ancient archaeology at Liverpool University.

individuals; on the other hand they were neutral observers of nature. Science had to rise above the many rivalries including political and religious that tormented Victorian society. Essentially the notebooks mapped with precision the environment, ordered and coordinated places. The numbering and labeling of the findings was the base for a good order of knowledge and those notebooks provided the essential integrity.

In the nineteenth century, knowledge was considered valid when it could be reproduced in any place. The standardization of knowledge became the medium through which modern science defined itself as truthful and thus valid (Spary, 2005). Myres' notes can be considered as following the general tendency of late nineteenth-century archaeology of "experimental and almost mechanical methods of examination…which denote great advance in system" (Hogarth 1899, xii). From the 1860s onwards and until the emergence of experimental science classification and analysis, impassively scrutinizing data, forming hypotheses and testing them against reality were the means of validating knowledge (Daunton, 2005; Livingstone, 1992). Experiment became one of the truly scientific ways for defining knowledge (Raj, 2002). Ancient fields were not merely spaces of collecting but when results were not considered as scientific evidence they were "tested by further excavation on more trustworthy sites" (Munro 1891, 298). As archaeology could not test its hypotheses through an experiment, the measurement of the objects and of the architectural remains provided a base for comparison; in contrast with the observations in style (Hogarth, 1899). In other words, standardized documentation of excavations was considered as an unrepeatable experiment. Instruments, measurements and findings had to travel and provide templates for standardization and accountability (Bourguet et al, 2002). Myres' notebooks as precision instruments allowed the travel of the findings by recording in mathematical terms the environment and thus could be compared to other data. The notebooks became, thus, a labscape - akin to Gieryn's (2006) truth-spot - they reconstructed in the field, the laboratory's conditions (Kohler, 2007; see also Barrow 2011; Naylor, 2005).

A critical component of the credibility attached to these excavations and the notebooks, was the fact that they were undertaken under the patronage of a powerful institution with governmental affiliations such as the British Museum (cf.Dritsas, 2005; Naylor 2010; Kohler 2006, 2007). Similar to the Royal Geographical Society for geographical explorations, the British Museum was an institution that endowed its archaeologists with official support and scientific rationalization for their overseas expeditions (Driver, 2001; Naylor and Ryan, 2010). In Britain, museums were organized both internally and externally in a strict and rigid hierarchical pyramid (Shelton, 2000). Internally, a museum's personnel were divided by rank and specialism for efficiently administrating all aspects of the institution. Externally, museums were ranked based on their claims for authority and specialised knowledge. The British Museum with its claims of displaying universal knowledge was situated at the peak of the hierarchical pyramid (Shelton, 2006). The authors of the notebooks were archaeologists working in the British Museum and students of the British School at Athens, and thus, could be considered as authoritative sources. In the network of exchanging knowledge the record keeping and the reports by Murray to the Trustees became another instrument for scientific observation as it backed up the on-site archaeologists' reports (see section 6.3.2.).

It has been argued that expeditions in colonial territories attained credibility by their connection with imperial institutions such as the Colonial Office (Dritsas, 2005). In this case, however, the control over antiquities established by the British colonial government in Cyprus did not provide them with scientific credibility. As was discussed in section 5.3.1.1., according to the Antiquities' Law enacted by the Cyprus Government, each excavation had to be supervised by a representative of the government who would have a note book to record the finds in foil and counterfoil.[187] This is related to a lack of trust on behalf of the British officials about the excavators. Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter (1899) reported that the Government's overseers were often untrained individuals whose notebooks were seen as "valueless for the identification of the objects which are described". Most

[187] Letter from H.B. Walters to A.S. Murray (24th February 1895), BM, GR, CEC

often the Cyprus Government was employing Greek Cypriots to act as representatives and their notes were comprised of a list of objects, in contrast to the corresponding British Museum ones. They concluded that an extensive part of the Government Collection lost almost its entire scientific value (Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1899). This supports the previous statement that in creating trustworthy knowledge the individuals' personal authority and their institutional sponsors was of equal importance. Critically, colonial museums were at the bottom of the museum pyramid (Shelton, 2000) and the Cyprus Museum, in which the government's share was housed, was not an exception; its state was generally accepted as destitute (Merillees, 2005). Myres and Richter, as travelers in the colonies, were absolute on the superiority of their systems (*cf*. Henare, 2005).

To conclude, the British Museum's work on the excavation sites enabled them to make truth claims about the nature and history of Cyprus. In order to attribute credibility on the contested nature of the ancient field sites, the British Museum archaeologists had to make the sites into bounded and authoritative spaces. The notebooks were the instruments that were integrated with the human performance of digging and established trustworthy data of distant phenomena by ordering them on paper. It was a dual process of giving identity to antiquities and sites and simultaneously of stabilizing through taxonomic and classification procedures (for a similar process see Spary, 2005). Borrowing Cook's (2005) idea of "objectification" regarding botanical specimens, authoring the notebooks was a process of cleaning the ancient sites and artefacts of their cultural context through their visual ordering according to European classificatory schemas. The notebooks comprised the controlled social environment that through the process of "objectification" transformed the antiquities into commensurable facts with only input and output functions. Antiquities in this way were transformed into laboratory specimens that could be moved, examined and compared with other specimens (Kohler, 2006; Naylor, 2010).

Through this process of authorizing their findings in the notebooks, the British Museum excavators excluded the other uses of the excavation sites, being ancient graveyards. The "minor" actors of the excavations, the diggers and the illicit

excavators, were also silenced in the truth-spots of notebooks and sketches. In this mode, the notebook's main quality as instruments was established: the findings could be compared with other antiquities from remote sites. Through the comparison of findings from different settings, science thus claimed to be universal (Raj, 2002). These notebooks present the endless struggle in science between the localness of the production of knowledge and the objective of universality and decontextualization. They epitomize of the meta-level of spatial history which has a circular form: "the making of knowledge is the making of space, space is made in travelling, knowledge is travelling and travelling like knowledge is a form of narrative" (Turnbull 2002, 273).

Crucially, the notebooks consist of an early effort of archaeological standardization (see also Kiely, 2009). The recording and publication of the excavations demonstrate one of the earliest attempts to present archaeological data in a systematically clear and coherent format (Murray et al, 1900; Walters, 1897). The basic treatment of material, breaking down by group tomb and by material was established (Kiely, 2009; Steel, 2001; Tatton-Brown, 1987). Although, the material is attributed by type, tomb group, however only in relation to Mycenaean affinities. As demonstrated by the differences between the British-Museum notebooks, even though systematic chronologies were starting to be created their retrieval remained haphazard.

The notebooks can be only framed as "predisciplinary encounters" (Cale, Cracium and Martins cited in Herringman 2013, 11). The notebooks with all their different recording methods present the emergence of specialist reports where objects were put in archaeological typologies with abstract and placeless accounts of archeological terms (see Hodder, 1989). Leading archaeologist A.Evans (1900, 199) welcomed the publication of some of the notebooks in a bounded volume (Murray et al, 1900) because it included "photographic process plates…figures in the text…a special value from the fact that they represent, in a collective form, groups of vases found together in the same tomb". The British Museum expeditions were organized and methodically combined "the global reach and adventure of exploration with the precision and control of laboratory science"

(Kohler 2006, 180). The ancient sites were configured and re-inscribed through the notebooks; they were textually processed, rendered neutral scientific knowledge and, thus, “authorized”. The British Museum excavations were fundamental in the development of the archaeology of the Late Cypriot period during the twentieth century; they established the link between the Mycenaean world and Late Bronze Age Cyprus (Evans, 1900; Steel, 2001).

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter discussed Cypriot archaeology during the period of 1860-1900, subdividing it in two periods according to the different colonial empires that occupied the island (Ottoman Empire 1860-1878, British Empire 1878-1900). It traced the transformation of Cypriot archaeology from its “mythical age” when it was practiced by hobbyist antiquarians under the Ottoman Empire, partly as leisure activity and partly as resource extraction, to its professionalization by scientific institutions such as the British Museum, whose practice was supported by a colonial framework. Cypriot archaeology’s micro and macro histories were examined relationally without privileging either.

The first section (6.2.) examined the practitioners of archaeological explorations. As in other field sciences (Camerini, 1996; Naylor 2010), the early archaeologists on the island were middle-class professionals pursuing their hobbyist interests. This pattern was followed in the period under the British Empire with a crucial difference; expeditions under the benefaction of scientific institutions were carried out. The Cyprus Exploration Fund and the British Museum work on the island is a case in point. The first was an elitist academic society, the latter a scientific institution. Archaeological expeditions were explorations of overseas territories and as such they required the employment of a variety of people (Kohler, 2007). The focus was on the ways in which individuals interacted with each other and the methods followed for pursuing their different objectives. In both cases, the relationships established between the practitioners were central to the excavations.

The second section (6.3) discussed the methodology followed for locating the sites to dig and their transformation to excavation sites. It demonstrated that residential knowledge acquired by the local population was integral in identifying possible sites that contained large quantities of antiquities. Importantly, the classification of ancient sites as “promising land” that would “yield rich harvest” depended on the cosmopolitan knowledge brought to the field by the archaeologist. Finally, this section showed that the physical quality of the ancient sites was interpreted by the academic and archaeological interests of the antiquarians and the archaeologists.

The third section (6.4.) examined the networks between archaeologists and colonial authorities and the distribution of knowledge, in the form of correspondence and telegrams, which enabled the transmission of knowledge from Cyprus to the British Museum and vice versa. First, the archaeological conduct was facilitated by the networks established between the colonial authorities and the archaeologists and collectors in both periods. Secondly, the corresponding texts were considered as material devices that informed the British Museum of the overseas progress of the production of knowledge and the technology that directed excavations in response to that information. The British Museum and the ancient sites were, according to Kohler (2002, 156), **“**the two ends of a scientific instrument that depended on the easy circulation of specimens, notebooks, letters and directives”.

The fourth section (6.5) of the chapter analysed the debates over credibility in the first period and in the second period together with the boundary work undertaken by British Museum to avoid such controversies (cf. Dritsas, 2011; Gieryn, 1983). Modern archaeology’s rhetoric of science places significance upon the accurate recording of the antiquities’ place of provenance as it provided the necessary proof. Concerns over the credibility of archaeological claims, for instance, were materialized in the law suit filed against Cesnola. The British Museum excavators applied precision and rule in their excavations by recording them with various means (note taking, sketches and maps) in their notebooks. Their methodology was the transformative instrument that reorganized the ancient sites of Cyprus according to standard criteria. By identifying a geographical region as uniform and

studying it as such they were able to produce knowledge that extended that region by comparing it with other findings. This boundary work established by the ideological efforts of the British Museum to make authoritative archaeological claims enacted the transition from amateurism to the professionalization of Cypriot archaeology. In addition, both actions of communication and record keeping illuminate the active construction of space by the nexus of power and knowledge (*cf.* Ogborn, 2002).

Summarizing, the applied relational approach, used here, takes into account the "positionings, spacings and traffickings" (sic) (Lorimer and Spedding 2005, 33) of Cypriot archaeology. It has been demonstrated that the ancient sites of Cyprus were formed as archaeological spaces and excavation sites depending on the interpretations and practices of the individuals that inhabited them each time. The produced archaeological knowledge, analogous to geographical and natural history knowledge was constituted by a variety of local and global material practices such as travelling, collecting and recording. In other words, the ancient sites of Cyprus are considered here as products of a networks of practices, trajectories and interrelations of humans and objects.

The analysis of a locally articulated Cypriot archaeology in its imperial context enabled the examination of the extent of which it was driven by colonial projects or shaped by it. Formidable individuals such as Cesnola, Lang, Newton and Murray were the main drivers and shapers of Cypriot archaeology. In conclusion, it has been presented that Cypriot archaeology in this period was at its "predisciplinary" stage and a science of networks, of local points that connected inextricably the island and the British Museum and as a consequence made them mutually transformative. In constructing archaeological knowledge, antiquarians and archaeologists constructed the space of Cyprus. The Cypriot region as a spatial object of archaeological enquiry was shaped and reshaped according to changing theories and agendas.

Chapter 7 Circulation

7.1. Introduction

In this chapter the life history of Cypriot antiquities is discussed by tracing their movement from their excavation sites to their placement in museums. It will be demonstrated that the geographies of Cypriot antiquities were shaped by the relationships between objects, people and places, established during the antiquities' circulation. It is illustrated that by following the life of objects, significant stories of the making of science are illuminated; such as the practicalities of collecting within a legally-framed colonial context. This chapter is essentially a study of the nineteenth-century cultures of collecting, selling, moving and displaying antiquities, in England, New York and Cyprus.

Collecting was the practice of saving artefacts from time and decay, thought to be worth keeping, remembering and treasuring (Clifford, 1988; Kohler, 2007). As Bal (1994, 100) suggests, the act of collecting by museums can be viewed as a narrative, a process "consisting of the confrontation between objects and subjective agency informed by an attitude". The history of collecting then becomes a story of how people embed meanings and systems of knowledge within material culture (Elsner and Cardinal, 1994). Nonetheless, the metaphor of narrative is too abstract and needs to be contextualised in order to understand how meanings were created (Gosden and Marshall, 1999; see also Appadurai, 1986; Basu, 2011). The collection of Cypriot antiquities is contextualized within nineteenth-century archaeology and colonial imperatives.

In the nineteenth century, archaeology was entangled with national, colonial and imperial narratives, which defined European civilization as superior to the primitive "Other" (Diaz Andreu, 1995, 2007a; Kohl, 1998; Kohl and Fawcett, 1995; Meskell, 1998; Shanks and Tilley, 1992; Trigger, 1984; Van Dommelen, 1997). In the latter half of the eighteenth century, objects assumed their meaning as evidence which made them central in the discourses of antiquarianism and later archaeology and ethnography (Henare, 2005; Shelton, 2000). It was thought that objects embodied an authentic trace of their producers and consumers imbuing into the artefacts some kind of metaphysical quality (Henare, 2005). The ancient artefacts acted as

the “physical contact with the past, transcending the passage of time” (Sweet 2003, 33). The act of collecting was linked to the idea that classification was part of the process of possessing and controlling; as such became part of imperialism (Ede and Cormack, 2004). In this context non-Western objects were collected, not for being beautiful objects of art, but mostly, amongst other reasons, as material evidence (Clifford, 1988).

A useful metaphor to link the collecting narrative with its context is Duclos’ (2004) “cartographies of collecting” in correlation with the “collections biography” approach. The “collections biography” approach to the diaspora of Cypriot antiquities will enlighten, both, the broader and local framework, which formed the triangle of people-object-place that shaped the geography of collections (Alberti, 2005a; Gosden and Marshall, 1999; Hill 2006, 2007; Kopytoff, 1986). Finally, by following the literature on museology and critical theory, the British Museum is addressed as a cultural formation located in its own socio-political context (Clifford, 1997; Clunas, 1998; Kaplan, 2006; Livingstone, 1992; MacDonald, 1998; Mason, 2002; Naylor, 2011; Pearce, 1992; Vergo, 1989). This literature provides the theoretical framework for examining the two different museum spaces: the hidden space, involving the classificatory schemas and curatorial interpretation that produced knowledge, and the public space where this knowledge was projected through the displayed objects (Driver and Jones, 2009; Hooper-Greenhill cited in Bennett 1995, 103; Pearce, 1992). In particular, it will inform the analysis of the geographies in the British Museum, namely: the spatial division of the display rooms and the positioning of Cypriot antiquities in the wider ‘exhibitionary complex’ (Appadurai, 1986; Bennett, 1995; Naylor and Hill, 2011).

This chapter is divided in three sections which discuss the different phases in the Cypriot antiquities’ life. The first section (7.2.) examines modern archaeological narratives in relation with Cypriot antiquities. This section aims in providing the theoretical context for understanding the classification of the Cypriot relics by European archaeologists. The second section (7.3.) examines the practicalities and practices of collecting the antiquities under the Ottoman and British colonial regimes. The third section (7.4.) discusses the circulation of the objects in

metropolitan museums. This section particularly looks at the museum-phase of the antiquities' life and the various issues, both practical and theoretical, involved in their display.

7.2. Cultures of collecting I: art and archaeology

By reviewing the work of D.G. Hogarth[188] and C.T. Newton, this section discusses the transformation of Cypriot antiquities from ancient relics to collectable artefacts according to "cultures of antiquity" (see chapter 3). This section discusses the general archaeological narratives regarding ancient material culture and its classification by appealing to broader evolutionary stances. The aim of this review is to understand the methods and criteria against which the various classes of Cypriot antiquities were valued, in monetary, artistically and scientifically terms (see section 7.2.1.). In particular, the British Museum collecting practices were framed by the broader educational aims of the institution and mirrored social views about the importance of science and the concept of the evolutionary progress of human civilizations (Yasaitis, 2006; see section 7.4.2.1.).

According to Appadurai (1986) the exchange of objects is made on the basis of their commodity situation. The commodity situation is the conceptual condition of objects and is based on criteria (symbolic, classificatory and moral) that form the exchangeability of objects in temporal and spatial contexts (Appadurai, 1986; see also Alberti, 2005; Kopytoff, 1986). In other words, the commodity situation is the cultural framework in which objects have social lives. Following Smith and Findler (2002), the importance of commerce (cultural and monetary) in archaeology is considered here. In particular, the nineteenth-century artefacts under the general context of capitalism were viewed as "goods": objects with market-values according to similar objects (Pearce, 1992). Transactions in this cultural setting were based upon a symbolic and economic price, for example many collections were exhibited in order to be sold, most commonly in auction houses (Alberti,

[188] Hogarth a Fellow of Magdalen College and Craven Fellow in the University of Oxford, was a student at the British School at Athens 1886-7 during which he cooperated in the Cyprus Exploration Fund's work in Cyprus, he was later appointed director of the School (1897-1900) and became the Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum (Tatton-Brown, 2001).

2005; Kopytoff, 1986). Kopytoff (1986) argues that the commodity situation is not an inherent characteristic of objects. Instead he calls it a phase in the objects' social life that varies across space and time (see also Barringer and Flynn, 1998). He continues his argument by asserting that the commodity situation of an object is culturally regulated and its interpretation is open to individual manipulation (Alberti, 2005a; Kopytoff, 1986).

In this case, the antiquities' commodity situation was affected by their archaeological classification (see section 7.2.1) and the local milieu of their collecting (see section 7.3.). The collection of antiquities was essentially an interpretation of the objects' value – archaeological or otherwise – based on archaeology's nomenclature. It preceded the gathering of objects and can be seen as the first act of the commodification of the past into cultural capital (Elsner and Cardinal, 1994; Harvey, 2000; Spary, 2005). Antiquities had a dual function; they were, simultaneously, objects of art and objects of science since they comprised the physical evidence of humanity's ancient past. Art has been recognized as a notion constructed by specific historical and social formations and, most importantly, by the circulation of material culture (Myers, 2004). In nineteenth-century Europe art and culture were intertwined concepts; both connoted general categories of human value, and were embodied in archaeological narratives (Clifford, 1988). By the 1820s "*art* increasingly designated a special domain of creativity, spontaneity and purity, a realm of refined sensibility and expressive "genius"" (Clifford 1988, 233; original emphasis). Likewise, archaeological classification of art or systems of knowledge could be seen as "the mirror of collective humanity's thoughts and perceptions" (Elsner and Cardinal 1994, 2).

Archaeology was considered to be a comparative study of ancient material culture with the various classes of antiquities illuminating ancient history (Birch, 1884; Newton, 1880). Ancient objects were transformed into "instruments for the historian" (Newton, 1880). From the eighteenth century the basic principle of antiquarianism was the idea that antiquities illustrated the past and provided information on matters that were not found in written work (Sweet, 2003). Modern archaeologists accepted that all ancient civilizations produced and adorned

material culture (Newton, 1880). Art history (and archaeology) was evaluating the objects as works of art, rather than artefacts used in the daily-life routine of ancient cultures such as storing goods or worshiping rituals (Whitehead, 2007). With this use of antiquities in mind, the criteria of collecting objects for the purpose of disciplinary knowledge were premised on an intellectual rationale, and cultures of collecting were based on the ""hard fact" concept of knowledge gatherings" (Knell, 2004, 2). Shelton (2000) recognizes three imaginaries underlying collecting practices: curiosity in the eighteenth century; evolutionism and diffusionism in the nineteenth century (see chapter 3); and, empirical functionalism in the first half of twentieth century.[189]

The second imaginary of the totalising views of evolutionism and diffusionism is most relevant in this case as museum archaeological collecting was highly influenced by them. The imaginary of evolutionism interpreted the ancient artefacts in terms of high and low culture, based on their technical efficiency (Shelton, 2000). This idea of progress was conceptualized by the term "Chain of Art" by which the development of ancient civilizations could be traced (Jenkins, 1992). The term "Chain of Art" had its origins in the eighteenth-century "Chain of Being", in which drawings visualized the taxonomy of the natural world. According to diffusionism, objects testified the movement and spread of civilizations geographically (Shelton, 2000). Antiquities, therefore, were signifying their makers, and style was interpreted in geographical and chronological terms and created a relational web visualized in the display rooms of museums. This was also related with the educational role acquired by the modern museum (see section 7.4.2.1.) and its aim in tracing in visual and material form the progress of human civilization from its, considered, origins in Mesopotamia, to its democratic and cultural manifestation in ancient Greece and Rome, and finally to its, perceived, peak in modern Europe.

The importance of the objects considered as primitive or non-Western – such as the Assyrian, Meso-American and Oriental Indian – was judged in terms of a linear progress ascending to ancient Greek Art (Clifford, 1988; Jenkins, 1992). The

[189] From late nineteenth century onwards all the three imaginaries coexisted on a different level of emphasis.

technical efficiency of the ancient artefacts was judged against the mode and style of the representation of nature on the material remains (Newton, 1880). In this respect, the ancient Greek artefacts were considered to materialize the epitome of the qualities that were perceived as high art. It was believed that thought was embodied on material culture more poetically and eloquently (Newton, 1880). In comparison with Greek art all other material culture seemed like a "rude dialect not yet fashioned by the poet and the orator" (Newton 1880, 22). The study of the different styles of representation produced a scale "of the relative excellence of all that has to classify", which led to "the common measure or standard of the art of all ages and race" (Newton 1880, 18). The ancient Greek material culture and art was considered to materialize the ideal beauty (Jenkins, 1992) and as such was used as the criterion for categorizing objects as art.

In particular, the British Museum was dominated by the fascination with ancient Greece. This may be traced in the idea that the Greek art's, supposed, superiority provided a model of western moral values; or as Frank Turner termed it the British saw the ancient Athenians as "a reflection of their own best selves" (cited in Jenkins 1992, 10). Borrowing form Vogel and Rubin (quoted in Clifford 1988, 222), Greek antiquities were considered to be "masterpieces" of art appealing to universal human sensibilities as their aesthetic qualities transcended their local articulation. When understood within this context, most Cypriot antiquities had "*little value in themselves*"[190] (emphasis added) as they were not considered "beautiful" or objects of "art". Cypriot antiquities were valued against Greek material culture and were interesting either because they were of Greek manufacture[191] or because they belonged to the late archaic or Mycenean period that could be used as evidence.[192] Cypriot antiquities' value, therefore, lay on their historical contribution to archaeological knowledge about the island's history as a meeting point of eastern and western populations (Birch, 1884; Richter, 1891).[193] According to Birch (1884) they extended the knowledge of the history of ancient art and distinguished

[190] Letter from T. Sandwith to C.T. Newton (24th July 1870), BM, GR OL, Vol. 1869-1872, fol. 573, pages 3-4
[191] Letter from H.B. Walters to A.S. Murray (31st January 1895) BM, GR, CEC
[192] Letter from H.B. Walters to A.S. Murray (24th February 1895), BM, GR, CEC
[193] Letter from H.B. Walters to A.S. Murray (24th February 1895), BM, GR, CEC

Anatolian Greek art from the art of purely Hellenic character. This preoccupation is depicted in Cesnola's claim that the early French and English antiquarians working on the island appreciated much more ancient antiquities such as Phoenician heads and weaponry than the medieval arms of crusades.[194] In colonial science, and in this case Cypriot archaeology, antiquities were evidence of "otherness", thus it was through objects that the evolution of societies and their future direction was manifested.

7.2.1. Classifying Cypriot material culture

Having established the context in which Cypriot antiquities were understood this section looks closer at valuation of the different types of the objects found on the island. Cypriot antiquities were divided into classes according to the prevailing archaeological interpretations of material culture. The act of classification has been recognized as the science of taxonomy which derived from Linnaean botany but applied to various disciplines such as archaeology (Alberti, 2011; Given, 2002). Taxonomy constructed totalizing concepts. This trait has been described as a grid where everything had its place and every square was filled by the colonial taxonomist (Anderson 1991, 173; Given, 2002). Classifying objects therefore, was acting as a medium of archaeological truth (see Spary, 2005). As discussed in section 3.6 Cypriot antiquities were mostly considered as not being beautiful objects and, thus, were not of great market value (Kiely, 2010). However they were of scientific interest according to modern archaeologists.

Inscriptions were considered to be one of the most valuable antiquities that could be discovered on the island. This may be traced to the belief that writing was thought to be an art that contributed the most to ancient civilizations; thus archaeology had to trace its progress, interpret the inscription's meaning and decipher whether they had an historical value (Newton, 1880). Written documents were thought to be the evidence of the human past (Hogarth, 1899). Most critically, they were considered as important objects because, when connected with art

[194] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (9th July 1869), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 2

monuments, they became one of the main sources of direct information on the history of ancient art (Hogarth et al, 1888; Newton, 1880). Inscriptions *per se* could not be attributed to any specific geographical region or chronological period. For example, the value of sculptures increased when they were inscribed, because as Lang (1878) put it, they were "bearing upon itself its own history". By the end of nineteenth century, however, it was accepted that sometimes material culture was misleading because of their subjective quality; inscriptions, for instance, they were made, sometimes, to deceive contemporaries (Hogarth, 1899). Hogarth (1899) argued that archaeology could not test its hypotheses with the written text and material remains of the past could only be interpreted by comparison with the ancient literature.

The deciphering of Cypriot writing became one of the main preoccupations of collecting in the latter half of nineteenth century. Although thought to come from the same parent stock as the Greek language (thus making it Greek-related), its precise origins were still obscure (Cesnola, 1884; Lang, 1878; Myres, and Richter, 1899). In the early 1860s a bilingual inscription with Cypriot and Phoenician characters was found. This became one of the most valuable antiquities found on the island because it provided the key for the deciphering of Cypriot language and, thus, assisted in clearing up the ancient history of the island (Lang, 1878). The Phoenician language was considered the primary source of modern writing and any inscriptions bearing it were thought of as evidence for the invention of the modern alphabet (Newton, 1880). Inscriptions were highly valued from the period of early collectors as the French Count de Vogue and Waddington - who carefully copied every inscription found by that time - until the British Museum excavations.[195] Inscriptions acquired another market value that affected their archaeological value; not only they were collectable objects but most importantly they were publishable. For instance, Cesnola's Golgos Collection included 34 inscriptions in a language unknown yet but thought to be Cypriot.[196] Newton and Birch urged Cesnola not to allow anyone to copy and publish them because that act would diminish the value of the entire collection. The museum that would buy

[195] Letter from D. Pierides to C.T. Newton (24th March 1862), BM, GR OL, VOl.1861-1868, fol. 585
[196] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H.Hitchcock (2nd May 1871), DCA, MS 68, box 2, f.3.

those antiquities would reserve for itself the right of publishing such inscriptions and study them before anybody else.[197] The same advice was given to Lang when he found the famous Phoenician-Cypriot bilingual inscription.[198]

Another important class of Cypriot antiquities was coinage.[199] In the heyday of antiquarianism, coins were the commonest type of antiquity and the one that the gentlemanly elite would include in their cabinet of curiosity. Antiquarians ascertained the value of the various classes of antiquities in relation with coins and medals (Sweet, 2003). Coins gained significant value as collectable objects due to their high numismatic and archaeological interest (Lang, 1878). Indeed, for antiquarians, coins and inscriptions offered stronger claims of authenticity than written texts because they could not be forged easily (Sweet, 2003). Archaeologists valued coins on a double standard: as works of art because of their low reliefs and as a, simultaneously, geographical and chronological evidence (Newton, 1880). For the British Museum numismatics was crucial part of the training of the Department of Antiquities' officers (Jenkins, 1992). A collection of coins, with certain dates attributed to them, and arranged chronologically studied in juxtaposition, provided modern archaeologists with information on the characteristics of style of successive periods.[200] In other words, they provided valuable collateral evidence for those general criteria for attributing chronologies in material culture (Newton, 1880). As such, Cypriot coins supposedly demonstrated the collision of different civilizations and their influence on art (Lang, 1878; Birch, 1884). Coins also bore reduced copies of celebrated statues of which the originals were lost and their inscriptions provided titles to many others (Lang, 1878). Inscribed texts enhanced the value of a relic because they transformed it into a historical monument. Besides their archaeological value in Cyprus coins were also considered as a treasure, which sometimes could attain exchange value (see note 198).

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[197] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H.Hitchcock (2nd May 1871), DCA, MS 68, box 2, f.3.

[198] Letter from C.T. Newton to R.H. Lang (14th September 1869), BM, GR LB, Vol. 1861-1879, fol. 196

[199] The Cyprus Government acknowledged the high value of antiquities and imposed special regulations (see for example the circular letter of the Chief Secretary in CSA, SA1/2096/1887

[200] Letter from A.R. Munro to A.S. Murray (6th August 1889), BM, GR OL, Vol. 1889, fol. 177

The majority of miscellaneous Cypriot antiquities, such as glassware and vases, were thought to be the result of ordinary industrial produce and, as such, could not be classified (Newton, 1880; see fig. 7.1). This meant that their archaeological value was lessened. On the other hand, terracottas, even though they were regarded as reduced copies of the works of great sculptors, were very collectable since they were considered to exhibit grace and variety (Newton, 1880). Engraved gems and stones were collected for two reasons: firstly, because they were made of precious stones and were pleasing to individuals and secondly, they showed evidence of the development of design (Birch, 1884).

Figure 7.1 Cypriot pottery, Laiki Bank Culture Center Archives, Courtesy of the Laiki Bank Cultural Centre

Critically, the state of preservation or the condition of the object greatly affected the archaeological (and monetary) value, regardless of the type of the antiquities. The state of the artefacts' condition acted as another form of classifying objects into "collectable" or "non-collectable" objects. In the nineteenth century a perfect statue was considered to be the one afforded by a whole marble or by a cast (Jenkins, 1992). The value of antiquities was significantly raised when the object was in a

good state of preservation (Lang, 1878).[201] The British Museum collectors preferred whole statues than fragments of superior art. If antiquities were fragmentary or statues were mutilated they could not be used by archaeology to decipher any historical information and both their archaeological and monetary value would drop.[202] This may be correlated with the fact that the British Museum was working closely with the Royal Academy and acted as a training ground for drawing: painters used the sculptures of the museum as models.[203]

The condition of antiquities was interpreted differently in terms of monetary value in various locations. For instance, in London auction houses, vases were preferred if they remained dirty – as they were found in the tombs – while in a Paris auction sales the objects that were clean and were sometimes sold for three times than the identical objects which were left dirty.[204] Besides condition, the size of the object affected its value as some antiquities were remarkable for their size rather for their, perceived, beauty or adornment. Lang's findings in Dali were extraordinary not only because of the sheer quantity of the objects discovered but by their condition. For example, one object was

> "very remarkable, it consists of the head and body to the waist of a male figure larger considerably than life size and the parts we have may be said to be "perfects".. it is considered here the finest piece found thus far in the island".[205]

The archaeological classifications of the ancient artefacts were common knowledge among collectors, locals and foreigners, antiquarians or not; the local markets were thriving on the island and the discovered antiquities were sold according to their state of preservation, beauty and so on. The criteria stated above

[201] Letter from R.H.Lang to C.T. Netwon (27th April 1869), BM, GR OL, Vol. 1869-1872, fol. 359, page 3
[202] See letters from A.H. Smith to A.S. Murray (3rd February 1894), BM, GR CEC; Letter from C.T. Newton to D. Pierides (16th July 1867), BM, GR LB, Vol. 1861-1879, fol.110
[203] The President of the Royal Academy was an ex officio Trustee of the British Museum (Jenkins, 1992).
[204] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H.Hitchcock (4th May 1871), DCA, MS 68, box 2, f.3
[205] Letter from R.H. to C.T. Newton (27th April 1869), BM, GR OL, Vol. 1869-1872, fol. 373, pages 2-3

were followed whether collecting for the benefit of scientific progress, or for financial gain. Since Cypriot antiquities were considered only "valuable to science"[206] their archaeological value as evidence affected their monetary value. Therefore, when the antiquities were unique specimens of their class their value increased.

In summary, the classification of Cypriot antiquities and their contingent value was arbitrary and depended on the audience the objects were intended for. This affected the practice of collecting the antiquities: large quantity of antiquities increased their credibility (*cf.* Alberti, 2011) and museums were striving for gathering whole sets of collections. Classification and taxonomy were the basis of the nineteenth-century scientific endeavours. In this line archaeology studied the ancient worlds in a comparative mode: objects found in one site were classified in order to be compared with objects found in distant territories. So the larger the quantity of specimens was the more credible scientific conclusions were (Alberti, 2011). In contrast, collections dispersed through auctions had to contain individual objects in a good state of preservation since they would be sold piece-meal (see section 7.4).

7.3. Cultures of collecting II: colonial collecting

Collections assembled in colonial territories have been characterized as "colonial loot" (Basu 2011, 28). In reality, however, collecting practices were more complex than this monolithic characterization attached to them suggests. Collecting was an activity bound with place and a closer look at its socio-political context needs to be made (Appadurai, 1986; Cardinal, 1994; Driver, 2001, Gosden and Knowles, 2001; Gosden and Marshall, 1999; Knell, 2000; Meinel, 2005; Naylor, 2002). Paraphrasing Shapin (2007, 151), the circulation of objects is treated here as "a political and logistical problem". Collections were the products of the intersection between colonial practices, archaeological classifications and of flows of goods between various actors within that colonial context (Gosden and Knowles, 2001).

[206] Letter from F.G.E. Warren to C.T. Newton (27th October 1883), BM, GR OL, Vol. 1883-1885, fol. 415

In others words, it is seen as an active process that was, simultaneously, constrained and benefitted by social groups and contexts in which it was undertaken. Drawing from Jensen (2011), space, power and mobility were at the core of collecting and mutually constitutive. Similarly to Basu's (2011) Sierra Leonean example, or Achim's (2011) Mexican collection, the diaspora of Cypriot antiquities was not wholly the product of a colonial-era "plunder" (Basu 2011, 30), but the product of different historical forces that included both scientific and non-scientific explorations and trade within colonialism (see chapter 6).

The classic era of colonial collecting was the period between 1880 and 1914; although many collections were formed by private individuals later on (Alberti, 2005b; Basu, 2011). In Cyprus during the 1860s, private individuals initiated the large-scale collection of antiquities and continued to gather objects throughout the century. Particular attention is given to those individuals, their ambitions and motives. The collector's motivation drove the progress of collecting or, as Bal (1994, 104) put it, it was the "motor of the narrative". For the examination of collecting processes it is essential to set out the social context of collecting and the regional and national networks in which individuals were operating. Private collectors were part of the emerging middle class who shared a common set of intellectual and aesthetic values (Meinel, 2005). Drawing on Macleod (1996), the practice of collecting Cypriot antiquities is examined in relation to monetary and archaeological classifications.

The Ottoman Empire provided "promising lands" for collecting since its colonies included Minor Asia and the Near East, locations of high archaeological interest. Cyprus by the 1860s was acknowledged as "a rich mine" (Lang 1878, 327) for collecting antiquities since it provided large quantities of material culture with considerable monetary value (Ohnefalsch - Richter, 1891). The collectors of Cypriot artefacts varied extensively from poor local villagers who sold the antiquities to gain a daily income to Consuls, and foreign residents of the island who collected as part of their leisure activities such as Cesnola and Lang. One episode of collecting by the leisured middle class is given by Lang (1878, 335) who

vividly describes how the family of the Count de Maricourt in 1864 formed their collection of Cypriot antiquities during their evening walks:

> "In 1864 the family of Count de Maricourt (then French Consul for Cyprus) was in the habit of making an evening promenade towards the Salt Lake…One of the party turned up in the sand a diminutive statue in terra-cotta, and this led to further investigations. Other pieces were discovered close-by, and daily, during several months, the party of ladies and gentlemen might be seen repairing to the spot to turn up statuettes just as others go to pick wild-flowers. In a very short time the family had formed a considerable collection.."

In Cyprus after the 1869 restrictions were imposed collecting activities were not reduced; they simply became more complicated. Cesnola's (1877) colourful description of one episode illustrates how colonial collecting was practiced on the island. Following his usual practice in 1870, Cesnola let his diggers excavate at Athieno (a village in the district of Larnaca) whilst he was in Larnaca, the town where the consuls resided. On the day of a consular meeting Cesnola received a message from his diggers about their discovery of a gigantic stone head and sculptures, requiring a cart to be sent immediately for their removal. The news of these findings was soon spread and various individuals arrived at the spot including the landowner, police officers who seized the objects in the name of the Sultan, and locals who took some objects. In this episode the network of people employed in collecting Cypriot antiquities was visualized. Cesnola, on his way to the finding spot, met with a vast variety of people (also on their way): others were sent to notify the Governor and others were muleteers occasionally employed by consuls to provide information on new discoveries. In Cesnola's (1877, 122-123) description of the incident a vibrant image of the competition between the consuls is painted: Cesnola "on hearing that two other consuls were going to the site his mule sped". The caimakam (chief administrator of the island) was, also, coming to take possession of the sculptures and Cesnola, on the possibility of the prohibition of all further excavations and the seizure of the objects, purchased the land and removed them immediately from the site. For the protection of the objects during

their travelling from Athieno to the American consulate in Larnaka he employed two local police officers. Cesnola's plan was successful; the site was deserted by the time the governor arrived and since the antiquities were already stored inside the American consulate he could not seize them.

This multifaceted episode of collecting Cypriot antiquities displays Gosden and Knowles' (2001, 22) argument that colonial relations involved new forms of physical and social action. The whole spectrum of colonial Cyprus's society was connected through the movement of the antiquities but not officially organized as such. The collector formed a network of individuals around him that included Ottoman officials and local informants. These individuals could be seen as "minor figures" necessary for the regular collecting of antiquities but not acknowledged as such (besides nameless mentions). Stable relationships were formed around material culture between European consuls and Ottoman authorities, who gained from different things from each other. The Ottoman officials gained financial profits and Cesnola made sure his job would be done unscathed. This diverse network of individuals facilitated the movement of the objects from their discovery sites to places that were perceived to be safe for their storage. Critically, it becomes evident that if Cesnola had not employed this network for his collecting practices the fate of the same objects might have been different. The same type of relationships was established between collectors and authorities during the British Empire period. However, the enforcement of the Antiquities' Law caused critical changes in the mode of collecting that affected the life-path of Cypriot antiquities.

7.3.1. Collecting with the law

The alteration of the colonial context affected greatly the ways by which Cypriot antiquities were collected by both the British Museum and private individuals. In the Ottoman era, new social relations were founded and collectors found new ways of collecting objects but the colonial regime did not have a major effect on deciding what to gather and what object to leave behind. However, this was not the case for collectors during the British Empire period. The demand and exchange systems were altered under the impetus of British colonialism on a theoretical and practical

level: the classification of the antiquities – and, thus, their collection – was adjusted to the demands of the colonial legislation. Critical decisions were made in specific moments in which objects were valued and re-valued. This section addresses the question of how the collectors made decisions when they were faced with the restrictions of the colonial law.

According to the Antiquities Law, findings from excavations had to be, first, reported to the government authorities and, secondly, divided amongst the interested parties. The regulation of the objects' movement, however, was not laid down by the Ottoman Law but was customary for the British officials.[207] A series of steps were followed for the division: first when the excavations were finished the site was made good by filling it up with soil; second the antiquities were moved at the excavator's expense to the capital of the district or to a place appointed by the Government; and thirdly they were deposited in a safe place informing in tandem the District Commissioner. The Antiquities Law provided that the findings of the objects had to be divided in thirds between the landowner, the excavator and the government. If the excavator was the landowner as well then he would get two thirds of the findings and the Government the remaining one third. In most cases excavators, including the British Museum agents, purchased the excavation sites so the findings were halved.[208]

These few steps, in correlation with contemporary archaeological ideas, conditioned the collection of antiquities. It was Cypriot antiquities' commodity situation (Appadurai, 1986) – similar is Spary's (2005, 78) "economy of value" - that shaped their exchangeability and became the first phase of their museum career. This condition (either termed as commodity situation or as economy of value) can be explained in relation with "*regimes of value* in space and time" in which the circulation of objects took place (Appadurai 1986, 4). Appadurai (1986) defines regimes of value as the degree of value coherence that varies according to localities and objects. Place becomes of critical importance in this condition: it has

[207] Minute paper with the correspondence regarding the excavation and division of the British Museum findings at Curium (10th June1895) page 5, CSA, SA1/5/1895

[208] Minute papers with the correspondence regarding the excavation and division of the British Museum's findings at Amathus (January 1894), CSA, SA1/186/1894

a defining character in the circulation of objects since it provides the connection of the social environment of objects with their symbolic state (Appadurai, 1986; see also Gosden and Marshall, 1999; Hill 2006, 2007; Livingstone, 1992). Crucially, the demand and exchange systems altered under the impetus of colonialism on a theoretical and practical level: the classifications were amended for the needs of imperialism and a closed network of commodities were formed with a strict set of regulations concerning their circulation (Appadurai, 1986). In this context traders had an important involvement in shaping the channels for the movement of objects (Alberti, 2005b; Kopytoff, 1986).

Arguing along similar lines, Clifford (1988, 215) notes that exotic objects in the twentieth century were contextualized by the "art-culture system"; an ideological and institutional system with subjective, political and taxonomic processes that shaped collecting practices. Regardless of their place of display (in public museums or private houses), collections were part of a capitalist "system of objects". This system created another "world of value" according to which objects were interpreted and circulated (Clifford 1988, 220). In the same line, Braudillard (1968) argues that it is axiomatic to understand that all objects –either considered as scientific evidence or great art – function in a system of symbols and values within capitalism. The very act of collecting was comprised of Western subjectivity and changing, yet powerful, institutional practices. Moving through different regimes of value and different hands meant that the object attained various types of meanings; for instance, objects could be transformed from a commodity, to a gift and then an heirloom (Henare, 2005).

Disciplinary and market-values were fused and so antiquities were viewed as "goods": objects with market-values affected their social lives. In this commodity situation a large number of archaeologically valueless broken articles were given away or destroyed when the excavations were completed as they were not worth the transferral expenses.[209] Officially the valuation of the discovered antiquities was made by a private individual, appointed by the Government and by another

[209] Letter to F.G.E. Warren on the findings of the Cyprus Exploration Fund at Amargetti and Kuklia (17th August 1888), CSA, SA1/1486/1888

individual appointed by the excavator.[210] The valuation was often made before the division of the objects in order to decipher what objects were worth moving. Officially, antiquities were valued according to the Ottoman Law. If the antiquities sought to be acquired by the Cyprus Museum was of Government's share that had already been valued under Section 12 (of the law), the expert in fixing a fair price would be guided by that valuation. This valuation would act as a guidance to the expert (besides the object itself) to fix a fair price of the antiquities fallen to the excavator's share either by agreement or apportionment (see Appendix 2 Part III Clauses 12 and 13 and Part V Clause 21).[211]

According to the Government, valuations should not be fixed as the values of antiquities were fleeting qualities and what might be regarded as "best Greek art" at one time or by one expert might be treated as suspicious or doubtful at another time or by another expert.[212] This was a pioneer interpretation of antiquities and contradicted contemporary ideas on art and beauty premised on archaeological narratives about the linear progress of civilization. In nineteenth-century Britain, art was considered as a fixed and universal term (Jenkins, 1992). Instead the Cyprus Government's statement shows that they accepted that what was considered as "beautiful" or "important" was established by collectors and connoisseurs based on various criteria (Clifford, 1988). As such the content of these definitions could change quite rapidly.

Nonetheless, the collectors followed criteria on the condition and archaeological importance of the objects laid down by archaeology, their institution's orientation and the market. For instance, as discussed in section 7.2.1 for the British Museum antiquities had little or no value when they were either of, considered common type or too fragmented. Some objects attained interest when they were seen in connection with the place they were found. For example, J.L. Myres thought that the large stones found in the British Museum excavations at Amathus were not

[210] Executive Council Minute Report of Meetings with Draft Law of 1897 (14th August 1897), CSA, SA1/2604/1896
[211] Executive Council Minute Report of Meetings with Draft Law of 1897 (14th August 1897), CSA, SA1/2604/1896
[212] Executive Council Minute Report of Meetings with Draft Law of 1897 (14th August 1897), CSA, SA1/2604/1896

worth moving from the site as they were nearly all tombstones of no importance except in connection with the place of discovery.[213] According to him, they were "quite worth a little trouble" as specimens of first rate tomb architecture and could be set up alongside the road as landmarks.[214] The Cyprus Exploration archaeologists ascertained that the protable antiquities at Kuklia were valuable only because they were found at the specific site of the Temple and formed a small collection.[215] Similarly, the value of some objects was reduced simply because they could not be linked with the specific tomb they were found in. In this case Cypriot antiquities were collectable objects based on their quality as scientific evidence.

The interpretation of archaeological criteria differed between individuals and, as Knell (2004) highlighted, there were as many collecting criteria as collectors. Disputes over the value of antiquities arose between local collectors and for the settling of the disputes, impressions or the objects themselves were sent to A.S. Murray. Murray was seen as an authoritative voice in valuing antiquities. This may be traced in his position as a Keeper at the British Museums, an established institution of science. As Alberti (2011) suggests, the relation between space and authority is crucial, since curators were authoritative figures, precisely because of where they worked. Murray had another critical role in the collection of Cypriot antiquities relating to his personal "epistemological geographies". Collecting practices corresponded to individual reactions to specific intellectual or emotional fields (Shelton, 2000). Murray followed closely the progress of the Mycenaean question and interpreted the findings in Mycenaean terms only, viewing Cyprus as the easternmost extension of the Mycenaean world (Steel, 2001). Murray's view reflects the British Museum's philhellenic orientation and the pursuit of ideal beauty envisaged in the Greek and Roman material remains (Jenkins, 1992). In this cultural context, objects of Mycenaean descent or of a fine period of Greek art[216]

[213] Minute papers with the correspondence regarding the excavation and division of the British Museum's findings at Amathus (January 1894), CSA, SA1/186/1894
[214] Minute papers with the correspondence regarding the excavation and division of the British Museum's findings at Amathus (January 1894), CSA, SA1/186/1894
[215] Letter from P. Gardner to F.G.E. Warren (15th May 1888), CSA, SA1/1393/1888
[216] British Museum Trustee minutes of meeting (13th January 1894), BM, GR TM, Vol. 1893-1894

were preferred over others such as plain pottery without any adornment or rings.[218] In other words, Cypriot antiquities were not interpreted in terms of their original function, as votive or burial objects, or their scientific value for the history of the island *per se,* but on the basis of whether they were Mycenaean or not. Objects that reinforced the prevailing archaeological narratives were privileged over objects of ordinary use or the ones that did not belong to that period.

Hogarth (1899) argued that the basis of a scientific archaeological digging was to treat all finding as worthy of observing and recording and to leave nothing behind. This was not the case with the British Museum's cultures of collecting. Unwanted objects had a different fate to the collected antiquities. They were either sold on the spot or local markets, which was "*the best mode to deal with them*" (emphasis added)[219]; or, by using "a good deal of discretion"[220], were left at the place of discovery as they were not wanted by the British Museum, the Cyprus Government or even archaeology in general. This was the case when, even if they were sold on the spot, they could not cover the cost of transfer or, in other words, "would not fetch their carriage to Limassol".[221] Murray was very straightforward in his instructions on this matter. He advised the sale of the objects on the spot that were not worth removing or duplicates to be made, and the division of the proceeds in due proportion between the Trustees and the Government of Cyprus.[222] This practice was followed in all the excavations of the British Museum and traders acquired an important involvement in shaping the diaspora of the objects. Cypriot antiquities were channelled with the help of local agents to auction houses or local markets[223] and were sold to both private individuals and other museums in France and Germany[224], thus, forming different social lives.

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[218] Letter from A.H. Smith to A.S. Murray (4th December 1893), BM, GR CEC; Letter from H.B. Walters to A.S. Murray (23rd April 1895), BM, GR CEC

[219] Minute papers with the correspondence regarding the excavation and division of the British Museum's findings at Amathus (January 1894), CSA, SA1/186/1894

[220] Letter from A.H. Smith to A.S. Murray (4th December 1893), BM, GR CEC, page 7

[221] Letter from A.H. Smith to A.S. Murray (4th December 1893), BM, GR CEC, page 7

[222] A.S. Murray's report (12th January 1894), BM, GR R/, Vol. 1893-1894, fol. 137

[223] Letter from Williamson to A.S. Murray (22nd January 1897) BM, GR OL, Vol. 1896-1897, fol. 735

[224] Letter from P.Christian to A.S. Murray (18th February 1898), BM, GR CEC

In these evaluations the link between art and money was the interpretation of archaeological or aesthetic values in monetary terms. Cosmopolitan knowledge travelled with the museum agents and classified the material culture on the island. It must be remembered here that science was practised in the context of a commercial global empire (Hunt, 1997). Even though it was customary for gentlemanly collecting circles to treat the public discussion of financial value as impolite (Spary, 2005), in this case it was central to the circulation and collection of antiquities on both institutional and private collections. For private collectors the motives are quite apparent, objects were seen as a means of supplementing income or provided cultural capital for gaining social status (see subsection 6.2.1). For collectors employed by institutions such as the British Museum or scientific organizations such as the Cyprus Exploration Fund, however, it was a different story. Collecting activities, including excavation and exportation, were costly practices supported by funding bodies, such as archaeological societies or governments. Those collectors were expected to find "objects of interest" to "show for their money".[225] It is demonstrated here that in the same way ancient sites were transformed into excavation sites, Cypriot antiquities were transformed into collectable-valuable objects.

Having established the value of antiquities the second step took place; findings were divided between the interested parties. The actual methodology for dividing antiquities was not laid down in the existing Ottoman Law.[226] Following archaeological criteria, division of the antiquities was made in such a way as to avoid separation of objects found in different tombs.[227] The entire contents of a tomb would go to the same collector. The government required a full list of the findings before any division could be made. The government representative would list in foil and counterfoils the objects and would send the forms to the

[225]Letter from F.G.E. Warren to A.S. Murray (30th June 1890), BM, GR OL, Vol. 1890, fol. 284, page 3

[226] Minutes with the correspondence about the British Museum work at Enkomi (1897), CSA, SA1/174/1897

[227] Minute papers with correspondence about C. Watkins' application for excavation and division of antiquities (1886), CSA, SA1/2287/1886

Commissioner of the district who then transmitted them to the British Museum.[228] Even though the whole procedure was under surveillance from afar by the British authorities, the Cyprus Government could not control the flow of objects.

An interesting episode relating to how the objects were divided between the British Museum and the Cyprus Government was described by the Chief Secretary of the island. After the end of excavations tombs were numbered consecutively and the representatives of each party tossed a coin for first choice (this system was generally followed).[229] According the Chief Secretary of Cyprus this system naturally gave to the British Museum "the lion's share".[230] He believed that this method advantaged the British Museum representative because he knew much better than the Government representative the value of the antiquities contained in each tomb. He suggested that in future any division should be made in the following manner: the representative of the Museum to whom leave had been given to excavate was to divide the antiquities into lots or tombs; each lot or tomb was to be given a number the number to be placed in a box or hat and drawn for. If the Government was entitled to two thirds then the Government was to draw two numbers to the museums one and vice versa. If the excavations were carried out on private land and the museum had required the rights of the owner, these suggestions were submitted for approval and the High Commissioner approved them.[231] The interference of the High Commissioner suggests that the local government gradually evolved to a local entity and opposed in some matters to the Government in London (see chapter 5). Nevertheless, this procedure was moving quickly for the British Museum's benefit as opposed to other excavations being conducted at the same time. [232]

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[228] Minutes with the correspondence about the British Museum work at Enkomi (1897), CSA, SA1/174/1897

[229] Minutes with the correspondence about the British Museum work at Enkomi (1897), CSA, SA1/174/1897

[230] Minutes with the correspondence about the British Museum work at Enkomi (1897), CSA, SA1/174/1897

[231] Minutes with the correspondence about the British Museum work at Enkomi (1897), CSA, SA1/174/1897

[232] British Museum Trustee minutes of meeting (13th January 1894), BM, GR TM, Vol. 1893-1894

After the official division was made, antiquities were moved to a temporary storage house in the capital of the district. [233] Antiquities were packed in the same mode of their collection according to their finding spot and the class they belonged to, for instance pottery or bronze. [234] Watkins was one of the many private individuals conducting excavations on the island before 1887, and even though he was not a trained archaeologist he was aware of archaeology's practices of gathering antiquities in groups (as in the Ottoman Empire era). This is evident in his anxiety to store the objects found in different tombs in rooms at the village without them being mingled or damaged, which caused a dispute with the Cyprus Government.[235] He requested the division to be made at the spot as otherwise small collections could potentially be lost in the movement and the value of the entire collection would be diminished.

The government denied this request on the basis that, first, there was no precedent to break the rule and the Government did not want to make one now. Secondly, if the division was made at the site then the cost of the packing and transportation of the Government's share would have fallen on Cyprus Museum and that would be unbearable for the museum. Third, there was space on site in which the Government's share could be stored and fourth, there would be an extra expense of hiring two people to make the distribution. Fifthly, the packing of the Government's share had to be carefully watched and checked after the distribution and sixthly, it was in the excavators' interest to send the antiquities to Paphos or Larnaca in the best state as he got two thirds.[236] This single list of actions, that had to be followed after the discovery of antiquities, illuminates the complexity that was placed upon the movement of the objects by the colonial government and the different people required to do the job.

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[233] British Museum Trustee minutes of meeting (13th January 1894), BM, GR TM, Vol. 1893-1894

[234] Letter to F.G.E. Warren on the findings of the Cyprus Exploration Fund at Amargetti and Kuklia (17th August 1888), CSA, SA1/1486/1888

[235] Minute papers with correspondence about C. Watkins' application for excavation and division of antiquities (1886), CSA, SA1/2287/1886

[236] Minute papers with correspondence about C. Watkins' application for excavation and division of antiquities (1886), CSA, SA1/2287/1886

All the findings, both the government's and the collector's, were packed in a similar manner, grouped by tomb with their packages bearing the number of the tomb they belonged to.[237] The packed antiquities were then checked against the Government's foil and counterfoil book and the storage room was sealed. However, some unclassified objects of no particular value could be left unattended in the court yard.[238] The spatial arrangement of the objects in sealed and open spaces was determined by their value. Finally, a second division was made when the space of the temporary storage house was becoming fully occupied.[239] This is the instant where space, for very practical reasons, changed the course of the antiquities' social lives. Instead of going to the British Museum, objects with perceived lower value were sold in local markets or left there. It has been demonstrated that collecting was an act of rational thinking, of deciding what should be kept and what disposed. Even when they seemed to have entered a more stable state, collections were never static; they were constantly changing through destruction and sale.

The movement of the objects, as in the excavations, was directed by the correspondence and telegraphs exchanged between the British Museum's agents in Cyprus and Murray in London.[240] The British Museum agent in Cyprus informed Murray about the findings and accordingly he would send telegraphic instructions as to the arrangement of the distribution of the finds up to that date.[241] The agent though would not only inform Murray but was obliged to send a formal letter to the Principal Librarian (Director of the British Museum).[242] In the same manner the High Commissioner instructed District Commissioners to protect the Government's share and to move the objects.[243] Following the same pattern as in Cesnola's

[237] Minute papers with the correspondence regarding the excavation and division of the British Museum's findings at Amathus (January 1894), CSA, SA1/186/1894
[238] Minute papers with the correspondence regarding the excavation and division of the British Museum's findings at Amathus (January 1894), CSA, SA1/186/1894
[239] Minute papers with the correspondence regarding the excavation and division of the British Museum's findings at Amathus (January 1894), CSA, SA1/186/1894
[240] Letter from A.H.Smith to A.S. Murray (31st Januuary 1894), BM, GR CEC
[241] Letter from A.H.Smith to A.S. Murray (31st Januuary 1894), BM, GR CEC
[242] A.H. Smith to A.S. Murray (3rd February 1894), BM, GR CEC
[243] Minute papers with the correspondence regarding the excavation and division of the British Museum's findings at Amathus (January 1894), CSA, SA1/186/1894

episode, a variety of people were employed for the distribution of information and objects: for example, local agents arranged the sale of the British Museum's unwanted objects[244] and the Cyprus Museum was informed about new collections from the Chief Secretary[245].

On a final note, as discussed in chapter 5, Cypriot archaeology was imperial on a very practical level since it was facilitated by the local British colonial regime. The physical movement of the antiquities from the ancient sites to the ports required many individuals and various material mechanisms. Figures 7.2, 7.3 and 7.4 demonstrate the practical level at which imperial archaeology operated in Cyprus. With the help of the locals and sailors from the Admiralty the antiquities were put into vessels for the transportation to England. The sailors can be considered as the essential "minor figures" without which the objects could not be physically moved from the storage spot to the port (although the Admiralty in general was acknowledged for its assistance)[246].

[244] Letter from A.H.Smith to A.S. Murray (31st Januuary 1894), BM, GR CEC
[245] British Museum Trustee minutes of meeting (13th January 1894), BM, GR TM, Vol. 1893-1894
[246] A.S. Murray's report (26th March 1900), BM, GR R, Vol. 1899-1902, fol. 105

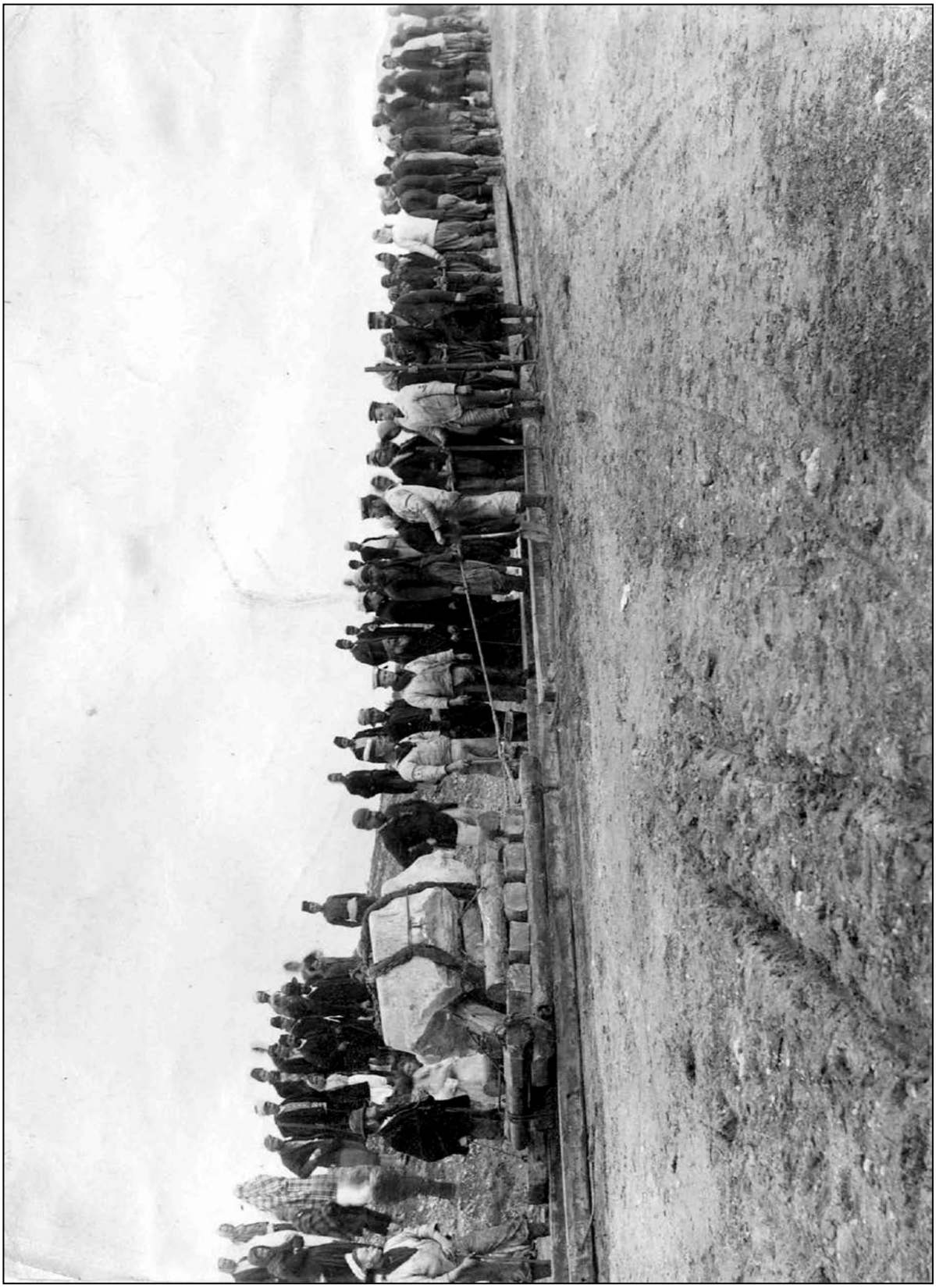

Figure 7.2 Moving the antiquities from the field 1890, BM, GR OL 884712 MP: 101 3, Copyright Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 7.3 A closer look at the movement of the objects 1890. BM, GR OL 884716 MP: 101 4, Copyright Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 7.4 Antiquity positioned in the vessel for transport, 1890, BM, GR OL, 884718 MP: 101A , Copyright Trustees of the British Museum

7.4 Cultures of collecting III: museum circulation and display

After the collection of the antiquities in the field the next step was their circulation in metropolitan museums. Collections in metropolitan museums were established by the constant circulation of people and objects between Europe and overseas territories (Larson et al, 2007). By the late nineteenth-century the number of individuals involved in the collection of objects housed in museums was ever-expanding (Henare, 2005). Cypriot antiquities became part of the British Museum through different systems of exchange. The diaspora of the objects was facilitated by a complicated and dynamic web of field collectors, colonial authorities, dealers and museum agents. As seen in section 7.3.1. the British Museum acquired Cypriot antiquities in the same mode. The Greek and Roman Department of the British Museum enhanced its existing collection by acquiring new objects either directly by excavating in Cyprus or by donations and purchases from private collectors. For the most part of the nineteenth-century, the Greek and Roman Department was gathering Cypriot antiquities from private collectors since the excavations directed by it were carried out during the last decade of the century. However, the gathering of antiquities by the British Museum was not fuelled by any sustained motive of national pride but through a series of accidents (Jenkins, 1992); in particular the Greek and Roman Department suffered from a lack of funds and was able to make only minor purchases.[247]

Gunning (2009) in her examination of the cultures of collecting of British Consuls based at the Aegean islands, has demonstrated that by the 1860s the British Museum formed a well-organized collecting web in Eastern Mediterranean under the auspices of Newton, of the Foreign Office, of the Admiralty and the Customs (see also Challis, 2008).[248] As discussed in section 6.4.2 C.T. Newton, the Keeper of the Greek and Roman Department, established a similar network of acquaintances in Cyprus. Newton's "prosopographic web" (Kiely 2010, 238) was used by various individuals for different purposes. Newton was informed about the

[247] See letters from R.H. Lang to C.T. Newton (31st March 1870), BM, GR OL, VOl.18691-872, fol. 363; from C.T. Newton to R.H. Lang (4th February 1868), BM, GR LB, Vol. 1861-1879, fol. 129; from C.T. Newton to H. White (17th March 1865) BM, GR LB, Vol. 1861-1879, fol. 63

[248] A.S. Murray's report (26th March 1900), BM, GR R, Vol. 1899-1902, fol. 105

development of the discoveries on the island and the field collectors were utilizing this web for selling their findings to the British Museum.

The British Museum followed specific procedures for the acquisition of antiquities not originating from their own excavations. The Keeper had to present the objects before the Trustees in their meetings and recommend their purchase.[249] If the Trustees were interested in buying a collection, a museum agent would be sent to the location of storage for inspecting the antiquities. A flow of antiquities in their physical form or in the form of impressions and photographs as samples of the findings were sent to Newton by their owners in order to be judged and valued, and to promote them.[250] Either they were sending antiquities directly to Newton, or used other people who were well connected with him such as Lang and Pierides.[251] Catalogues were sent with each of the boxes of antiquities.[252]

Cesnola's photograph of the Cypriot vases is an example of how museums became acquainted in a more direct way with the antiquities. This was a very practical function of photography; it became part of promoting Cypriot antiquities in metropolitan museums. Paraphrasing Smiths and Findler (2002, 1), photographs were tangible signs of what could be bought. With the help of the postal service photography transcended distance in a fast mode acting as an efficient method of advertising Cypriot antiquities. Cesnola created some kind of a sales brochure which was distributed in Europe and Near East by his consular friends (McFadden, 1971).[253] The best promotion of the Cesnola Collection, however, was the article written by Hiram Hitchcock for a major American magazine, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (1872). According to McFadden (1971, 123) "it was an article clearly intended for the eyes of the founders of the Metropolitan Museum of New York".

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[249] See letter from C.T. Newton to R.H. Lang (6th December 1877), BM, GR LB, Vol. 1861-1879, fol. 488; A.S. Murray's reports (20th September 1898), BM, GR R, Vol. 1897-1898, fol. 152

[250] For example, letter from D.Pierides to C.T. Newton (27th June 1867), BM, GR OL, Vol. 1861-1868, fol. 587; Newton's correspondence in Gr LB Vol. 1861-1879

[251] Letter from R.H. Lang to C.T. Newton (8th January 1868), BM, GR OL, Vol. 1861-1868, fol. 410

[252] Letter from D.Pierides to C.T. Newton (23th December 1867), BM, GR OL, Vol. 1861-1868, fol. 590

[253] As mentioned by Gosden and Larson (2007, 49-50) Cesnola was a source of material for Pitt Rivers even though they did not share club or institutional affiliations. It might worth examining the ways in which Pitt Rivers became acquainted with Cypriot antiquities and Cesnola through this perspective.

The New York Observer on the 8th of February 1872 published an editorial praising Cesnola for exporting thousands of antiquities before the Ottomans put a stop to it. As part of his promotional activities Hitchcock gave personal gifts to the Secretary of State William H. Seward.

In a similar way private collectors were offering their Cypriot collections in other metropolitan museums in Europe.[254] The same pattern was followed throughout the second half of nineteenth century; A.S. Murray, the successor of Newton, dealt with private collectors and he received photographs and antiquities by collectors for selling purposes.[255] Dealers and private collectors were another group that existed within the museum world and helped in sustaining it (Knell, 2004). Such was the case with the Cypriot collection in the British Museum; it was greatly enhanced by continuous donations and purchases, mostly facilitated by the French agency Rollin and Feuardent based in Paris and New York.

Concluding, the different modes in which Cypriot antiquities travelled (as photographs, as gifts, and as specimens) and through a complex nexus of people (excavation agents, excavators, curators and art dealers) demonstrates that objects did not move straightforwardly from the colony to the metropolis. Cypriot antiquities were sent to Europe as gifts from their collectors within the context of a global commerce. Most importantly, along with the photographs, giving antiquities as a gift was a way of "advertising" Cypriot antiquities to metropolitan museums. Instead, the objects travelled between various spaces, required the mobilization of people and changed different types of ownerships before ending up in the British Museum.

[254] OL/1890/Munro/18.06.1890; Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to C.T. Newton (15th January 1871), BM, GR OL, Vol. 1869-1872, fol. 154

[255] For example letter from A. Pilavachi to A.S. Murray (4th October 1894), BM, GR OL, Vol. 1892-1895 fol. 537 and Murray's correspondence GR OL Vols. 1889, 1890, and 1898-1899

7.4.1 The Cesnola Collection

The sale of the Cesnola Collection to the Metropolitan Museum of New York is an episode from the objects' social lives that presents the competition between national museums and object-oriented nineteenth-century collecting. Broadly, it is suggested that the European imperial self was defined through the possession of objects coming from around the world (Black, 2002). Museums were the symbolic spaces in which modern European cultures were expressed through the material culture and created representations of cultures and places or, simply stated, "imaginative geographies" (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000; Livingstone, 1992; Naylor and Hill, 2011; Pearce, 1992; Said, 2003). These internal geographies were formed by the displayed objects which, as signifiers of knowledge, produced a narrative (Hetherington, 1999; Hooper-Greenhill, 2000; MacDonald, 1998; Naylor and Hill, 2011). In other words, collections were held and preserved in museum space to tell something about the past in the present and future. Crucially, though, by closely examining the sale of the Cesnola Collection it becomes evident that alongside these nationalistic sentiments the acquirement of collections was also driven and affected by financial issues and institutional pride.

Cesnola began selling his findings while still excavating. According to him, between the period of 1867-1871, 2700 duplicate objects were sold at auction houses bringing an overall profit of US $14.000.[256] In 1869, Cesnola's antiquities were brought to the attention of the Trustees of the New York Museum. In the latter half of the nineteenth century the numbers of museums in the United States was increasing and their quality improving (Sheets-Pyenson, 1988).

[256] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (29th April 1872), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 3

Figure 7.5 Cypriot gold bowls from the "Curium Treasure" photograph Cesnola, Courtesy of the Laiki Bank Cultural Centre

In the post-Civil war period the formidable Historical Society of New York – a favourite institution of the city's landed gentry – was offered a seven acre ground plot in Central Park by its Board of Commissioners to build a museum (McFadden, 1971). This was the period by which New York "had passed from a second-rate seaport to America's leading metropolis", and New York society was booming (McFadden 1971). Even though, the New York Museum was striving to become a metropolitan museum – and potentially compete with European museums - in the early years of its foundation the New York Museum was low on funds, could not purchase any collections and instead displayed artefacts on loan.

After completing his excavations in 1871, Cesnola started looking for possible buyers to purchase his entire collection. Even though he referred to his American nationalist sentiments, the ulterior aim was to sell the antiquities to supplement his poor income as a Consul.[257] For that reason he offered his collection to many different museums in Europe and North America, projecting it as a unique

[257] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (10th June 1868), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 2

collection representing early Cypriot art.[258] Cesnola was simultaneously negotiating the sale of his collection with various museums including the British Museum, the Louvre, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and the Philadelphia Museum. Cesnola believed that if his collection was exhibited either in Europe or in New York, and thus exposed to the public, he would get more money for it.[259] Therefore, he travelled to London and Paris and formed house exhibitions to show off his antiquities (see subsection 7.4.2). Exhibiting his collections proved to be productive. Soon the Cesnola's collection attracted attention not because he discovered important archaeological remains but, as Charles Warren informed him, because he was "shaking in its [world] face five pounds of gold…as there is nothing as fascinating as a 'buried treasure'" (see fig. 7.5).[260] This brings to light another aspect of the antiquities' value: they were not viewed only as cultural capital or as pieces of art, but also were simply commodities made of precious metals.

By the early 1870s, Cesnola did not have a definite answer from the British Museum or the New York Museum and the political turbulence in Paris removed his best market.[261] Negotiations with the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg about the collection also fell through (McFadden, 1971). In 1872, the Cesnola Collection was in the hands of the French art dealing agency Rollin and Feuardent, and if it was not sold as a whole to a museum by the end of the year, the antiquities would be sold piecemeal in auctions (McFadden, 1971). It must be stressed here that from the beginning Cesnola was exaggerating about his collection: it was not an intact collection of antiquities as he had stated, since he had already dispersed many objects through private sales, gifts and formal auctions since 1867 (see section 7.4.2.2.). By these means he had already sold four thousand antiquities.[262]

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[258] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to C.T. Newton, (9th January 1871), BM, GR OL, Vol. 1869-1872, fol. 153

[259] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (4th May 1871), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 3

[260] Letter from C.D. Warren to L.P. di Cesnola (5th December 1875), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 3, p.1-2

[261] Letter from T.B. Sandwith to C.T. Newton (13th November 1870), BM, GR OL, Vol. 1869-1872, fol. 575

[262] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (4th May 1871), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 3

Finally, in 1872, the fate of the first collection was decided: Newton was unable to purchase the antiquities for the British Museum justifying the decision on the ground of lack of funds. The real reasoning, however, was that the price set by Cesnola was too high for the quality of the collection, given that in it was included a great quantity of duplicates and insignificant specimens.[263] Even if competitiveness between two different institutions was involved for the British-Museum Keeper, the collecting rationale and limited funds prevailed in the decision of buying or dismissing the collection. On the other hand, the New York Museum was a newly-founded establishment driven by the motivation of becoming a major metropolitan museum akin to the European ones. At first, however, there was reluctance on behalf of the New York Museum to purchase the collection: as its president informed Hitchcock, there was a "lack of confidence" in Cesnola (McFadden 1971, 132). This lack of confidence was attributed to the uncertainty of what the collection really consisted of after the disposal of various objects. Johnston asked the opinion of J.S. Morgan – head of the international banking firm and a well-respected individual in New York – who had seen the collection in London. Even though he did not have any antiquarian knowledge, Morgan affirmed to Johnston the beauty of the collection. The most important visitor in that house museum, however, was W.T. Blodgett, the first chairman of the executive committee of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. After seeing the collection Blodgett agreed to purchase it (McFadden, 1971).

In 1876 Cesnola was ready to sell his second collection, the so called Curium Treasure, and he once again offered his collection to the British Museum, the Louvre and the Metropolitan Museum of New York. At first, the New York Museum was not showing any interest because of the limited funds at its disposal. By this time, a general financial crisis had hit post-Civil War American society (McFadden, 1971). In an effort to persuade potential buyers, Cesnola sent photographs of the objects to London and Paris to promote his collection (see section 7.4.).[264] According to Cesnola's letter, Samuel Birch, the Keeper of the Middle East

[263] Letter from C.T. Newton to F.M. Molley (12th November 1872), BM, GR LB, Vol 1861-1879, fol 318

[264] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (6th August 1875), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 3

Department at the British Museum, had assured Cesnola that the Trustees would authorize the collection if it was sent to London for personal inspection, as happened with the purchase of the Blacas collection by Newton.[265] Newton affirmed Birch's suggestion and advised Cesnola to send the objects to the British Museum as he would only be able to judge their content when he saw them in person.[266] Cesnola's opportunist sentiments surpassed his nationalist ones and soon enough in a letter he informed J.T. Johnston (New York Museum Trustee) that his collection was displayed at the British Museum for the personal inspection of the Museum Trustees.[267] Meanwhile H. Hitchcock was acting as Cesnola's representative in New York for the sale of his collection.

The antiquities were temporarily displayed in detached cases in the Gem Room and "properly arranged" for the inspection by the Trustees.[268] The collection, named by Cesnola as the "Curium Treasure"[269], comprised 1500 objects chiefly votive in gold, silver, bronze and precious stones, pottery, terracotta and marble.[270] Both Newton and Birch examined each object in order to value it and made a full report as to the collection's merits and importance for the Museum. This was a common policy of the British Museum: antiquities were examined and valued by experts against contemporary market values (Clark, 1934). Newton and Birch recommended the purchase to the Trustees however the final call for the purchase had to be made by the Cyprus Government. Cesnola was informed the sanction was just a formality since the Trustees were members of the government as well.[271] In November of 1876 Cesnola received an offer from the British Museum for his antiquities of US $50,000 (about £10,000).

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[265] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (7th March 1876), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 3

[266] Letter from C.T. Newton to L.P. di Cesnola (30th October 1876), BM, GR LB, Vol. 1861-1879, fol. 451

[267] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to J.T. Johnston (13th December 1876), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 4, letter 1/2

[268] Letter from C.T. Newton to L.P. di Cesnola (30th October 1876), BM, GR LB, Vol. 1861-1879, fol. 451

[269] See section 7.4.2.2. about the dispute over the authenticity of the "Curium Treasure"

[270] British Museum Trustee minutes of meeting (11th November 1876), BM, GR TM, Vol. 1870-1876, page 515

[271] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (26th November 1876), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 4

From this moment on, all three parties were involved in a series of public and private exchanges of accusations and negotiations. As soon as he received the offer from the British Museum, Cesnola telegraphed the New-York Trustees simply asking: "British Museum offers 10,000 pounds will you do as much?" [272] With the absence of any immediate response on behalf of New York Cesnola accepted London's offer.[273] Six days after the British Museum offer, the American Trustees telegraphed Cesnola to inform him that they would buy his antiquities for $66,000 including $6,000 for customs and packing.[274] Kiely (2010) highlights that the offers made by both the New York Museum and the British Museum did not connote a change in the low market value of Cypriot antiquities or in their contribution in the "Great Chain of Art", but the remarkable quality of the objects.

A telegram sent from the New York Museum was published in the editorial article of the "Daily News" in November according to which Cesnola had already sold his collection there.[275] The Trustees of the British Museum accused Cesnola of double-dealing and informed him that he had ruined his chances of ever selling anything to the museum.[276] Even though, Cesnola was cleared of the accusations he was informed that if the Prime Minister saw the cable telegram he would not grant the money.[277] On the same day Cesnola received a letter from Newton. Newton informed Cesnola that the British Museum would not make an offer and that he was free to deal with New York.[278] It was a much publicized transaction with the involvement of the press (see appendix 6). By the end of November 1876 the entire collection belonged to New York.[279]

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[272] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (26th November 1876), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 4 page 6
[273] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (26th November 1876), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 4
[274] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to J.T. Johnston (13th December 1876), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 4, letter 2/2
[275] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to J.T. Johnston (13th December 1876), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 4, letter 1/2
[276] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H. Hitchcock (26th November 1876), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 4
[277] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to J.T. Johnston (13th December 1876), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 4, letter 1/2
[278] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to J.T. Johnston (13th December 1876), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 4, letter 1/2
[279] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to J.T. Johnston (13th December 1876), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 4, letter 1/2

Cesnola returned to New York and became the first director of the Metropolitan Museum of New York in 15th of May 1879. The Trustees of the New York Museum offered the job to Cesnola in a very subtle manner as soon as the deal was sealed with a telegram saying: "Public excited. Anxiously waiting reply. Museum liberally inclined for your services". [280] Cesnola justified this decision on the premise that he was the sole individual that could classify the Cypriot antiquities and sort them out in an exhibition.[281] It was a practice of authenticating the collection into an exhibit by making sure it would be truthful. This episode in the life of a Cypriot collection shows that collecting was a complex matter, because in tandem it was embedded in national narratives of prestige, in the practicalities of having financial means and because it was heavily depended on instantaneous communication facilitated by telegrams. The interested parties, metropolitan museums and collectors, were located in remote sites – even on different continents – and the sale transactions needed constant negotiation. The use of telegrams became a necessary medium of regulating the sale of objects because of its immediate quality and its ability to link distant spaces.

7.4.2 Exhibiting objects in private and public museums

This section follows the objects in their museum phase and discusses their display at first with in private houses (as a stop to the public museum) and then at the British Museum. Archaeological practice was visualized in various spaces: in esoteric spaces such as excavation reports and journal articles and in public spaces such as museums. Collected objects were constantly moving between institutional sites of display and performance; either within the museum (Naylor and Hill, 2011) or in various cultural environments such as private house museums (Evans, 2004; Filippoupoliti, 2009). Museums were the public sites of display and public consumption in which the results of fieldwork were rendered visible (Withers and Finnegan, 2003). Such was the case for the Cypriot collections. They moved

[280] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H.Hitchcock (26th November 1876), DCA, MS 58, box 2, f.4.
[281] More details on the negotiations between Cesnola and the Trustees in New York could not be found or on the decision of the Trustees to purchase the collection since the restrictive access at the archives housed in the Metropolitan Museum.

between different cultural locations on their way to the British Museum and, after their arrival, between display rooms. The first location they were exhibited in was the private museum formed by the excavators in their houses in Cyprus. Cesnola's collection provided an example of the different locations the objects were exhibited in before their acquirement by museums.

Cesnola formed a small museum in his house in Larnaca, generally known as the "Phoenician Museum".[282] Interestingly the museum did not belong solely to the American Consul: 7/10 owned by Cesnola, 1/10 by Sandwith, 1/10 by Lang, 1/10 by the French Consul.[283] By 1869, the Phoenician Museum was consisted of about 1600 of crusaders' and ancient relics valued at $15.000 (McFadden, 2001). As was customary in that period (Alberti, 2005b; Filippoupoliti, 2009), the private house museums in Cyprus were open to visitors and were transformed into a venue of social interaction with the gentlemanly elite. Foreign visitors on the island with an interest in science visited the displays. New forms of social interaction were formed around Cypriot antiquities. Most importantly it was a space in which museum agents inspected the prospective objects for purchase (see section 7.4.).[284] The display of the Cesnola collection in the "Phoenician Museum" was the first public exhibition of its museum career.[285]

For the ultimate purpose of selling his collection the American Consul moved them to Paris and London.[286] In 1872 he moved his first collection to London in two different houses, firstly at 1 Finchley New Road and then at 61 Great Russell Street right across from the British Museum.[287] His collection occupied four large rooms. At Cesnola's request walls were painted dark red and pedestals and shelves of the same colour were placed; according to him this arrangement made the statues a "striking and grand aspect".[288] Also, these arrangements were made in an effort to create a space resembling public museums to facilitate their sale.

[282] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H.Hitchcock (10th June 1868), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 2
[283] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H.Hitchcock (10th June 1868), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 2
[284] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H.Hitchcock (10th June 1868), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 2
[285] Regrettably, details on the display or the ownership of the objects could not be found in the archival material
[286] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H.Hitchcock (18th October 1872), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 3
[287] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H.Hitchcock (18th October 1872), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 3
[288] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H.Hitchcock (18th October 1872), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 3, page 2

Polychromy-especially the red colour- was used extensively by the British Museum (Jenkins, 1992). In his correspondence with Hitchcock, Cesnola mentioned that amongst the visitors were individuals from the English elite and intelligentsia including Lubbock or aristocracy such as the Duke of Edinburgh who visited "out of curiosity".[289]

In the summer of 1876, Cesnola resided in Paris and exhibited his gold (second) collection in his temporary private residence with distinguished individuals, such as Ernest Renan, visiting.[290] Socially this diverse array of people was held together by their mutual interest in archaeology. Dinners and soirees were part of antiquarians' social life in which they would meet other members of the antiquarian community (Levine, 1986). Cesnola ascertained that in London he was "the hero of the hour" and informed Hitchcock that he had "a continual rain of invitations at dinner parties and theas which would require a year to accept them".[291] Art, in the form of Cypriot antiquities, acted as the cultural capital for Cesnola's social advancement. Cultural capital provided the means for the middle class to pursue art and gave them the opportunity for attaining a new cultural identity through the ownership of art collections (Alberti, 2005b; Macleod, 1996). This was framed by nineteenth-century Victorian society with the commercial non-aristocratic elite and its culture of art with the galleries and schools, exhibitions and museums, and auction houses and, most importantly, the idea of patronage of art (Macleod, 1996). According to Roy Porter (quoted in Alberti 2005b, 143), "collecting was a symbolic act of assimilation into the values of high society, literally acquiring culture, while…annexing tangible objects of control".

The philosophy behind this was that spending or consuming was a means of assuring national prosperity (Macleod 1996). The belief that behaviour reflected character was dominating in nineteenth-century British society. By the mid-nineteenth century individual character-denoting highly-valued moral qualities-

[289]Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H.Hitchcock (26th September 1872), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 3, page 2

[290] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H.Hitchcock (14th July 1876), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 4

[291] Letter from L.P. di Cesnola to H.Hitchcock (16th December 1872), DCA, MS-68, box 2, f. 3, page 2

defined the gentleman (Secord, 1994). In this “cultural marketplace” art had a profound position and the formidable middle class engaged actively in art dealings (Fyfe and Lightman, 2007; Macleod, 1996). Art possessions acted as evidence of this non-material dimension of Victorian society (Macleod, 1996). The moral rationale was provided by the idea that art collecting was not a senseless activity but, importantly, it elevated the mind and raised material man above his mundane activities (Macleod, 1996). The daily conduct and the possession of moral qualities enabled the non-gentleman to interact with the gentlemen (Secord, 1994).

Upward mobility was a key characteristic of middle class. However as Inkster (2007) points out, although this is the general historical consensus it is not conclusive as it first, does not show motivation or the major perceptions of individuals and, secondly, does not include the idea of a social centre towards which middle-class men want to go. The motivation of Cesnola was a place in society and in particular to get the Consulate in his native Italy, which was considered to be a great post (McFadden, 1971). Even though he did not realize his ultimate goal, his aim in socializing with the upper class was achieved. As note above, whilst in London, Cesnola received invitations from upper-class Englishmen to their country houses. Cesnola became internationally known after the purchase of his collection by the New York museum. His social standing in both America and Europe was more or less secure not only because his wealth increased but because of the acquired fame in an-perceived exciting field (McFadden, 1971).

The common theme in these private museums was their importance as meeting points between the various actors, collectors and objects. The first stage of the relationship between objects and museum curators was established through the circulation of the description of the objects in the form of text, impressions and photographs. This was the second stage in which the house museums offered the space of social interaction, where relationships between people and people and objects and people took a physical form. The material manifestation of the relationship affected the further movement of the antiquities based on the decision made at the spot by the museum agents or private collectors. The next formal exhibition of Cypriot antiquities was public museums. Gradually the British Museum

acquired an extensive collection of Cypriot material culture which was assimilated in the existing collections. New “imaginative geographies” were formed framed by the prevailing archaeological narratives and by the broader aim of the British Museum. Following the idea that the history of a collection can illuminate histories of science and patterns of knowledge (Filippoupoliti, 2009), the next section will examine the museum phase of Cypriot antiquities.

7.4.2.1 Cypriot antiquities in the Upper Floor of the British Museum

The third phase of Cypriot’s antiquities museum career was the display in the museum space in which archaeology ordered the antiquities in the museum cases (Hogarth, 1899; Zimmerman, 2008; for disciplining the antiquities on plates and archaeological publications see section 6.5). Critically, the function of the museum changed in the nineteenth century: it became an institution to educate the population and, thus, lead to its moral improvement (Bennett, 1995; Knell, 2004; Sheets-Pyenson, 1988). The British Museum in particular was administered on the basis of the British Museum Act of 1753 “for providing one General Repository for the better reception and more convenient use” of the collections and for providing free access to public (Clarke, 1934).[292] This new educational role of the public museum in relation with the demands of a rising middle-class with more leisure time, physical mobility and wealth, called for a reconceptualization of the purpose of the displayed collections. The changes of the audience into a broader public and of the museum’s aim were evident in the modifications of the general organisation of the museum: wider opening hours, devoted time in constructing exhibitions and improving the informational content of labels (Nyhart, 2004).[293] The main questions were how to manage the objects and what information they should convey (Whitehead, 2007). Using these two main questions as a framework, this section discusses the assimilation of the Cypriot objects in the existing galleries of the Upper Floor of the British Museum.

[292] 1882 Guidebook to the British Museum Galleries, pages xi-xx BM GR

[293] The Greek and Roman Department’s guidebook show precisely the change of information provided by the museum as they increased their content and became more explanatory.

The common ground in displaying objects was the arrangement of material culture in museums according to classificatory schemas. These were criteria of relations, based on style, meaning and use that followed the principles of academic disciplines and, as Moser (2006) has demonstrated, influenced the formation of academic subjects (Knell, 2004; Forman, 2005). For instance, McClintock (cited in Bennett 2004, 25) points that Darwinian theory was incorporated in the museum exhibitions and its main legacy was the mapping of human and natural time in a new temporal and spatial framework. Notions of value were incorporated into the collections by which objects of perceived less value – by being relationally positioned – were understood (Newton, 1880). The note below is found in the 1866 Guidebook to the galleries of the British Museum referring to the existence of Cypriot objects in the museum was the edition of 1866:

> *"*On the West side of the room, Cases 46-51 contain terracottas from Athens, Rhodes, Melos, the Cyrenaica, Sicily, Sardinia, Cyprus and other parts of the Greek world*".*[294]

This simple note depicts a fundamental quality of the museum: objects once removed from their everyday use and displayed in the space of a museum with their status changed; the objects were transformed into meanings through the museum's interpretative frameworks and stabilized (Basu, 2011; Crew and Sims, 1991; Moser, 2006; Peffer, 2005). The objects in the cases 46-51 were of different origins but they were put together as they were thought to be part of the "Greek world". The literature notes that the museum space formed a microcosm in which the world was represented by the ordered and linear classification of the objects (Barringer, 1998; Forman, 2005; MacDonald, 2003; Mitchell, 2003). This example indicates that each display case presented a microcosm in its own which entailed first, a process of classification and secondly, arrangement in contextual display. The aesthetic and symbolic values, which archaeological narratives attributed to objects (especially coming from colonial territories), were legitimized in the

[294] 1866 Guidebook to the British Museum Galleries, page 108 BM GR: the objects were placed in the Second Vase Room, which displayed the later fictile Greek vases, Greek and Roman terracottas, glass, mural paintings, porcelain and a number of miscellaneous antiquities.

institutional space of the modern museum (Coombes, 1994; Crooke, 2000; Moser, 2006). Modernism displayed knowledge as objective and universal and hid human agency (Turnbull, 2002). As Henare (2005, 66) notes, although objects were considered to embody knowledge – a view of the past – they, nevertheless, could not "speak for themselves"; they had to be positioned within a visual narrative (*cf.* Pearce, 2007). Likewise, as Livingstone (1992) highlights, "facts" did not speak for themselves but historians staged them on the contemporary scene; a process that involved selection. In a similar way, the British Museum curators and archaeologists staged their "hard evidence" to tell a European story of linear development. Moser (2006) in her examination of five Egyptian exhibitions at the British Museum (1759-1880) demonstrates that through the mode of display Egyptian objects were contrasted with classical antiquity and as such materialized the progress of Western civilizations.

This raises the important issue of the curator's implication in the shaping of the exhibitionary complex and their disciplinary affiliations. Pearce (1992) underpins the critical implication of curators in the collection and display of objects since their individual "epistemological geographies" were imposed in curatorial practices (cf. Naylor and Hill, 2011). Similarly, Crooke (2000) argues that the creation of knowledge in museums is based on individual selection and interpretation within the contemporary conceptual framework. The consensus stemming from this museological literature is that attention should be paid to the curators for understanding the museum practices of knowledge-making. Particular focus ought to be given to their intellectual background and the economic resources at hand (Gosden and Knowles, 2011).

Before continuing the discussion with the ways curators shaped Cypriot antiquities' display it is important to note that exhibiting artefacts in the British Museum was influenced by, both, external trends and internal limitations. A crucial part of this story is that during this period the British Museum was expanding and changing its galleries in accordance with the growth of its sculpture collections (Jenkins, 1992). The sculpture collection was a crucial part of the transformation of the museum from a cabinet of curiosities to a scientific institution of art history and archaeology.

In mid-nineteenth century the collections of the Department of Antiquities of the British Museum were divided into two series: the first one comprised sculptures (including inscriptions and architectural remains) and was displayed on the Ground Floor; the second one was all the other remains of all the different ancient civilizations or periods and were displayed on the Upper Floor. The objects exhibited on the Upper Floor were consisted of miscellaneous antiquities, prehistoric and ethnographical antiquities, pottery, glassware, medals and coins, porcelain and drawings.

According to modern archaeology, the ancient world was considered to be divided to the four nations of Egyptians, Assyrians, Greeks and Romans and antiquities were regarded as their products. In 1861, the Department of Antiquities was subdivided to the Departments of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Coins and Medals, Oriental Antiquities with Medieval and British Antiquities and Ethnography attached.[295] The arrangement of the sculptures in rooms was made according to their perceived national affiliation.[296] This was common in larger museums, which preferred arranging their collections geographically (Shelton, 2000). The essential principle of comparison in archaeology was applied to the collections of the British Museum (Hogarth, 1899). The scientific principles of comparison were learned from numismatics and Newton was trained in the subject (of sorting coins in chronological series according to types) before becoming Keeper of the Greek and Roman Department (Hogarth, 1899; Jenkins, 1992). The habit of arranging sculpture in a comparative mode by Newton may be interpreted as a habit stemming from his numismatic training (Jenkins, 1992; Whitehead, 2007). Newton's comparative orientation was aligned with the broader aim of the British Museum's Department of Antiquities to chart the considered progress of civilization through the display of sculptures. A crucial question was, thus, how to arrange the sculptures in terms of the "Chain of Art", which gave rise to internal conflicts in the British Museum (Jenkins, 1992). From the one hand a traditional view on display existed that argued for a neoclassical system of arrangement and, on the other

[295] 1894 Guidebook to the British Museum Galleries, provisional edition,BM GR;
In 1866 a fourth department was created the one of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography.
[296] 1869 Guidebook to the British Museum Galleries, BM GR

hand, there were the professional archaeologists that argued for an evolutionist paradigm of display.

The British Museum guidebooks show that the evolutionist paradigm became the prevailing display model in the British Museum as it gained lasting approval. As seen from the photograph in fig. 7.6 even in the individual cases the objects were arranged in an evolutionary mode. As the archives indicate, however, this was done with little success. Three main themes were extracted from the archival documents: the limitation of space in the museum, preoccupation with the Greek antiquities and the constant movement of the objects and rearranging of the display rooms as the museum buildings expanded.[297] First, the limitation of space[298] affected the ways which material culture was displayed in the British Museum and was correlated with the lack of governmental funding on the one hand and the growth of the empire on the other hand. The imperial expansion produced an enormous increase in the collections of the British Museum that could not be adequately contained in the Bloomsbury edifices (Sheets-Pyenson, 1988). This could also be seen by the movement of large numbers of Cypriot antiquities in the museum after the occupation of the island by the British. It is demonstrated here that the relationship between imperialism and modern museums did not operate only on the level of discourse but on a practical level as well.

[297] A.S. Murray's Progress Report (2nd May 1899), BM, GR R, Vol. 1899-1902 fol. 39; A.S. Murray report (2nd January 1895), BM, GR R, Vol. 1895-1896, fol.1

[298] It must be reminded here that the natural history collections were still exhibited in the edifices of the British Museum until the early 1880s which contributed to the limitation of space

Figure 7.6 Case with Cypriot antiquities c.1900, BM, GR OP MP, Courtesy of the Greek and Roman Department, British Museum

The ideal of conveying archaeological truth through evolutionary modes of display had to be adjusted in practical realities. The guidebooks present this tension between the ideal arrangement and the actual exhibition of the museum. As seen in the maps attached to the guidebooks, the museum was divided into big sections that corresponded with the four ancient nations (see fig. 1.2). Within each section and display room, however, objects from various civilizations were exhibited simply because there was not any space; it was just an accumulation of objects in rooms. Only the individual display cases contained objects from solely one ancient civilization. For example, in the Second Egyptian Room, Egyptian antiquities were

displayed at the east side of the room and the other sides were displayed the Slade and other Collections of Glass, Roman and Etruscan Pottery etc.[299] The practical reality of exhibiting artefacts suggests that the British Museum should not be reduced to an ahistorical institution of abstract theories but rather should be seen as an establishment that adapted its exhibitions according to their immediate spatial context.

The imperialism-modern museum nexus becomes evident when looking closer at the ways Cypriot antiquities were positioned both in the exhibition rooms and in the guidebooks. Until 1878 Cypriot artefacts did not have a display case of their own, they were dispersed in cases of other objects, and, besides simply naming them they were not being thoroughly described in the guidebooks. Only in 1878, the year of the British occupation of the island, were Cypriot antiquities displayed alone in the cases 33-38 in the Second Egyptian Room and a whole paragraph was devoted for their description.[300] Cyprus was now an imperial possession, and in consequence the island's material culture affiliation with the museum changed. This is a great example of the relationship between science and empire; scientific knowledge in the form of museum classification became part of the imperial project (Coombes, 1994; Ede and Cormack, 2004). The exhibitionary complex was linked with imperialism as it materialized the European ideas of progression, according to which colonized people were positioned to the primitive stages of human history (Bennett, 1995; MacDonald, 1998). Cyprus became a colony whose territory was then fixed as an object of knowledge.

Gradually Cypriot antiquities were appearing in the museum space and were put in various galleries because of the constant lack of space. This is correlated with Clark's (1934) assertion that the majority of museums in Victorian England suffered

[299] 1878 Guidebook to the British Museum Galleries, BM GR: The objects were pottery collected by Cesnola and they were described only in reference with other styles (Egyptian and Greco-Phoenician).

[300] 1878 Guidebook to the British Museum Galleries BM GR: The objects were pottery collected by Cesnola and they were described only in reference with other styles (Egyptian and Greco-Phoenician).

from a lack of organization and system. The majority of the antiquities were displayed in the rooms of the Assyrian Transept; in the Second Vase Room; in the Assyrian Galleries; in the Second Egyptian Room; in the First Vase Room; and the Fourth Vase Room. Cypriot antiquities were spread around the Upper Floor of the British Museum and within various cases without been firmly attached to any of the, considered, four ancient nations; creating, thus, a somewhat blurred "imaginative geography" of the ancient history of the island. Cypriot antiquities were simply scattered in various rooms when they are exhibited.[301] This can be linked with the lack of modern archaeological knowledge regarding the early racial affinities of Cyprus and regarding the different phases of ancient Cypriot art (see section 4.6.). Even though some ancient Cypriot relics could be directly correlated with the ancient Greek world some other resembling distinctively Phoenician or Egyptian could not be associated with either.

The second emerging theme was preoccupation with the material culture produced by ancient Greeks. Throughout the nineteenth century the European (and British) archaeology idealized the ancient Greek civilization and its material culture (Della Dora, 2007b). The Cypriot antiquities thus entered a space that revered ancient Greece; the British Museum enshrined Arcadia both in its exterior format as an ancient Greek temple and in the interior with the Elgin Marbles being the centre of the attention (Jenkins, 1992). The idealization of Greek antiquities in correlation with the fact that the British Museum acted as a training ground for young artists affected, even, the lighting and colouring of the display rooms. The Upper Floor was generally neglected, and on the Ground Floor they were mainly applied to the Greek section. For instance, top-lighting was not applied in the Egyptian galleries as the sculptures were considered to be non-artistic and thus did not necessitate the best settings (Jenkins, 1992). Lighting and colouring of the walls were employed for attributing correctness in the interior space of the museum and advancing the knowledge of ancient architectural remains. This was linked with the aim of the museum to show the development of art together with the different styles of the ancient civilizations, of the periods and of the artists.

[301] C.T. Newton.s report (11th July 1883), BM, GR R, Vol. 1883-1884, fol.92

Newton believed that museum collections were acting like an “image of the Past… transmitted by endless reflections in the broken mirror of art” (Newton 1880, 2). Hogarth (1899) however offered a nuanced view on museum exhibitions as he argued that archaeology could only deliver a distorted image of the past because archaeological study was based mostly on material remains and subjective experience. Nonetheless, the exhibitionary complex functioned like a map in which the world was displayed in a structured framework, with ordered links between places, arts and cultures. Through guidebooks, the curators of the British Museum were urging the visitors to look at the objects comparatively. For example, Cypriot objects shown in the cases 24-25 in the First Vase Room with “geometric” decoration resembled other objects displayed in different cases:

> “There are occasional evidences of a strongly Oriental leaning, as in Case 26, shelf 3, where an Assyrian scene of a warrior in a chariot has been exactly copied”.[302]

The guidebooks were providing information on the display rooms in a sequence that followed the visitor’s route through the museum. With the aid of the guidebooks the visitor moved through time and space and walking, either termed as an “evolutionary practice” (Bennett, 1995) or as “choreography” (Whitehead 2007, 50) was a performance part of the exhibitionary complex. The idea of progress was one form of distance that positioned the Other in a different time from the observer, as the temporal narrative had a direction from the present to the past and the European visitor was placed at the end of the evolutionary development (Bennet 1995, 2004; Levine, 1986). The exhibitionary complex was affected by the new concept of standard time and the technological innovations such clocks which arranged the daily conduct resulted in there re-theorization of continuity (Levine, 1986). History and archaeology were attributed a crucial value: they were the intellectual mediums that could measure and evaluate time (Zimmerman, 2008). In the evaluation of time, Europe acted as “a silent referent in historical knowledge” (Chakrabarty 1992, 2). Relating objects from different geographical areas and put in a temporal order created an internally coherent discourse of colonial identities

[302] 1894 Guidebook to the British Museum Galleries, provisional edition, page 143, BM GR

and of the, supposed, civilized European self, which linked people across generations (Bennett, 2004; Henare, 2005; Said, 2003; Sherman and Rogoff, 1998). The act of moving through the display rooms relating at the same time territories with material culture, by which the visitor was creating imaginative geographies, was a means of forming knowledge. Walking through the museum space in relation with the guidebooks was thus a "theatrical form of display" (Nyhart 2004, 313). Each category of objects was presented in the guidebooks in relation to the next. For instance, the objects displayed in the Table Case C in the First Vase Room were *"*of a Phoenician type, and in this respect, as well as in the material, they may be compared with the figures found in large numbers in Cyprus*".*[303]

The third theme - the constant movement of objects - was mainly made because of the lack of space and the changing orientations of the museum's curators. The practical issue of the museum being in constant renovation forced the curators to move objects around.[304] The curator's critical role in the arrangement was evident in both the guidebooks and the displays. For Newton, antiquities had to be studied in cross-reference focusing on stylistic and meaning development as they were considered to be the interpretative keys of the material culture. For Murray, the study of antiquities was conducted only in relation to the examination of the Mycenaean world. In 1894 the preoccupation with the Mycenaean civilization became evident in the Upper Floor of the British Museum. Antiquities from the perceived Greek world were interpreted only in terms of their affiliation with the Mycenaean civilization. Justification for this was made by the assumption that the history of Greek pottery was clear from the seventh century BC until the third century BC (when that art was supposed to end) (Fitton, 2001; Steel, 2001). Discoveries in Mycenae and Hissarlik illustrated this period as ancient remains discovered in the Aegean islands resembled them. The First Vase Room was exhibiting objects of Mycenaean origin or affiliation. Cypriot antiquities predominantly appeared in these cases. The majority of Cypriot objects were displayed in the table cases showing the seventh-century's

[303] 1886 Guidebook to the British Museum Galleries, page 169, BM GR
[304] C.T. Newton's report (15th June 1882), BM, GR R, Vol. 1881-1882, fol. 293 GR/15.6.1882/293

> "intimate **connection with East**, as Greek colonies established themselves on the coasts of Asia Minor, and generally around the shores of the Mediterranean… we see it earliest in islands like Rhodes and Cyprus which were nearest the East.*"*[305]

This orientation was manifested in the maps, a great example being the map in fig. 7.7, attached with the guidebooks. In order to fit this intellectual and cultural framework, for this temporal period, Cyprus was repositioned on the map so as to be included in the Greek world. These guidebooks were used as educational instruments appropriated and re-appropriated for the curator's various objectives regarding the display of objects. The exhibitionary complex included the guidebooks as the collections of the British Museum were displayed in the exhibition rooms and in the visitor guides which acted as mutual referents.

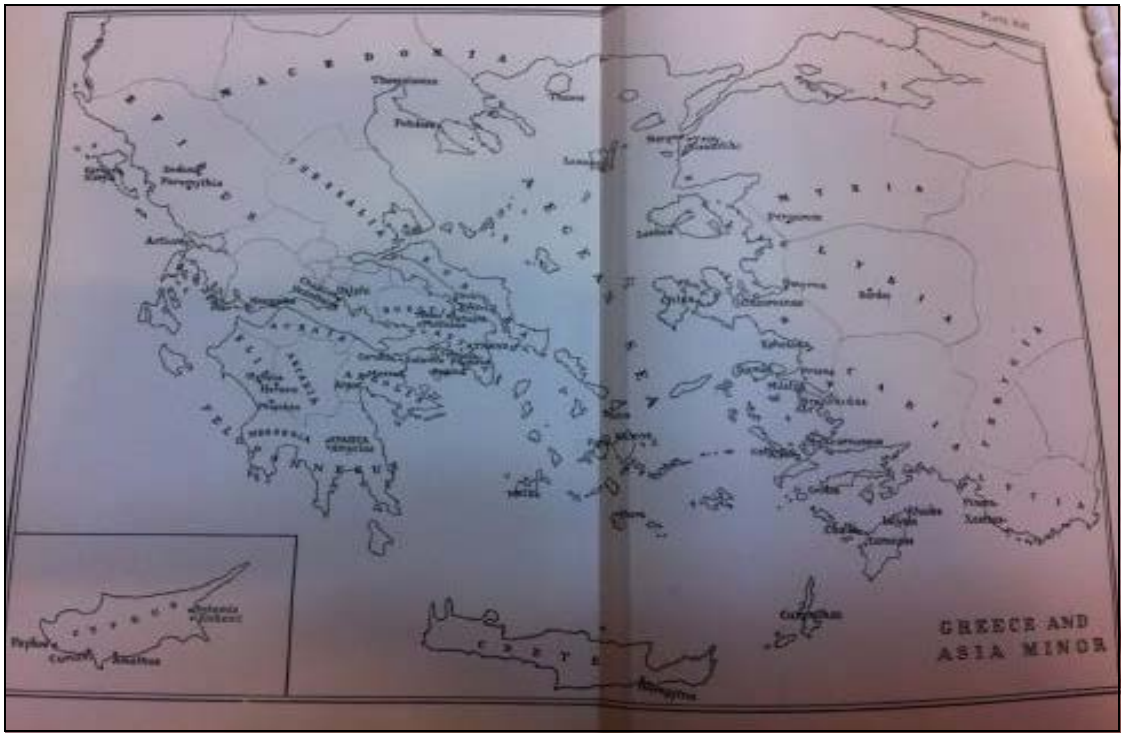


Figure 7.7 Map of Greece and Asia Minor, Guidebook 1899 Reproduced with the permission of the Trustees of the British Museum[306]

[305] 1894 Guidebook to the British Museum Galleries, provisional edition, page 142 (original emphasis), BM GR

[306] Despite the archaeological location of Cyprus in the Greek world, interestingly Lang (1887) presented the archaic survivals of Cyprus in an "Anthropological Conference on the Native Races of the British Possessions: Conference on the Races of Africa".

The process of displaying antiquities in the British Museum during the latter half of the nineteenth century was complex and included practical realities (limitation of space), curator's intellectual affiliations (comparative modes and examining certain periods), and the museum's preoccupation with ancient Greek material culture. Borrowing from Hetherington (1999, 53) the Upper Floor of the British Museum was a space "whose topology will alter within specific temporal, epistemological, cultural and material contexts". The process of displaying artefacts included a crucial procedure: the objects on their arrival in the museum were cleaned and repaired and then incorporated within the existing collections.[307] This procedure which was considered as normal in the British Museum, in the Metropolitan Museum of New York caused profound disputes.

7.4.2.2 Contesting antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of New York

In the nineteenth century, artefacts from overseas territories were no longer interpreted as exotic objects of curiosity but as sources of information for Western culture (Clifford, 1988). Archaeology's power rested on the authority of interpreting objects as signifiers of time and as such it could tell the story of time in terms of tracing the progress of history (Zimmerman, 2008). The scientific value of antiquities was based on their quality as evidence of an early phase of human civilization. Institutionalized objects became sources of knowledge and, positioned in juxtaposition, demonstrated the views of laws of modern science for human development (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000; Jardine and Spary, 1996; Naylor and Hill, 2011; Outram, 1996). The history of the human civilization was displayed through the ordered and linear positioning of the objects and the sense of the past was created through the rarity and the well-preservation of the objects (Bennett, 1995; Geoghegan, 2010; Hetherington, 1999; Jordanova, 2000; Pearce, 1992). This idea of the object being factual history in a material form was the cornerstone of the modern public museum, the central institution of Victorian science (Alberti, 2011; Filippoupoliti, 2009; Sheets-Pyenson, 1988).

[307] A.S. Murray's Progress Report (3rd February 1899), BM, GR R, Vol. 1897-1898, fol. 11

The transformation of artefacts, from merely ancient material remains to scientific knowledge, entailed the crucial processes of scrutiny and authentication (Newton, 1880). Once the discovered objects were "authenticated", archaeologists could follow the progress of ancient art back to its point of origin. A great example of authenticated objects were the Elgin Marbles. Once the Elgin Marbles entered the British Museum (in the early nineteenth century), they were considered as authentic fifth-century BC Greek objects because they were removed from a renowned Greek classical temple (Jenkins, 1992). The acceptance of the removal of the antiquities of the specific temple as truthful can be linked with trustworthiness, which, well into nineteenth century, was associated with the "disinterested" gentleman such as Lord Elgin. Therefore, the question that comes to the fore is how Cypriot antiquities were "authenticated" when they entered the museum-space and, most importantly, what it meant for an object to be "authentic"? For addressing this question Clifford's (1988, 221) set of questions acts as the framework:

> "What criteria validate an authentic or cultural product? What are the differential values placed on old and new creations? What moral and political criteria justify "good", responsible, systematic collecting practices?"

These questions are addressed here by focusing on a critical episode in the life of one collection of Cypriot antiquities: the infamous case of the law suit against the first director of the newly founded Museum of New York Luigi Palma di Cesnola. According to Latour (2007, 80) there are five occasions in which objects are rendered more visible the one that is most relevant here is: "the study of innovations and controversies has been one of the first privileged places where objects can be maintained longer as visible, distributed, accounted mediators before becoming invisible asocial intermediaries". Controversies elucidate the process by which authority in field-sciences is acquired and the elements that comprise its basis, such as accuracy in recording (McCook, 1996). Stuart McCook (1996, 178) on his examination of the debates over Paul du Chaillu's *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa* demonstrates that controversies on scientific

credibility become the rare occasion in which Victorians discussed "what constituted good scientific practice and who made a good scientist, rather than what constituted good scientific theory". Similarly, the production of knowledge through the display of objects was bound up with controversies (Bowler and Morus, 2005; Forgan, 2005; Naylor and Hill, 2011; Nyhart, 2004). Drawing on this literature the law-suit against Cesnola, as a dispute over a museum display, will be examined in an effort to shed light to the different views on authenticity. In particular, for this examination Jones' (2010) argument on the construction of authenticity through networks of people, objects and places is followed.

In March 1880 the exhibition of the Cesnola Collection was opened to the public and it instantly became the centre of attention, a preview of which can be seen in fig.7.8 (McFadden, 1971). The Cesnola Collection was considered originally to be a "wonderful collection of figures of calcareous stone vases and teracottas…. throwing great light on the early relations between Egypt, Cyprus and Assyria".[308] Soon after the opening of the gallery in the Museum of New York, the greatly respected[309] French art dealer and trained antiquarian, Gaston Feuardent, accused Cesnola of tampering with statues from his collection. As early as 1871, G. Feuardent started researching the authenticity of the Cesnola Collection (McFadden, 1971). The initial accusations were made in an article published in the Art Amateur journal in August 1880 (Feuardent, 1880; Myres, 1914). Similar accusations were published in a pamphlet written by Clarence Cook in 1882 and circulated by newspapers. The accusations however were directed personally to Cesnola and not the whole museum. An investigation started on the matter by a committee appointed by the museum. The action of libel brought by Feuardent against Cesnola forced the Trustees of the Museum to put the two statuettes on public display by removing the antiquities on their glass cases and positioning them in the centre of the museum's Grand Hall. By displaying the objects in this mode

[308] Letter from C.T. Newton to A.H. Layard (1st November 1872), BM, GR LB, Vol. 1861-1879, foil. 317

[309] Feuardent was a member and regular speaker of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society in New York and provider of antiquities for the Louvre and the British Museum (McFadden, 1971).

anyone could come and inspect them. Even though Cesnola was acquitted of the charges the impression of wrongly repairing antiquities remained.

In New York, Cesnola was accused of putting fragments together and concealing the original surfaces with a coating to erase the evidence of repair, contrary to museum archaeological practices (Stillman, 1885).[310] Myres (1914) though gave a different description of the wrong-doing: some of the sculptures were wrongly restored, statues were built up from incoherent parts and some of the bronzes were artificially patinated. The difference in the two descriptions can be found in the interpretation of the accusations. Stillman claimed that repairing antiquities was not in line with museum practices and Myres was not accusing Cesnola of repairing the antiquities but of wrongly doing so. The difference in the descriptions of the accusations also shows that the standard of evidence necessary for the validity of archaeological displays was arbitrary. The ideal of what scientific truth was varied extensively; it involved the collector's authority of saying something truthful, its reproduction and the viewer's experience of the scene (*cf.* Nyhart, 2004). As Clifford (1988) stresses, the perceived "authenticity" of objects has to do with the inventive present just as much with the past. So what were the criteria of considering an object in an archaeological museum collection as authentic?

[310] Stillman was a notable journalist and photographer who studied antiquities. He attained distinction in the archaeological field and was invited to become one of the founding members of the Hellenic Society and was a member of the American Numismatic and Historical Society (Harlan, 2008-2009).

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART.

I.

Main Hall.

THERE are few pretensions to art, as far as the outside goes, in the construction of the building which contains the collection of the Metropolitan Museum. Square in form, it is not, however, wanting in symmetry. What it has is a certain aspect of massiveness, due to the brick and the heavy stone cappings, which convey somewhat the impression of a safe-deposit building.

If the outside of the Museum presents no attractive features, when the building is entered the impression received is of the most pleasant character. The floors are of tesselated stone, the four staircases are wide, the ascent is not too rapid, and the ventilation and light are admirable. The decoration is grave and sober, but not in the least depressing. Certain tones have been adopted of a maroon colour, with a light contrasting blue, and occasional whites, which are pleasantly harmonious. The ornamentation of an architectural character, imposed on pillars or

Figure 7.8 Main Gallery of the New York Museum. The Metropolitan Museum of New York booklet by L.P. di Cesnola (1882, page 3), illustrated by George Gibson, Courtesy of the Thomas J.Watson Library, MMNY

Antiquities in the Cesnola Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of New York were made good in a fashion that followed contemporary British museums' practices: cracks and scars were repaired with plaster, and stone-wash was used to cover weather stains and the plaster (Myres 1914, xxiii). These restorations did not exceed the museum limits. Putting fragments together in Cyprus (which then were acquired by the British Museum) was common practice by both private

individuals[311] and the British Museum agents. Even after the arrival of the antiquities in the museum, the curators of the Greek and Roman Department at the British Museum both cleaned and repaired repeatedly a series of fragments of pottery from Cyprus, which then, "*made up into vases*" (Richter, 1891).[312] This was a common practice in the British Museum for the better display of the objects. This practice can also be linked with the educational aim of the museum in showing the development of the styles of the ancient civilization's material culture and the use of the exhibition rooms as training grounds for the students of the Royal Academy. Richter (1891) argued that putting fragments together was done on the spot as well so as to avoid separation. If in both cases Cypriot antiquities were "doctored" [313] yet only Cesnola's collection was accused of lacking credibility, in order to comprehend the notion of "authentic" and what it entailed, the objects' life story needs to be traced back.

During the process of collection, the original context of the object was covered by new meanings established by the very act of collecting (Jardine and Spary, 1996; Potvin and Myzelev, 2009). The value of authenticity was not inherent in objects but was produced in a specific temporal and spatial context by experts on the various subjects (Jardine and Spary, 1996). Good collections were characterized as the ones that fulfilled the material criteria and aesthetic value that authenticate objects (Potvin and Myzelev, 2009). Cypriot antiquities consisted of jewelry, votive objects such as terra cotta figurines and sculpture, vases of industrial use and so on. In other words, objects that were used in the everyday life of ancient Cypriots. However they were not collected as every-day objects but as evidence of the island's history, a material fact according to archaeological regimes of value (see section 4.6 and 7.2.). The display of Cypriot antiquities in the museum space was a communicative act: it was a matter of validating exhibitions as truthful by the archaeologists. The law-suit against Cesnola demonstrates the past meanings and associations of the collected material culture were never renounced (see also

[311] Minute papers with correspondence about C. Watkins' application for excavation and division of antiquities (1886), CSA, SA1/2287/1886

[312] A.S. Murray's reports (5th March 1900 and 2nd January 1900), BM, GR R/, Vol. 1899-1902 fol. 97 and fol. 86; emphasis added.

[313] Letter from R.H. Lang to S. Birch (28th December 1872), BM, ME R, Vol. 1868-1881, fol. 3577

Shelton, 2000). To be able to convey credible knowledge the entire process of collecting had to be rigorously recorded from the moment of excavation to the packing and movement.

Shelton's (2000) third imaginary of empirical functionalism in collecting practices becomes relative here. In this imaginary, knowledge deriving from material culture was no longer a totalising narrative but a discrete part of "an information archive" acquired through standardized methodology (Shelton 2000, 158). By the mid-nineteenth century questions arose regarding ideas of relativity and truth as functions of human history (Levine, 1986). The authority given by the possession of knowledge entailed questions not only of *what* one knows and, most importantly, *how* one knows (Daunton, 2005, emphasis added). Archaeology's regimes of scientific value can be correlated with other modern disciplines such as natural history whose classification systems were based on abstract theories and on the standardization of measurement as virtue that labelled knowledge (Hodder, 1989; Pyenson and Sheets-Pyenson, 1999; Spary, 2005). The Humboldian revolution aimed in creating standard methods of producing scientific knowledge based on literal instruments, barometers etc. A great difference existed between archaeology and the natural sciences; even though archaeology was founded on classification systems there was not a common methodology in site reportage and the graphic documentation varied extensively (Evans, 2007; see section 6.5.). Even amongst the excavation reports of the leading archaeologists of the time such as Pitt Rivers and Evans there was a vast difference. Here lies the big and palpable difference that caused the gap on the scale of credibility between the Cesnola Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of New York and the Cypriot collection in the British Museum.

Even though archaeological documentation varied extensively a very basic regulation existed: the truthful correlation of the ancient site with the discovered objects. The Cesnola collection was not accurately recorded in this manner: without any previous archaeological training, Cesnola excavated very rapidly and on a large-scale, his excavations were carried out without his supervision and as such the notes he took on the spot were thought of as imperfect and brief

(Cesnola, 1877; Hogarth, 1888; Myres, 1914). Cesnola did not attribute provenance to the objects and when he did, he attached the same objects to many locations (Stillman, 1885). The scientific value of the collection was weakened because of the ways the objects were collected in Cyprus which brought “such confusion” into the results of the excavations (Hogarth et al 1888, 150). Drawing on Nyhart (2004) it is argued that this was correlated with the belief that the perceived truthfulness of the exhibit was based on the scientist’s presence in the field. Although Cesnola produced maps and detailed descriptions of the site in which he found the (so called) Curium Treasure, they were mostly pure fabrication. In reality Cesnola’s collection was amassed through purchases from the local market of antiquities (McFadden, 1971). Therefore, although many antiquities from the collection bore unquestionably great value to archaeology, the collection’s utility to students was diminished (Stillman, 1885).

For the same reasons, a large part of the Government Collection housed at the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia was said by critics to have lost almost its entire scientific value (Myres and Richter, 1899). The overseer’s inspection of excavations was in many cases conducted by untrained people whose inventories even when they were intelligible were valueless for the identification of the objects which described. In contrast, the British Museum collection was recorded thoroughly through the notebooks that were kept by the excavators (see subsection 6.5.1). Even though Victorians had limited media to record their findings (Knell, 2004) those notebooks became the excavators’ instrument, akin to the instruments used by natural sciences, for monitoring their work. The notebooks were the British Museum’s efforts of providing standardized archaeological knowledge using measurements and sketches of the tombs and, thus, define their results as truthful.

The role of the curator or archaeologist in validating museum displays becomes evident here: contemporary archaeologists highlighted that Cesnola’s lack of archaeological training was demonstrated in his recordings. The issue of the recording methodologies can be contextualized within the broader professionalization of archaeology. Myres (1914) noted that the new generation of

trained archaeologists were criticizing the Cesnola collection on the basis of its omissions and inaccuracies rather than its positive value. By the end of nineteenth century antiquarianism was in decline and the pejorative overtones about antiquarians increased because of the rise of the professional-specialist archaeologists and the institutionalization of the discipline (Evans, 2007; Sweet, 2003). The display of antiquities became an act of disciplinary boundary work and the museum curators had to adjust to the demands of trained scientists (Whitehead, 2007). The Cesnola collection did not fit these requirements in opposition with the British Museum.

The second difference lay in the fact that the Cesnola Collection was sold as a collection, called the “Curium Treasure”, of antiquities found at the same spot. Later, the discovery spot could not be verified by contemporary archaeologists or cross-referenced with other accounts. No records of the objects or the excavations were discovered to enable the reconstruction of the history of the collection. The occurrence of the antiquities of various periods at the alleged site of discovery did not match their contemporary knowledge of ancient Cyprus (Myres, 1914). For this reason the collection was not considered to be valuable to Cypriot archaeology as evidence of their provenance could not be supplied. Archaeology as a field science was inextricably connected with place (Kohler, 2002) and this link for the Cesnola Collection could not be proven in any way.

The British Museum’s Cypriot collection was comprised of objects obtained from different collectors and, thus, did not claim a single origin. Crucially, though, the provenance of the objects could be verified by the prominent individuals-excavators and their reports. Newton by 1885 collected almost 2000 Cypriot antiquities from the individuals he had regular correspondence with (D. Pierides, R.H. Lang, T.Sandwith, L.P. Cesnola, D.E. Colnaghi- British Consul, H.Kitchener – conducted the first military survey of Cyprus) (Kiely, 2010). With the exception of Cesnola, the rest of the individuals followed Newton’s advice and excavated along scientific guidelines that indicated the recording the provenance of the objects. Their findings were already accepted by the scientific community. Lang is known for his work at the sanctuary of Apollo-Reshef at Dali in 1869 the findings of which

were sold to the British Museum in 1872-1873. Lang extensively published his work not only in monographs but in academic journals such as *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.* Another example is T.B. Sandwith, British Vice-Consul in Cyprus 1865-1876, who presented his work at the Society of Antiquaries and published his paper in *Archaeologia* (Merillees, 2001).[314] In the late 1880s and early 1890s British Museum obtained Cypriot antiquities from the Cyprus Exploration Fund, organized by a "Committee comprising all of those who are prominent in supporting the study of Classical archaeology in this country" (Hogarth et al 1888, 149; see also subsection 6.2.2). A report on the acquisitions of Cypriot antiquities by the British Museum was published by Walters (1897).

Officially the accusations were not backed up by sufficient proof and Cesnola was acquitted of the charges by the court verdict in 1884. Nonetheless, the archaeological value and authority of the Cesnola Collection was diminished because of the persisting *doubt* over their authenticity. This was the final difference and the least tangible of all and was linked with notions of reputation and trust. As Crew and Sims (1991) demonstrate authenticity was not about factuality or reality: it is about authority. Cypriot antiquities did not have an inherent authority. Instead, authority was attributed to them by their collectors and curators in museums. The credibility or authenticity of Cypriot collections was not constructed solely through recording them but also by the character and patronage of their collector. Gosden and Marshall (1999) suggest that the fame of objects and of people are constructed mutually; objects gain value through their link with people and people gain social status through the possession of renown objects. Along this line, Jardine and Spary (1996) argue that the formation of natural history was affected by social practices, meaning the associations and negotiations within the discipline. Similarly archaeology focused on the reputation of the individual excavator since there was not any accepted scientific methodology (Evans, 2007; Hodder, 1989). Particularly for the case of Cyprus, since a common trait of the excavations carried out by antiquarians and archaeologists was that they suffered of "absentee

[314] The publications in academic journals and the sale of the objects in the British Museum show the mixed commercial and scientific interests shown by the British consuls in Cypriot archaeology.

supervisors"; even in the British Museum excavations this was the case (Fitton 2001, 151).

The status of the practitioners of science was highly relevant. In the early nineteenth century, issues of social status and scientific standing were intertwined: at first authority was associated with the disinterested amateur gentleman (Barton, 2003; Daunton, 2005; Shapin, 1999). As Shapin (1992) has demonstrated, knowledge was based on trust and the assessment of the information provided by personal experiences was judged against moral estimates. McCook (1996, 179) shows that trust in natural history, as in archaeology, was based partly on "concrete records" and partly on "the credibility of the person who offered it" because of the "fragility of the process of legitimation of scientific knowledge". Knowledge was, thus, inseparable from social, moral and epistemological dimensions. Increasingly the intellectual and social status of a discipline depended on the adoption of analytical procedures which emerged from the 1820s (Daunton, 2005). By the end of the century, authority was associated with standardized methodologies and measurements (Barry, 1993). Hodder (1989) has associated the change in the excavation reports from personalized stories of exploration to abstract terminologies with the transformation in the relationship between power and knowledge production. The power in the archaeological community started to be based within academic institutions and in the public sphere, making, thus, the abstract text as authoritative in contrast with the personal one (Hodder, 1989).

Hobbyists, like Cesnola, were marginalized by the advancement of laboratories and academic status. In particular, it was thought that archaeologists should work under the benefaction of institutions such as museums (Newton, 1880). These transformations were occurring in North American archaeology as well, although was considered as part of anthropology it started to form as a specialized scientific field; even though there were not trained archaeologists, they were coming from other disciplines predominantly ethnology and anthropology (Meltzer, 1985). In the late nineteenth century, North American museums publicly supported preservation and education with physical objects being fundamental in providing evidence and expert knowledge (Kohlstedt, 2005) The British Museum excavators had both

qualities: they were trained archaeologists with a university education and they worked under the sponsorship of a highly respected institution. However, it is important to note that reputation was a subjective concept depending on the social context. In New York society Cesnola was known as an Italian nobleman who fought in the Civil War and became an American citizen (McFadden, 1971). The New York museum had no difficulty in disposing of the charges for the Cesnola Collection (Myres, 1914). However, in the academic circles and learned societies Cesnola was simply an amateur antiquarian. The attack on Cesnola concerning his authority as observer and the credibility of his observations was not an isolated event in the Victorian scientific community as Du Chaillu's case shows (McCook, 1996). The American explorer Du Chaillu, based on the publication of his book, was questioned on his competence of conducting scientific explorations in the field (McCook, 1996). A potential link between both cases can be found in McCook's (1996, 190) assertion that authority derives from other factors such as "not being too blatantly commercial and publicity-seeking", a quality that did not characterize either explorer.

The link of antiquities in the Cesnola Collection with their namesake was interpreted in negative forms and constructed them as non-scientific and non-valuable objects. The fate of the Cesnola Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of New York was decided soon after the law-suit: it would be hidden in the vaults of the museum or sold to other American museums. The mystery of the Curium Treasure was not cleared up and because the validity of the collection as a whole was lost, as it could not be used as evidence, and the objects could only be viewed as isolated objects (Myres, 1914). By the early twentieth century the New York Museum dispersed the collection to other North American museums.[315] In contrast, the antiquities exhibited at the British Museum had enduring scientific value and many objects were presented to other academic institutions such as Eton College and the Ashmolean Museum, directed by the renowned Arthur Evans.[316] Importantly, the British Museum's work was not only accepted as truthful knowledge by nineteenth-century archaeologists but linked the Mycenaean world

[315] For the present state of the Cesnola collection in the MET see Karageorghis, 2000.
[316] Letter from A. Evans to A.S. Murray (25th January 1895), BM, GR CEC

and Late Bronze Age Cyprus, which dominated archaeological discourse of the twentieth-first century (Steel, 2001). Arthur Evans (1900, 199) stated that through the British Museum excavations “it has been possible for the first time to obtain a clear insight” into Cyprus’ ancient civilization. Even though the practices followed in the British Museum excavations were not scientific with contemporary archaeology’s standards, Myre’s classification of Late Bronze Cypriot wares remains in use.

For archaeological museums an authentic object was an object accurately recorded that could be linked with its place of origin and in its original condition. The examination of this episode demonstrates that notions of authenticity and credibility in nineteenth century archaeology were constructed by the relationship between objects, people and place in relation with greater theoretical rhetoric. Collecting practices were shaped by this relationship and affected both the movement and the reputation of the objects and their collector. In this way the museum space was inextricably linked with the field of collecting not only through the flow of objects and people but through the notion of authority and its criteria for asserting credibility. Authenticity with its various interpretations and complex associations was central for museum and archaeological claims of science.

7.5 Conclusion

The final section traced the social lives of Cypriot antiquities throughout their movement from the excavation sites to their circulation and display in museums. The sections examined different regimes of value in which the antiquities were transformed from ancient relics to archaeological specimens and collectable hard facts of evidence. This conceptual map of the object’s museum career aimed to decipher the ways that antiquities travelled and their uses in different contexts. The examination of the objects’ diaspora was informed by the “collections biography” approach in an effort to illuminate the different relationships that the antiquities established during their travels.

The first section (7.2.) discussed material culture in relation with archaeological narratives on history. Ancient relics such as vases or votive statues were removed from their original context and were placed in a linear order as evidence of historical truth; a truth that was aligned with the cultures of antiquity (see chapter 6). It was the cosmopolitan knowledge brought to the field by the collectors which arranged antiquities in classes with varying importance for archaeological science. In other words, archaeological narratives acted as a “regime of value” for collecting Cypriot antiquities.

The second section (7.3.) discussed the colonial framework that configured collecting practices on the island. Cyprus was under two different colonial powers, the Ottoman and then the British Empire and each influenced the collection of antiquities in a different way. During the Ottoman Empire period the regulations on excavating and exporting antiquities were not imposed sufficiently, providing an unrestricted space for collecting. During the British Empire period regulations were strictly imposed and created another regime of value; a residential one. Objects were interpreted in monetary terms according to their scientific value.

The final section (7.4.) discussed the circulation of the objects in museums. Antiquities were acquired by the British Museum through a network of communication enabled by travelling texts and people. Here particular focus was placed upon the sale of the two Cesnola Collections to the Metropolitan Museum of New York and the negotiations with the British Museum. This examination revealed that alongside national narratives museums acquired or rejected collections for money and pride. It examined the third phase of the objects’ career, their exhibition in museums. The antiquities were exhibited in private house museums on their way to the public museums. Private museums were an important stage for promoting the antiquities and making them known as a variety of individuals from the aristocracy, intelligentsia and middle class elite visited them. When the objects were displayed in public museums they entered an institutional space of knowledge production and thus their status as facts was both heightened and contested. The final part discussed the authentication process under which the objects went through after their display.

It has been demonstrated that by following the travelling objects through different spaces, hidden stories of science and collecting are brought to the fore. The various themes explored – the transformation of objects to collectable items, their circulation and the issue of the objects' credibility – are entangled with collectors and museum curators and the spaces in which those practices took place. It is argued that each theme was the product of the relationship between people, object and place and cannot be examined without addressing all three aspects. Antiquities were transformed into valuable commodities for consumption either in a private collection or a public display. Finally, the museum space was linked with the field through the criteria required for an object to be considered a credible fact by modern archaeology. The link in this case was collecting methodologies and their recording devices (or the lack of them).

Chapter 8 Conclusion: Tracing the social life of Cypriot antiquities

The ancient history of Cyprus was established by the relational and linear display of antiquities in the British Museum's upper floor galleries Cypriot antiquities' comparative mode of display in the exhibitionary complex demonstrated their cultural affinities with the ancient Greek and Phoenician civilizations but without being firmly affiliated to either. The island's contribution in the "Great Chain of Art" was presented as, merely, being the meeting point between the West and the East. Going back to the project's main question, how, then, was the history of Cyprus invented in the latter half of nineteenth century by the diaspora of the island's antiquities and what was the role of the modern museum in it? In this final chapter I reflect on the stories presented in this thesis and bring together the key points they have produced in order to encapsulate the various (and intertwined) answers to that question.

To address the central research question I examined the three themes of excavation, circulation and display of Cypriot antiquities in relation to the conditions that framed the diaspora of Cypriot antiquities: the emerging discipline of archaeology; Victorian cultures of collecting; and the colonial regimes in Cyprus. First, the island of Cyprus was treated as a region using specific ancient sites and collectors as representative examples. Second, by following historical geographies of science I organized my research in a two-fold approach: I examined archaeological science in situ and in motion. Thirdly, I adopted the "object diaspora" approach and used the methododological tools provided by the "collections biography" and "object biography" approaches to trace the objects' life-paths between the different scales of their diaspora: from the moment of their excavation to their circulation in museums and, finally, to their display. The archives that were examined reflect the different phases of the antiquities' life in Cyprus, Great Britain and North America. The objects were followed, with the help of secondary literature, in all their different forms – texts, photographs, impressions and the objects themselves – in the archival sites in order to reconstruct a bounded story of their diaspora. The partiality of the documents and, in particular, the

restriction of entrance to the archives of the Metropolitan Museum of New York affected the process of the research as the objects could not be followed within the said museum. This issue was addressed by focusing particularly on the British-Museum display and making an attempt of comparative study using a well-documented and publicized episode of a specific collection – the Cesnola Collection.

This project is an effort of mapping the movement of Cypriot antiquities and their different life phases. In the process of mapping the objects' trajectories various overlapping themes emerged regarding the relationship between imperialism and archaeology; the dual nature of Cypriot archaeology (local and global) sustained through correspondence and a variety of population; and the practical realities of museum displays. These themes were presented by using examples of the objects' movement from Cyprus to the British Museum. First, Cypriot archaeology and in extension the diaspora of the antiquities were conditioned by the theoretical implications of imperialism and, most crucially, its material manifestation, colonialism. The two different colonial regimes (the Ottoman Empire and the British Empire) affected in a very practical, albeit different, manner the movement of the objects. The Ottoman Empire was an Islamic theocratic state and, as such, it excluded the pre-Islamic past disregarding, thus, all its material remains. In 1869 and 1874 the Ottoman Empire enacted regulations for controlling the excavation of antiquities as part of the political reformations carried out during this period. However, as the multiple cases of excavation and exportation of objects show, these regulations were inadequately imposed. The Ottoman Empire with the initial lack of regulations and the later inadequate enforcement of the law enabled the movement of thousands of objects. Cesnola, alone, was able to export in Europe and North America a collection that amassed around 35.000 antiquities of various types, such as life-sized statues and coins.

The practical involvement in the daily conduct of archaeology differed in the case of the British Empire. The British officials from the first years of the occupation enacted regulations regarding the antiquities. The Government, as the common

colonial policy indicated in conjunction with the island's ambiguous status, only amended the existing Ottoman legislation. British officials following the Ottoman Law of Antiquities took measures in order to control the objects. For example, the collectors had to apply for permission to excavate. In 1887 all private excavations were pronounced illegal apart from those conducted by scientific bodies such as museums or universities. The British regulated the conduct of archaeology in two ways: first, they restricted the temporal and spatial limits of the diggings and, secondly, by restricting the individuals who directed the excavations. Under the British Empire the unrestricted exportation of antiquities was stopped, at least for the official archaeologies.

In this period the movement of the antiquities was shaped by their commodity situation, which was conditioned by the wider archaeological narratives and the local colonial context. The findings had to be divided in three thirds between the excavator, the landowner and the Cyprus Government and the excavators had to pay for the transportation of the antiquities. So a certain process of selection had to be followed. For the British Museum, Cypriot antiquities were collectable objects not because they were beautiful artefacts but because they were scientific objects that could provide some answers to the Mycenaean question. In other words, during the selection process, the antiquities' scientific value affected their monetary value: Mycenaean objects were worth moving, local ware was not and, thus, was disregarded and left on the spot. Under the impetus of certain colonial regulations, therefore, disciplinary and market values were fused in transforming Cypriot antiquities into collectable goods. Colonialism and imperialism affected in another very practical manner the movement of the objects through steamships that were travelling in the Mediterranean.

Crucially, the case of regulating the antiquities was more complex than the one appearing on these official stories. Alongside these official archaeologies, illicit archaeologies existed, since many individuals could excavate without a permit and the local market of antiquities was thriving. The District Commissioners were instructed to stay vigilant and take measures in an effort to put a stop to the illegal

excavations such as patrolling the sites. The lack of control was clearly linked by the British officials to the fact that excavations were carried out in open and rough ground. According to the reports in the archives, the diggers had good hiding "good look outs", they could get away "over the broken ground" and as such the "troopers could hardly follow them".[317] This shows that the colonial government of Cyprus was not omnipotent. Even though it regulated very strictly the official excavations, due to the local environment it could not control the "illicit" archaeologies. Therefore there were two different types of excavation and movement of the objects within Cyprus: the regulated movement by the colonial regimes and the illicit, and thus, unrestricted movement. The illegal archaeologies demonstrate that neither of the colonial empires could adequately control the excavation and the local market of the antiquities because of the main quality of the field being an open and unrestricted space.

Second, the dual nature of Cypriot archaeology (local and global) sustained through correspondence and by a variety of population becomes evident when looking closely at the excavations. The regular operation of excavations conducted by Lang, Cesnola and the British Museum rested on three main factors: motives, correspondence networks and the minor figures. Motive, the first factor, can be seen in the antiquarians' and archaeologists' search for digging spots and illuminates their complex identity. British Museum, Cesnola and Lang chose to excavate at tomb sites because thousands of objects could be found there. This was an understanding of the space of ancient sites in terms of the quantity of objects it could "produce". The difference between the antiquarians and archaeologists was the altered interpretation of the antiquities' value. Cesnola's motive stemmed from commercial interests and as such he dug in tomb sites because he could find objects with high monetary value there. The British Museum interpreted antiquities according to their scientific value in the reconstruction of the island's ancient history. The museum, therefore, would dig in tomb sites that could "yield rich harvest" in Mycenaean objects.

[317] Letter from R.L.N. Michell (District Commissioner of Limassol) to Sir Walter Sendall (High Commissioner of Cyprus) (16th April 1892), CSA, SA1/1184/1892

The second factor, correspondence, was an integral part of the excavation, and acquired many functions. Through correspondence, Newton provided to Lang a form of site-mentoring by advising him where and how to excavate. This example shows how the experience of an excavation site was shaped by the constant communication between local and cosmopolitan knowledge. In the British-Museum excavations, correspondence acquired a vital function as well. The corresponding network between collectors in Cyprus and the British Museum was employed in order to overcome the geographical distance between the British Museum and Cyprus. The collectors on the island were directed via correspondence by the museum Keeper in London. Texts travelled at different speeds. Telegrams were essential in the daily conduct of the diggings; they were used when quick directions were needed such as to give authorization to excavate on specific sites, to be informed about expenditure sums and for regular updating of the excavation processes. Letters were used for extensive reports of excavations in which knowledge was transmitted about the ancient sites in the form of texts and impressions. Two further conclusions can be drawn by the examination of the travelling texts. Correspondence was not simply constructed outwards from a "centre of calculation" but it was a reciprocal process without which excavations could not operate; and the key importance of the imperial postal services in the regular operation of excavations, which points to another practical implication of colonialism in Cypriot archaeology.

The third factor was the so-called minor figures and the agents of the museum residing on the island. In both periods the actual digging was carried out by locals employed by the collectors. Even though they are perceived as minor and nameless figures they were crucial in the regular operation of the excavations: for example there are a few reports in the archives mentioning that excavations would stop or begin depending on the harvest period as the local villagers would be occupied there and could not excavate. The agents were essential in the daily conduct of the excavations as they dealt with the colonial authorities on matters regarding applications and with landowners for securing rights to dig. Both the minor figures and the museum agents work in the excavations demonstrates that

the archaeologies and antiquarians in the period were essentially collectors of antiquities with different collecting methodologies and not excavators *per se*.

The reconfiguration of the antiquities into scientific knowledge is another critical instant of the simultaneously local and global nature of Cypriot archaeology. The British Museum employed three “truth-spots” in the field: the trained body of the archaeologist who recorded the findings; the discovery spot; and the notebooks which visualized the excavation methodologies and provided evidence for the findings. The cosmopolitan knowledge of how to classify Cypriot antiquities - brought in the field by the travelling scientist - and the local production of archaeological knowledge were represented in the systematic, standardized and coherent format of the notebooks. This methodology for recording the antiquities presented the ancient sites as precise, ordered and coordinated places which excluded at the same time the local conditions of the science’s making (the minor figures, colonial regulations and the motives). By identifying a geographical region as uniform and studying it as such, the British-Museum archaeologists were able to produce knowledge that rendered the ancient fields as universal; and thus their findings could be compared with findings from other places. Borrowing from Strasser (2012), the notebooks seen in the context of field science represent a way of seeing the antiquities, as a “quantity found in nature” (Naylor 2010, 6), in the attempt of securing the credibility of scientific knowledge.

Thirdly, the display of the objects in the British Museum was not so much affected by imperial or evolutionary narratives as such, but by the pressing matter of the lack of space in the British Museum. Cypriot antiquities, because of the lack of space and because of the peripheral position of the island’s ancient history in relation with the ancient Greek and the Near East civilization, were scattered in the Upper Floor of the British Museum. It becomes evident here that whilst imperial and evolutionary narratives were directing archaeology, in reality the material manifestation in terms of museum displays and movement of objects were shaped by the local conditions. The coexisting approaches in the British Museum were not formed only by the theoretical debates between curators but through the

relationship established by the limited space of the museum, collected objects and curators who privileged classical antiquity. Finally, the displayed objects in the British Museum and the reference of their collectors in the guidebooks to the museum depict that the British Museum's collections were gathered by individuals in association with the British naval and diplomatic authorities in the Mediterranean and not by an overarching state-sponsored and imperial project.

Two main strands emerged from these themes and formed the principal arguments of this thesis. The first argument relates to current debates within historical geographies regarding the usefulness of retaining scale as an analytical tool. The debate on scale is concerned with the question of how to address the tension between the local and global nature of scientific knowledge. A response to this tension is the application of the concept of networks in the examination of the production of knowledge. Nonetheless, the network metaphor has become a flat network that does not account for the different spaces and scales at which science operates and materializes. For this matter and to answer the question posed in subsection 2.1.1 on where a historical geographer of science stands, I agree with the stance that regional geography is a fruitful way of examining science and its characteristics. Viewing the island of Cyprus as region and using "typical and exceptional" (Ogborn 2008, 12) examples of collectors, I was able to identify the dinstictive (and collective) traits of Cypriot archaeology and its every-day conduct. However, people and objects – as the diaspora of Cypriot antiquities shows – travelled beyond regions to other regions, localities and national states. Cypriot antiquities travelled through networks of embodied practices of motion and stasis which, crucially differed in the various contexts, both temporal and spatial.

This thesis argues that by following the objects, local conditions, which affected the antiquities' movement in each scale and locality, are brought to the fore and connected in a single narrative. Crucially, the concept of following the objects becomes attentive to the question of how objects, through circulatory networks, moved around different spaces and how they were interpreted in those spaces. The social lives of Cypriot antiquities were shaped by the different contexts in which they were intended to be displayed. In other words, the various contexts in

which the Cypriot antiquities travelled formed different commodity situations for the objects. A case in point was Cesnola's advice to Hitchcock to prepare the antiquities in respect to the place he wanted to sell them: in London auction houses the antiquities would get higher prices if they were left dirty and in Parisian auction houses the clean antiquities' value was greater. The Cesnola law suit and the British Museum's boundary work show that if the objects were intended to be displayed in archaeological museums their commodity situation differed and was based on the curator's interpretation of the antiquities and the emerging professionalization of archaeology. Another example is the regulation of the British authorities, which enforced collectors to move the objects to the district capitals for temporary storage. The commodity situation of the objects was again altered and was, at that moment, shaped by the space they were put in. Because the storage room was becoming fully occupied the British Museum collectors had to go through another selection of the objects. The selection criteria were based again on the interpretation of the antiquities and on the question of what was worth preserving. This is also an example of how the micro-politics of collecting affected the birth and death of scientific objects (see Daston, 2000) and, in consequence, the museum displays.

The second argument of the thesis is a continuation of the previous one and states that by following the objects, hidden stories of the production of archaeological knowledge are unveiled and illuminate its social nature. In other words, the biographies of place are associated with the biographies of objects in the making of knowledge. By following the objects in various spaces (spot of discovery, storage in Cyprus, circulation and museum displays) becomes evident that archaeological knowledge was produced via the cooperation of various people. In particular, in the fields of the island the labour of digging was conducted by the locals and the directions of the excavations was carried out by the archaeologists, amateurs or professionals. It is more appropriate then to talk about archaeologists as collectors and the local population as excavators.

It is presented that the ancient fields were, also, interpreted and experienced differently by the varying relationships between collectors and antiquities in

different periods. For instance, the ancient site of Curium was experienced by Cesnola as a space where he gathered his so-called “Curium Treasure” with high monetary value and attained social prestige. For Cesnola Curium was a place for treasure hunting. The same site was experienced differently by the British Museum archaeologists: they excavated for scientific purposes, recorded the findings and kept them according to their tombs. The ancient site of Curium was thus experienced as a bounded archaeological site. The example of Curium demonstrates Hodder’s (1989) claim that diggings occurring in the same ancient site could, under different circumstances, yield different stories.

It is further argued that well-rounded social histories of science can be made when following various collections which had the same origin but ended up in different contexts. This is demonstrated by following the Cesnola collection in the New York Museum and the British Museum collection amassed from various collectors. The comparison between the Cesnola collection and the British Museum collection - on the occasion of the law suit filed against Cesnola - shows that the credibility of scientific knowledge was linked with the personal authority of the archaeologist. In essence, archaeology was constructed and validated by the manifestation of the relationship between collectors, antiquities and site. The archaeologist authenticated the objects and made them into scientific knowledge through the recording methodologies and the affiliations with powerful institutions. The episode of the Cesnola Collection showed that the authority of displays and of archaeological museum spaces relied on the collecting practices of the field. Following the collections in different contexts illuminated collecting practices as another link between the museum and the field.

Cypriot archaeology was constituted by a variety of spaces (real or imagined) to accomplish its objectives and establish its credentials. In this project the field was complexified and was not treated simply as a place for gathering objects. The two arguments, presented here, point to the ways the museum and the field were mutually constitutive but differently materialized by each alteration of the network people-objects-space in various temporal and spatial contexts. The story of the social lives of Cypriot antiquities does not have a beginning and an end. It is

circulatory and moves between different spaces with each change in the objects' life either physical or theoretical.

Afterword: Cypriot antiquities in Gallery 72 of the British Museum

The story of the Cypriot antiquities in the British Museum and, in consequence, how the ancient history of the island is presented is continuously changed by the curators' interpretation of the objects. Throughout the twentieth century the antiquities remained in a peripheral state, namely they were assimilated and dispersed in various galleries of the Upper Floor. However, the antiquities kept and keep moving within the edifices of the British Museum according to the academic interests of the curators. Only in 1987 with the contribution of Veronica Tatton-Brown, the then curator of Cypriot antiquities in the Greek and Roman Antiquities Department, and funded by the A.G. Leventis Foundation, were Cypriot antiquities were displayed in their own gallery, in room 72 (between the Etruscan civilization and ancient Greek civilization). The display is made up of objects obtained mostly by the British Museum and Cyprus Exploration Fund excavations of Lang, Colnaghi and Richter. Each object's captions mentions the collector, showing that regardless of the de-contextualized critiques placed by contemporary archaeologists on the methodologies for collecting the objects, their scientific value attained in the nineteenth century still persists.

Cypriot antiquities obtained in the nineteenth century seem to remain outside of current debates on repatriation and looting (see for example Plantzos, 2011; Yasaitis, 2006). Despite the efforts made by Cypriot archaeologists for contextualizing the early excavations and for a social history of Cypriot archaeology, the diggings of this period are characterized as mere looting (particularly Cesnola) (see for example Marankou, 2000). However these claims were never transformed into repatriation requests and never left academic circles. Instead of repatriation, the Cypriot authorities have focused on stopping the looting of antiquities that is still on-going. Even after more than a century, the official state has not yet managed to regulate Cypriot archaeology.

This study offers some significant insights on the issue of cultural property as discussed in James Cuno's (2008, 2012a) polemical books. In *Who Owns Antiquity?* (2008) and *Whose Culture?* (2012a) it is advocated that the collections exhibited at the "encyclopaedic museum" comprise the world's common cultural heritage. It is argued that "encyclopaedic museums" should acquire and display the "unexcavated antiquities with incomplete provenance" for the finding spot is not a key criterion in declaring the significance of the objects (Cuno 2012b, 12). The "unexcavated" objects are the artefacts that have not been gathered through scientific archaeological excavation but through individual collection, legal or otherwise. Cuno and the other contributors to *Whose Culture?* (2012a) assert that the archaeological context is but one of the many contexts antiquities have; for example it is claimed that an important context is the object's modern acquisition as it can tell about the history of value, art and taste.

This thesis and in particular the discussion on the display of the Cesnola Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of New York has demonstrated that the spatial context (both the archaeological and the modern) of antiquities is of vital significance in museum exhibitions. The accusation of fraud against L.P. di Cesnola shows that not only the authenticity of objects is tainted due to contested provenance but the ethical reliability of the collector as well. The law-suit resulted in the storage of Cesnola's collection in the vaults of the Museum and its dispersal to other institutions in North America. It is, only recently that (echoing current arguments of museum directors noted above) the Cesnola Collection was reinstalled in four galleries at the Metropolitan Museum of New York.[318] However the minutes of the Board of Trustees housed at the New York Museum, including the documents relating to the Cesnola case, are closed for research in order to "protect individual privacy rights and proprietary rights of the Museum".[319] This policy in conjunction with the disputed origins of the Cesnola Collection might indicate that concern over the spatial context of antiquities still persists, even if it is proclaimed otherwise

[318] The reinstallation was completed in 2000 and was funded by the A.G. Leventis Foundation.
[319] The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives Access Policy and Procedures page 1 http://libmma.org/digital_files/archives/Policy_and_procedures.pdf (last accessed 14th May 2014, see footnote 14 page 93)

(Cuno 2012a), and demonstrates that further theoretical and historical reflection on the matter is needed.

Thomas Kiely (2009, 2010), the current curator of Cypriot antiquities at the British Museum, has been advocating for a social history of Cypriot archaeology. Kiely's proposal is materialised in the Gallery 72. After the renovation of the room (occurring sometime in 2011-2012) an enormous photograph was added, depicting a nineteenth-century collector with his local workers (see fig. 6.3). The caption on the photograph acknowledges (echoing historical geographies of science) the contribution of the, albeit nameless, local workers in nineteenth-century archaeology. Although the objects, in their majority, were not moved, the social history of their discovery has become more accessible to museum visitors. Importantly the caption at the entrance of the room acknowledges the indigenous cultural development of the island with external influences. The story of Cypriot antiquities is once again changed within a single space. Nonetheless, Lang's prominent statue still stands at the entrance[320] of Gallery 72 and greets the visitor (fig. 8.1.).

[320] if the imaginary route constructed by the museum is followed

Figure 8.1 Colossal limestone statue, Greek and Roman Department, British Museum, photograph: Polina Nikolaou 2012

Appendices

Appendix 1: The Ottoman Antiquities Law[321]

Ottoman Law on Antiquities 1874: (according to the translation)

1. All kinds of articles of art remaining from ancient times are antiquities.
2. There are two kinds of antiquities, the first consisting of coins and the second of other articles whether capable of being transported or not.

Chapter I: The right of possessing and details respecting antiquities.

3. Undiscovered antiquities wherever they may be found belong to the State. But when antiquities are searched for by authority, one third of the discoveries shall belong to the state, one third to the discoverer and one third to the owner of the land on which such antiquities shall be found. If the discoverer has found them on his own land two thirds shall belong to him and one third to the State.
4. Applications for permission to search for antiquities or treasures shall be addressed to the ministry of Public Instruction either directly or through the local authorities.
5. Apportionment of antiquities shall as may be the desire of the Government be made either in kind or in value.
6. Local agents shall if necessary be appointed for the protection of such antiquities as temples and alter buildings found in perfect conditions in places having owners.

Chapter II: Terms under which antiquities and treasures may be searched and excavated for.

7. It shall be prohibited to make excavations especially for the search of antiquities or treasures without official authority and without consent of the proprietor of the land. Antiquities discovered by persons acting in contradiction of this prohibition shall be totally seized and offenders shall be liable to be punished in a penalty of from one to five Turkish liras or by imprisonment for a period of from three days to one week. In the case in

[321] CSA, SA01/8

which excavations have been made on the property of some other person without his consent any damages that may have been causes by such excavations shall be made good on the claim of the proprietor.

8. The necessary permission for searching for antiquities or treasures shall be granted by the ministry of Public Instruction exclusively after reference to the Sublime Porte for sanction and a printed counterfoil book, in accordance with the form which shall be adopted, shall in the meantime be issued for the registration of the antiquities to be discovered.
9. The Ministry of Police in Constantinople and the local authorities in the Vilayets (Ottoman provinces) shall receive supervision in order to see whether the holders of permits act conformably to the provision of the law in making excavations and their proceedings.
10. The permission applied for shall be granted after ascertaining that no objections exist to the excavations being carried out on the spot proposed and after a certificate confirmed by the local authorities shall have been produced by the applicant to the effect that he has obtained the consent of the owner of the property. The applicant shall be required to deposit such a sum of money in the Board of Public Instruction may direct or to furnish good security and shall pay three Turkish liras.
11. No permit granted for the search of antiquities or treasures shall be valid for a period of more than two years.
12. The permit may be renewed if after its expiration it is desired to continue the excavations.
13. The permit shall not extend beyond the boundaries of a village or country town and the person applying for it shall be bound to point out the locality and its boundaries and in case of necessity to produce a plan of the same.
14. Excavations in temples, telsiehs and medresses (colleges for the study of mahometan law and divinity) and in places like cemeteries, aqueducts, and public roads where injury might be occasioned to the public shall not be allowed.
15. If after the grant of the permit and the commencement of the excavations any inconvenience arises the excavations shall be suspended after

communication with the Ministry of Public Instruction and no one shall have the right to claim to be reimbursed the expenses of the excavations in consequence of such suspension.

16. If during the excavations any injury is observed or if after the completion of the work it appears after inspection by the local authorities of the places excavated that the excavations are injurious to the public such part of the antiquities found in the hands of the searcher as may form his share shall be retained until the injury is removed at his own expense.
17. No officials of the Ottoman Government or of other Governments shall be granted authority for the search of antiquities or treasures in their own manner in places not being their private property within the circle of their jurisdiction.
18. The holder of a permit shall not be allowed to cede or sell to another person.
19. So shall not be lawful to grant a permit to one and the same person to make excavations on two different spots at the same time.
20. If within three months of the date of the permit the excavations are not commenced or if after commencement there are suspended for a period of two months the permit shall be null and void.
21. If the distance of the locality where the excavations are to be made from populated places is so great as to render constant supervision by the Government difficult an official shall be appointed to accompany the possessor of the permit and the expenses of such appointment shall be defrayed by the latter.
22. Every kind of expense incurred for excavations shall be defrayed by the holder of the permit.
23. In case it is desired to make excavations for the Government in places not being “mulk” (private) property or dependent on inhabited places where it is expected that antiquities may be found such localities shall not be ceded to other persons.
24. In case the localities where excavations are made by the Government belong to private individuals any damages that by be caused to the proprietors by such excavations shall be made good.

Chapter III: Information and proceedings respecting antiquities and their apportionment.

25. Persons who discover antiquities accidentally or by search in virtue of a permit shall in case no official shall have been appointed to accompany them under article eight bound to inform the local authorities of their discovery within a period not exceeding ten days and if any person fails to give such information within the prescribed period he shall pay a fine equal to one fourth of the value of the antiquities discovered by him exclusive of the share of the Government.
26. The description and quantity of antiquities reported under article 25 shall be intended in the printed counterfoil book issued by the ministry of Public Instruction with the permit. The said book shall then be signed and sealed at the book by both the government and the discoverer of the antiquities and after being duly ratified one copy of it shall be delivered to the discoverer and the other copy shall after registration at the commission of Public Instruction or the administrative council of the place be forwarded to the Ministry of Public Instruction.
27. Division of Antiquities shall be made in kind on the basis of the book prepared to article 26 and a note of the records of the division shall be added to the foot of the book.
28. If the local authorities hesitate to decide whether the division should be in kind or value they shall apply to the Ministry of Public Instruction by telegraph for advice.
29. The Government and the discoverer shall each appoint an expert to assess the value of antiquities which cannot be divided and in case then in any difference of opinion between these two experts the decision of a third expert to be appointed by the Government as an Umpire shall be conclusive.

30. If after or before the expiration of the permit its holder reports that he has completed his excavations and it is shown that he has fully observed the conditions of the law the money he deposited shall be returned to him against his receipt for the same.

Chapter IV: Provisions respecting the importation, exportation, sale, purchase and concealment of antiquities.

31. Antiquities brought to Turkish territory from foreign countries or to Constantinople from other parts of the Ottoman Empire whether consisting of coins or other articles shall be exempt from Custom duties.
32. A list of the coins and other antiquities to be exported to foreign countries from any part whatsoever of the Ottoman Empire shall be forwarded to the Ministry of Public Instruction and such antiquities shall not be exported without official authority. Should it be desired to purchase any of such antiquities which may be required for the (Government) museum the value of the same shall be paid to the owner by coming to an understanding with him and authority shall be given for the exportation of the remainder.
33. The exportation of antiquities to foreign countries from the Ottoman Empire shall be allowed after the formalities prescribed by cert: 32 have been carried out on payment of the Custom duties. Antiquities brought from foreign countries shall be registered one by one in a special book to be kept at the Custom House and or re-exportation a permit (for exportation) shall be issued without charging any duties after comparison of the antiquities with the register.
34. Articles seized while being smuggled shall be entirely confiscated.

Conclusion:

35. Persons who destroy or damage any antiquities existing or set up in public or private places such as buildings it shall, in addition to the payment of

compensation and a fine under art: 130 of the Penal Code, be liable to imprisonment for a period of from one month to one year.

36. Auctioneers on at the rate of 570 shall be taken on antiquities sold by auction and such fees as well as the monies occurring from the apportionment of antiquities ad valorem and the proceeds of fines and charges for permits and of confiscations shall belong to the chise (probably fund) of the Museum.

20th Sefer 1291= 24th March (O.I.) 1290/1874

Appendix 2: Summary of the Draft Law 1897 [322]

PART I General

1. Definitions: In this Law unless the context otherwise requires

The expression "person" includes all bodies, corporate collections of persons and foreign governments or their representative, or any person whose title is recognized by the law of Cyprus. "Owner" means any person whose title is recognised by the Law of Cyprus.

The expression antiquities shall mean and include the following objects dating or reasonably believed to date from a period prior to the Turkish conquest of Cyprus that is to say

i) Statues and Statuary sculptured or dressed stone and marble of all descriptions engravings, carvings, inscriptions, paintings and the material whereon the same appear, all specimens of ceramic and metallurgic art, coins, gems, seals, jewels, jewelry, arms, ornaments and generally all moveable property of antiquarian interest.
ii) Temples, churches, monuments, tombs, buildings and immoveable property of a like nature.

2. Antiquities owned by the Government: the following antiquities shall be deemed to be the absolute property of the Government of Cyprus, that is to say: i) all antiquities referred to the second subsection of the last preceding section where no person has acquired a legal title thereto ii) all antiquities of whatever nature lying exposed on the surface of the ground or discovered in land to which no person has acquired a legal title or under the sea or in any harbor or bay or river other than a private river.

3. Antiquities not the absolute property of Gov: On the discovery of antiquities other than those by this Law defined to be the absolute property of Government, one third part thereof shall be taken by the Government, one thir part by the owner of the land where the antiqutiies have been discovered and subject to the provisions

[322] Executive Council Minute Report of Meetings with Draft Law of 1897 (14th August 1897), CSA, SA1/2604/1896

of this Law one third part by the finder. Where the finder is himself the owner of the land where the antiqutiies have been discovered subject as aforesaid two third parts shall be taken by him and one third part by the government. Where antiquities are discovered on land belonging to the Government two third part of the such antiquities shall be taken by the Government and subject as aaforesaid the remaining one third by the finder.

Part II: Permission to Excavate

4. If anyone desires to excavate in private (even his own) and government land must have permit from the High Commissioner otherwise the findings will be considered as illegal objects and will be confiscated. Also there will be the penalty of imprisonment or fine.

5. There will be a penalty to any person buying illegally excavated antiquities or to any individual that has information about it.

6. All applications for permit for excavation will be addressed to Chief Secretary to Government and contain a full and accurate description of the nature, extend and boundaries of the land in which digging is intended to carry on.

7. Permit will be given when the landowner or person beneficially interested in the land has consented, when the proposed excavation will not cause any damage or inconvenience to the inhabitants of the proposed place or to any place dedicated to religion, cemetery, school, water source, irrigation work or public road or if likely damage provision to be made for the payment of compensation.

8. High Commissioner gives permit under the hand of Chief Secretary in accordance with these terms. Every permit states the period it will remain in force and will not exceed two years and have the following stipulation as High Commissioner shall think fit: as to the supervisions by officers appointed by High Commissioner, as to the payment of such officers by the excavators, as to the keeping by the excavator a record in duplicate in such form as may be prescribed of all antiquities discovered (and one copy will be forwarded to the Committee of Cyprus Museum).

9. The excavator must pay an amount for security.

10. The excavator can withdraw from digging at any time.

11. The share of the Government in any antiquities discovered in the course of excavation may be taken as the High Commissioner thinks proper, in value or in kind and the High Commissioner may if he thinks fit agree with the holder of the permit as to the manner in which the share of the Government shall be ascertained.

12. In default of any special agreement as to the manner in which antiquities are to be apportioned between the Government and the persons entitled to shares therein, or, in case the Government has elected to take its share in value, as to the manner in which the sum to be paid to the Government is to be ascertained the apportionment or the valuation of the share of the Government shall be referred to arbitrators one to be chosen by each of the interest parties and the arbitrators before proceeding to a division or valuation shall select an umpire whose decision in case of disagreement shall be final.

13. When Government chooses its share the excavator on his own costs sends the Government's and his own share to Nicosia or other place appointed by High Commissioner.

14. After the expiration of a permit High Commissioner may renew it and shall not exceed the duration of two years.

15. If any person excavating causes any damages the Government has no liability.

Part III: Accidental discovery of antiquities.

16. The person who accidentally found antiquities must report them by full and accurate description to the District Commissioner within days otherwise he shall be guilty of offense.

17. The share in the accidental discovery of antiquities when reported shall be the same as with authorized.

Part IV Export of antiquities:

18. Exportation of antiquities shall be allowed only with permission written by High Commissioner otherwise the exporter shall be guilty of offense liable to fine and the objects will be forfeited.

19. The application for exporting shall be addressed to the acting Chief Secretary to the Government and shall include a detailed list of the articles and shall name a place of inspection by a person appointed by High Commissioner.

20. If any of the objects to be exported appears desirable to be taken to the Cyprus Museum High Commissioner shall refuse to grant permit to export.

PART V Miscellaneous

21. If the trustees or other persons entrusted with the management of the Cyprus Museum shall fail to agree with the owner as to the price to be paid for the antiquity sought to be acquired it shall be referred to an expert to be named by the High Commissioner to fix a fair price to be paid for such antiquity. On payment of the amount agreed or ascertained as aforesaid the antiquity shall become the property of the Cyprus Museum. If after the lapse of months from the date when the expert fixed the price the sum so fixed remains unpaid the Cyprus Museum shall be deemed to have lost all right to the acquisition of the antiquity and permission to export the same may be granted by the High Commissioner if he shall think fit.

22. Any objects from share or confiscated deposited to Cyprus Museum and the proceeds of all fines taken by Government and when the Government share is taken in value will be passed to the credit of the Cyprus Museum account.

23. There will be a penalty for willfully injuring antiquities.

24. There will be a reward to informers of illicit excavations.

25. There will be a copy of any book or catalogue referring to Cypriot antiquities in the Nicosia museum.

26. Law of 20 Sefer 1291 is repealed.

27. This law may be cited as Antiquities' Law 1897 and will come into force on a day to be notified by High Commissioner in the official gazette.

Appendix 3: Summary of the Draft Law No 1896: "To Regulate and place upon a better footing the Cyprus Museum"[323]

Whereas there has existed for some time past an Institution known as the Cyprus Museum in which there have been collected from time to time many and valuable Cyprian (sic) antiquities and works of art and whereas it is desirable to promote and regulate by the law the affairs of such Museum.

Be it enacted &c. &c.

1. Antiquities &c. to belong to Cyprus Museum in trust for the Public: From and after the passing of this Law all antiquities or objects of art which are now contained in the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia shall belong absolutely to the Cyprus Museum in trust for the community of Cyprus generally, and any antiquities or objects of art which may hereafter acquired by the said Museum shall be held and acquired by the same trust.
2. Committee of Management: The Cyprus Museum shall be under the sole control and management of a Committee of Management hereinafter called the Committee, which Committee shall consist of persons to be appointed from time to time by the High Commissioner, and all such appointments shall be honorary appointments.
3. Duties of Committee: The duties of the Committee shall be to acquire or rent suitable premises for the Museum having regard to the income or funds at their command, to take steps from time to time to have the antiqutiies and objects of art properly catalogued, to preserve and pose the same in the Museum to the best antavantage, to acquire by purchase, barter of duplicate specimens or otherwise, Cyprian (sic) antiquities, to collect the income or funds of the Museum and to apply the same to the best advantage of the Museum, and generally to promote the interests of the same.
4. Income of the Museum: The income or funds of the Cyprus Museum shall consist of voluntary subscriptions, monies resulting from the sale of duplicate specimens of antiquities, the proceeds of all fines imposed upon

[323] Draft Law No 1896, CSA, SA1/649/1895

persons for illicit digging for antiquities and such monies as the Government may from time to time subscribe by way of grant-in-aid.

5. Situation of Museum &c.: The Cyprus Museum shall be situate in Nicosia but it shall be lawful for the Committee to rent or otherwise acquire premises in Larnaca or elsewhere for the purpose of the better disposing by sale or barter any of its duplicate specimens. Provided always that before disposing of any specimens of its antiquities the Committee shall be satisfied that the same are really duplicates.
6. Increase of penalties for illicit digging: From and after the passing of this Law the penalties prescribed by Art 7 of the Regulations as to Antiqutiies dated 20 Sefer 1291, for the illicit digging for antiquities, shall be increased and shall be as follows, a fine not exceeding 50 pounds or imprisonment not exceeding six months.
7. Power to sue and be sued by the Committee in its own name: The Committee may sue and be sued in its own name as committee of the Cyprus Museum, but no personal liability shall attach to any member thereof in repsect of his acts as such member.
8. Appointment of the Curator: The Committee may appoint such person to be curator of the Museum as may seem to the desirable, having regard to the financial condition of the Museum.
9. Accounts and Audit: The accounts of Museum shall be kept in a book by the Committee and shall be closed at the end of every year and submitted to an officer to be appointed for that purpose by the Government, for audit.
10. Power to make Rules: It shall be lawful for the Committee from time to time to make Rules, subject to the approval thereof by the High Commissioner, with regard to the days and hours upon which the Cyprus Museum shall be open to the public either free of charge or subject to payment for admission, and generally for the better carrying out the provisions of this Law, and such Rules shall have the same force and effect as if they formed a portion of this Law,
11. Short Title: This law may be cited as “The Museum Law, 1896”

The existing draft Law was revised in 1897, a summary of which is presented

"To regulate and Place upon a better footing the Cyprus Museum"[324]

1. Antiquities etc shall belong absolutely belong to Cyprus Museum in trust for the community of Cyprus in generally: all antiquities already there and all that will be acquired by Government.
2. Committee of Management: Cyprus Museum would be under its control and High Commissioner its president. The Committee will be consisted of eight members; Cadi, Archbishop, three members appointed by High Commissioner and three elected by subscribers and will have duration of two years. These positions will be honorary appointments and not ex officio.
3. Property of Cyprus Museum is vested in the Committee and shall be liable to any payments the committee may be ordered to make by the order of the Court and chargeable with any debt with the Committee may occur.
4. Duties of Committee: acquire suitable premises for Cyprus Museum, in charge of the income, objects properly catalogued, preserve Cyprus Museum, to acquire by purchase, by barter of duplicate specimens or otherwise Cyprian antiquities, to sell to exchange dispose of duplicate specimens, to promote the interests of Cyprus Museum, provide the Legislative Council before 31st March of each year the economic statement of Cyprus Museum,
5. Income: voluntary subscriptions, money from duplicates sale, proceeds of fines, share of Government taken in value, Government may subscribe from time to time by way of grant-in-aid and any other moneys in law.
6. Cyprus Museum to be situated in Nicosia
7. Power to sue and be sued by the Committee on its own name but with no personal liability.
8. Appointment of Curator by Committee subject to the approval of High Commissioner
9. Accounts of Museum kept in a book by Committee and each year closed and submitted for audit to an officer appointed by High Commissioner.

[324] Draft Law 1898, CSA, SA1/2604/1896

10. Committee has the power from time to time to make rules subject of approval by High Commissioner with regard to admission hours, free or charge entrance, to prescribe the amount of such payment and generally for the better carrying out the provisions of this Law and such rules shall have the same force and effect as if they formed a portion of this law.
11. Short Title: This law may be cited as “The Museum Law, 1897”

Appendix 4: Cyprus Museum Petition Address[325]

"We the undersigned desire most respectfully to approach your Excellency with a view of begging your Excellency to sanction and aid in the formation of an Island Museum of Ancient art to be established at Nicosia.

Whereas the great influence both on the education of the mind and cultivation of taste of the people derived from similar institutions in other countries where they have been established has been proved; and whereas this Island is specially rich in antiquities of which every inhabitant is justly proud; and whereas the study of such antiquities leads to a more correct insight into the former history of the island and of the races that inhabited it; and whereas the formation of a museum would be a means of attracting savants and strangers from other countries to the island and would give them facilities for studying the ancient antiquities and whereas it is the general wish of the people that specimens of ancient art should be preserved we therefore humbly petition your Excellency to contribute by a small annual grant from the Island Revenues and to aid by other means the financial position of a museum in the Island.

In order that your Excellency may have some definite scheme laid before you. We beg to propose subject to your Excellency's approval and alteration the following points. 1st That a Council be formed for the direction of the affairs of the museum, three to form a quorum. That the Council prepare an annual statement of the position of the museum both financially and otherwise to be published in the Island papers and laid before a general meeting of subscribers.

That the following gentlemen be asked to form the Council

President: H.E. Sir R.Biddulph K.C.M.G.C.B.

Vice Presidents: His Grace the Archbishop of Cyprus, The Cadi of Cyprus, the Mufti of Cyprus

[325] Petition for the formation of Cyprus Museum (15th June 1882), CSA, SA1/6543/1882

Members: E.Bovill Esq., C.Cobham Esq., Mr Efstathios, Mr Peristiani, H.H. Kitchener Esq., S. Brown Esq., W.Corby Esq., Mr Pierides, Hakki Effendi, Curator and Hon. Sec.

The Council to appoint corresponding members of council in the districts and to have power to add their number.

Three members to retire annually but eligible for reelection at general meeting of subscribers.

2nd That the Council be empowered to ask for subscriptions and donations in money and contributions of antiquities from all classes and after the expenses of maintenance be defrayed that the council should undertake excavations in the most likely localities.

3rd That a record be kept in the museum of the results of all excavations in the Island whether for the Cyprus museum or for other bodies and that your Excellency be requested not to allow for excavations unless an agreement has been made to give such a record to the Cyprus museum.

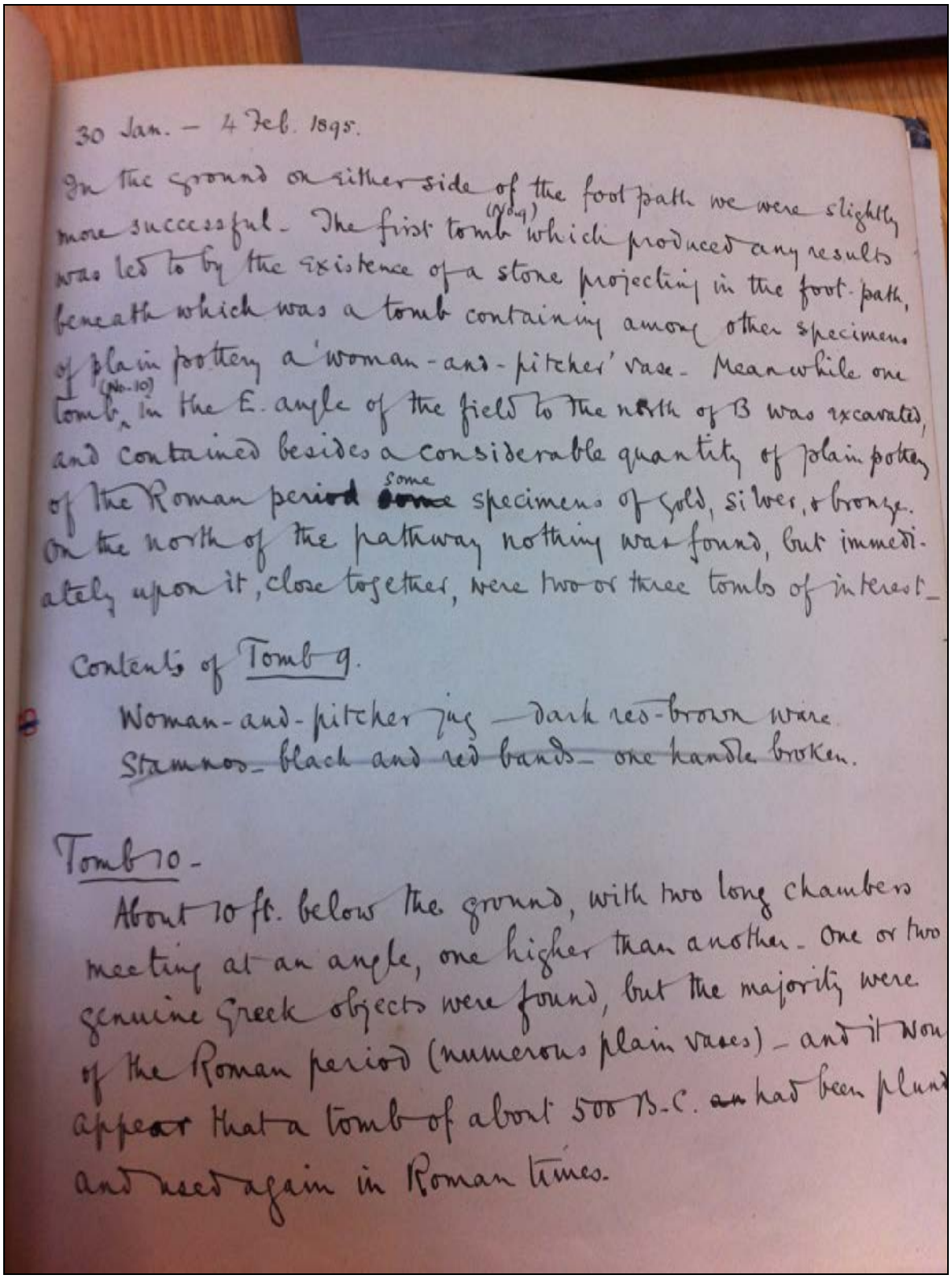
4th That your Excellency be asked to allow the confiscated Cesnola collection to be deposited in the museum as a nucleus.

We would further humbly beg that should your Excellency approve of this scheme. The Cyprus Museum may be officially recognized as the depository of all antiquities and Art treasures in the Island and that the Government may give up to the museum such portion as by law belongs to the Government of antiquities and Art Treasures as may from time to time be discovered and further the museum thus established under the supervision of the Government of Cyprus may be considered a permanent Nation Institution."

Signed: o Kyprou Sofronios (Archbishop), D. Stewart

Approved R. Biddulph high commissioner 15 june 1882

Appendix 5: British Museum Notebooks, BM GR



30 Jan. – 4 Feb. 1895.

In the ground on either side of the foot path we were slightly more successful. The first tomb (No. 9) which produced any results was led to by the existence of a stone projecting in the foot-path, beneath which was a tomb containing among other specimens of plain pottery a 'woman-and-pitcher' vase. Meanwhile one tomb (No. 10) in the E. angle of the field to the north of B was excavated, and contained besides a considerable quantity of plain pottery of the Roman period ~~some~~ some specimens of gold, silver, & bronze. On the north of the pathway nothing was found, but immediately upon it, close together, were two or three tombs of interest.

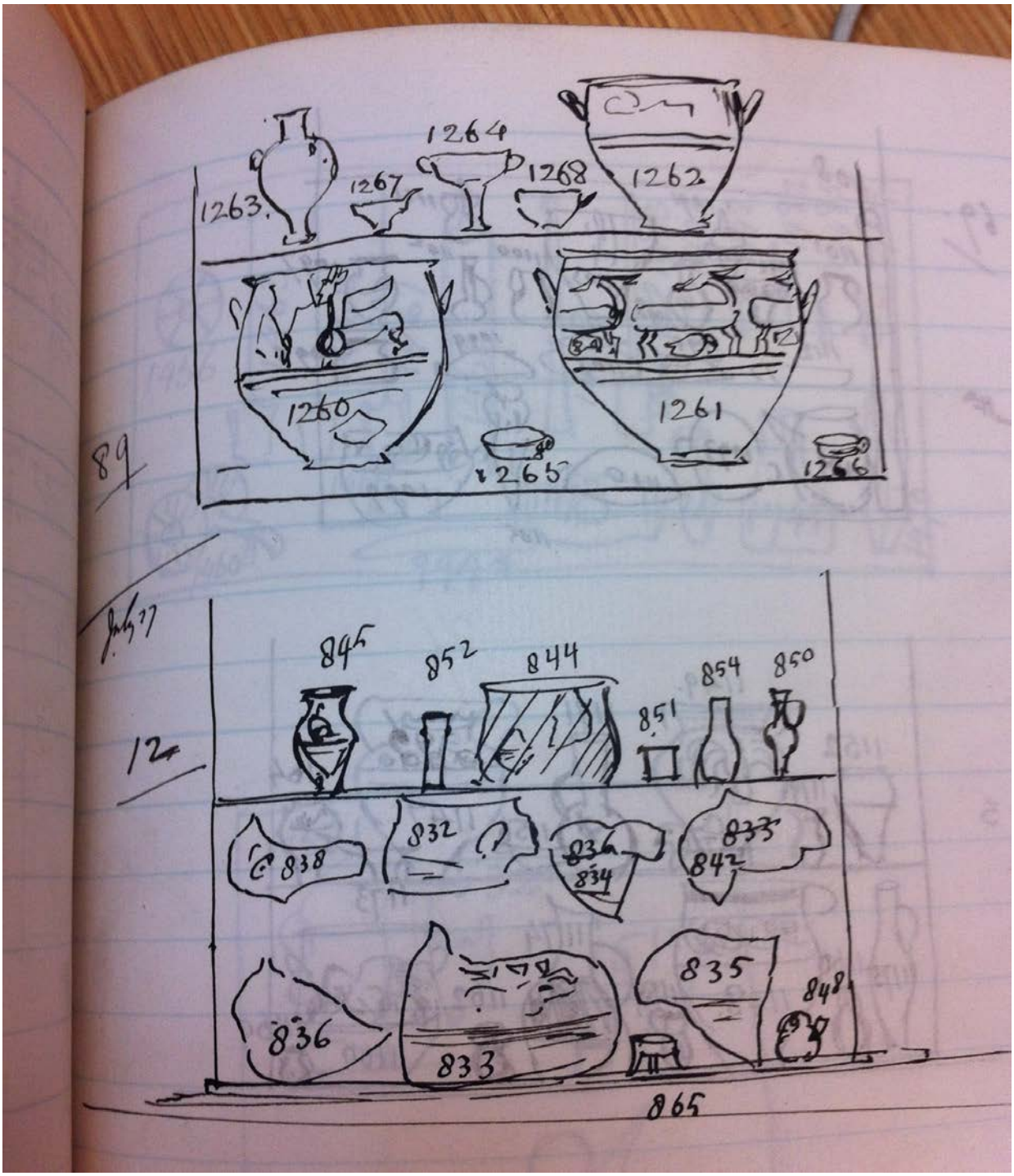
Contents of Tomb 9.

Woman-and-pitcher jug — dark red-brown ware.
~~Stamnos – black and red bands – one handle broken.~~

Tomb 10.

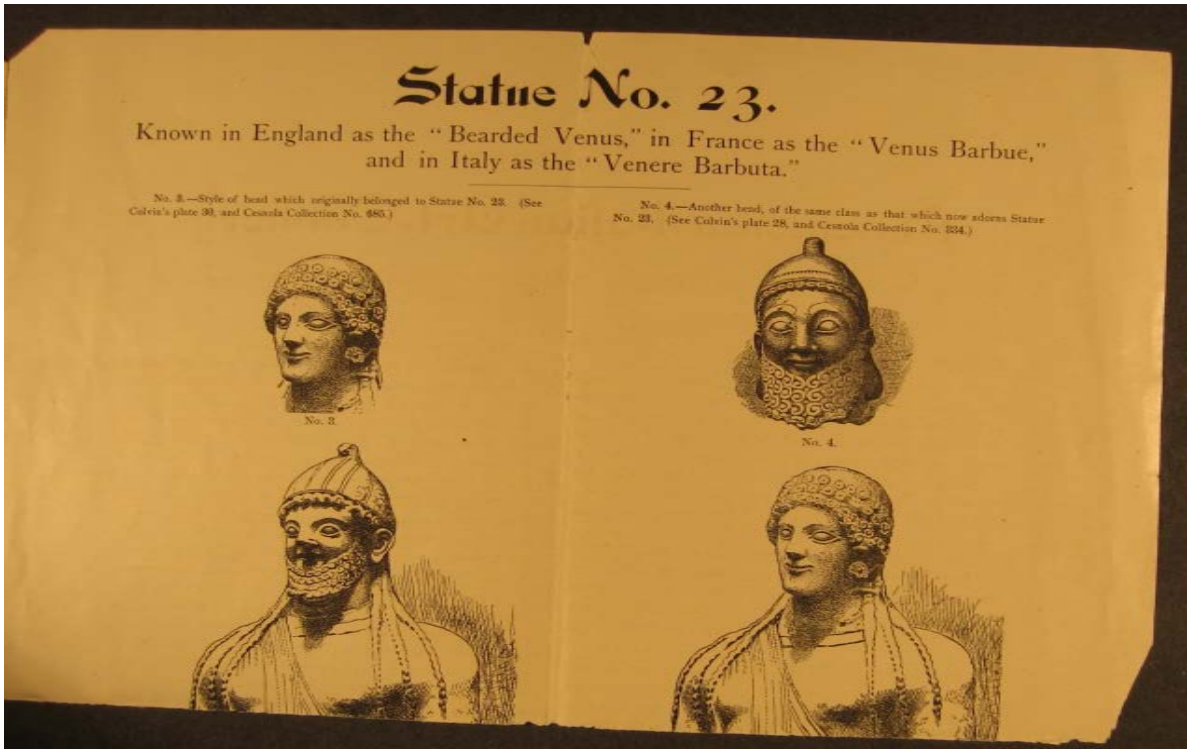
About 10 ft. below the ground, with two long chambers meeting at an angle, one higher than another. One or two genuine Greek objects were found, but the majority were of the Roman period (numerous plain vases) – and it would appear that a tomb of about 500 B.C. ~~an~~ had been plundered and used again in Roman times.

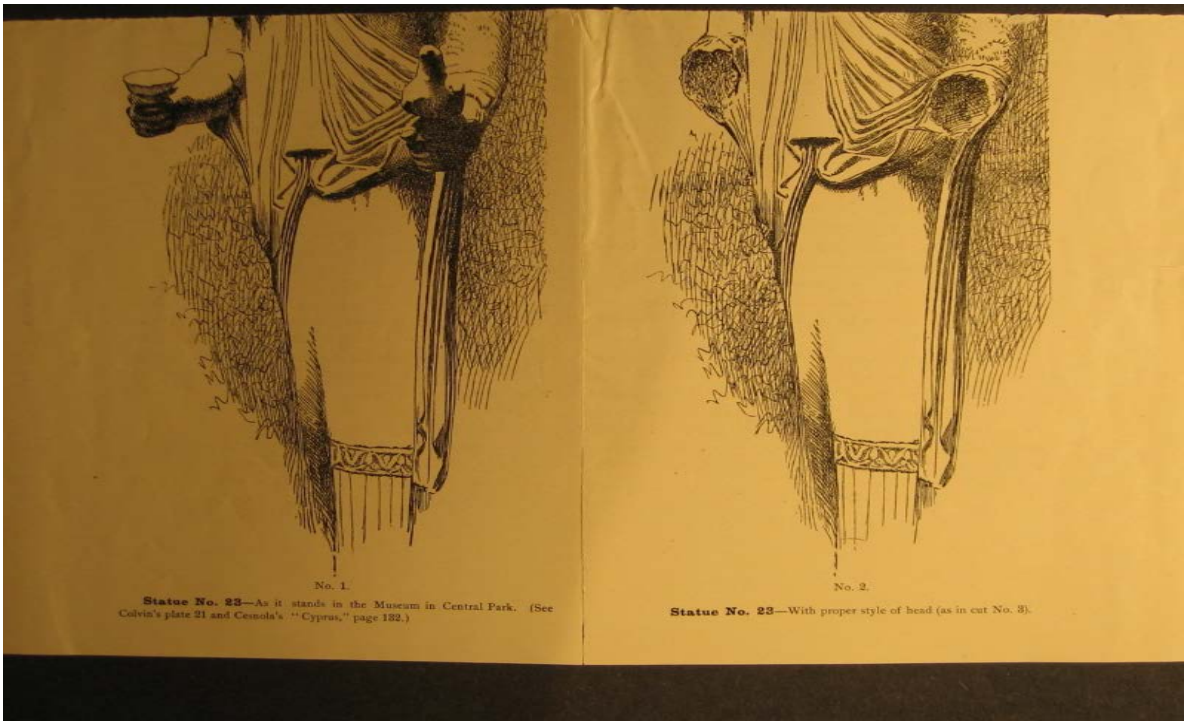
H.B. Walters, Curium Notebook 1895, Reproduced with permission of the Trustees of the British Museum



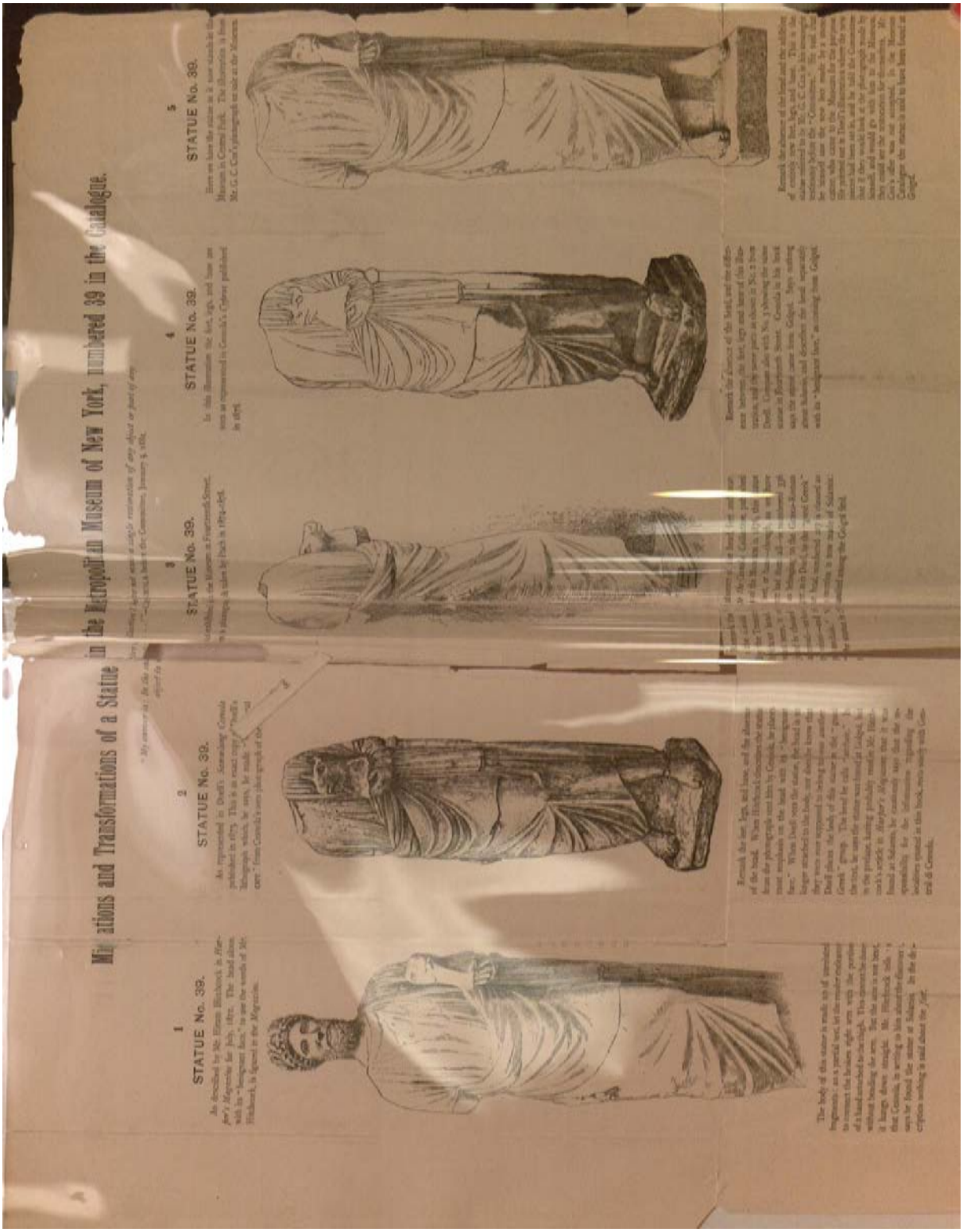
Notes at Enkomi 1896, Reproduced with perimission of the Trustees of the British Museum

Appendix 6: Tampering with Antiquities





Pamphlet by G.Feuardent, 1882, DCA, MS 68, Box 2, Courtesy of Dartmouth College Archives



Pamphlet by C. Cook, Thomas J.Watson Library, Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of New York

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SA01/ 8

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SA1/99/1884	SA1/1184/1892	SA1/3461/1889
SA1/174/1897	SA1/1393/1888	SA1/4596/1885
SA1/186/1894	SA1/1422/1893	SA1/4658/1885
SA1/256/1893	SA1/1486/1888	SA1/5919/1880
SA1/443/1884	SA1/1585/1894	SA1/6543/1882
SA1/499/1896	SA1/1720/1890	
SA1/649/1896	SA1/1851/1891	
SA1/769/1889	SA1/1977/1894	
SA1/1035/1887	SA1/2065/1885	
SA1/1058/1889	SA1/2089/1886	

[327] These lists refer to the files containing the documents used in this thesis. In the Cyprus State Archives documents are thematically divided and stored in numbered files. Each document does not bear a reference number and as such it cannot be retrieved individually. Only the file, in which the document is stored, can be located in the form given at the list. Abbreviation SA1 (Secretariat Archives) refers to the division of the Cyprus State Archives in which the files are catalogued; the catalogue number of the file, referring to the files' theme, is quoted next; and the date of the file is put at the end.

Dartmouth College Archives

Papers 1863-1885

- MS 68: Cesnola, Luigi Palma di, 1832-1904, Box 2 (including pamphlets and periodicals)

Folder 2: Correspondence 1865-1870

Folder 3: Correspondence 1871-1875

Folder 4: Correspondence 1876-1885

Folder 5: Monuments and Material Relating to Cyprus

Folder 6: Materials Relating to Lawsuit

British Museum

Greek and Roman Department Archives:

Greek and Roman Departmental

Records (GR R)

Vol. 1864-1866

Vol. 1881-1882

Vol. 1883-1884

Vol. 1895-1896

Vol.1897-1898

Vol. 1899-1902

Original Letters (GR OL) (incoming)

Vol. 1861-1868 A-K

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Vol. 1879-1882

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