

The Effects of Antiquarianism and Colonialism on Cultural Heritage Formation:
A Study of Archaeology and Museum Collection in British Cyprus

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Introduction

Like all other countries whose soil has preserved the relics of ancient art, Cyprus has been the arena for a struggle between the natives, with whom it is an article of faith that all antiquities found in their country should be kept there, and the people of less favoured lands, who scramble for works of art to fill their museums. There is no disputing the fact that until the collectors, public or private, of the West began to compete for such treasures they were regarded with indifference and neglected in the lands of their origin.

—Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*¹

Written by the former Director and Principal librarian of the British Museum, this statement illustrates the belief that western powers were justified in collecting antiquities from countries like Cyprus because they were of little value to the local people and could be better appreciated in the art museums of Europe. It was this sense of entitlement that allowed for the great collections of European and North American art museums and eventually sparked many of the debates concerning repatriation seen in the museum community today. Though it is true that the first archaeological museum was not established in Cyprus until 1888, the assumption that lack of museum presence on the island was an absolute indication of archaeological appreciation seems a bit narrow and certainly suits European collectors' interests. It is likely that this assumption of a certain sense of superiority is based on contemporary perceptions of 19th century Cyprus.

Until the independent Republic of Cyprus was established in 1960, the island was subject to foreign rule for the majority of its history. In 1570, the Ottoman Empire attacked the city of Famagusta in a siege that lasted eleven months. From that point on, Cyprus was an Ottoman

¹ George Hill, *A History of Cyprus* Vol. IV *The Ottoman Province, The British Colony, 1571-1948*. ed. Harry Luke. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952) 607.

entity, and therefore fell under the Islamic Law that governed the empire. These laws were particularly significant in terms of the practice of archaeology during this period.² European culture at this point was strongly philhellene, and the atrocities that occurred under Ottoman rule in Greece during the Greek War of Independence in 1821 struck a deep chord in European society. The same cannot be said for Cyprus it seems. Though the Greek-Cypriots did not actively engage in the rebellion, as a result of the insurrection in Greece, the Turkish governor executed more than four hundred seventy-five Greek-Cypriots. These events had little impact in western Europe, particularly in Britain.³

Cyprus was never a part of the European Grand Tour, and therefore it was far from the minds of many western Europeans who would later take great interest in the archaeological riches of the island.⁴ During this time, Cyprus was an Ottoman entity, and thus was part of a culturally distinct group separate from that of the rest of continental Europe. Though at one point the Ottoman Empire may have been connected with impressions of an immoral society, by the beginning of the 19th century European perceptions of the Ottomans had transformed into one of “benign ambivalence,” as the empire no longer presented an imminent threat to the stability of Christian Europe.⁵ In his discussion of 19th century British perceptions of Cyprus, Peter Edbury reasons that, when thinking of the island, a well-educated Englishman would have conjured up images of St. Paul and Barnabas, Shakespeare’s *Othello*, and Richard the Lionhearted.⁶ All of these associations with the island would have been well known in British society, but the connection to Cyprus would have still been a distant one. This changed in 1878 at the

² G.R.H. Wright, “Archaeology and Islamic Law in Ottoman Cyprus,” in *Cyprus in the 19th century AD: Fact, Fancy and Fiction*, ed. Veronica Tatton-Brown, (London: Oxbow Books, 2001), 261.

³ Peter Edbury, “Cyprus in the 19th Century: perceptions and politics,” in *Cyprus in the 19th century AD: Fact, Fancy and Fiction*, ed. Veronica Tatton-Brown, (London: Oxbow Books, 2001), 13.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁶ *Ibid.*

Conference of Berlin when Britain acquired Cyprus from the Ottomans, once again transforming the island's history.

Though archaeology had certainly been a common practice in Cyprus long before British rule, both as a pastime and a means of personal or national gain, it was this transfer of power that allowed the British nearly complete access to the island's antiquities and resulted in a series of archaeological missions carried out by the British Museum and sponsored by private collectors.

It comes as no surprise that the discipline of archaeology in the 19th century was entirely different than it is today. Even disregarding the technological tools that archaeologists currently have at their disposal, general interest in archaeology in the 19th century had a completely different tone. Instead of a scholarly pursuit, archaeology was viewed more as a pastime, and especially in the case of Cyprus, British elites and officials came to the island to engage in archaeology recreationally. This is partly because the costs of digging were so negligible during this period, given that the sale of the antiquities was more than enough to cover the costs.⁷

Because artifacts were sold at local bazaars, even those who were not digging could return to England with valuable, ancient objects for their personal collections.⁸ These practices and the sale of Cypriot antiquities to private collectors sparked interest from European museums, and thus another chapter in the history of Cypriot archaeology began to unfold.

19th century European interest in Cypriot archaeology can largely be attributed to the contemporary fascination with archaeological material as sources of evidence for the events of the Bible and classical literature. Cyprus was an "unavoidable step toward the orient," a crossroads between east and west, between the holy land and the classical world, making it an

⁷ Claire Balandier, "Cyprus, a new archaeological frontier in the XIXth century: the struggle of European Museums for Cypriot Antiquities," in *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD: Fact, Fancy and Fiction*, ed. Veronica Tatton-Brown, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001), 6.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

ideal hunting ground for antiquities.⁹ In 1844, a stela of the Assyrian king Sargon II was discovered on the island at the ancient site of Kition. The find, which was acquired by the Berlin Museum, was contemporaneous with the rediscovery of the royal palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad, and thus Cyprus became linked with the near eastern world.¹⁰ However, the island's classical ties were also undeniable. One key attraction for classical scholars interested in the island was its connection to the divine figure of Aphrodite who, according to some sources of Greek mythology, was born on Cyprus. Though there were several different cults dedicated to Aphrodite in ancient Cyprus, 19th century traveller discourse was overwhelmed with the idea of Paphian Aphrodite, the initiator of love and the figure that is most commonly associated with the Greek pantheon.¹¹ As the birthplace of Aphrodite and as a location noted in other Greek myths, Cyprus was of key interest to classical scholars who sought to connect its artifacts with the ancient texts.¹² Such scholars were undoubtedly influenced by the work of Heinrich Schliemann, the German archaeologist whose discoveries at Troy and Mycenae were at this point well publicized. One of Schliemann's most envious rivals was Luigi Palma di Cesnola, whose excavations in Cyprus between 1865 and 1872 are infamous for their lack of consistency, record-keeping, and methodological rigor. The vast majority of the materials from Cesnola's excavations are still part of the Cesnola Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, where Cesnola was the first Director.¹³

Cesnola's collection sparked a great deal of controversy, not only in regards to his questionable excavation records, but also because of the competition it inspired between

⁹ Anastasia Serghidou, "Imaginary Cyprus: Revisiting the past and redefining the ancient landscape," in *Cyprus in the 19th century AD: Fact, Fancy and Fiction*, ed. Veronica Tatton-Brown, (London: Oxbow Books, 2001), 21.

¹⁰ Louise Steele, *Cyprus Before History: From the Earliest Settlers to the End of the Bronze Age*, (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., 2004), 6.

¹¹ Serghidou, "Imaginary Cyprus," 25.

¹² *Ibid.*, 26.

¹³ Vassos Karageorghis, "Introduction," in *Ancient Art from Cyprus: the Cesnola Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000), 3-5.

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museums, particularly the Met and the British Museum, who both sought to have his collection for their own.¹⁴ This competition between museums in, as Sir George Hill said, “less favoured lands, who scramble for works of art to fill their museums,” shows not only a genuine scholarly interest in studying the ancient past, but also a desire for antiquities collection as a means of nationalistic display. Once these ancient Cypriot artifacts arrived in western museums, they became part of larger collections, and as such were sorted and presented to the public in purposely-designed displays, often allowing for politically and intellectually-charged interpretations of these antiquities. The imprints of these early display techniques are still visible today.

This paper will focus on archaeological excavation and museum collection in the beginning of the British occupation of the island. This period unsurprisingly saw a huge surge in British archaeological activity in Cyprus and resulted in the vast collection of Cypriot material at the British Museum, now primarily housed in the A.G. Leventis Gallery. This period in Cypriot history also saw the founding of the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia, the first archaeological museum on the island. Additionally, this was a moment in which British officials actively engaged in archaeology as a pastime, and in doing so, acquired their own personal collections of Cypriot antiquities. One of these personal collections, that of Colonel Falkland Warren, found its way to Baltimore in 1900 when it was donated to the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum.

The histories of these three, distinct collections each represent different facets of the complex history of archaeology in Cyprus. Moreover, these collections are representative of the effect of late 19th and early 20th century collecting interests on current understandings of the ancient Cypriot past and current cultural identity issues in Cyprus. In unpacking these collections, it becomes clear that there was a distinct pulling of Cyprus and its cultural heritage

¹⁴ Balandier, “Cyprus, a new archaeological frontier,” 7-9.

towards the west. This may be seen as a response to the previous three-hundred-years of Ottoman control of the island. Through this claiming of Cypriot antiquity for the west, representations of the island's cultural heritage in such museum collections was often presented with a notably Hellenic tone. The identification of ancient Cyprus with foreign cultures rather than the assertion of its identity and agency is mirrored in the lack of Cyprus's control over its own cultural heritage until its independence from Britain in 1960. The primary interest in Cyprus's classically-influenced past and the tug-of-war over Cypriot cultural identity in the 19th century continues to influence archaeological research on the island, in which foreign missions respond to these antiquarian notions by acknowledging Cypriot agency and cultural importance. Current issues of Cypriot cultural identity and heritage, which have come to a head once more since the Turkish invasion in 1974, may in part be seen as an outgrowth of this British colonial and antiquarian legacy.

Chapter One:
Archaeological Excavations in the late 19th and early 20th century

At its inception archaeology was little more than a glorified treasure hunt, the object of which furnishes many of the large western museums today.

—Louise Steele, *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD*¹⁵

Because Cyprus is so densely packed with archaeological remains, the first unearthing of this ancient material was probably accidental, with written records of such discoveries dating back to the 16th century.¹⁶ We may never know how the earliest “excavations” were conducted, but we can be sure that by the mid 19th century, there was a specific mindset that influenced the types of sites selected for excavation, the methods of digging, the materials chosen for collection, and the ways in which everything was analyzed. Here, the practice of archaeology in Cyprus is discussed with a clear division between those excavations done prior to 1878, and those done after this time, when the British took over control of the island. In both periods, the excavators’ methods of digging, of uncovering the ancient past of Cyprus, had a powerful hand in determining the collections still currently held by the world’s most prominent museums, as well as the overall course of the discipline of archaeology, both in Cyprus and further afield.

From de Vogüé to Cesnola: the beginnings of Cypriot archaeology

Archaeological interest in Cyprus in the mid 19th century stemmed from two opposing perspectives: biblical and classical. It seems as though the early days of archaeology in Cyprus

¹⁵ Louise Steele, “The British Museum and the invention of the Cypriot Late Bronze Age,” in *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD: Fact, Fancy, and Fiction*, ed. Veronica Tatton-Brown, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001), 160.

¹⁶ Elizabeth Goring, *A Mischievous Pastime: Digging in Cyprus in the 19th Century*, (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, 1988), 1.

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were marked by a primarily orientalist, biblical perspective. The lack of standing, ancient architectural monuments on par with those of Greece and Rome is partially to blame for this conflation of the ancient Cypriot past with the east. This was ~~of course~~ only reinforced with the discovery of the stela of Sargon, which placed the island even more firmly within the orientalist framework.¹⁷ Interestingly enough, the stela of Sargon was rejected by the British Museum, who did not want to pay more than twenty pounds for the piece, and so it instead went to the Berlin Museum.¹⁸ This seems to signal a lack of interest in Cypriot material by the British Museum, though this indifference would soon transform into notable enthusiasm.

Even before interest from European museums, by the mid 19th century archaeology was already an active pastime on Cyprus and was undertaken by so-called amateur archaeologists who either kept their finds for their own personal collections or sold them for financial gain. Museums quickly began to take note of the antiquities that began to crop up in the European art market, and as a result began to pursue archaeological endeavors of their own on the island.¹⁹

The first real archaeological missions of note on Cyprus were those of the French, particularly Melchior de Vogüé, who came to the island in the 1850s to excavate and bring back materials to France to house in the Louvre Museum.²⁰ These French archaeological missions were almost always connected with a journey to or from the Levant, which at this point in history was the focus of French archaeology. This connection reinforced biblical perspective of interest in the ancient Cypriot past.²¹ These ~~excavations~~missions focused in on a group of sites that would become a primary area of interest for Cypriot archaeologists ~~throughout the 19th~~

¹⁷ Steele, *Cyprus Before History*, 6.

¹⁸ Balandier, "Cyprus, a new archaeological frontier," 4.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁰ Anja Ulbrich, "An Archaeology of Cult? Cypriot sanctuaries in 19th century archaeology," in *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD: Fact, Fancy and Fiction*, ed. Veronica Tatton-Brown, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001), 94.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 94.

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~~century into the 20th century~~, and even, one could argue, a tradition that continues today: the preoccupation with sanctuary sites, ~~which were. These sites were seen as treasure troves of Cypriot archaeology, particularly for sculpture—a “mine of statues.”~~²² Methods of archaeological work at these sanctuary sites consisted of both survey and excavation, though in reality these methods differ dramatically from ~~current modern~~ techniques. Sculptural pieces found during survey were plucked from the surface of the ground without any regard for recording their location. Holes and trenches were dug completely unsystematically, dredging up pieces of limestone sculpture whose locations were ~~also~~ not recorded.²³ In this way the “first impressive collections of Cypriot sculptures simply disappeared into the Louvre,” without any initial publication.²⁴ Even when these finds were published, at a later date, there was no reference to their provenience or the context in which they were found, ~~that of a religious site.~~²⁵ The sites themselves were ~~almost nearly~~ completely disregarded as places of ancient ritual and worship and were instead thought of as repositories for antiquities.²⁶ In this way, the significance of these pieces within their original context was lost, and they became ~~simplified~~ pieces of art ~~or fascination rather than representations of a past culture, devoid of their original function and therefore their greater significance.~~

Following the French, the most prominent figures in this period of Cypriot archaeology were Robert Hamilton Lang and Luigi Palma di Cesnola. Though Cesnola especially is criticized for his methods and his pillaging of Cypriot antiquities throughout the period of his activity on the island, in some ways he and Lang alike both represent a positive progression in terms of

²² Ibid., 95.

²³ Ibid., 94.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid., 95.

²⁶ Ibid.

archaeological methodology.²⁷ This is not to say that these figures were innocent or even beneficial to the overall discipline of archaeology, particularly in Cyprus, but rather that ~~these figures-they~~ must be contextualized in their personal and historical backgrounds in order to get a ~~fuller-more balanced~~ picture of the nature of their archaeological work.

Robert Hamilton Lang was the vice consul of Cyprus from 1871 through 1876, and it was during this period that he directed archaeological excavations across the island, getting rich along the way by selling his finds to the major European museums, primarily the British Museum, but also ~~those into~~ Paris and Berlin.²⁸ Lang, ~~like Melchior de Vogüé, too~~ had a keen interest in sanctuary sites, as well as tombs, and it was these types of sites that he excavated most frequently. In doing so, however, he did not resort to French excavation techniques, but rather sharpened ~~his~~ methodology ~~and, relying~~ on more systematic excavation, recording, documentation, and analysis of the sites and their ~~objects.~~²⁹ ~~antiquities.~~ In particular, Lang is notable for his published excavation report, the first of its kind, in 1867. Though it was regrettably published eleven years after the excavation took place, the report still represents a step in the right direction in terms of antiquarian ~~archaeologysm~~, one toward a cultural-historical approach to ~~archaeology the discipline~~ instead of a mere interest and curiosity in precious antiquities.³⁰

Cesnola is historically a more controversial figure than Lang. This ~~of course~~ comes partially from his later, prominent presence as the Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, but also undeniably from his treatment of Cypriot archaeology and the sheer amount of antiquities that he managed to export from Cyprus. Because of this, he has become infamous to

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Balandier, "[Cyprus, a new archaeological frontier](#)," 6.

²⁹ Ulbrich, "[An Archaeology of Cult?](#)," 95.

³⁰ Ibid.

scholars and students of Cypriot archaeology and his reputation remains tarnished to this day.³¹

~~Not only did~~In many ways, this reputation is deserved. Cesnola ~~did~~ manage to excavate an ~~incredible~~large amount of valuable sites, ~~including at least eleven sanctuary sites~~ across the island, but also ~~managed to~~succeeded in escaping Ottoman customs ~~restrictions~~ and was able to export these antiquities to museums across Europe and North America.³² Today, his collection, though primarily housed in the Metropolitan Museum, is still scattered in various collections across these continents.³³

Cesnola arrived in Cyprus in 1865 as the American consul based in Larnaca, a major port city in Cyprus and also a major center for archaeological excavation.³⁴ ~~(because of the overwhelming presence of foreign officials and personnel in the area).~~ Almost immediately Cesnola became involved in the archaeological activity on the island and eventually ~~even~~ obtained a *firman*, a decree from the Sultan that gave him permission to excavate so long as he had the consent of the landowner. Cesnola, like other clever and devious archaeologists of his time, got around this issue by buying up plots of land. Once, in an effort to prevent an Ottoman official from taking “possession of the antiquities found on the previous day,” Cesnola raced to a site in Athienou:

Two important steps had to be taken at once. One was the purchasing of the ground on which the diggings had been commenced, thus acquiring a right to all objects found therein. The other was the prohibition of all further excavations by unauthorised persons. This was accomplished in less than an hour’s time... On learning that the ground had become the property of the American Consul, but above all, that the objects there had safely reached the American Consulate... [the official] concluded there was nothing left for him to do.³⁵

³¹ Steele, *Cyprus Before History*, 7.

³² Ulbrich, “An Archaeology of Cult?,” 96.

³³ Karageorghis, *Ancient Art from Cyprus*, 8.

³⁴ ~~Larnaca was a hub of archaeological activity because of the overwhelming presence of foreign officials and personnel in the area.~~

³⁵ Luigi Palma di Cesnola, *Cyprus: its ancient Cities, Tombs, and Temples. A narrative of researches and excavations during ten years’ residence as American Consul in that island*, (New York: Harper & Bros., 1878), 125.

Given that Cesnola had the freedom to do this, and moreover that it was so easily done, it is clear that the regulations surrounding excavation and collecting were extremely loose during this period. It is interesting that Cesnola actually obtained a *firman* giving him permission to excavate. Though it was sometimes the case that archaeologists in Ottoman Cyprus had official government permission to dig, such a permit was not actually necessary.³⁶ In fact, there is even one account of Lang being asked to halt his excavation because of his lack of permit, to which he replied that the official needed a *firman* to stop his excavation.³⁷ This is just one of the ways in which antiquities law in Cyprus during this period was muddled and affected the processes byway in which excavation and antiquities collection were carried out. Such stories are reflective of the problematic and generally inadequate regulation over archaeological activity during this time.

Cesnola, like Lang and de Vogüé ~~and his other predecessors~~, had a keen interest in excavating sanctuary and tomb sites. Following his excavations from 1866-1875, Cesnola left Cyprus and published *Cyprus, its cities, tombs and temples* in 1877. This work was notable for several reasons. ~~There was~~ Cesnola paid particular attention paid to the specific location of the sites, their relation to other sites in the area, and the nature of archaeological evidence ~~from~~ each of these sites. In terms of the sanctuary sites, in some cases Cesnola even made specific reference to the identity of the site's primary deity if it could be determined from the inscriptions, iconography and votive sculpture.³⁸ This information was not always consistent or complete in Cesnola's publication, but like Lang's excavation report, it represents ~~a step in a positive, progressive direction~~ progress in the publication of Cypriot archaeology.³⁹

³⁶ Wright, "Archaeology and Islamic Law," 263.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 263-4.

³⁸ Ulbrich, "An Archaeology of Cult?," 96-97.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 97.

Throughout his time in Cyprus, Cesnola is known to have dug at a very fast rate compared to his contemporaries.⁴⁰ He amassed so many objects that he was eventually able to create his own private museum in Larnaca that housed his finds from Dali, Athienou, and Amathus. It was the photos of this collection that, once circulated, further sparked European museum interest in Cypriot antiquities.⁴¹ However, though Cesnola was able to bring attention to Cypriot archaeology, he also brought negative attention to himself and his methods of excavation. By 1879, he was already being criticized by his peers in the field and was even called “the omnivorous Cesnola.”⁴² While Cesnola’s actions are considered shameful by today’s standards, the fact his contemporaries critiqued him demonstrates that his methods were unacceptable for the discipline at the time. Additionally, though both Lang and Cesnola’s methods of excavation and the ways in which they ignored or manipulated the legal system surrounding permission to excavate are in many ways deplorable, they were not technically illegal. In terms of excavation techniques and recording, Lang and Cesnola were for the most part right in line with the general discipline of archaeology of their time and fit into the progression of archaeology as a scientifically rooted discipline in Cyprus specifically.⁴³ The lasting issue with Cesnola’s work is that he was able to export so many materials from the island with ~~under~~ this antiquarian perspective and therefore all of this material now sits in modern museums almost completely unprovenanced.

De Vogüé, Lang, and Cesnola’s focus on sanctuary sites in particular is also not surprising given the antiquarian interest of the day. Pieces-Objects from such sites, particularly sculpture, could be viewed as works of art in the same way that one could view pieces from ~~the~~

⁴⁰ Balandier, “Cyprus, a new archaeological frontier,” 6.

⁴¹ Ibid., 6.

⁴² Ibid., 9.

⁴³ Ulbrich, “An Archaeology of Cult?,” 95-98.

~~classical world~~ other areas of the ancient world. Focus on these kinds of sites, combined with a general lack of adequate record keeping, has deeply impacted the collections formed by these excavations, and unfortunately, many aspects of these collections remain a mystery today. The work of these Ottoman-era archaeologists did however spark even more museum interest in Cypriot antiquities and helped lead to an investment in further archaeological investigation on the island.

Excavation after 1878: archaeology in British-controlled Cyprus

It is clear that the contemporary perception of ancient Cyprus was far inferior to that of ancient Egypt, Greece, or Italy, whose impressive architectural remains stood steadily as reminders of the past and the glories of these ancient civilizations. In a period in which so much value was placed on the aesthetic quality of the ancient materials, Cyprus fell somewhat short in terms of cross-cultural comparison.⁴⁴ Yet, the flurry of archaeological activity that occurred during the ~~period of British occupation~~ British annexation of Cyprus suggests that there was still a ~~strong~~ great desire for these materials.

Following the work of Luigi Palma di Cesnola and his brother, Alexander ~~Cesnola~~, there was ~~a significant increase in the strictness~~ increased regulation of the antiquities laws in Cyprus. For the first time, ~~not just anyone could dig, not even those who could finagle their way into a permit. Instead, it was decreed that only learned institutions could excavate on the island~~ excavation permits were enforced and limited to learned institutions.⁴⁵ In ~~doing so~~ making this change, ~~the Cypriot government~~ authorities ~~of the period~~ cracked down on what had once been a “mischievous pastime” and helped to formalize it into a more scholarly discipline.

⁴⁴ Steele, *Cyprus Before History*, 6.

⁴⁵ Michael Given, “The fight for the past: Watkins vs. Warren (1885-6) and the control of excavation,” in *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD: Fact, Fancy and Fiction*, ed. Veronica Tatton-Brown, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001), 269.

After Cesnola, the most prominent archaeological figure on Cyprus was Max Ohnefalsch-Richter. Ohnefalsch-Richter was a German journalist who arrived in Cyprus in 1878 just as the British took control of the island. Very quickly, Ohnefalsch-Richter became involved in archaeological pursuits ~~on the island~~ and began acting as an official agent for the British government in excavations. He dug on behalf private individuals, the British Museum, and the Cyprus Museum, before leaving Cyprus for good in 1910.⁴⁶ In total, Ohnefalsch-Richter excavated at thirty-three sites during his time in Cyprus and subsequently published his book *Kypros, the Bible, and Homer: oriental civilization, art and religion in ancient times*.⁴⁷

In terms of excavation techniques, Ohnefalsch-Richter represents yet another step in the development of archaeological methodology on Cyprus during this period. Though he never published full-scale excavation reports for the sites at which he worked, in what records he did leave, he made very specific notes of ~~specific~~ topographical details, the exact locations at which objects were found, and also photographed and drew many of the objects, particularly ~~the~~ sculpture, that he found.⁴⁸ He was also one of the first archaeologists of this period in Cyprus to work toward categorizing and serializing the material and made careful observations of patterns of architecture and spatial organization of the sites at which he worked.⁴⁹ In these ways he was quite accomplished for his time and represents a significant leap from the work of Lang and Cesnola.

Like ~~his predecessors~~~~those before him~~, Ohnefalsch-Richter was also primarily interested in tombs and sanctuary sites. During his time on Cyprus, he excavated hundreds of tombs and

⁴⁶ “Max Ohnefalsch-Richter (Biographical details),” British Museum, accessed November 4, 2015, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=95543.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ulbrich, “An Archaeology of Cult?” 99.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

forty-two new sanctuary sites.⁵⁰ His particular interest in sanctuary sites is perhaps best exemplified by his book, *Kypros*, which focuses on an explanation of the spiritual and ritual practices of the ancient Cypriots based on votive deposits, sacred iconography, and sacred architecture. In the preface to the book, Ohnefalsch-Richter describes the crossroads effect of Cyprus, “the link between either shore of the Mediterranean and the remoter east and west.”⁵¹ Though he acknowledges that there was mutual exchange, particularly between the Aegean and Cyprus, he writes that the “island received more than it gave. In particular the two great centres of oriental antiquity, Mesopotamia and Egypt, exercised a most decisive influence on Cyprian civilization.”⁵² Though he primarily focuses on the “Homeric” side of Cypriot archaeology, Ohnefalsch-Richter acknowledges that the island’s history cannot be firmly defined in either category:

In Cyprus, then, we are standing in the very midst of ancient Canaanitish civilization as depicted in the old Testament. On the other hand the worship of Aphrodite, the myth of king Kinyras and the accounts of the armour of the Achaian heroes, of Agamemnon’s coat of mail and Achilles’ shield, bring us back to Cyprus, but from an entirely different cycle of ideas. My excavations and researches during the twelve years of unremitting toil in Cyprus brought me on the one hand to the Greeks and Homer, and on the other to the semites and the Bible.⁵³

Though here Ohnefalsch-Richter does not seem to subscribe to a purely classical view of Cypriot archaeology, in 1879 he was entrusted by Sir Charles Newton, who was then Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities, to excavate on behalf of the British Museum in the institution’s first official excavations on the island, seeming to suggest a shift towards a primarily classical perception of Cypriot archaeology.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Ibid., 98.

⁵¹ Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, the Bible, and Homer: oriental civilization, art and religion in ancient times*, (London: Asher & Co., 1893), v.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid., viii.

Ohnefalsch-Richter's attention to detail and interest in archaeology as a more scholarly pursuit than his predecessors is also evident in *Kypros*. In the book, he describes some of his excavation techniques, for example noting in his work at Tamassos an effort to "fix the precise limits of the ~~votive~~votive area" and discussing the division of different "stratum."⁵⁵ Though today these concepts are quite basic, they are a far cry from the techniques of the early French archaeologists. ~~He was also clearly~~is interested in archaeology as more than a hunt for antiquities ~~is also discussed~~. In describing his inability to document more of ~~his~~the finds because of lack of sufficient funds, Ohnefalsch-Richter says that though he made "urgent representations to Col. Warren that he should give me the means of making photographs [it] had no result. He was only concerned with antiquities which could be easily transported, and would find a ready sale."⁵⁶ This is a clear insult to ~~Colonel~~Falkland Warren, who was a British official on the island at the time and with whom Ohnefalsch-Richter was later involved in a legal battle. However it is also a statement of Ohnefalsch-Richter's desire to do more than just collect and sell antiquities. Here he displays an interest in not only the "science" of archaeology, but also the proper documentation of it. His interest in ~~this~~ documentation is also evident in the multitude of sketches and photographs included in *Kypros*. Ohnefalsch-Richter provided not only photographs and drawings of objects that he found, but also highly detailed plans of the sites, including sketches depicting the masonry ~~and~~of the architectural layout ~~(See Figures 1-5)~~.⁵⁷ This attention to detail is a clear marker of the shifts in the archaeological discipline of this period.

It should be noted, however, that Ohnefalsch-Richter was not only interested in archaeology as a scholarly pursuit, as his writings may make it seem. On the contrary, though he

⁵⁵ Ibid., 10.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 8.

⁵⁷ See Figures 1.1-1.5

openly criticizes individuals like Falkland Warren, he too was involved in the antiquities trade, and sold objects from his excavations to museums such as the Berlin Antiquarium.⁵⁸

Ohnefalsch-Richter's work for the British Museum on ~~these~~ sanctuary and tomb sites was only the first wave of the ~~m~~Museum-led excavations on the island. The Turner Bequest, funded by Miss Emma Towner Turner in 1892, allowed for another round of excavations on the island, which were carried out between 1894 and 1896 by Arthur Smith, John Myres, Alexander Murray, and Henry Walters, all of the British Museum. ~~The funds for these excavations were given by Miss Emma Towner Turner in 1892.~~ The three sites that were excavated under the Turnery Bequest were Kourion, Enkomi, and Amathus.⁵⁹ Throughout these excavations, ~~the material of primary interest was~~ pottery was the primary interest, particularly pottery that was deemed to have been "Mycenaean-produced."⁶⁰ Kourion was the first site at which excavators found examples of this pottery, and Louise Steel argues that this that marks the initiation of a "strongly Hellenic trend in Cypriot archaeology and the development of a certain ambiguity between what is considered indigenous to the island during the Late Cypriot period and what is Mycenaean."⁶¹ It is however, this attention to the Late Cypriot/Mycenaean material that makes these excavations so significant. Little was known about this pre-Classical culture during this time, and in highlighting the Mycenaean pottery, the excavators helped to shed light on this material and Cyprus's connection with the Aegean during the Late Bronze Age.⁶² The results of these excavations were published in 1913 ~~the volume~~ *Excavations in Cyprus*. The authors note at the beginning of the volume that these excavations resulted in the "enrichment of the museum to

⁵⁸ Karageorghis, *Ancient Art from Cyprus*, 9.

⁵⁹ "The British Museum Turner Bequest excavations of 1896," British Museum, July 2011, accessed November 4, 2015, https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online_research_catalogues/ancient_cyprus_british_museum/kourion/history_of_excavations/1896_turner_bequest_excavation.aspx.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Steele, "The British Museum and the invention of the Cypriot Late Bronze Age," 160-161.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 164.

an unprecedented degree in a class of antiquities which for a number of years has been engrossing the attention of students, that class of antiquities being Mycenaean artifacts.⁶³ Indeed, the excavations had the distinct goal of enriching the collection. This is shown in the excavators' clear preference for Mycenaean material and discarding of plainer, local wares, as well as the lack of adequate recording.⁶⁴ Therefore, while the Turner Bequest excavations represent an important time in the formation of the current understanding of Late Bronze Age Cyprus, it was these same excavations that took certain liberties with excavation techniques that would be considered completely unacceptable by today's standards.

Thus, while British occupation of Cyprus in the late 19th century marked the beginning of the end of archaeology as a "mischievous pastime," a way in which individuals could gain prestige or wealth from their participation in archaeology, it also marks a clear shift toward a very museum-centric archaeological practice.⁶⁵ In the same way that individual collectors could gain prestige through their collections, the British Museum, which at this point had nearly total control over the island's archaeological activity, could gain prestige through its rapid acquisition of these valuable antiquities. On a more positive note, ~~while the Turner Bequest missions are not a wonderful example of the ways in which archaeological practice improved during this period, overall methods of excavation improved significantly from the early French missions on the island though the Turner Bequest excavations' disregard for non-Mycenaean objects is deeply unfortunate, the British Museum's overall methods of excavation and record keeping represent a significant improvement from the work of those early French missions on the island.~~

⁶³ A.S. Murray, A.H. Smith, and H.B. Walters, *Excavations in Cyprus (Bequest of Miss E.T. Turner to the British Museum)*, (London: British Museum, 1900), preface.

⁶⁴ J. Lesley Fitton, "Excavations in Cyprus and the 'Mycenaean Question'," in *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD: Fact, Fancy and Fiction*, ed. Veronica Tatton-Brown, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001), 151.

⁶⁵

From “mischievous” to imperialist pastime: motivational changes in archaeological excavation

Archaeological excavation in Cyprus in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was primarily wrapped up in the concept of using Cypriot antiquities for personal or institutional gain. This is well represented in the work of pre-1878 excavators such as Cesnola, who exploited the island’s archaeological resources in pursuit of wealth and fame on par with that of Heinrich Schliemann. It is also true of the work of Ohnefalsch-Richter, who worked with the British Museum in addition to excavating for personal gain, as well as Alexander Murray’s team, whose museum-led projects at the end of the 19th century contributed to the growing collection of Cypriot antiquities in the British Museum and cemented it as one of the primary stakeholders in the Cypriot cultural heritage.

It is during the British annexation of Cyprus, particularly during the British Museum’s expeditions, that we begin to see a firm alignment of the Cypriot ancient past with that of the classical world. This is shown through attention to Mycenaean artifacts from the island, which not only proved its connection with the Aegean world during the Late Bronze Age, but also helped to support the growing studies on Mycenaean archaeology that were emerging at this time. However, Cyprus was aligned with the eastern world as well, as seen through Ohnefalsch-Richter’s *Kypros*. Regardless of particular classification with one culture over the other, what is clear is a scholarly, and perhaps political, interest in associating ancient Cyprus with one of the powers of the ancient world. It was these early excavations, focused on foreign collection, that seem to deny the concept of Cypriot agency and rather accept Cyprus as simply a crossroads for culture.

Figures, Chapter One

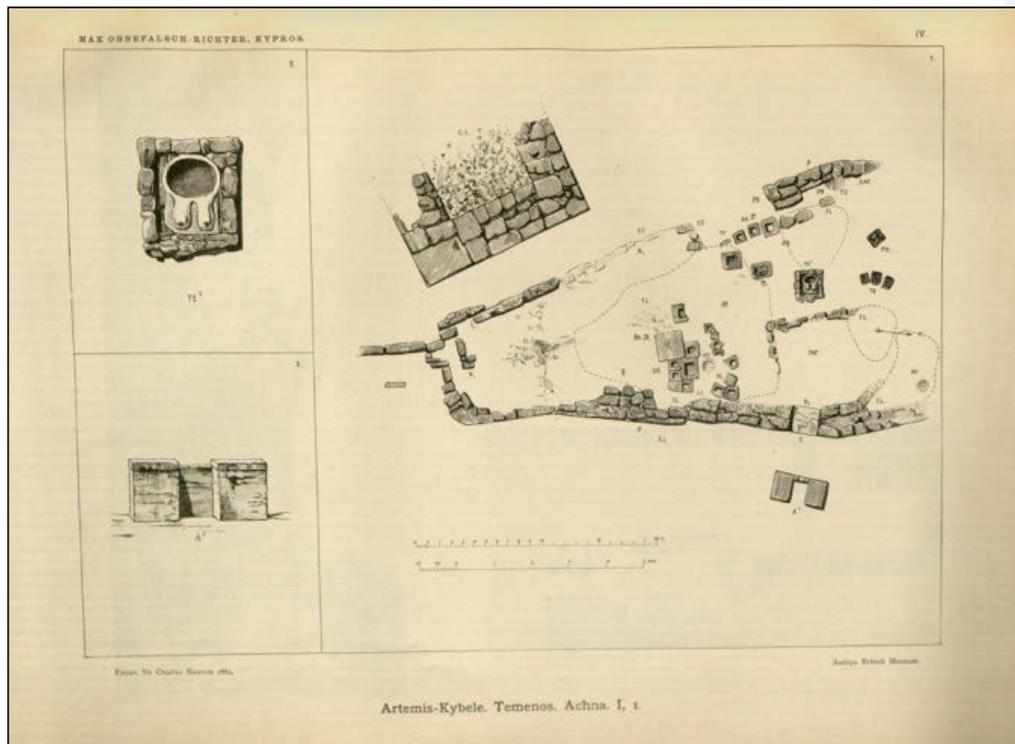


Figure 1.1 Aerial drawing of a temenos wall from Ohnefalsch-Richter's *Kypros*.

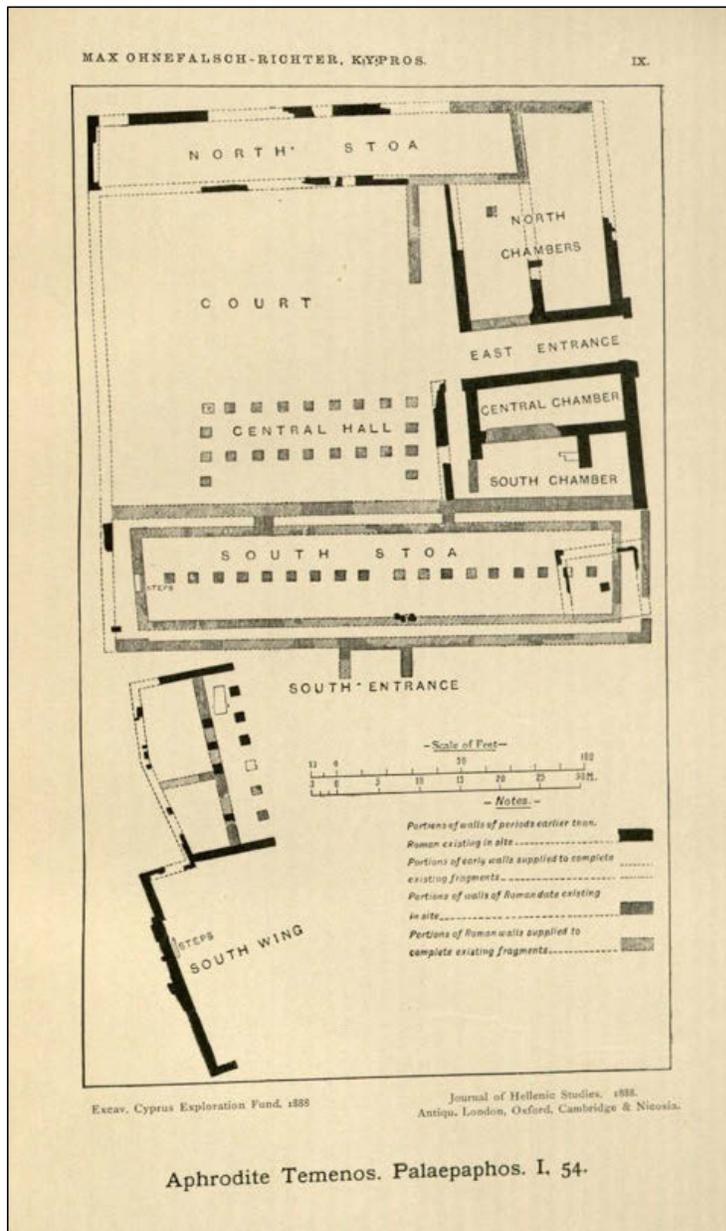
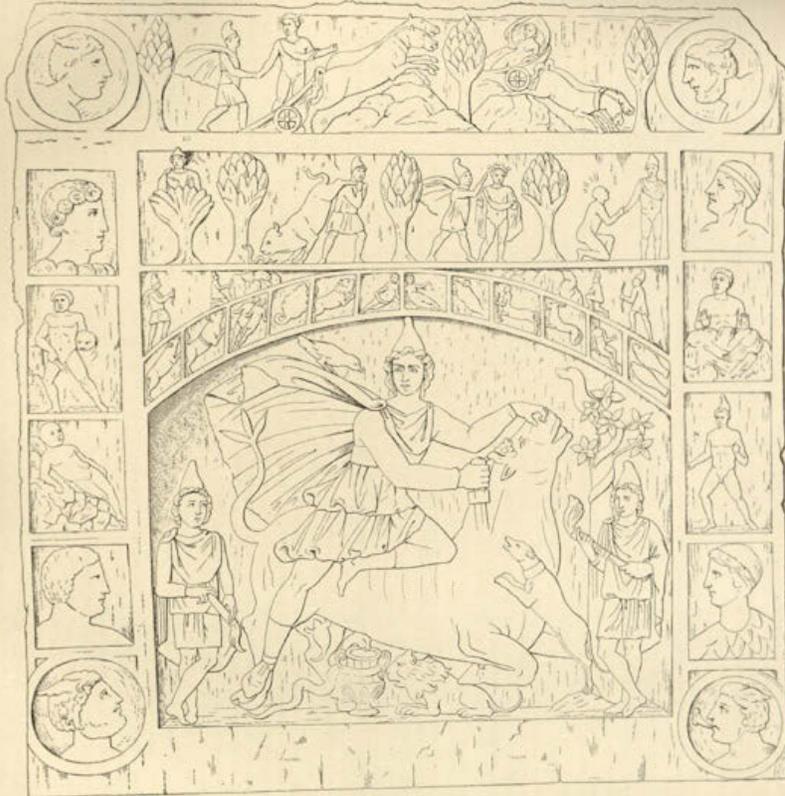


Figure 1.2. Plan of the Aphrodite Temenos in Palaepaphos, Kypros, 1893



2



3



4



5

Varia. 3 5 Kypros.

Figure 1.3. Sketches of details from various excavated objects, *Kypros*, 1893

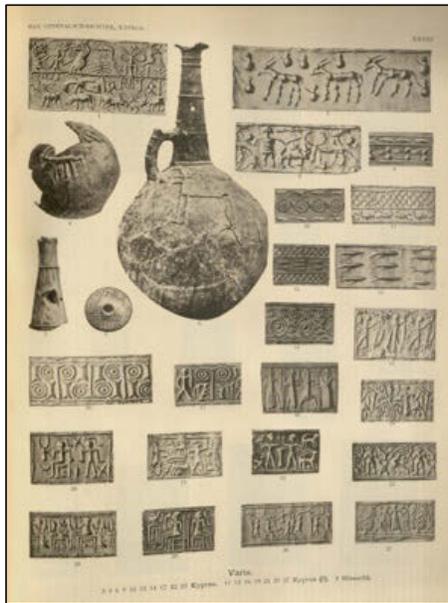


Figure 1.4. Seal impressions, *Kypros*, 1893

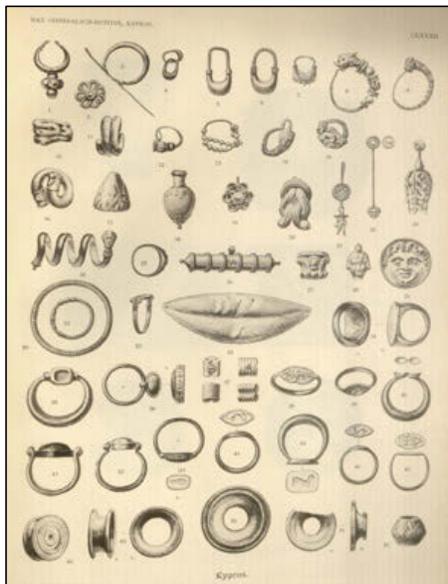


Figure 1.5. Drawings of jewelry, *Kypros*, 1893

Chapter Two:
The Nature of Cypriot Antiquities Collecting

The mineral wealth of Cyprus may be uncertain, but there can be no doubt of its archaeological riches... There is little to be seen above grounds of the remains of antiquity: the traveller will be disappointed if he expects to be rewarded by such sights as those of Egypt, Italy, or Greece... The work is interesting alone to the serious student of the remote annals of the Mediterranean. To him the antiquities of the island are a precious connecting-link between Egypt, Assyria, and early Greece and the less attractive they are to the artistic eye the more valuable are they to his comparative vision.

—Reginald Stuart Poole, *Contemporary Review*⁶⁶

According to this British perspective, Cypriot antiquities were not valued in the same way as their Greek or Roman counterparts because of their apparent lack of certain aesthetic qualities. However, the effort put into collecting such artifacts, by both large museums and private individuals, betrays a keen interest in Cypriot antiquities. This collection took many forms, both public and private, and while each case of antiquities collecting surely had its own motivations, there can be no doubt that the possession of these materials constituted some kind of prestige, even if they were not considered particularly aesthetically appealing. Much like 19th century archaeological excavation in Cyprus, the acquisition histories of the Cypriot collections of the British Museum, Cyprus Museum, and Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum betray a strong antiquarian mindset. In particular, there is an interest in amassing collections of Cypriot artifacts as a method of asserting prestige or, in the case of the Cyprus Museum, to retain some semblance of respecting the island's cultural heritage. Overall, antiquities collecting in the late 19th and early 20th centuries has contributed to the idea that Cyprus's past is not its own, but is rather determined by external forces.

⁶⁶ R. Stuart Poole, "Cyprus: its present and future" *Contemporary Review* 33 (August 1, 1878): 150, accessed March 15, 2016, ProQuest.

Antiquities Law in Cyprus

Despite the fact that the British took over control of Cyprus in 1878, the Ottoman antiquities law was maintained until 1905 a new antiquities law was enacted.⁶⁷ The way in which antiquities law was set up during this period had a profound effect not only on the number of antiquities that were exported from Cyprus, but also the sheer number of sites that were excavated by ~~these~~ early archaeologists in the hopes of accumulating their own private collections or selling off their valuable finds for financial gain.

When Cyprus was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire in 1571, the island immediately fell under Islamic law. Because the Ottoman Empire did not perceive Cyprus's Graeco-Roman history as its own "cultural heritage," such antiquities were simply seen as "spoils."⁶⁸ In terms of archaeological practices, some excavators had a *firman*, a decree issued in the name of the sultan that gave him official permission to conduct excavation in the area. A *firman* also provided the excavator the right to export antiquities from the island. However, because a *firman* was not technically required for excavations carried out on private land, the actions of figures such as Cesnola and Lang, though reprehensible even by the period's standards, were not technically illegal at this point.⁶⁹

At this point, the law dictated that for excavations conducted on private land, one-third of excavated material belonged to the excavator, one-third to the owner of the land ~~that was excavated~~, and one-third to the government of Cyprus. It was this policy that allowed those such as Cesnola, who acted both as excavator and landowner, to export such massive quantities of

⁶⁷ "Historical Background," Department of Antiquities, Republic of Cyprus, accessed November 4, 2015, http://www.mcw.gov.cy/mcw/da/da.nsf/DMLhistory_en/DMLhistory_en?OpenDocument.

⁶⁸

⁶⁹ Wright, "Archaeology and Islamic Law," 261-265.

antiquities from Cyprus. However, when it became clear that this policy was being manipulated in clear favor of the excavator, the law was revised in 1874.⁷⁰ With the enactment of the new antiquities law, no excavation could be conducted without a proper permit and supervision by an appointed commissar, and antiquities export required special permission from the government. However, these policies were not well enforced, and ~~therefore~~ the archaeological remains of Cyprus continued to be exploited for the next several years.⁷¹ This changed in 1878 when the British, who now had control over the island, enforced the policies and halted the work of Luigi Palma di Cesnola's brother, Alexander, and confiscated his finds.⁷² This action marked a clear shift in the attitude towards not only antiquities, but also the idea of cultural heritage more generally. The enforcement of regulations surrounding excavation and the antiquities trade seems to suggest that more value was being placed on these materials. Alternatively, this specific case could also suggest that there was an effort to prevent large-scale exportation of Cypriot material that could feed into other national museums or private collections. In this way, the British could simply be seen as trying to prevent competition by controlling the antiquities trade in Cyprus in their favor. Though the more heavily enforced antiquities law called for a stricter sense of state ownership of such antiquities, ~~it was slightly more lenient in terms of export, and therefore~~ such exportation continued.⁷³ Antiquities law in Cyprus underwent several more changes through the middle of the 20th century until 1964, when the law was amended four years after independence

⁷⁰ Nicholas Stanley-Price, "The Ottoman Law on Antiquities (1874) and the founding of the Cyprus Museum," in *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD: Fact, Fancy, and Fiction*, ed. by Veronica Tatton-Brown, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001), 268.

⁷¹ Wright, "Archaeology and Islamic Law," 265-266.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 266.

⁷³ Stanley-Price, "Ottoman Law on Antiquities," 268.

from the British and abolished the policy of division of finds. Cypriot artifacts would remain in Cyprus.⁷⁴

Private collecting

Though much of the exportation of antiquities ~~that~~ was done—especially during the period of British occupation—in the name of museum collection, there ~~are~~ were also several examples of private collection~~ers~~ from this period that shed more light onto the ways in which individuals played into the molding of Cypriot cultural heritage. Once Cyprus fell under British control, British officials and civilians alike played a large part in the island’s archaeological exploitation.

One British official who has a rather storied history in terms of Cypriot archaeology was Colonel Falkland Warren, who eventually became Chief Secretary to the government from 1879 to 1889. Warren is most famous for abusing his power by issuing his own permits for excavation.⁷⁵ Warren participated in the archaeological excavations of the island by employing Ohnefalsch-Richter, who dug on his behalf at Ayia Paraskevi (Nicosia), Kourion, and Tamassos.⁷⁶ In 1885-6 Warren became embroiled in a lively legal battle with Charles Watkins, another employer of Ohnefalsch-Richter, who accused Warren of abusing his power and taking control of a site ~~that~~ which Watkins had acquired the rights to.⁷⁷ Though Warren won the case, his name was forever tarnished with the controversy, and in 1890 he left Cyprus and moved to

⁷⁴ “Historical Background,” Department of Antiquities, Republic of Cyprus, http://www.mcw.gov.cy/mcw/da/da.nsf/DMLhistory_en/DMLhistory_en?OpenDocument.

⁷⁵ “Colonel Falkland G. E. Warren (Biographical details),” British Museum, accessed November 4, 2015, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioid=96724.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Given, “[The fight for the past.](#)” 258.

Canada.⁷⁸ The contents of his collection were scattered at different museums across the globe, including the British Museum, the National Gallery in Ottawa, the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, and finally, the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum.

Warren's influence in the realm of private collecting is not limited to his own collection~~on~~, ~~however~~. Warren, as well as other excavators, also worked on behalf of private individuals who, while they did not wish to spade up the material themselves, provided~~the~~ funding for these excavations that would then in turn supply them with their own private collections.⁷⁹ One particularly interesting example of such an individual is Lady Anne Brassey, a member of the British elite who was also one of the first British women to step foot in Cyprus after the British took control of the island. Lady Brassey and her family travelled around the world on their yacht, the *Sunbeam*, and ~~while visiting this variety of loeales~~picked up various curiosities, including antiquities, along the way.⁸⁰ ~~Lady Brassey picked up antiquities along the way.~~ Cyprus was no exception. While she found the island itself to be rather undesirable in terms of landscape, ~~elimate, and exports and climate~~, she did immediately take a liking to the antiquities. In ~~Michael Given's~~Lou Taylor's short examination of Lady Brassey, he argues that her primary reason for becoming interested in Cypriot archaeology was that it "meshed her, as an equal, within the status-giving world of the highest levels of colonial administrators."⁸¹ Regardless of her personal motives, her investment in these materials was made clear when she agreed to financially sponsor some of Falkland Warren's excavations at Kourion, which ~~of course~~ were actually carried out by Ohnefalsch-Richter. By 1885, her share of the objects from the excavations began

⁷⁸ Charles B. Loewen, *Colonel Falkland Warren, 1834-1908: His Story, Writings, and Paintings*. (Mansfield, Ont.: Charles B. Loewen, 2006), 25-28.

⁷⁹ Lou Taylor, "Lady Brassey, 1870-1886: traveller, writer, collector, educator, woman of means and the fate of her Cypriot collection," in *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD: Fact, Fancy, and Fiction*, ed. by Veronica Tatton-Brown, (London: Oxbow Books, 2001), 242.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 240-241.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 245-246.

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arriving in England, eventually totaling nearly eight hundred pieces ~~in all~~.⁸² These objects were first displayed in the Brassey Institute's Hastings School of Art, and the Brassey family commissioned a catalogue of the collection, which was published in London in 1885.⁸³ The eventual fate of the entire collection is still a bit murky. Though some pieces were dispersed to the Wolverhampton Museum, the Hastings Museum and Art Gallery, and the Bexhill Museum after Lady Brassey's death, not all of the objects are accounted for.⁸⁴ However, for the purposes of this argument in discussing the nature of Cypriot antiquities collecting, the collection's specific pieces are less important than the motivations behind its formation. Though Lady Brassey was generally interested in collecting, as seen by her collection of natural history specimens, she seems to have been less interested in Cypriot antiquities specifically. Rather, as Taylor argues, they were "tools of her social ambition," purchased so that she and her family could prove their wealth and status to their peers. In this case, therefore, Stuart Poole's quote seems accurate to a certain extent. Lady Brassey did not value these antiquities for any obvious aesthetic quality; however, she was also not interested in them from a scholarly standpoint, but rather from a social one.

In both the case of Warren and Lady Brassey, the influence of private individuals on archaeological excavation and collecting is clear. Warren not only dug up a substantial collection for himself, but also enabled the private collections of others. In doing so, he abused his government position and revealed yet another issue with the regulations surrounding Cypriot archaeology during this period. Lady Brassey showed the power of the individual in not only funding excavations with which she was not directly involved, but also using the collections acquired from these excavations as a social tool.

⁸² Ibid., 242.

⁸³ Ibid., 242-243.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 239-243.

Museum collecting

Though the influence of the individual on Cypriot collecting practices in the 19th century is significant, the collecting work of museums is what in many ways continues to shape our understanding of the Cypriot past. The collections of the British Museum, the Cyprus Museum, and the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum, though distinct in quality, quantity, and overall makeup, are derived from connected sources and therefore represent the ways in which the same kinds of excavations developed into distinctly different collections. Each of these museums' collecting histories shows both the power of private individuals as well as large institutions in determining how such collections form.

The British Museum's Cypriot collection today is mostly derived from the museum's excavations in Cyprus, which ~~of course~~ occurred during the ~~period of British rule on British~~ annexation of the island. The British Museum's first obvious interest in Cypriot antiquities can be seen in the competition for Cesnola's extensive collection. Though the majority of Cesnola's collection was originally shipped to from Cyprus to London, in 1873 the newly established Metropolitan Museum of Art purchased Cesnola's ~~ten-thousand-piece~~ collection for \$61,000. For a period, the Met also funded Cesnola's further excavations in Cyprus, and in 1876 purchased the "Curium Treasure," which formed the basis of the museum's newly developing collection.⁸⁵ This so-called "Curium Treasure," a group of artifacts that Cesnola claimed to have found all together, the contents of a single context at the site of Kourion⁸⁶, was actually a complete fabrication and was made up of a group of high-value objects from different

⁸⁵ Balandier, "Cyprus, a new archaeological frontier," 7.

⁸⁶ See Figure 2.1

[typologies, chronologies](#), and find locations.⁸⁷ The invention of this hoard can be seen as a response to the growing fame of Heinrich Schliemann and his discoveries at Troy.⁸⁸ The Met's eager acceptance of this "treasure" is also reflective of the competitive nature of museum collection during this period.

Because Cesnola wished to keep his entire collection together, the rest of the world's great museums, including the British Museum, lost out on the opportunity [to possess such an extensive corpus of Cypriot artifacts](#).⁸⁹ This changed two years later in 1878 when England took control over Cyprus. The resentment over the sale of Cesnola's collection to the Met is evident in the British Museum's fast action in terms of excavation.⁹⁰ British rule meant that the museum could work virtually unencumbered and without competition on the island. As per the period's antiquities law in Cyprus, the British Museum received one-third of the material from all of its excavations, sometimes more depending on the status of the landowner and whether or not he would sell his share of the finds. In this way, the collection of the British Museum [completely rapidly](#) blossomed into one of the largest collections of Cypriot material in the world.⁹¹ The excavators' attention to certain sites, time periods, and artifact types was certainly something that shaped how the collection formed.

The Cyprus Museum had a rather different history in terms of collection. The museum, which was not established until 1882, eventually became the recipient of the government's one-third share of all excavated material.⁹² In dividing up the finds from various excavations, there was a concerted effort to keep specific materials together. For example, in the Turner Bequest

⁸⁷ [Karageorghis, *Art of Ancient Cyprus*, 5-6.](#)

⁸⁸ [Steele, *Cyprus Before History*, 7.](#)

⁸⁹ [Balandier, "Cyprus, a new archaeological frontier," 8.](#)

⁹⁰ [Ibid., 8.](#)

⁹¹ [Ibid., 8-9.](#)

⁹² [Stanley-Price, "Ottoman Law on Antiquities," 270-271.](#)

excavations of various burial sites, the finds were divided up based on tomb so that materials from the same context would remain together.⁹³ While this method of division served to maintain the unity of material coming from the same ancient deposits, it also allowed excavators to choose which group of objects they would like to take back to England for display and which they would leave behind for the Cyprus Museum. Because of this method, the collection of the Cyprus Museum was made up of “leftover” material from foreign excavations, “accidental discoveries,” and “occasional purchases.”⁹⁴ Whereas the British Museum’s collection contained a great deal of what was deemed Mycenaean material, the objects that went to the Cyprus Museum were far more varied in type and period. Hence while the Cyprus Museum did not necessarily have a great deal of agency in determining its own collection at this point, it did end up with a more diverse and well-rounded collection in the long run.

Beginning in 1883, several excavations were conducted on the Cyprus Museum’s behalf by Ohnefalsch-Richter, who held the post of “Consulting Archaeologist” on the museum’s committee. However, once funding for the museum began to dwindle, these excavations were halted.⁹⁵ These museum-led projects continued in the 20th century, most notably under the supervision of Porphyrios Dikaios, who also served as the museum’s curator. Therefore, while the initial collection of the Cyprus Museum was perhaps a bit lacking, the museum’s continual collecting through targeted excavation helped to shape the extensive collection it possesses today.⁹⁶

⁹³ Murray et al, *Excavations in Cyprus*, preface.

⁹⁴ Karageorghis, *Art of Ancient Cyprus*, 10.

⁹⁵ John L. Myres & Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum: With a Chronicle of Excavations Undertaken Since the British Occupation, and Introductory Notes on Cypriote Archaeology*. (London: Clarendon Press, 1899), vi.

⁹⁶ Porphyrios Dikaios, *A Guide to the Cyprus Museum*. (Nicosia: C. Nicolaou, 1961).

The history of the Johns Hopkins collection of Cypriot material is quite interesting in that its ties to the collections of both of these museums are rather significant. In 1900, Theodore Marburg, a well-known benefactor of the university ~~whose wife was and relative-cousin to of~~ Falkland Warren, donated ~~the~~ a collection of one hundred “rare and beautiful antiquities from the Island of Cyprus,” to the university museum.⁹⁷ ~~In a~~ The Baltimore Sun article detailing the donation ~~contains an~~ inventory of the collection ~~is included~~, highlighting the “gold ornaments,” and the “engraved stones, seals, and gems,” noting that it “is impossible to place a money value on Mr. Marburg’s gift.”⁹⁸ This donation would have surely been a key addition to the ~~m~~Museum’s growing collection and would have added a great deal of prestige to the museum and perhaps the university more generally. Unfortunately, at least part of the Marburg Collection was apparently stolen from the museum in 1950 and remains lost today.⁹⁹

However, another collection of Cypriot antiquities apparently came to Johns Hopkins via John H. Young, a Classics professor at the university who participated in a University of Pennsylvania--led excavation in Kourion in the 1940²s. Another article ~~concerning~~ the ~~m~~Museum from the *Baltimore Sun*, written in 1952, states that “the museum’s pre-Homeric pottery from Cyprus was actually spaded up by a Hopkins faculty member, Dr. Young”¹⁰⁰ Though no record of this collection seems to exist within the university’s archives, this claim is still significant in that it may identify ~~ies where the~~ the source of some of the museum’s current collection of Cypriot material ~~is likely from~~ and also connects this collection with that of the Cyprus Museum. As Dikaios notes in the preface to his guide to the Cyprus Museum, the

⁹⁷ “Art from Old Cyprus,” *Baltimore Sun*, Dec 19, 1900, accessed November 4, 2015, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *The Baltimore Sun* (1837-1986).

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Loewen, Falkland Warren, 27.

¹⁰⁰ James H. Bready, “Art History at Arm’s Length,” *Baltimore Sun*, Feb 10, 1952, accessed November 4, 2015, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *The Baltimore Sun* (1837-1986).

“Pennsylvania University Museum [excavations] under Dr. B. H. Hill since 1931... have further enriched the [Cyprus] Museum’s collections.”¹⁰¹ However, purchase of the objects must also be considered in looking at the origins of the Johns Hopkins Cypriot collection.

In letters sent from the excavations at Kourion to Johns Hopkins regarding his hiring, John Young asked Professor Henry T. Rowell, “How is your sherd collection of Cypriot wares?” Believing that he could get an export license, Young wrote that so long as a “modest sum [was] available,” he “might be able to put together a collection,” and notes that “the opportunity shouldn’t be lost.”¹⁰² Rowell responded promising funds from the Department of Classics, and further wrote that Young could “count on eight to ten students in each of [his] graduate courses.”¹⁰³ Whether or not this last comment regarding the number of students pertains to the issue of how large a collection to acquire is somewhat ambiguous. What is clear is Young’s interest in using such a teaching collection:

The pottery which the field archaeologist with and on which... the entire structure of modern archaeology largely rests. My aim would be to enable the [graduate] student (a) to recognize all of the principal kinds of pottery... which the archaeologist would be likely to find in classical lands, and (b) to know where to look for more specific information. The Baltimore collections would be studied simultaneously.¹⁰⁴

Again, Young was not necessarily relating this statement to his acquisition of a Cypriot collection for the university. It does however, support the idea that university archaeological collections, such as that of Johns Hopkins, are not always simply acquired with the aim of gaining prestige for the university, but must also have a strong educational component.

¹⁰¹ Dikaios, *Cyprus Museum*, xi.

¹⁰² John H. Young, letter to Henry T. Rowell, June 15, 1948.

¹⁰³ Henry T. Rowell, letter to John H. Young, June 25, 1948.

¹⁰⁴ John H. Young, letter to Henry T. Rowell, June 15, 1948.

Collecting the Past: the acquisition histories of 19th and 20th century museums Tying the Marburg collection and the Young collection together is the site of Kourion, more specifically Ayios Ermoyenis, where both the Penn team and Warren and Ohnefalsch-Richter dug. In this way, the JHU collection as a whole is connected to the collections of the British Museum and the Cyprus Museum, and therefore forms an important component in the history of Cypriot archaeology.

In each of these examples of museum collection, there is the sense that there are forces beyond the museum itself at work. The British Museum's collection, partly born of an imperialist agenda and nearly free access to Cyprus's abundance of antiquities, was also heavily influenced by the collecting practices of other western museums, leading to the accumulation of one of the largest Cypriot collections in the world. The Cyprus Museum's collection was originally composed of leftover or unwanted material from foreign archaeological projects, and it was not until later that the museum took a more leading role in collecting under the new antiquities law. The result is what is by far the largest and most diverse collection of Cypriot artifacts in the world. The Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum's collection was created through donations from private individuals and through direct university acquisition, resulting in a variety of objects and motivations behind their acquisition.

The nature of antiquities collecting in British-controlled Cyprus was zealous, with private investors and collectors taking part in the process and larger institutions seizing up vast amounts of antiquities in an attempt to build competitive collections. Despite the fact that, at least according to Stuart Poole, these antiquities lacked certain important aesthetic qualities to place them on par with the works of the Graeco-Roman world, they clearly still held a place of prominence in European and American imagination. The result of this was the large-scale export

of antiquities from Cyprus through the mid 20th century and the propagation of the idea that Cyprus's ancient past was not its own to control. In this way, contemporary museum collecting allowed Cyprus to be pulled further into the western world.

Figure, Chapter Two



Figure 2.1. Etching of Kourion from *Cyprus: its ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples*, 1878

Chapter Three: Museum Display of Cypriot Artifacts

Exhibition collections like those of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and the Metropolitan Museum of New York are of immense value to the teachers and students of classical literature and life, but of even greater importance is the smaller working collection of the university which fulfills in a general way the functions of a scientific laboratory.

—Harry Langford Wilson, *The Classical Weekly*¹⁰⁵

Methods of excavation and collecting interests were not the only factors at play in the history of archaeology in Cyprus. Once these ancient materials arrived at their destinations, they became part of a museum environment in which they were sorted, reorganized, and represented portraying a specific view of the ancient past. Consciously or unconsciously done, decisions regarding how to display these objects reveal each museum's imagination of some aspect of the ancient Cypriot world. Depending on the museum's function and relationship with Cyprus, the fates of the collections at ~~the~~ the British Museum, the Cyprus Museum, and the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum played out in distinct ways that not only reveal 19th century interpretations of the material, but also how modern current, 21st century perceptions reflect these past notions.

¹⁰⁵ Harry Langford Wilson, "The Archaeological Collection of the Johns Hopkins University," *The Classical Weekly*, 1, (October 1, 1907): 189, accessed April 27, 2016, ProQuest.

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The nature of these museums

Each of these museums is distinct from one another in terms of overall mission, historical background, and function in the modern world. It is precisely these differences that highlight the way in which each of the~~these~~ museums treat their collections differently and how this information is presented.

The British Museum, the oldest of the three, was founded in 1753 as the world's first national public museum, and as it continues to do today, offered free admissions to its guests. Following the gift seventy one thousand objects belonging to naturalist and collector Sir Hans Sloane, the museum was established on June 7, 1753 in an Act of Parliament, and opened to the public for the first time on January 15, 1759.¹⁰⁶ The early collection of the British Museum consisted primarily of rare books, manuscripts, and natural specimens. Though some antiquities were included in the original bequest, it was not until the 19th century that the museum acquired such prestigious and world-famous objects as the Rosetta Stone and the Parthenon marbles. It was also during the 19th century that the British Museum became involved in archaeological excavations abroad, particularly at ancient Assyrian and Egyptian sites, as well as many others.¹⁰⁷ Inspired by enlightenment ideals, the British Museum was founded as an encyclopedic museum, meaning that its collections are “representative of the world’s diverse, artistic production,” and is “dedicated to the principle that access to the full diversity of human artistic industry promotes the polymath ideal of discovering and understanding the whole of human knowledge, and improves and advances the condition of our species and the world we

¹⁰⁶ “History of the British Museum,” British Museum, accessed on December 15, 2015, http://www.britishmuseum.org/about_us/the_museums_story/general_history.aspx

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

inhabit.”¹⁰⁸ In his offer of the museum to the British government, Sloane stipulated that the entirety of the collection must remain together and that it always be free to visitors. If the government could not agree to these terms, it would be offered to St. Petersburg, Paris, Berlin, and Madrid, in that order. In this way Neil MacGregor claims that the name the British Museum is just that, a name. He argues that this museum could have been anywhere and that it belongs to the people.¹⁰⁹ While this idea seems accurate for Sir Hans Sloane’s initial conception of the museum, over time, the museum has become increasingly absorbed into British identity.

—— The museum’s website reads:

The Museum was based on the practical principle that the collection should be put to public use and be freely accessible. It was also grounded in the Enlightenment idea that human cultures can, despite their differences, understand one another through mutual engagement. The Museum was to be a place where this kind of humane cross-cultural investigation could happen. It still is.¹¹⁰

—— However,

The idea of the museum as one “freely accessible” is something that has been maintained throughout the course of its history. This public accessibility means that any interested individual, regardless of socio-economic circumstance, can see the objects acquired and displayed by the museum. The museum’s claim that they attempt to exemplify the fact that human cultures across the globe have a sense of mutual understanding is also interesting, especially given 19th century British imperialistic tendencies. In her article on The British Empire & Commonwealth Museum, Corinna McLeod argues that the “spoils” of the British

¹⁰⁸ James Cuno, “The Value of Museums” in *Whose Culture: the promise of museums and the debate over antiquities*, edited by James Cuno, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 37.

¹⁰⁹ Neil MacGregor, “To Shape the Citizens of ‘That Great City, the World,’” in *Whose Culture: the promise of museums and the debate over antiquities*, edited by James Cuno, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 39-40.

¹¹⁰ <http://www.britishmuseum.org/about-us/management/about-us.aspx>

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Museum “seem to be regarded as more archeologically and nationally significant for Britain than the actual accruals found in the British Empire & Commonwealth Museum.”¹¹¹ Here she makes clear the importance to the British Empire of bringing back material culture from the periphery to the center, London, and how this contributed to nationalist pride.

Today, the British Museum is home to eight million objects ranging two million years of human history. At approximately six million visitors per year, the museum is undeniably one of the most famous and successfully run museums in the world.¹¹² The museum’s mission to not only display collections at its location in London, but also to loan out some of the material so that these objects may be “put to public use in new local contexts,” is admirable.¹¹³ However, the museum remains embroiled in controversy over issues of repatriation of some of its certain objects, most notably the Parthenon marbles and the Benin Bronzes.

The Cyprus Museum has an entirely different history in terms of establishment. Though the museum was not founded until 1883 under the British occupation of Cyprus, the idea was first envisioned during Ottoman rule over the island. This was largely because of the work of Luigi Palma di Cesnola and the growing need to prevent such large-scale antiquities export from Cyprus during this period.¹¹⁴ This desire to curb the antiquities trade finally came to fruition with the creation of the first official archaeological museum on the island.¹¹⁵ According the John L. Myres and Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, pPrior to the founding of the Cyprus Museum, the British Government of Cyprus had spent “nothing in maintaining or even properly storing the collections for which it was responsible.” As a result, these collections lay in storehouses for

¹¹¹ Corinna McLeod, Negotiating a national memory: the British Empire & Commonwealth Museum, African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal, 2:2, 2009, 159.

¹¹² “History of the British Museum,” British Museum, http://www.britishmuseum.org/about_us/the_museums_story/general_history.aspx

¹¹³ “About Us,” British Museum, accessed December 15, 2015,

http://www.britishmuseum.org/about_us/management/about_us.aspx

¹¹⁴ Balandier, “Cyprus, a new archaeological frontier.”10.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

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years, “exposed to all kinds of ill usage,” and were damaged or in some cases possibly stolen.¹¹⁶ When the museum was established, it was funded entirely by private subscription. A committee, which “occasionally met,” managed the museum and throughout the period of British occupation of the island, excavations on behalf of the museum were carried out, most notably by Ohnefalsch-Richter. The museum itself was reportedly in a horrible state at its then location at No. 7 Victoria Street, Nicosia, and the condition of the collection was “deplorable.” In the preface to their 1899 Cyprus Museum catalogue, Ohnefalsch-Richter and Myres write:

The large sculptures lay indiscriminately in the courtyard, some exposed to the weather, and all to frequent injury; a large number of Attic vases was discovered, after the Catalogue was already written out, in the wardrobe of the caretaker’s wife; and other collections continually came to light, as it became possible to empty and search one outhouse after another. Hence the too frequent irregularities of numbering and arrangement.¹¹⁷

Even visitors to the museum recognized the horrible conditions there; one visitor even wrote that it was “a very poor place, nothing in it.”¹¹⁸ These deplorable conditions are not surprising given that by 1894, the number of museum subscriptions had largely fallen off, and funds were nearly exhausted.¹¹⁹ The description as such reveals the lack of British interest in maintaining this museum and its collection. It seems that for a time, the founding of the museum alone was enough to suffice.

In 1905, however, the new antiquities law allowed the museum to become a “semi-official” institution administered by a committee elected by its subscribers.¹²⁰ In addition, the museum began to receive “small but regular” grants of funds from the gGovernment, which eventually allowed for the construction of a new museum, dedicated as a memorial to Queen

¹¹⁶ O-R and JLM Myres & Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Cyprus Museum Catalogue*, vi.

¹¹⁷ O-R and JLM *Ibid.*, viii.

¹¹⁸ Stanley-Price, “Ottoman Law on Antiquities,” 271.

¹¹⁹ O-R and JLM Myres & Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Cyprus Museum Catalogue*, vi.

¹²⁰ Vassos Karageorghis, *The Cyprus Museum*, (Nicosia: C. Epiphaniou, 1989), 6.

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Victoria, which ~~began construction~~broke ground in 1908 at public expense.¹²¹ In 1909, yet another new antiquities law abolished the museum's administrative committee, and it instead became a Government entity through the newly created Department of Antiquities.¹²² The museum ~~has since undergone~~subsequently underwent further renovation ~~from (1959 to 1-1961)~~ to include more public galleries and underground storerooms to house the ~~muse~~continually growing collection.¹²³ The reorganization of the museum under Dikaïos in 1935 remains much the same today.¹²⁴

On the other side of the world, Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum was established in 1882, and is one of the oldest university collections of archaeological material in the United States. The idea for the museum came from the collaboration of the Latin and Greek seminaries, the Department of History and Politics, and the Oriental Seminary, who all envisioned a university collection for study and display. The first groups of objects that came to the museum were primarily purchased either from private collectors or by professors on behalf of the university, and were mostly focused on ancient Egypt and the classical world. ~~Of course, T~~he Marburg Collection was donated to the museum in 1900, contributing to the ever-growing collection. Though the museum was originally in McCoy Hall on the old ~~campus~~ downtown campus of Johns Hopkins, today nearly all of the collection resides in 1 ~~5029~~ Gilman Hall in the newly renovated Archaeological Museum. However, some pieces from the collection have been placed in different locations, such as Evergreen House, Baltimore Hebrew College, and the Welch Library at the Johns Hopkins Medical School.¹²⁵

¹²¹ Dikaïos, *Guide to the Cyprus Museum*, ix.

¹²² Dikaïos *ibid.*, x.

¹²³ Dikaïos *ibid.*, ix.

¹²⁴ "Cyprus Museum, Lefkosia," Department of Antiquities, Republic of Cyprus, accessed November 4, 2015, <http://www.mew.gov.cy/mew/DA/DA.nsf/0/67084F17382CF201C2257199001FE4AD?OpenDocument>.

¹²⁵ Ellen Reeder Williams, *The Archaeological Collection of the Johns Hopkins University*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 7-8.

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The Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum was, since its inception, created as a teaching collection, with the aim of engaging faculty and students alike in an “interactive, interdisciplinary and collaborative study of the ancient world through the examination, research, exhibition and conservation of archaeological objects.”¹²⁶

~~The mission of the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum is to engage researchers in an interactive, interdisciplinary and collaborative study of the ancient world through the examination, research, exhibition and conservation of archaeological objects.~~¹²⁷ In 1907, Harry Langford Wilson, a Johns Hopkins Classics professor wrote:

Nothing has more power to attract and hold the attention of students, to awaken and sustain their enthusiasm than the constant presence of the tangible remains of antiquity, the actual work of Greek and Roman hands. To students who by daily contact have become familiar with these things and understand their significance the men of old are real persons and their classical literature becomes the expression of a real life.¹²⁸

Wilson was drawing in a key feature of the ~~Johns Hopkins~~^{JHU} Archaeological Museum that distinguishes it from the British Museum and even the Cyprus Museum: its primary function as a teaching collection. The motives behind the collection and display of this material ~~were~~^{was} not political, as was the case at the British Museum and the Cyprus Museum. Without a need to display nationalistic pride, this museum ~~became~~^{becomes} one whose mission statement actually seems to correlate with its operations. Of course, there is also the fact that this museum was surely established in part to compete with the archaeological collections of other prestigious universities in the United States, and so in this way, the ~~Johns Hopkins~~^{JHU} collection fits into the idea of a museum as grounds for competitive display.

¹²⁶ “Museum Mission,” Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum, accessed December 15, 2015, <http://archaeologicalmuseum.jhu.edu/the-collection/museum-mission/>.

¹²⁷ <http://archaeologicalmuseum.jhu.edu/the-collection/museum-mission/>.

¹²⁸ Wilson, “The Archaeological Collection of the Johns Hopkins University,” 189.

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Furthermore, the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum exemplifies a function of the museum world that the other two examples simply cannot: the ability to engage directly with objects for study. Of course upper-level researchers have some ability to access the collections at the British Museum and Cyprus Museum. This is not to say that the public has free, direct access to the Johns Hopkins collection. It is mostly limited to faculty, researchers, and some select students who are able to handle the material themselves, but occasionally some other groups from the local community such as school children and retirees have access as well.

Each of these museums' histories reveals a different attitude toward the treatment of Cypriot archaeology, and of archaeological collections as a whole. The British Museum, founded as an encyclopedic museum, both presents objects for cross-cultural comparison while also highlighting the role of British imperialism in their acquisition. The Cyprus Museum, born from a colonial desire to regulate the flow of antiquities out of the country rather than as a national museum, was largely neglected until changes to the Cypriot antiquities law allowed for sufficient funding. The Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum came from collaboration between different academic departments with an interest in amassing a teaching collection that would inspire students. In essence, these museums represent three very distinct roles in the 19th century museum community, which continues to impact the various ways in which they choose to display their respective collections today.

Museum organization

Just as the historical background of each of these museums and their respective functions led to differences in the ways Cypriot antiquities were used, the layout of each museum's collection reveals much about ~~they not only imagined the ancient Cypriot past~~ the type of objects

in the collection, as well as but the choices that are made in how to also sought to present this story material to visitors. Even today, the museums' respective displays of Cypriot artifacts reveal different attitudes towards ancient Cyprus. While of course the Cyprus Museum is organized quite differently, the British Museum's and the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum's displays of Cypriot material currently even today integrate the collections into Classical groups of materials groups of material from the Graeco-Roman world, showing that while the way in which these collections have been displayed has changed over time, there are still underlying tones of a distinctly Hellenic tradition behind these Cypriot collections.

Given that the British Museum's excavations in Cyprus were carried out by figures such as Alexander Murray, Keeper of Greek and Roman Department, it is no surprise that the objects brought back to the ~~British~~ Museum were displayed among the Greek and Roman collections, rather than the Western Asiatic objects. This is not an isolated occurrence. The same kind of treatment was seen at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, though the Louvre's collection presents a different approach, given that it was displayed among more "Orientalist" collections.¹²⁹ The British Museum's primary interest was of course those materials characterized as Mycenaean, which were displayed alongside Greek Mycenaean artifacts, while the rest of the Cypriot objects were largely kept in storerooms.¹³⁰ This seems most likely to be the result of the focus of the British Museum excavations, which targeted tomb and sanctuary sites and sought out Mycenaean artifacts. However, the decision to keep some of the objects in storerooms is clearly a conscious one, and reveals an interest in pursuing the idea of the Cyprus as being a part of the classical world, and by extension, the western world.

¹²⁹ Karageorghis, "Cypriote Archaeology in the Bloomsbury Area," in *Ancient Cyprus in the British Museum: Essays in honour of Veronica Tatton-Brown*, ed. Thomas Kiely, (London: The British Museum, 2009), 2-3.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

This display technique remained the norm ~~for a long time~~, until December 1987 when the A.G. Leventis Gallery was inaugurated. This came about as a result of ~~a bit of~~ controversy over the potential repatriation of Cypriot materials from the British Museum. While no international law existed to mandate this kind of return ~~feasible~~, David Hunt, the first British High Commissioner in Cyprus post-independence, requested the help of the Leventis Foundation to help fund a gallery in the British Museum that would be dedicated to the Cypriot collection. Today the gallery holds seven-hundred-sixty objects and is run by the Greek and Roman Department. Many other objects from the museum's Cypriot collection are displayed elsewhere.¹³¹ The establishment of this gallery is no doubt linked to the 1974~~6~~ Turkish invasion of Cyprus and the resulting cultural heritage issues the occupation of the northern third of the island brought on. The A.G. Leventis Foundation, was established in 1979, and supports various educational, cultural, artistic, and philanthropic causes primarily in Cyprus and Greece. The Foundation has placed special emphasis on the cultural heritage of Cyprus as a result of the Turkish invasion and the subsequent "immense destruction of the cultural heritage of the island."¹³² Therefore the establishment of a purely Cypriot gallery at the British Museum, one of the largest collections of Cypriot antiquities in the world, reflects the Foundation's specific goals. Furthermore, the clearly Greek-Cypriot interest of the Foundation helps to explain why the collection is so classically oriented.

~~Room 72,~~ The A.G. Leventis Gallery, Room 72 in the British Museum, is still the primary location of Cypriot artifacts in the British Museum museum, and the objects on display there are intended to "illustrate Cypriot culture and civilization from its earliest known times to

¹³¹ Ibid., 3-4.

¹³² "History," A.G. Leventis Foundation, accessed April 20, 2016, <http://www.leventisfoundation.org/en/about-us/history>.

the end of the Roman period.”¹³³ The Gallery is on the upper level of the Museum¹³⁴. On either side of the Gallery are Room 71 “Etruscan World” and Room 73 “Greeks in Italy.” If one went up the Great Court stairs, they would move through rooms starting in Ancient Mesopotamia, through the Levantine Galleries, before arriving in “Greeks in Italy” and finally the A.G. Leventis Gallery. If one were to go up the South stairs, they would come across a gallery featuring money from different time periods and cultures, the gallery on Greek and Roman life, then “Etruscan World,” and ~~of course ultimately~~ the A.G. Leventis Gallery. No matter which way a visitor to the museum comes across the A.G. Leventis Gallery, he or she would have already been immersed in primarily Graeco-Roman material, at least ~~in the few rooms through~~ the spaces leading to leading up the actual gallery. Perhaps even more interesting is the fact that the Cypriot material is physically isolated in this sense from the bulk of the Near Eastern collections. For example, the entirety of the Assyrian collection is located on the Ground Floor. This is interesting because of the early affiliations of ancient Cyprus with the Assyrian Empire after the discovery of the stela of Sargon. ~~The~~ trend of instead linking Cypriot objects with the classical world is further exemplified on the British Museum’s website, in particular the page concerning Room 72. The page links to related galleries, which are noticeably only galleries featuring ancient Greek material culture.¹³⁵ Obviously, this association of the Cypriot collection with Greek and Roman material in the museum setting is not surprising given that the collection is administered by the Greek and Roman department. It does however prove that even today, the classically interested individuals who excavated in late 19th century Cyprus continue to influence our imagination of the ancient past.

¹³³ “Ancient Cyprus, The A.G. Leventis Gallery, Room 72,” British Museum, accessed March 15, 2016, http://www.britishmuseum.org/visiting/galleries/ancient_greece_and_rome/room_72_ancient_cyprus.aspx. See Figure 3.1

¹³⁴ See Figure 3.2

¹³⁵ Ibid.

The Cyprus Museum unsurprisingly took a quite different approach in displaying its objects, again, revealing the character of the collection as well as attitudes towards different groups of objects. In the original building at No. 7 Victoria Street, the materials were primarily displayed, across two floors, according to object type and site.¹³⁶ As one entered the museum, on one side of the entrance was a pair of male head votive sculptures, and on the other a pair limestone stelae featuring the “crescent and disk of Cypriote Aphrodite (Astarte).”¹³⁷ This large room featured votive sculpture from different sanctuaries along its sides. A side room also featured jewelry found at sites such as Idalion and Tamassos. At the end of the large room was a staircase to the second floor, where one would first walk into a room featuring wine amphorae before moving into the next room, which contained bronze objects, terracottas, and glass. Off to one side of this room was the “Bronze Age Room,” which heavily featured tomb objects, particularly from Enkomi. Off to the opposite side of the room was the “Graeco-Phoenician Room” followed by the “Poli Room.” It is clear from the layout of this space that while some attention was given to chronology and periodization, the primary interest lay in grouping objects based on type and in some cases, find location. This kind of organization seems to display antiquarian interest in these objects rather than archaeological. It focused on particular types of objects, particularly those from tomb and sanctuary contexts, linking the display back to the sites most frequently exploited by 19th century antiquarians.

The movement to the museum’s current location prompted ~~initiated~~ a significant change in the way the objects were displayed.¹³⁸ An original plan of the layout of the new museum is not available, given that no catalogue was published between that of Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter and the version published by Porphyrios- Dikaios in 1947. Although the museum underwent

¹³⁶ See Figure 3.3

¹³⁷ Myres & Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Cyprus Museum Catalogue*, 143-160.

¹³⁸ See Figure 3.4

some changes during the interim period, the plan in Dikaios's guide provides an excellent contrast for the earlier layout. The museum is laid out essentially in a series of galleries surrounding a central courtyard and storage area. The first galleries one encountered after entering the museum were Rooms I and II, which feature Pre-Bronze Age Cultures, followed by Room III, Iron Age Cultures. From the outset, the museum is organized chronologically, and it should be noted that the objects in these galleries were mainly from tomb contexts. Next, was the Aya Irini Room¹³⁹, "devoted to selected finds from ancient sanctuaries," followed by the Sculpture Gallery, which also featured finds from similar contexts.¹⁴⁰ One would then encounter the Septimus Severus Room, named for the large bronze statue of the Roman Emperor that was the chief exhibit piece of this room. Next Following this was the room devoted to later sculpture, which was divided into two sections, the first featuring sculptures from the Aphrodite-Isis temple at Soli and the second, a group of heads and torsos from the Roman Age found at various sites. After this came was a set of rooms devoted specifically to tombs, and included tomb reconstructions from various periods, followed by a room dedicated to "miscellaneous and jewelry collections," which This was then followed by three rooms featuring statues from Salamis, terracottas, and inscriptions, respectively.¹⁴¹

With the exception of the first three rooms, at first glance, the setup of the Cyprus Museum in the mid 20th century was not completely dissimilar from its earlier counterpart. However, with a closer look it becomes clear that there was far greater attention paid to chronology, location, and overarching theme th~~a~~en had been previously seen, showing a movement away from looking at these objects simply as valuable antiquities and refocusing to see them as valuable pieces of evidence of past cultures. The museum is "an archaeological

¹³⁹ See Figure 3.5

¹⁴⁰ Dikaios, *Guide to the Cyprus Museum*, 85.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 196-225.

teaching museum and not exclusively a ‘museum of art.’” and displays objects from daily life “even if their aesthetic pretensions are minimal.”¹⁴² With a few minor adjustments, the Cyprus Museum today has mostly the same layout as Dikaios described in 1947.¹⁴³ Any future changes to the museum through expansion—which is still being considered by the Cyprus Government—would -would undoubtedly change the way in which the material was organized and displayed once again.

Like the Cyprus Museum, the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum has also underwent a change in location that had significant impact on how the material was displayed. The collection was originally displayed in downtown Baltimore, where the University’s campus was then located, in McCoy Hall.¹⁴⁴ In 1916 the collection moved to the Homewood campus and was placed in Gilman Hall, where it currently resides. The collection was displayed in 129 Gilman Hall, as well as other areas around campus.¹⁴⁵ In 2006, a significant renovation to Gilman Hall meant that the museum could once again be completely reorganized and objects that had been in storage could finally be made visible and accessible to the public. The museum re-opened in 150 Gilman Hall on December 5, 2010 where it remains open today.¹⁴⁶

Not much is known about the early displays of Cypriot material at the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum. However, given the heavily Classics-focused nature of the museum, it is possible to say that any display of Cypriot objects may have been associated with the display of Greek or Roman material. Interest in classical archaeology can be seen in both the prevalence

¹⁴² Karageorghis, *Cyprus Museum*, 8.

¹⁴³ “Cyprus Museum, Lefkosia,” Department of Antiquities, Republic of Cyprus, <http://www.mcw.gov.cy/mcw/DA/DA.nsf/0/67084F17382CF201C2257199001FE4AD?OpenDocument>.

¹⁴⁴ See Figure 3.6

¹⁴⁵ See Figure 3.7

¹⁴⁶ “History of the Museum,” Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum, accessed March 15, 2016, <http://archaeologicalmuseum.jhu.edu/the-collection/history-of-the-museum/>.

of classical material in the early collection as well as the earliest university courses that were taught with material from the museum, which focused on classical art and archaeology.¹⁴⁷

— Today the Cypriot material on display at the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum is still associated with the Classics-focused collection. A display of figurines-Bronze and Iron Age ceramics from Cyprus is paired with material from the early Aegean world.¹⁴⁸ The cases leading up to this include “Greek Ceramics,” “Greek Sculpture,” and “Italic Ceramics,” creating the sense of immersion in Graeco-Roman material, allowing for an interesting parallel between the Johns Hopkins collection and the presentation of the British Museum’s collection. The display, entitled “Early Cypriot and Greek Ceramics,” contains ceramic vessels from throughout the Bronze Age and into the Iron Age, as well as some examples of ceramic figurines from these periods. In looking at this display of Cypriot material culture, the viewer is automatically drawn to compare it with that of pre-Classical Greece, and therefore Cyprus becomes more firmly entrenched in the Graeco-Roman world through this experience.

— It should be noted that this classics-focused display of Cypriot artifacts is not politically motivated in this instance, but academically. The objects presented in this display date from a period of strong trade contact between Cyprus and the Aegean world, and therefore the display is influenced by both scholarly tradition, as well as the museum’s mission to use the collection as an educational tool. On the other hand, the changing natures of the British Museum and Cyprus Museum’s displays reveal more politically charged configurations.

Catalogues

¹⁴⁷ “Courses for 1910-11, Classical Archaeology and Art,” Johns Hopkins University, accessed March 15, 2016, <http://archaeologicalmuseum.jhu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2011/08/courses-1910-11.pdf>.

¹⁴⁸ See Figure 3.8

It is perhaps useful here to make some remarks about the mMuseums' catalogues, which have been a primary source for the research thus far. Museum catalogues represent a different kind of museum function from physical display; both serve to educate the audience and present a curated version of the museums' collections. But catalogues often have a more scholarly purpose, they serve to publicize the finds of museums for other scholars. Such catalogues They allow researches not only to gain access to these collections and their overall composition, but also enable cross-collection comparisons. Many catalogues go a step further by discussing the history of the collections, both in terms of excavation and museum display. The British Museum, the Cyprus Museum, and the Johns HopkinsHU Archaeological Museum each have a distinct story in terms of cataloguing and how each museum approaches this issue today.

The British Museum today has arguably the finest online catalogue for Cypriot material of any major museum in the world. The information given for each object is not only impressively thorough, but the museum's database also provides a great deal of information and background not only on ancient Cyprus, but the history of the museum's excavations as well. The online catalogue is still being updated to contain information on each piece of the collection. The British Museum's *Ancient Cyprus in the British Museum Online Research Catalogue* is representative of the museum's attempts to not only publish their collections, but also to digitize them. However, prior to this online catalogue's release in 2008, there seems to have been no official catalogue of the British Museum's Cypriot material. This is perhaps not surprising given that until quite recently, the museum's Cypriot collection was not given its own gallery, and the museum's collection as a whole is too large for a single catalogue.

The Cyprus Museum's catalogue by Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter represents an impressively early/impressive early attempt to catalogue a substantial Cypriot collection. It was

published in 1899 and features not only a floor plan of the first museum, but also a description of each object displayed there. Furthermore, the plates at the back of the catalogue feature illustrations of some of the key objects described. This is mirrored in the ~~late~~subsequent 1947~~e~~ Dikaios guide to the museum by the ~~multitude of object photographs~~many photographs featured. While there was certainly a lag in time between the publication of Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter's catalogue and that of Dikaios, each represents a commendable effort to thoroughly publish the museum's collections in each respective point in history.

The Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum's catalogue represents an entirely different ~~other~~ story. There has only been one catalogue of the museum, published in 1984, written by Ellen Reeder Williams. The catalogue itself is "necessarily selective" in that it "presents only as many of the finest objects as could be studied and receive conservation treatment within the parameters of the grants received for these purposes," and features only one object identified as being from Cyprus.¹⁴⁹ Current efforts to catalogue the entirety of the collection, which has been in storage for many years, is ongoing with the aim of making an online catalogue for students, faculty, and researchers.¹⁵⁰ It should also be noted that while it is regrettable that the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum does not already have a more thorough catalogue, the ongoing cataloguing process represents a significant progress. Once this material is easily accessible to students, faculty, and researchers, the possibilities for ~~what they may uncover, about Cypriot objects or otherwise, are truly limitless.~~research on the museum's collections would be greatly expanded and perhaps eventually lead to a deeper understanding of the university's collection as a whole.

¹⁴⁹ Williams, *Archaeological Collection of Johns Hopkins University*, 3.

¹⁵⁰ "Collection Search," Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum, accessed March 15, 2016, <http://archaeologicalmuseum.jhu.edu/the-collection/collection-search/>.

Therefore, while each of these museums has a distinct history in terms of cataloguing, in each case there are notable efforts to make sure that respective collections are published and readily accessible. It is only through the publication, and hopefully digitization, of these collections that researchers can access them from all corners of the globe can be achieved. Additionally, researchers would be able to study objects not normally on display and look at objects individually, away from the context of their display case. This deeper study would perhaps lead to the breaking down or reassignment of the classifications of this material, allowing for the re-imagination of the origins of these artifacts. In the case of museums like the British Museum, which purport the idea that their collections belong to everyone, worldwide accessibility to collections would certainly make these advances more feasible.

The role of the physical museum in Cypriot cultural heritage

Each of these museums represents a unique story of the ways in which the presentation of Cypriot cultural heritage has changed over time. The 19th century British Museum, which could have displayed Cypriot material in a variety of cultural contexts, linking it to both eastern and western traditions, chose to present a distinctly Hellenic view of ancient Cyprus, which it largely maintains today. The Cyprus Museum, initially a neglected manifestation of antiquarian interest, today tries to combat this earlier approach by displaying a distinctly diverse set of objects. The Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum, whose tradition is firmly entrenched in the idea of teaching collections, continues to associate its Cypriot collection with its material from the Graeco-Roman world.

In each of these museum's histories, there is a sense that, at least in the late 19th and early 20th century, there was a desire to associate ancient Cyprus with another preexisting

cultural group. Particularly in the cases of the British Museum and Johns Hopkins
Archaeological Museum, these associations are largely Hellenic, contributing to the notion that
Cypriot archaeology during this period subversively promoted the drawing in of Cyprus to the
western world after its nearly three hundred years as an Ottoman entity.

Figures, Chapter Three



Figure 3.1 Room 72 at the British Museum, the A.G. Leventis Gallery

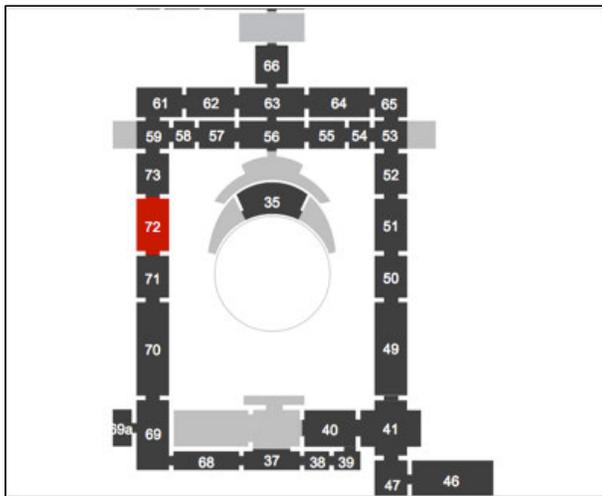


Figure 3.2 Plan of the second floor of the British Museum with the A.G. Leventis Gallery in red.

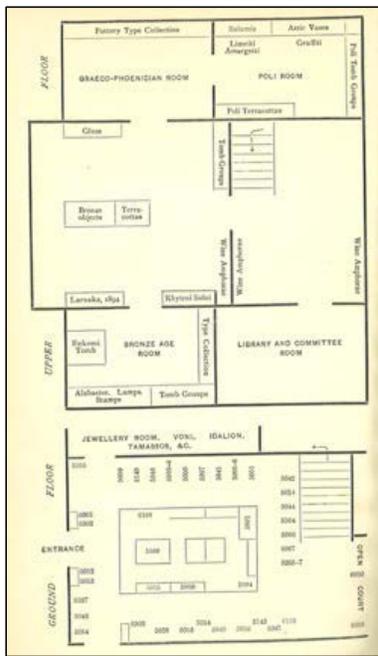


Figure 3.3. Floor plan of original Cyprus Museum, 1899

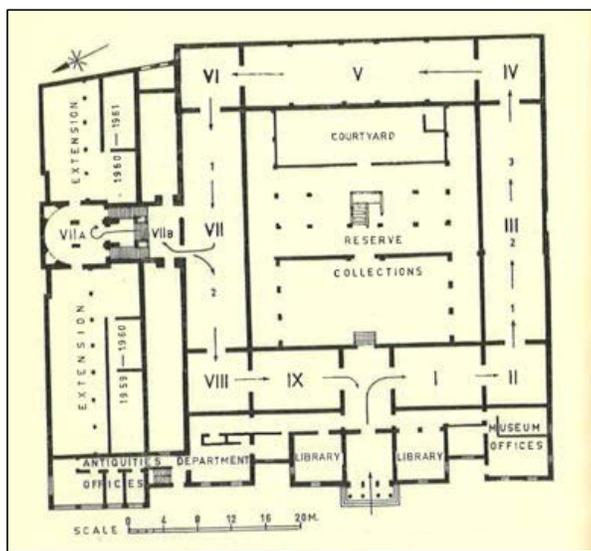


Figure 3.4 Floor plan of the new Cyprus Museum, 1947



Figure 3.5 The Ayia Irini room at the Cyprus Museum, 1947



Figure 3.6 The Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum, McCoy Hall, 1915



Figure 3.7 The Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum, 129 Gilman Hall, 1978



Figure 3.8 Display of early Cypriot and Greek objects at the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum, 2016

Conclusions:
The Legacy of Antiquarianism

The earlier excavations undertaken on the island had, with few exceptions, served a commercial, rather than scientific purpose. In consequence European and American museums were often stocked with Cypriot antiquities, about which little was known. Many scholars have complained about this situation and agreed that something ought to be done, and that soon, to prevent us from forever losing knowledge about the importance of the Cypriot civilization.

—Einar Gjerstad, *Ages and Days in Cyprus*¹⁵¹

The ~~results-impacts~~ of early Cypriot archaeological excavation and museum curation and collection were quite significant in the 19th and early 20th centuries. These practices heavily shaped the ways in which Cyprus would have been perceived by visitors to these museums or by scholars studying its ancient past. However, the effect of these early archaeological practices is not restricted to the development of modern archaeology, but rather continues to influence the way in which archaeology is conducted on the island today. In particular, the effect of antiquarian looting and the involvement of foreign archaeological missions continue to play a significant role in how archaeological research is conducted in Cyprus. Additionally, cultural identity issues, which continue to plague 21st century Cyprus, may be seen as a consequence of the colonial and antiquarian attitudes that pervaded late 19th and early 20th century archaeology.

Looting

¹⁵¹ Einar Gjerstad, *Ages and Days in Cyprus*, (Göteborg: P. Åstrom, 1980), 11.

As previously discussed, excavation techniques in 19th century Cyprus, and more generally within the field of archaeology, were in many ways radically different from those of today. Though ~~of course~~ there was some natural progression in terms of methodology and technology from the time of Melchior de Vogüé to the work of Ohnefalsch-Richter and the British Museum, such excavations were not particularly well conducted or documented until relatively recently. Tomb and sanctuary sites were targeted above others and the pursuit of specific kinds of objects, especially Mycenaean ceramics, led to a general bias in certain museum collections. In many ways, the effects of these early excavations on Cyprus may still be felt archaeological work on the island today.

This issue may be seen through the example of the site of Athienou-*Malloura* and the surrounding archaeological sites in the area. French excavations in the area in the mid 19th century led to the discovery of several sculptural deposits. Of one such deposits at Malloura, Vogüé wrote that the site had “given to us more than a thousand fragments, among them I chose a hundred heads, all of which, despite their bad state of preservation, have a particular interest.”¹⁵² Though some of the fragments that were not of interest to the French team may have been deposited elsewhere, it is also possible that they were then reburied at the sites at which they were found. This would explain the rather large deposits of headless sculptural fragments found by the Athienou Archaeological Project, led by Michael Toumazou. Though at least some of this obviously ~~looted-disturbed~~ material may have come from the heavy looting activity in the 20th century, it is probable that some ~~were~~ the result of these French missions.¹⁵³ This looting activity has heavily impacted both the way in which material is excavated at Malloura and the way it may be interpreted. These deposits of sculptural fragments, not visible at surface level,

¹⁵² Michael K. Toumazou, P. Nick Kardulias, and Derek B. Counts, *Crossroads and Boundaries: the archaeology of past and present in the Malloura Valley, Cyprus*, (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2011), 48.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

only become apparent when the excavators dig past the plow zone. This means that these looters pits are often found among stratified layers, impeding the speed of excavation and also the ability to properly date the pitted material.

In addition to the negative impact of these French missions on current archaeological research, the work of Cesnola also had a major ~~effect-impact~~ on the Malloura area. Cesnola's inadequate record keeping meant that the objects he identified from this area have no real provenience.¹⁵⁴ While modern archaeological activity can continue despite this, the fact that the archaeological records of such sites were previously investigated by figures such as Cesnola, who took material without proper recording, means that the history of the archaeological record of such sites is largely a mystery. The objects excavated in the past cannot be associated with those excavated today, potentially impacting the interpretations of both sets of material.

Looting on Cyprus, particularly in the Malloura area, continued long after Cesnola left the island. The site's proximity to the city of Larnaca, a major hub of foreign officials and expatriates in the 19th and 20th centuries, as well as its association with antiquarian archaeology meant that sites such as Athienou-Malloura were targets of local looting activity, especially in the 1920s and '30s.¹⁵⁵ Though this looting tradition is ~~no longer~~less of an issue in ~~modern~~ contemporary Cyprus, the effects of past activity is still felt by teams such as the Athienou Archaeological Project, who continue to struggle to excavate a site that has been disturbed intermittently since antiquity. The Department of Antiquities in Cyprus still tries to actively combat current looting on the island, as evidenced by the 2012 amendment to the antiquities law

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 49-50.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 50.

that forbade the possession of metal detectors in certain regions deemed archaeologically significant.¹⁵⁶

Foreign archaeological missions on Cyprus

In 1908, Professor Harry Langford Wilson of the Classics department at Johns Hopkins University gave a lecture on “Recent Archaeological Excavations in Rome.” In this lecture, he described the sheer number of archaeological sites in Cyprus-Italy saying, “Wherever the spade of the worker falls there is unearthed some token in antiquity. So prolific is Italian soil in these remains that archaeologists become impatient when hard and persistent work becomes necessary to get at the desired object of the search.”¹⁵⁷ Although the lecture described the archaeological research being done at the time at sites such as the Temple of Trajan and the Roman Forum, Wilson also made an important statement on the nature of archaeological research in the 19th and early 20th century more broadly:

Many persons wonder why the Italian Government does not call in help from the outside world in archaeological research, but the reason is soon discovered when we stop to consider the vandalism which has been practiced in the peninsula from the earliest days. The days of the original barbarians may be over, but those of modern times are not far behind. One often reads in the Italian papers of some valuable find, and several months later may be read an account in an English or American paper announcing some valuable addition to the museums of London or New York. The theft of outsiders is appalling. Thus it has come about that the Italian Government claims as its own property any article which may be excavated, and none can be exported without its consent.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ Office of the Law Commissar, Republic of Cyprus, The Antiquities (Amendment) Law, 2012 (English Translation), accessed April 20, 2016, [http://www.mcw.gov.cy/mcw/DA/DA.nsf/All/FEE145108C5042D542257B95004183D3/\\$file/The%20Antiquities%20Amendment_%20Law,%202012%20.pdf](http://www.mcw.gov.cy/mcw/DA/DA.nsf/All/FEE145108C5042D542257B95004183D3/$file/The%20Antiquities%20Amendment_%20Law,%202012%20.pdf).

¹⁵⁷ “Not Far Behind Barbarians: Professor Wilson Denounces Stealing Of Italian Relics,” *Baltimore Sun*, Jan 24, 1908, accessed November 4, 2015, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *The Baltimore Sun*.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid*.

It is reasonable to assume that Wilson would have considered the work of Cesnola and even that of Ohnefalsch-Richter and the rest of the British Museum team to be “barbaric” in this sense. It is clear that in Italy, similar work was combated by the exclusion-regulation of archaeology in pursuit of foreign museum collection. Wilson’s discussion of the “vandalism” and “theft” of Italian antiquities reveals that contemporary museums were not necessarily as concerned with respecting cultural heritage.

In this period, however, Cyprus remained a British entity. One might assume that when Cyprus achieved independence in 1960, there might be-have been some sort of effort to restrict the work of foreign archaeological missions on the island, particularly as a response to the work of figures such as Cesnola, who exploited the island for personal advantage. However, even after independence, the Department of Antiquities has continued to encourage foreign archaeological missions on the island.¹⁵⁹ In fact, the number of archaeological projects led by foreign on the island has actually increased since Cyprus’s independence.¹⁶⁰ The changes to the antiquities law in Cyprus, including the establishment of the Department of Antiquities and the reinforcement of state ownership of antiquities through the abolishment of the division of finds between foreign projects and the government, has minimized the risk that these foreign projects pose to Cypriot cultural heritage.¹⁶¹ Since foreign collecting from official excavations is prohibited, such projects can continue in Cyprus without fear of antiquities being taken from these sites. However, antiquities trafficking continues to be an issue for Cyprus and other archaeological sites across the globe, and the objects from these looting activities continue to feed into private and institutional collections via the black market.

¹⁵⁹ Steele, *Cyprus Before History*, 10.

¹⁶⁰ “Historical Background,” Department of Antiquities, Republic of Cyprus, http://www.mcw.gov.cy/mcw/da/da.nsf/DMLhistory_en/DMLhistory_en?OpenDocument.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

In 1978, the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute (CAARI) was established in Nicosia, Cyprus. CAARI was founded in the hope of fostering the study of Cypriot archaeology and today the center serves as a meeting place for the study of archaeology from scholars of multiple disciplines and “all nationalities,” who “come together under our roof to share multidisciplinary approaches and research findings.”¹⁶² CAARI, therefore, serves as an example of how current foreign archaeological research missions on the island attempt to engage with one another and with the Cypriot Department of Antiquities. The organization therefore, not only supports the work of foreign archaeologists in Cyprus, but also encourages it.

CAARI’s mission to bring together scholars of different disciplines and backgrounds is also reflected in individual projects on the island, including the Athienou Archaeological Project (AAP). The project’s team includes classically and anthropologically trained archaeologists, each with different specializations, geophysicists, physical anthropologists, and historians. Through the integration of these variety of disciplines into the same archaeological project, AAP has been able to incorporate both humanistic and scientific perspectives into interpretation as well as “expand the questions [they] ask of material” and “provide models for colleagues confronting similar data sets.”¹⁶³ AAP’s ongoing work includes research on such varied topics as depositional analysis, 3-D imaging, x-ray fluorescence, and art historical approaches to the site’s large sculptural deposits. This interdisciplinary approach is a far cry from the 19th century excavation projects on Cyprus and a reflection not only of the developments in archaeological theory and technology in recent decades, but also of an active response to the history of archaeology in Cyprus.

¹⁶² “About,” Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute, accessed March 15, 2016, <http://www.caari.org/>.

¹⁶³ Toumazou et al, *Crossroads and Boundaries*, 8.

Therefore, while the work of foreign archaeological missions in Cyprus has a rather ethically questionable past, there seems a concerted effort made by current archaeologists on the island, foreign and native, to move past the shortcomings of their predecessors and pave the way for future archaeological progress on the island. This is encouraged by the Department of Antiquities, who, for the most part, no longer fear that massive collections of Cypriot material culture will suddenly disappear from the island.

The Cyprus Question: the continuing complication of Cypriot cultural heritage

The 1974 Turkish military invasion and subsequent occupation of northern Cyprus has produced, and brought back to light, many of the island's cultural heritage issues. Immediately following the invasion, the Department of Antiquities halted all archaeological activity in the occupied territory, though there have been claims that digs led by the University of Ankara were conducted at the site of Salamis during this time. An "unknown number of antiquities and works of Byzantine art was illegally exported from the island," though some of this has since been repatriated.¹⁶⁴ The Cyprus Government has condemned the actions of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" as war crimes as a result. Beyond issues of archaeological destruction and illicit antiquities trade, the division of Cyprus from 1974 to the present day has brought issues of Cypriot identity to the forefront. Tensions between the Greek-Cypriot majority and Turkish-Cypriot minority have been longstanding, but came to a head following a Greek military-led coup in July of 1974 and the subsequent Turkish response.

The division of Cypriot identity into Greek and Turkish is not dissimilar from Ohnefalsch-Richter's questioning of the biblical versus classical origins of Cypriot culture and

¹⁶⁴ "Historical Background," Department of Antiquities, Republic of Cyprus, http://www.mcw.gov.cy/mcw/da/da.nsf/DMLhistory_en/DMLhistory_en?OpenDocument.

history. In both cases, there is a tug-of-war between east and west. In many ways, archaeology conducted in British-controlled Cyprus can be seen as actively contributing to this issue, pulling Cyprus towards a Hellenic heritage and western civilization, and away from eastern influence. Whether this pull was purely political, or more unconsciously done, the claiming of Cyprus for the west during this period contributed to issues of Cypriot identity and agency. Not only was Cyprus's ancient culture seen as the result of primarily Greek influence, but control over Cyprus's material and cultural heritage was, until the island's 1960 independence, in the hands of a foreign power. This is seen through the ways in which excavations were conducted during this period, as well as collecting preferences and museum displays. Given this only recently acquired agency in determining its cultural heritage and identity, it is no surprise that Cyprus continues to struggle with these issues today.

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