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**THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTERESTS
OF SAMUEL BROWN, GOVERNMENT ENGINEER,
and his Circle of Acquaintances in Late 19th Century Cyprus**

Thomas KIELY and Robert S. MERRILLEES

By the time the British took over the running of Cyprus' affairs in 1878, collecting antiquities had become a well established, widespread and sometimes lucrative pastime amongst the expatriate community, especially in Larnaca, the chief port and residence of the foreign consular corps.¹ The British officials seconded afterwards to the island's colonial administration succumbed to the same cultural and commercial temptations and, aided and abetted by the local population, numerous private collections were formed. Most of these remained in Cyprus while the owners were still on active duty there, and just as many left the island, by one means or another, usually when the owners were transferred elsewhere. Since large numbers of these artifacts were obtained from looting, private dealers or inadequately supervised or recorded excavations, the loss to scientific knowledge is immeasurable and irretrievable and is matched only by the subsequent doleful history of these collections, especially those that left the island. Few were ever properly catalogued, virtually none was kept intact, and the objects themselves tended to get dispersed without any label or mark to signify their original sources. As nearly all the collectors right up till the Second World War were amateurs, with little sustained intellectual or aesthetic interest in their acquisitions, their possessions were not as a rule invested by their beneficiaries or inheritors with sufficient historical importance to ensure their appropriate disposal, particularly to a public institution. Nevertheless many Cypriot antiquities did eventually find their way to public collections in the United Kingdom and beyond, either as gifts or legacies or indirectly through the market when they were finally disposed of by their owners. The result is the existence of many small but interesting collections of ancient material from Cyprus with little or no documentation about their origin or sources.

1. Cf. Merrillees 2001, p. 225; Yon 2006, p. 16-17.

While some of the antiquities owned by certain leading collectors in the second half of the 19th century A.D. can be partially traced, such as those belonging to Thomas Backhouse Sandwith in Edinburgh, London and elsewhere,² Lady Annie Brassey in Hastings and Wolverhampton,³ and Claude Delaval Cobham in Exeter,⁴ the important private collection of someone like Tankerville James Chamberlayne, District Commissioner of Kyrenia and mediaeval scholar, has vanished altogether. Throughout the United Kingdom and Ireland (and beyond), there are numerous important collections of Cypriot antiquities formed as a result of the dispersal of these private collections, though few are published or adequately documented. There is therefore much value to be gained from continuing to investigate the role of private individuals in exploring and exploiting Cypriote antiquity in the 19th century A.D. as well as documenting, wherever possible, the fate of their collections. This not only helps to clarify the provenances, sources and authenticity of the ancient artifacts which have come down to us from this time, but also contributes to a more nuanced understanding of the creation of specific museum collections and the evolving discipline of archaeology on the island. It is therefore vitally important that a paper trail be kept of the movement of antiquities between private owners, auction houses and dealers, and between museums themselves, so that the modern history of these artifacts can be traced as far as possible back to Cyprus. A good example of this need is the case of Bronze Age cylinder seals whose attribution to Cyprus is often based on nothing more than stylistic classification.

Moreover a biographical perspective on the collectors themselves, especially those who had only a passing engagement with archaeology – and therefore rarely appear in mainstream accounts of the subject⁵ – often illuminates broader historical trends. This ‘bottom up’ approach has become increasingly important in contemporary writing about colonial and imperial history⁶ but has also been taken up by archaeological historians. Jasanoff, for example, in her book *Edge of Empire, Conquest and Collecting on the Eastern Frontiers of the British Empire, 1750-1850*, has stressed the importance of understanding individual motivations in the excavation or collection of antiquities in Egypt and India, but also the value of antiquities in forming or reshaping collectors’ identities in new contexts, especially on the colonial or imperial ‘margins’.⁷ One of the present authors has demonstrated the important role played by the energetic British expatriate businessmen

2. Goring 1988, p. 13-15 ; Merrillees 2001, p. 226; see now Anna Reeve’s blog outlining her research into the ancient Cypriote holdings at the Leeds Museums, including objects from Sandwith’s collection (<http://cypriotartleeds.wordpress.com>).

3. Taylor 2001; Symons 1984, p. 2-3.

4. Allan and Boyce 2001. This collection is currently the subject of a digitisation project supported by the A.G. Leventis Foundation. We are grateful to Jenny Durant for her advice on this subject.

5. Kiely forthcoming a.

6. Lambert and Lester 2007.

7. Jasanoff 2005.

contracted to organise the British Museum's excavations on Cyprus during the 1890s, in influencing the conduct and results of this work.⁸ This is in contrast to earlier academic approaches that characterised the pursuit of antiquities as being driven largely by national or imperial concerns, or at least merely by the wish for financial gain by individuals, though both these factors were undoubtedly important.⁹ Furthermore, attention to the lives and backgrounds of these individuals helps to modify the anachronistic judgments of many modern archaeologists on the history of their subject and what Kaeser, influenced by the philosophy of science, has described as "presentisms" in archaeological thinking, that is to say the attempts by modern scholars seeking to establish their scientific credentials by distancing themselves from the perceived methodological or ethical shortfalls of past archaeologists.¹⁰ More generally, while collecting antiquities was clearly a common activity in early British Cyprus, and is worthy of study in its own right, this story also provides a useful – and sometimes indispensable – mirror on the broader social, economic and intellectual history of this somewhat neglected period. In this respect the almost total absence of archaeology in Morgan's recent – and tendentious – survey of the period is both surprising and regrettable, especially since the albeit limited publications on the subject, together with the more substantial archival sources, point to a range of political issues raised by the exploitation of antiquities by private and public interests and institutions.¹¹

One of these private collectors of antiquities in early British Cyprus was Samuel Brown (1836-1891), who joined the new administration as Government Engineer shortly after the British Occupation of 1878. Brown was born on the 8 March 1836 at Highworth, Wiltshire. His father, also called Samuel (b. 1800), and his mother Jemima, née Jones (b. 1802), had at least six children, namely Samuel (b. 1836), John Jones (b. 1837), Jemima (b. 1839/40), Eliza(beth) (b. 1841/2), Sarah (b. 1844) and William Henry (b. 1845). To anticipate a later section of this paper, there is no record of any other siblings, and the name of the donor to the Queensland Museum of a number of Cypriote antiquities belonging to Samuel Brown Jr. – which has been misread as Iris Brown¹² – should be his

8. Kiely forthcoming a.

9. Summarised in Díaz-Andreu 2007 *passim*, but see Hoock 2007 and 2010 (esp. p. 11-20 and part II, esp. p. 207-218) for a more nuanced view on the interplay of private and public initiatives.

10. See Kaeser 2008, esp. p. 9-11; also Givens 1992. The term originates in the natural sciences, but was applied by Kaeser to describe certain recent traditions within archaeological practice, such as Processualism, that claimed methodological rigour in opposition to older cultural/historical or antiquarian approaches (see also Morris 2000, p. 71 on Lewis Binford's rejection of historiography as redundant).

11. Morgan 2010. Apart from the conflicts arising from attempts to interpret and apply the 1874 version of the Ottoman Law on Antiquities inherited by the British (Given 2001 provides a useful case study), the protracted efforts to replace it altogether and to reform the Cyprus Museum in the years that followed became a significant source of conflict between the authorities and the Elected Members of the Legislative Council (Kiely forthcoming a).

12. Webb 1997, p. v, 1.

brother John Jones Brown. Samuel Brown Jr. was educated in a local school founded for the benefit of farmers' sons and apprenticed to an engineering firm at Birkenhead, where he was engaged in construction work in England and Italy. In 1870 he went to Alexandria, Egypt, where he was responsible for building a breakwater and quays until 1878 when he was invited to Cyprus and subsequently became Government Engineer. Put in charge of developing the island's infrastructure, he served in that capacity for over a decade. Appointed to the position of Government Engineer in June 1880, Brown successfully negotiated the short-term and tight-fisted policies of the Island Administration.¹³ He left Cyprus for good in February 1889 on his way to Hong Kong where he had accepted an appointment as Surveyor-General in Hong Kong.¹⁴ He died in the Far East of cholera on 10 October 1891. His professional career, summarised in the obituary published by the Institution of Civil Engineers in the United Kingdom in 1892 (see Appendix 1), provides a valuable insight into early British Cyprus. It also illustrates in a more general way the opportunities and mobility available to talented individuals, often of quite humble background, within the expanding British Empire.¹⁵

This social mobility may have included Brown's marriage on 9 September 1885 to Zoë Melita Joly, the younger sister of Ernest Thomas Charles Joly (1859-1932), at that time accountant in the Imperial Ottoman Bank in Nicosia.¹⁶ Employees of the Imperial Ottoman Bank commanded some degree of social prestige on Cyprus, since it was the main provider of financial services to the British authorities, as it had been during the late Ottoman period.¹⁷ Robert Hamilton Lang, manager of the Bank from 1863 and 1872, who also served as British Consul four times during this period, was one of the leading figures in the expatriate community, as well as a prominent antiquarian.¹⁸ Significantly, successive employees of the bank on Cyprus engaged in private archaeological excavations, from Lang himself to Demetrios Pierides, Charles Watkins and Charles Christian.¹⁹ Brown's wedding took place at St. Andrews Parish Church in Enfield, England. They had no children. Zoë predeceased Samuel on 20 January 1889 and was buried in the Old British cemetery in Nicosia. There is a plaque to her memory in St. Paul's Anglican Cathedral in Nicosia, which reads as follows : *"In loving memory / of Zoë Melita wife of Samuel Brown / late Government Engineer Cyprus / born at Smyrna Oct 11 1861 died Jan 20 1889/ It is sown in weakness, it is raised in power / I shall go to her but she shall not*

13. Schaar *et al.* 1995, p. 27-28; cf. Fairfield 1883. We are grateful to Dr Diana Markides for her advice on this issue.

14. *The Owl* No. 25, March 2 1889, p. 3; Vizetelly 1901, p. 26; Schaar *et al.* 1995, p. 14, 19-20.

15. See papers in Lambert and Lester 2007.

16. Christian 2000, p. 191, 217; Merrillees 2012, p. 1-3.

17. Cf. Autheman 2002.

18. Lang 1905; cf. Goring 1988, p. 7-10; Christian 2000, p. 250-251; Merrillees 2001, *passim*.

19. Kiely forthcoming a.

return to me". Yet even within the small expatriate British community, there were clear social distinctions and prejudices. Francis Henry Hill Guillemard (1852-1933), British ornithologist, traveller and writer, who helped establish the Cyprus Exploration Fund,²⁰ visited Cyprus in 1887 and on Saturday 14 May recorded in his (unpublished) diary that in Kyrenia he "met Brown the Govt. Engineer & and his wife driving in a pony trap. He is rather a good sort but Aitchless; she an uninteresting Smyrniote, & consumptive poor soul".²¹

Nothing in Brown's background indicates a latent interest in antiquity but there is, nonetheless, every indication that Samuel Brown took an active personal interest in the exploration of the island's past and the management of its surviving remains. During his assignment in the island Brown published very little that informs us about his interest in archaeology. He wrote nothing that we know of about his archaeological activities in Cyprus, including the fieldwork he sponsored around Soloi and Kourion in 1883/1884 and Nicosia *Ayia Paraskevi* in 1885, nor has any documentary record has come down to us about the origins of his collection of antiquities. A letter he wrote to *The Times* on 25 September 1888 addressed the subject of public engineering works, while a pamphlet of his entitled *The Locust War in Cyprus* was published in London in 1886.²² An earlier booklet published in 1879 is, however, rather more revealing. Out of Samuel Brown's first visit to Cyprus from 1 December 1878 to early March 1879 came a report, subsequently published in London, entitled *Three Months in Cyprus During the Winter 1878 – 9. A Paper Read at the Meeting of the British Association at Sheffield, 25th August, 1879*. In it he surveyed the island's countryside, infrastructure and resources, accompanied by a map and plans for proposed railways in Cyprus.²³ A not insubstantial section of the paper was reserved for antiquities, Mediaeval architecture and the "Colossal Vase, Amathus".²⁴

20. Gardner *et al.* 1888, p. 149-150; Reinach 1891, p. 423; Tatton-Brown 2001b, p. 170.

21. Co-incidentally some of the Cypriote antiquities collected by Guillemard also ended up in Australia, at the Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney (Webb 2001, p. 124-125, 127, nos. 353, 356, 363; cf. Karageorghis *et al.* 1999, p. vii).

22. Brown 1886; Haggard 1901, p. 106-107; cf. *The Owl* No. 10, November 3 1888, p. 3; Cross-Rudkin *et al.* 2008, p. 135.

23. British National Archives, Kew : CO 700/Cyprus 5.

24. Brown 1879, p. 16-20; Aupert and Hellman 1984, p. 92 No. 170; Schaar *et al.* 1995, p. 11-13. The "Colossal Vase, Amathus" is the second stone vase which stood on the summit of the hill where it was periodically observed in its broken state (Fivel 1990). Though Masson delicately states that it was "*la victime des années et des hommes*" (Fivel 1990, p. 12), and Aupert and Hellmann quote Agnes Smith's journey past Amathus in 1866 (Aupert and Hellman 1984, p. 93 No. 175), they fail to cite Smith's claim, based on an eye-witness account, that "the French officers, who were seeking to convey the uncovered vase [now in the Louvre] to a steamship, commanded by the Comte de Vögue [*sic*], found that the half-buried vase was somewhat in their way, and thereupon ordered the sailors who were with them to smash it to pieces" (Smith 1887, p. 245-246).

Max Ohnefalsch-Richter credited Brown with being the first to draw attention to the archaeological potential of the plateau at Leondari Vouno to the south-west of Nicosia and to have arranged to make available to Ohnefalsch-Richter drawings of the site prepared by W. Williams, “*an excellent draughtsman*”.²⁵ Brown was a member of the Council of the Cyprus Museum from its inception, when it held its first meeting at Government House, chaired by the High Commissioner, Sir Robert Biddulph, on 15 June 1882, and continued in that role until December 1888. At some stage, possibly directly after the departure of the previous incumbent, Captain Hugh Sinclair, from Cyprus early in 1886,²⁶ he became “Keeper” of the Museum.²⁷ In that capacity he was still responsible for the institution when the next High Commissioner, Sir Henry Bulwer, in October 1888 appointed H.C. Nicolle, then Auditor-General in the Island Administration,²⁸ to take over the running of the Museum from the Council, which had resigned. Bulwer subsequently deferred the change-over until Brown had returned from leave overseas. This decision was ratified by the Council at its meeting on 10 December 1888 in the Imperial Ottoman Bank, Nicosia, when authorisation was given to hand over the relevant records to Nicolle.²⁹ Brown was also the first agent appointed by the Königlische Museen zu Berlin to oversee excavations to be carried out by Ohnefalsch-Richter in 1889 at Idalion,³⁰ but had already left the island before he could fulfill this engagement.³¹

Brown, like other expatriates, also had archaeological excavations carried out on his behalf, and at his expense, and was allowed to keep at least one-third of the finds under the terms of the Ottoman Law on Antiquities, the 1874 version of which remained in force on the island following the British Occupation and indeed down to 1905.³² A file in the Cyprus State Archives preserves a copy of his application to dig at ‘Soli (near Lefka)’ dated September-October 1883.³³ His name is not mentioned in Myres’ and Ohnefalsch-Richter’s survey of excavations given in the *Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* in relation to Ohnefalsch-Richter’s work in the Soloi valley in 1883 for the Cyprus Museum. These took place principally at Bronze Age to Roman cemeteries to the east and north of the

25. Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, p. 467 n. (contd.); Merrillees and Krpata 1997, p. 141-142; cf. Schaar *et al.* 1995, p. 120.

26. Sinclair 1926, p. 155.

27. *The Owl* No. 10, Saturday 3 November 1888, p. 3; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1891, p. ix.

28. Ceylon 1907, p. 95.

29. Merrillees 2005a, p. 14. Nicolle, who was born in 1855 at St. Heliers, Jersey, first worked in the London and Westminster Bank in London but in February 1880 joined the civil service and was posted as Assistant-Auditor to Cyprus (Christian 2000, p. 211), where he remained as Auditor until his transfer to Ceylon in 1904.

30. *The Owl* No. 21, Tuesday 29 January 1889, p. 3; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1891, p. ix.

31. Cf. Ohnefalsch-Richter 1891, p. ix.

32. Stanley-Price 2001, with references; see also Shaw 2003, p. 89-91 and chapter 4.

33. SA 1/4007.

villages of Katydhata and Linou, at an Iron Age sanctuary apparently close to Skouriotissa, and in the necropolis of ancient Soloi.³⁴ Reinach, however, tells us that the German archaeologist also excavated in these areas for private citizens, explicitly mentioning “sir R. Biddulph [the High Commissioner], MM. Warren [Chief Secretary], [Samuel] Brown, [presumably Captain A. Scott-]Stevenson, Gordon,³⁵ Fahlwas [undoubtedly a garbled version of the name of Surgeon-Major F. Falwasser who applied for a digging permit at this time] et Tyler [otherwise unknown to the present authors]”.³⁶ His brief account is the only record of this work apart from the licence applications preserved in the Cyprus State Archives. The entry in Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899 says that an unusual glass vessel from Biddulph’s share was deposited in the South Kensington (now Victoria and Albert) Museum and notes other items acquired by the Cyprus Museum.³⁷

The *Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* also tells us that Brown is said to have sponsored fieldwork at Kourion conducted in his own right in ‘1883 – 1884’ by Ohnefalsch-Richter. Here, rich tombs of the Cypro-Classical to Roman periods were opened on the level ground to the east of the acropolis, near the church of Ayios Ermoyenis (see below).³⁸ Brown’s name, however, is missing from Reinach’s account of the fieldwork, though it is apparently confirmed by a letter in the Cyprus State Archives describing the official division of the finds by the Keeper of the Cyprus Museum, Hugh Sinclair.³⁹ The date of 1883-4 given by Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter might imply that Brown’s ‘excavations’ continued into the following year but could simply refer collectively to all the work undertaken by Ohnefalsch-Richter on behalf of his clients (who included Colonel Falkland Warren). The same source tells us that Ohnefalsch-Richter was the official government overseer for excavations organised by J.W. Williamson and Major Chard in 1883, not the licensed excavator in the case of the work done for Brown and Warren. No documentary record of these excavations has survived, though a manuscript report in

34. Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, p. 4-5.

35. This individual is likely to be one of three individuals called Gordon who appear in the *Cyprus Gazette* for 1878-84: Major R.W. Gordon was Commissioner for Nicosia until 1882 when he resigned; Col. A.H.A Gordon was Commandant of Police 1879-1884 and a member of the Legislative Council 1882-4 after which he left the island for Hong Kong; Captain W.H. Gordon was Assistant Commissioner for Famagusta from 1879 onwards and a Registrar at the High Court in Nicosia.

36. Reinach 1891, p. 184.

37. Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, p. 4-5 ; Merrillees 2000, p. 110.

38. Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, p. 415-417; Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, p. 7, 213; Masson and Sznycer 1992, p. 88-89; Peristianis 1995, p. 280; cf. Swiny 1982, p. 140-145.

39. Reinach 1891, p. 185-186, 744; SA 1/6562 (letter of H. Sinclair to the Chief Secretary, 28 Nov. 1883).

the Cyprus Museum mentioned by Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter may well still exist in the uncatalogued archives of that institution.⁴⁰

Again, very few of the finds from Ohnefalsch-Richter's excavations at Kourion can now be identified with certainty. Firstly, some of the finds from the remnants of Lady Brassey's collection, acquired through Colonel Warren (and presumably on his licence) for whom she provided funds for this purpose, came from these excavations, though how many is unknown.⁴¹ More important for present purposes is a silver ring with an oval scaraboid of cornelian engraved with the figure of Athena, dated to around 400 BC, now in the British Museum but which was part of Brown's share of the excavations (*Fig. 1*).⁴²

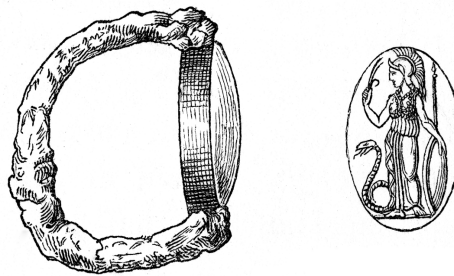


Figure 1. The 'Conze ring'.

The ring itself however is no longer identifiable in the collections of the Department of Greece and Rome and may have perished before the development of modern archaeological conservation. This object was still in the possession of Brown in 1884. When first published by A. Conze in 1884, the illustration and information about its source were attributed to the excavator, Ohnefalsch-Richter.⁴³ Sir Henry Rider Haggard (1856-1925) records that during his first visit to Cyprus from 14 March to 6 April 1887 he was offered by Brown, at any price he (Rider Haggard) chose to fix, "*a corroded silver ring found in a tomb with an engraved scarabaeus bezel*".⁴⁴ As Haggard had spent all his money, he said he would take it back to England and sell it for whatever he could get on Brown's behalf. He subsequently "disposed of the ring for ten guineas to a well-known

40. Mentioned in Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, p. 7; cf. Masson 1984, p. 80; Masson and Sznycer 1992, p. 237-238.

41. Taylor 2001, p. 244. Fig. 22.4 illustrates a crescent-shaped gold earring decorated with granulation and filigree ivy leaves from Kourion. This is very similar to one found by the British Museum at Kourion *Ayios Ermoynis* Tomb 77 in 1895 (GR 1896.2-1.168: Vessberg and Westholm 1956, fig. 34, 13).

42. GR 1889,11-11,1. Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, p. 7; Walters 1926, p. 63 No. 515 (with bibliography); Boardman 1970, Pl. 486, p. 288; Demargne 1984, No. 614.

43. Conze 1884, col. 165.

44. Haggard 1901, p. 117.

dealer [William Talbot Ready⁴⁵] who passed it on to the British Museum [in 1889] for twenty guineas”. According to Conze’s valuable report, the ring was said to have been found in a tomb, about 500 yards from the eastern gateway of the acropolis at Kourion, that is, east of the Amathus gate in the Ayios Ermoyenis cemetery.⁴⁶ In addition to ordinary unpainted pottery and simple clay lamps, this deposit, which appears to have been cleared in 1883,⁴⁷ contained another silver ring, several silver bracelets, including a pair with snake head finials,⁴⁸ a silver bowl with elegantly turned handles, and a candelabrum of iron and bronze whose feet ended in horses’ hooves,⁴⁹ together with the very damaged bones of several human bodies.⁵⁰

This tomb group has much in common with the numerous burials excavated in the same area in the years following. Brief excavations there by the French Consul, vicomte Eugène de Castillon Saint Victor, in 1886 also revealed several tombs with comparable material, included imported Greek fine wares, which he attempted to record with some degree of attention to the archaeological context.⁵¹ The more extensive work of the British Museum’s Turner Bequest excavations in 1895 also discovered similar finds in this area, the richest and best documented of which are those from Tomb 73.⁵² Tombs 78, 80 and 83 were also noteworthy for their rich grave goods, including a silver mastos cup in Tomb 80 with a Cypro-Syllabic inscription recording a dedication by a priest, a sign of the high status of the tomb’s occupant and no doubt of the burial ground as a whole.⁵³ Ironically, the summary description of the deposit excavated in 1883 and reported by Conze is more detailed and representative of an actual burial, whether intact or disturbed, than the highly selective account of the British Museum tombs published in 1900 or preserved in the surviving tomb lists that routinely omit any mention of pottery, human remains or fragmentary items that were not kept.⁵⁴ The draw-card for both archaeological expeditions, as well as the flurry of activity in 1883–4, was, of course, the fact that this cemetery had earlier been a major hunting ground for Luigi Palma di Cesnola, and was almost certainly the origin of some of the items in Cesnola’s fraudulent “Curium Treasure”.⁵⁵

45. Cf. P.H. Merrillees 2005, p. 9.

46. Conze 1884, cols. 165, 166; Peristianis 1995, p. 280; Swiny 1982, p. 140.

47. Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, p. 213.

48. Cf. Gjerstad 1948, p. 158 Bracelet 3; Laffineur 1986, p. 99.

49. Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, p. 116 No. 3611; cf. Matthäus 1985, p. 337-338, no. 719.

50. Conze 1884, cols. 165, 166.

51. Castillon Saint Victor 1891; Masson, Sznycer 1992, fig. 1; Buitron-Oliver, Oliver 2002.

52. Walters 1900, esp. p. 82-4; Bailey, Hockey 2001; Kiely 2009, p. 77-78; Kiely forthcoming a.

53. Kiely, Perna 2010, p. 93-105.

54. Bailey, Hockey 2001; Kiely 2009, esp. p. 84.

55. Cesnola 1877, Chapter XI; cf. Merrillees 2010, p. 107 with references.

In addition, several items of gold jewellery and a paste scaraboid, acquired by the British Museum directly from Ohnefalsch-Richter, may also stem from his excavations at Kourion in 1883-4. These form part of a very large and disparate group of Cypriot objects from numerous sites across the island, registered in this year by the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities.⁵⁶ Most appear to have come from excavations carried out by Ohnefalsch-Richter at the request of Charles Newton and supervised by Claude Delaval Cobham, but paid for by private individuals, especially the painter Frederick (later Lord) Leighton.⁵⁷ Unfortunately, the disappearance of nearly all the contemporary documentation of Ohnefalsch-Richter's association with the British Museum,⁵⁸ together with the surprisingly vague entries in the Register of the Greek and Roman Department for most of the items in the sequence – the provenance is generally omitted, Ohnefalsch-Richter's name is not given as the excavator, and the material is merely stated to have been 'excavated by the British Museum' – impede efforts to assign a good deal of this material to specific sites. This is especially the case for finds of post-Bronze Age date. While the Bronze Age material in the registration group can be attributed with certainty to either Yeri *Phoenikes* or Alambra (mainly the former, it seems), objects of later date are said to come from a range of sites throughout the island: Achna, Goshi, Idalion, Kourion, Salamis and Xylotymbou.⁵⁹

It is also unclear if the few items definitely said to be from Kourion, listed at the very end of the registration sequence, were actually excavated at Newton's request or simply given or sold by Ohnefalsch-Richter (in the latter case in his role as a private vendor of antiquities⁶⁰) but included in the same registration group for convenience. Kourion is not actually listed by Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter as one of the sites excavated by the German archaeologist on behalf of Newton. It is possible, therefore, that the objects came from his privately sponsored work at Kourion in 1883-4 rather than excavations organised for the British Museum. On the other hand, it is important to note that a small group of antiquities registered earlier in 1884 (GR 1884.10-06.1-6) are explicitly stated to have been donated or sold by Ohnefalsch-Richter, perhaps signaling a difference between the source of this acquisition and the later one.

As for the items themselves, only three can now be identified: (1) A gold earring with a plain hoop terminating in a bull's-head typical of Cypro-Classical II and earlier Hellenistic

56. GR 1884,12-10.1-332.

57. Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, p. 506-508; Fivel 1994; cf. Merrillees 2000, p. 111; Kiely 2010, p. 244-245.

58. Tatton-Brown 2001b, notes 26 and 114.

59. Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893 *passim* for details of these sites that stemmed in part at least from his work on behalf of Newton.

60. Cf. Fivel 1996.

periods.⁶¹ Provenanced examples are known from Kourion⁶², Marion⁶³ and Amathus.⁶⁴ Numerous unprovenanced examples exist in the Cyprus Museum,⁶⁵ while others in the Zintilis collection are said to come from Marion.⁶⁶ (2) A gold earring composed of a twisted wire hoop with a garnet setting surrounded by a cable border,⁶⁷ a Roman Imperial type of the first to third centuries A.D.⁶⁸ (3) An unpublished glass paste scaraboid with an intaglio design of shows a bearded (?) male standing in front of an indistinct cone-like object, probably dating to earlier Roman times.⁶⁹ Finally, fragments of a gold and electrum diadem can no longer be identified in the British Museum collection, so nothing can be said about its nature or date.⁷⁰

The next we hear of Brown's private antiquarian activities is to be found in a file in the States Archives, Nicosia, which contains his application dated 14 July 1885 "*to excavate for Antiquities on private land at A. Paraskevi near Nicosia, subject to the usual conditions. I propose to spend £ 10. The excavations to be carried on under the superintendence of Mr Richter*".⁷¹ The conditions which Brown signed on 27 July 1885 were drawn up by the Government on 14 December 1883 and the same as the ones reproduced by Williamson in his *Cyprus Guide and Directory*.⁷² According to Article 6, "*Division of treasure to be according to the law : 1/3 to Government, 1/3 to owner of land, 1/3 to excavator...*". Official approval was given Brown on 17 July 1885, and all we know about these excavations is contained in the laconic entry in *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* which states that at Nicosia *Ayia Paraskevi* "*O.-R. in 1884 – 5 opened eleven tombs for the Cyprus Museum, and eighty-one [sic !] for various residents*".⁷³ One of the tomb groups acquired by the Cyprus Museum was Tomb 1884, 1.⁷⁴ The Bronze Age finds from Nicosia *Ayia Paraskevi* donated to the British Museum in 1888 by the Chief

61. GR 1884,12-10.1812 (Marshall 1911, No. 1812).

62. Gjerstad 1948, Fig. 34, No. 29.

63. Vessberg, Westholm 1956, Fig. 34, No. 11.

64. Laffineur 1986, Nos. 362, 380, 523.

65. Pierides 1971, Pl. XXII, Nos. 1, 8 and 9.

66. Lubsen-Admiraal 2004, Nos. 594, pp. 596-599.

67. GR 1884,12-10.329 (Marshall 1911, No. 2508).

68. Laffineur 1986, p. 97-8 citing Vessberg and Westholm 1956, Fig. 36, 2 as a rare type ; see Deppert-Lippitz 1985, p. 23 No. 69 and Pl. 28 (setting only); Marshall 1911, No. 772 (hoop, though here it forms the body of snakes around the setting).

69. GR 1884,12-10.331.

70. GR 1884,12-10.332.

71. SAI/3002/1885.

72. Christian 2000, p. 159; cf. Merrillees 2000, p. 111-112.

73. Myres, Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, p. 1; Kromholz 1982, p. 4; Buchholz 1989, p. 9.

74. Merrillees 1986.

Secretary, Colonel Falkland Warren, may also have originated in these excavations.⁷⁵ What Brown got out of his contribution, however, is unclear, though it is possible that some or all of the eight Bronze Age items from his collection subsequently donated to the Queensland Museum (see below) came from this site.⁷⁶

These activities were clearly a sideline to Brown's professional duties, and there is no direct evidence that he took advantage of his position to promote this hobby. As a government official, however, he may have found it easier to obtain excavation permits than private individuals, a complaint expressed in the local press during the same period as a result of the Warren v. Watkins case and the scandal that ensued.⁷⁷ Overall, in his antiquarian pursuits Brown may well have been motivated by several factors, including idealism, fashion and emulation. He was not Classically-educated, like so many of his Colonial peers, but a self-made enlightened individual who believed education could remove "*ignorance and resulting prejudice*".⁷⁸ These beliefs, of course, underpinned growing public interest in antiquities throughout the Western world at this time, reflected by the rapid increase in the number of regional and local museums, including for the practical purpose of improving arts and manufacturing. Brown was also far from being alone in Cyprus in acquiring antiquities by one means or another, though not as part of an official policy to enrich British institutions at the expense of the Cypriotes. It may be that he was prompted by the example of his British colleagues to follow suit, as much for his own pleasure as to make up for his lower class origins and lack of tertiary education. Furthermore it appears that he had already developed a taste for the past in Alexandria and kept with him till the end a collection of Egyptian and Cypriote objets d'art (see below). An interest in antiquities, however superficial in the longer term, may well have provided a useful social bond in the small but diverse expatriate communities that constituted these small colonial outposts.

In 1886/87 three events took place in the archaeological calendar of Brown and the Island Administration which may be inter-related but which in any case reflect the typical fate of privately excavated antiquities. Firstly, in January 1886, the Queensland Museum in Brisbane, Australia, received a letter offering a consignment of Cypriote antiquities "*unearthed at the sites of the ancient towns of Soli and Curium by my brother, Samuel Brown C.E., M.L.C. and Chief Engineer to the Government of Cyprus*". In the main publication of this material – some 74 items ranging in date from the Early Bronze Age down to late Roman times – the signature on the letter of 3 January 1886 offering the objects (reproduced here as Appendix II⁷⁹) was misread as Iris Brown, assumed to have

75. Smith 1888, p. 266; Walters 1897, p. 71-3; Walters 1912, *passim*; Kiely forthcoming b.

76. Webb 1997, p. 1; cf. Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, p. 467 n. † (contd.).

77. Given 2001.

78. Morgan 2011, p. 10; cf. Brown 1879, p. 12.

79. Queensland State Archives Item ID987858.

been Samuel's sister.⁸⁰ This reading initially caused much confusion to the authors, as no sibling of this name is mentioned in any of the census records of the Brown family (see above). However, on closer examination, the letter was signed by "Jn J Brown", clearly John Jones, the younger brother of Samuel. Another example of Victorian mobility, John Jones arrived in the Colony of Queensland in 1862 and taught at a succession of schools before being appointed Principal of Bald Hills State School in January 1884. On 20 March 1886 he took leave of absence for about nine and a third months, visited Britain, and resumed duty on 17 January 1887. He came to the end of his term as Principal of Bald Hills State School in 1890 and resigned from the Queensland teaching service on 30 November 1892.

This means that John Jones Brown disposed of the Cypriote antiquities in his care not long before his departure overseas, which could have been the reason for his action, though it does not indicate how long he had had them in his possession in Queensland. However, according to the indexes of the files in the Chief Secretary's Office, now in the State Archives, Nicosia, no request for permission to export antiquities was made by Samuel Brown before June 1887 when he sought Government approval to "*export a box containing two antique Cypriot vases addressed to Mr Rider Haggard*".⁸¹ Upon being asked to state the value of these objects, Brown annotated the file with an estimate of 10 shillings, describing them as "*2 vases of medium size, of the ordinary so-called Phoenician type, with concentric rings*". They were shipped to England in a box addressed to Haggard by name. This transaction tends to suggest that if Brown had remitted antiquities from Cyprus beforehand, he or his brother did not ask for official authorisation, unless it was done by someone on their behalf. It was in this way, for example, that the Cypriote and Egyptian artifacts belonging to Samuel Brown were exported from the island after his departure on transfer to Hong Kong (see below).

The lack of details about the way the Cypriote antiquities came into John's hands is one of the more perplexing aspects to this study. The only other occasion on which Brown is recorded as having arranged for the export of antiquities from Cyprus with official permission occurred in mid 1889, several months after he had left the island for Hong Kong. In a letter dated 8 June of that year, Mr Alfred Karslake Bovill, later to become Principal Forest Officer in Cyprus,⁸² wrote to the Chief Secretary asking that "*authority may be given me to export 13 cases of antiquities the property of S. Brown Esq, late Government Engineer of Cyprus. These cases contain 145 Glasses [= objects of glass], 12 antique articles [of] earthenware and glass, [illegible number] pottery of various descriptions from different places [in Cyprus], as well as a quantity of Glass, pottery and bronzes from Egypt that Mr Brown had with him when he came from that place*".⁸³

80. Webb 1997, p. v, 1.

81. State Archives, Nicosia, SAI 1625/1887.

82. Pilides 2009, p. 110 n. 349; Morgan 2010, p. 106-107.

83. State Archives, Nicosia, SAI 1830/1889.

Bovill estimated their total value at £ 50. Approval was duly given for their export, but the file contains no indication of their destination. What became of this substantial collection of Cypriote and Egyptian artefacts is unknown. Samuel Brown died intestate, and administration of his personal estate, valued at over £ 5000, was entrusted by the British High Court of Justice in 1892 to his youngest brother, William Henry Brown, a manager for the merchant banking firm of Speyer Brothers, at No. 7 Lothbury, in the City of London.

In addition to entrusting the silver ring with engraved scaraboid to Rider Haggard during the latter's visit in early 1887 (see above), Brown gave Haggard "*a whole collection of Cyprian pottery*".⁸⁴ In his autobiography Haggard makes no mention of Brown or the Cypriote antiquities he acquired but states in his notebook, now in the Norfolk Record Office,⁸⁵ that on 22 March 1887 he saw Brown's collection of artifacts in Nicosia, presumably at the latter's home. Furthermore the State Archives of Cyprus in Nicosia record that on 4 April 1887 Haggard applied for and was the same day given permission to take out of the island "*20 (about) pieces of pottery, 1 Bronze bowl, 20 pieces of glass & sundries*" to a value of £ 5.⁸⁶ Brown was not, however, the only source of the objects Haggard obtained during his first visit to Cyprus as he makes cryptic references in his notebook to other viewings and/or purchases involving "*Jolly*" [*sic*], that is, E.T.C. Joly, on 15 March (see above), and Colonel Falkland Warren on 16 and 18 March,⁸⁷ as well as other, unspecified people in places including Nicosia on 16 March, Karavas on 30 March and Larnaca on 5 April.⁸⁸ From the entry in the notebook for 30 March it looks as if at least one of the fragments of glass for which Rider Haggard sought an export permit was acquired in Karavas on the north coast.⁸⁹ In the same context but without identifying the source Haggard mentions a "*Persian bowl found full of treasures*". This is undoubtedly the bowl he left Cyprus with in April 1887 and subsequently described in the following terms: "*in a small village not far from Cyrenia I bought for a small sum from the man who dug it up, a beautifully worked oriental bowl of bronze, dating, I should think, from the fifteenth or sixteenth century. In this bowl the finder discovered coins which he sold for the sum of three hundred pounds, their value by weight. What coins they were I cannot say, for he had parted with every one and could give no clear description of them*".⁹⁰ The hoard most likely came from the site of Lambousa, which was occupied from Bronze

84. Haggard 1901, p. 117.

85. MS 4694/2/5.

86. SAI 904/87.

87. Cf *The Owl* No. 32, 29 June 1889, p. 3-4; Christian 2000, p. 214 n. 5; Given 2001.

88. Cf. Haggard 1901, p. 64.

89. Haggard 1901, p. 116.

90. Haggard 1901, p. 116.

Age times up till the present and endlessly quarried – and pillaged – by the villagers from Karavas.⁹¹

Rider Haggard, who was paying his first visit to Cyprus in 1887 and published nothing about his experiences except allusions in his later travel book,⁹² had called into the island on his way back to England from Egypt.⁹³ He stayed at Government House in Nicosia with the High Commissioner, Sir Henry Bulwer, with whom he had first become acquainted in South Africa and for whom he developed and retained a high regard (see below). In the published account of his second journey to Cyprus, in 1900, the only souvenir Haggard records is a pitted canon ball which was picked up in Famagusta by the ladies who accompanied him on that excursion in 1887 and refused to be parted from their novel acquisition. Judging by an entry in Haggard's notebook which details his visit to Famagusta, this incident took place on 25 March. As he had felt obliged to surrender his own canon ball to the Cyprus Museum, since he could hardly be seen to be flouting the very law which had been enacted by his host in Government House, the ladies' specimen was evidently taken from Cyprus and entered his possession in England.⁹⁴ While Egypt and its antiquities took Haggard's particular fancy, he was far from immune to the appeal of other civilizations and filled his home at Ditchingham Hall with an array of objets d'art and mementos from around the world.⁹⁵ Amongst them was a Gnostic amulet inscribed in Greek, said to have come from Cyprus but bought by Haggard in Karnak, Egypt.⁹⁶ It was given by Haggard to the British Museum in 1887, though Cyprus is not given as the provenance.⁹⁷ A second gem with a religious scene and Greek inscription, this time said to come from Egypt, was donated by the popular author at the same time.⁹⁸ The fate of Haggard's Egyptian antiquities, which were donated, sold or bequeathed to various museums and individuals in Britain, no doubt also befell his Cypriote collection.⁹⁹

According to the records of Classical antiquities donated by Haggard to the Norwich Castle Museum, the only ones still in its collection are two ancient Greek vases, and a Roman glass bowl.¹⁰⁰ The accession numbers indicate that these objects were donated in 1920, so they would have been given by him during his own lifetime.¹⁰¹ The bulk of

91. Gunnis 1936, p. 315-318; Myres 1940-1945, p. 72-78; Harmanta 1969, p. 1-44; Enlart 1987, p. 202-205; Imhaus 2004, p. 273-274; Merrillees 2009.

92. Haggard 1901, p. 60-187.

93. Addy 1998, p. 8.

94. Haggard 1926, Vol. 1, p. 264; Merrillees 2005a, p. 19-21.

95. Addy 1998, p. 107-108.

96. Addy 1998, p. 89-90.

97. AES 56470, see Michel 2001, No. 179.

98. AES 56469, see Michel 2001, No. 461.

99. Addy 1998, p. 85-94.

100. 1920.72; 1920.72 (1) ; 1920.73.1.

101. Cf. Addy 1998, p. 24.

the foreign, that is, non-British archaeological and ethnographic material in the Norwich Castle Museum was purchased by the Liverpool Museums in 1956 and included several Classical antiquities. Amongst them were 14 Cypriote vases,¹⁰² only one of which, a White Painted III amphora of the 9th-8th centuries B.C., is recorded as having belonged to Haggard (*Fig. 2*).¹⁰³



Figure 2. White Painted III amphora. Liverpool Museum Acc. No. 56.19.129.

It may be the one illustrated on top of a cabinet in Ditchingham House in 1892.¹⁰⁴ Of the 3500 Egyptian antiquities transferred at this time from Norwich to Liverpool, many were once in Haggard's collection. They had been donated in 1925 by Haggard's widow after his death. In 1945 "*the greater portion*" of the contents of Ditchingham House were sold at auction by Read, Owles & Ashford.¹⁰⁵ Amongst the goods the only recognisable antiquities were in Lot 250 ("*Large Egyptian ware vase and sundry old earthenware pots,*

102. Acc. Nos. 56.19.9, 56.19.43 – 45, 56.19.66 – 69, 56.19.129, 56.19.182, 56.28.288 – 290, 56.28.436 (Tsielepi and Bienkowski 1988, p. 6, 8, 9, 20, 23, 25-27).

103. Acc. No. 56.19.129 (Tsielepi, Bienkowski 1988, p. 20).

104. Addy 1998, p. 107, top right photo.

105. *Ditchingham House, Norfolk. Bungay 1½ miles, on the Norwich 'bus route. Catalogue of the greater portion of the Contents of the Residence including many choice Lots of Antique Furniture; Oriental and other Decorative China; China; Books; Linen and Outdoor Effects which Read, Owles & Ashford Are instructed by Mrs. A. Rider Haggard, owing to the death of Lady Haggard, to Sell by Auction on Tuesday and Wednesday, 28th and 29th August, in a Marquee on the premises.* Beccles and London, 1945.

etc.”)¹⁰⁶ and possibly Lots 379-400 (“*Curios and miscellaneous*”)¹⁰⁷. Mrs N.H.A. Cheyne, the widow of Commander Mark Cheyne, who was the grandson of Rider Haggard, has kindly informed us that the family knows of no Cypriote artifacts still in their possession, nor are there any references to Samuel Brown in the few letters they have left from the period in question (pers. comm.).

Sir Henry Ernest Gascoyne Bulwer (1836-1914), a British Colonial official, was the first civilian High Commissioner in Cyprus, serving in that capacity from 9 March 1886 to 5 April 1892. An enlightened individual who gained a humanitarian reputation from his service in Natal between 1875 and 1885, he took an active personal interest in the Cyprus Museum and reactivated its moribund administration in 1889 by replacing its Governing Council – whose resignation he had accepted in October 1888¹⁰⁸ – with a new Committee of Management, and finding a suitable building in Nicosia to house the Government’s collection of antiquities.¹⁰⁹ Up till that time and even later the Island Administration adhered to the Ottoman Law on Antiquities which the British inherited in 1878 and did not succeed in formally revising it until 1905. In implementing the Ottoman law, however, various executive decisions were taken by the new government, and in 1887 Bulwer directed that excavation permits would no longer be granted to private individuals but only to foreign museums and recognised antiquarian institutions.¹¹⁰ That did not stop illicit digging, the acquisition of antiquities by private collectors, or their exportation under licence. Bulwer himself, who was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, made a substantial collection of Cypriote artifacts, most of which ended up in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.¹¹¹ A substantial portion of this was purchased from the Archbishop of Cyprus who disposed of the landowner’s share from the excavations at Tamassos in 1889 through the agency of Evstathios Constantinides, at one time a member of the Council of the Cyprus Museum and himself a collector of antiquities.¹¹² Others items went in different directions.

A block of marble inscribed with a Phoenician dedication to Anat by King Baalmilk II from Idalion of around 450 B.C. was acquired by Bulwer and evidently donated by him to the Cyprus Museum. It had been found in 1887 by Ohnefalsch-Richter and Evstathios Constantinides built into the wall of the small Greek Orthodox church of Ayios

106. Read *et al.* 1945, p. 7.

107. Read *et al.* 1945, p. 9.

108. *The Owl* No. 10, Saturday, November 3, 1888, p. 3.

109. Masson and Hermary 1988, p. 3; Merrillees 2000, p. 112-113; Stanley-Price 2001, p. 271; Merrillees 2005a, p. 12-13; Pilides 2009, p. 625; cf. Chamberlayne 1894, p. 3, 7.

110. Reinach 1891, p. 422; Masson and Hermary 1988, p. 3; Buchholz 1989, p. 12; Stanley-Price 2001, p. 269; M. Ohnefalsch-Richter 2006, p. 280-281.

111. Karageorghis *et al.* 1999, p. vii; Merrillees 2000, p. 112.

112. Merrillees 2005b, p. 202-206.

Georgios which stood on the former city wall of the lower town at Idalion.¹¹³ According to Ohnefalsch-Richter the proceeds of the sale to Bulwer were used to help restore the church. A clay tablet with an important Cypro-Syllabic inscription dating to around 400-300 B.C.,¹¹⁴ was originally given to Bulwer by his onetime Private Secretary and coin collector, Colonel William James Massy.¹¹⁵ It was purchased by the British Museum in 1950 from the Rev. W.C. Hall, collector, amateur antiquarian, and vicar of Barton Turf by Norwich. The history of the tablet between the time it was published by Meister in 1910, when it was still in Bulwer's possession, and its acquisition by Hall is unknown. When the British Museum asked Terence Mitford to identify the tablet in 1949, the latter noted that the item had been missing for almost forty years. It is likely, however, that it remained at the Bulwer family home at Heydon Hall, Norfolk, as the Rev. Hall acquired other items at the sale of its contents the same year he contacted the British Museum regarding the tablet, though it is not mentioned in the sale catalogue, a copy of which is preserved in Norfolk Public Records Office.¹¹⁶

Two fine Hellenistic gold necklaces formerly in Bulwer's collection were sold to the British Museum by a Rosemary Webb in 1950.¹¹⁷ No further information is provided in the museum records, but she is probably Rosemary Webb (née Rosemary Dering Earle Bulwer, 1917-1990) whose memorial can be found in Heydon churchyard close to that of Henry.¹¹⁸ Bulwer was also the source of a fine collection of traditional Cypriote costumes now in the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.¹¹⁹ Symptomatic of the times was Guillemard's call on Bulwer at Government House in

113. Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, Pl. III No. 9, p. 16-17, 410 n. **; Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, p. 159 No. 6300; Yon 2004, p. 61-62 No. 45; cf. Masson and Sznycer 1972, p. 108 n. 2.

114. GR 1950,5-25,1. Meister 1910; Mitford 1961, p. 38; Masson 1983, p. 324 No. 327; Hatzopoulos 2009.

115. Born in 1839 in Co. Limerick, Ireland, Massy joined the Royal Norfolk regiment (9th Foot) in 1855, progressing to the rank of Colonel before finally retiring in 1893. We are grateful to Mr Dicky Bird at the regimental museum for help in this area. Massy formed a collection of coins while on Cyprus, making them available to Sir George Hill when the latter was writing his seminal catalogue of coins (Hill 1904, p. xvii, note 1 and *passim*). Massy donated a small number of Cypriot coins to the British Museum in 1903 (CM 1903,3-2.1 – 6) while almost 200 coins from his wider collection (including more Cypriot examples) were acquired by the British Museum from Spink & Son Ltd in 1925 (CM 1925,1-5.1-209). More were acquired indirectly in 1927 and 1933.

116. BM GR archives, *Original Letters* 1949 and 1950 *passim*. We are grateful to Colin Gilb of the Barton Turf History Project for the information on Hall and for kindly checking the Heydon sale catalogue on our behalf and providing additional information on Hall and his collecting activities.

117. GR 1950,12-19.1-2.

118. J. Pepperdine and R. Gill, "Heydon Memorial Inscriptions" in J. Pepperdine *et al.*, *Norfolk Epitaphs* [website resource: <http://epitaphorigins.info/Yheydon.htm>, accessed 2012].

119. Papademetriou 2000, 108-114; <http://maa.cam.ac.uk/home/index.php?a=35&b=history&c=30>.

Nicosia on Wednesday 22 June 1888 when according to his unpublished diary he discussed “*Moufflon & digging anticas*” and in the afternoon went “*to the ‘Museum’ where I bought four glass things*”. He ironically described it as “*a very poor place, nothing in it*”!¹²⁰ This cannot have been the first Cyprus Museum on Victoria Street, which was not occupied until mid 1889, but the two Government offices used up till that time for storing the official share of antiquities from excavations undertaken in the island.¹²¹

Bulwer was, of course, a career public servant and might reasonably have expected another transfer within the Empire. Indeed, as *The Owl* No. 9 of 27 October 1888 reported, “*it is rumoured that Sir Henry Bulwer has accepted the position of Governor of Queensland, rendered vacant by the death of Sir Anthony Musgrave. We believe that the honorarium attached to the post is £5000 per annum and the colonists are an English speaking race. We congratulate His Excellency on his transfer and trust that he will not have the difficulties to contend with that he has in Cyprus*” (p. 3). It was not to be. Bulwer did not go to Australia and on completion of his tour of duty in Cyprus, he left the Colonial service and retired. He retained an interest in Cyprus, not merely in its antiquities¹²² but also its economic well-being. In 1897 he led a delegation to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Joseph Chamberlain, on behalf of the Silk Weaving Association of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. A report of this meeting was appended to the text of a paper on the economic development of Cyprus given by Charles Christian, a Limassol-based expatriate businessman and former manager of the Imperial Ottoman Bank at Limassol and then Larnaca, at a meeting at the Royal Colonial Institute chaired by Bulwer in 1897. We might infer from the published account of this meeting¹²³ that Bulwer shared the delegates’ and the author’s view that a more proactive approach towards the development of the island was required, including the abolition or reduction of the so-called Tribute that year by year had eaten up any financial surplus produced by the island’s government.¹²⁴

This had a direct impact on the conduct of archaeology on Cyprus, as virtually no public money was available to support the Cyprus Museum which remained crippled by its dependence on inadequate private and public funds. Bulwer’s successors, Sir Walter Sendall (1892-1898) and Sir William Haynes Smith (1898-1904), also struggled in their attempts to reform the Cyprus Museum and establish its underlying legal basis. The latter managed to steer the 1905 antiquities law into being (though formally passed by his successor, Sir Charles King-Harman [1904-1911]), but it would take several years to finally become effective in any meaningful sense.¹²⁵

120. Stanley-Price 2001, p. 271.

121. Merrillees 2005a, p. 5-7, 12-14.

122. Cf. Merrillees 2000, p. 113.

123. Christian 1897, p. 16-17.

124. Christian 1897, p. 3-5, 15-16; Georghallides 1979, p. 33.

125. Merrillees 2005a; Kiely forthcoming a. Incidentally, a later High Commissioner of

It would seem that Samuel Brown was already disposing of his collection in 1885 or perhaps even earlier, though why he should have let his brother in Queensland have any of his antiquities is a complete mystery. It may be that his new marital state impelled him to remove some objects from his possession, but it is also possible, though not very likely, that with consideration being given to banning private excavation in the island, he felt the continued ownership of artifacts obtained in this manner was incompatible with his membership of the Cyprus Museum's Governing Council and later Committee of Management. Rider Haggard showed the way in 1887. That did not, however, prevent Brown trying to sell one of his treasures to Haggard during the latter's first visit to the island and "giving" the latter a substantial batch of vases. Whether he made others gifts or sales, apart from the batch bestowed on his brother (see above), is unknown but there was probably less scope in Nicosia of the 1880s for interaction with fellow collectors and transactions of this kind since most of the foreigners engaged in this pastime were stationed in Larnaca. Brown made no academic contribution we know of Cypriote archaeology and lacked even the sort of qualifications in the humanities, especially the Classics, which gave so many of the university trained Colonial civil servants an automatic entrée to the island's past. Though Samuel Brown was highly thought of for his engineering abilities, Guillemard's cutting remark about Brown dropping his "h"s was an obvious reference to his uneducated accent and provincial origins and a sure sign that he was not considered a social equal by his peers (cf. Given 2001, p. 251). He did, however, through his tangible achievements in Cyprus, leave a more lasting legacy for the benefit of both the Island Administration and its inhabitants than many of his expatriate contemporaries and successors.

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Cyprus did have Australian connections. Sir Hamilton Goold-Adams (1858-1920), who was High Commissioner in Cyprus from 12 October 1911 to 8 January 1915, served as Governor of Queensland from 15 March 1915 to 3 February 1920 (Morgan 2010, p. 68-77). His son, Richard Goold-Adams, paid a nostalgic visit to Cyprus in September 1941 and wrote of his experiences and observations in *Middle East Journey* (London 1947, p. 154-169). Even Rider Haggard had an Antipodean connection as co-incidentally he visited Australia and New Zealand in 1913 as a member of the Dominions Royal Commission (The British National Archives, Kew: CO 881/14/1). It is doubtful these individuals had any idea some of Samuel Brown's Cypriote antiquities had also ended up in Australia.

Service; Debra Harvey, Senior Librarian, Department of Education and Training, Queensland; Bernard Hui, Public Records Office, Hong Kong; Faye Kalloniatis, Norwich Castle Museum; Alain Marchand; Demetrios Michaelides; Norfolk Records Office (Susan Maddock, Bill Monaghan, Theresa Palfrey); Queensland State Archives; and Jennifer M. Webb.

APPENDIX I

“Samuel Brown, who was born on the 8th of March, 1836, at Highworth, Wilts, was the son of Mr. Samuel Brown, then engaged in business as a maltster and farmer in that town. Both his father’s and mother’s ancestors, who were chiefly dissenters, had resided for several generations in North Wilts, and Samuel Brown, junior, throughout his career, maintained that strict integrity and unswerving devotion to duty which had been instilled into him in childhood. As a child he was delicate, suffering from abscesses, which eventually settled in the hip, causing lameness, and by which he was at times severely troubled during the greater part his life.¹²⁶ At the age of twelve he was taken to Jamaica, in the hope that the voyage would benefit his health. He was educated in the small village of Coleshill, Berks, at a school founded by the late Earl Radnor for the advantage of farmers’ sons in the neighbourhood and of his own cottagers. His diligence brought him under the notice of Lord Radnor, who took great interest in him, and in 1851 obtained for him an appointment at Birkenhead in the office of Mr. James Abernethy, at that time engaged in the construction of the docks there. Mr. Abernethy was so satisfied with his work, that in 1855 Samuel Brown was articled to him. He was afterwards removed to Mr. Abernethy’s London office. During the construction of the Swansea harbour works, from 1856 to 1861, he acted as Assistant Engineer to the Resident, under Mr. Abernethy, and from there he proceeded to Watchet, where from 1861 to 1862 he acted as Resident Engineer on the Harbour Works, also under Mr. Abernethy. Subsequently, from 1862 to 1867, he was engaged on the Turin and Savona Railway (of which Mr. Abernethy was Engineer-in-Chief), and had charge, as Resident Engineer, of the Central Division, including the important works of the Belbo Tunnel. On his return to England he carried out, during 1867-68, under Mr. Abernethy, some important dredging operations at King’s Lynn.

“In 1870 Mr. Brown went as second in command to the Harbour Works at Alexandria, the contract for which had been obtained by Messrs. Greenfield and Co. The contract, of considerable magnitude, included an isolated breakwater nearly 2 miles long, formed of random concrete blocks, of 20 tons each, on the sea-face, the inner slope of large natural blocks; also an inner mole and deepwater quays, formed of rubble mounds with walls of concrete blocks and ashlar-masonry. The concrete blocks were made and the rubble was quarried at Mex, near Alexandria, and transported to their destination by sea and rail. The mode of setting the blocks from the sea demanded plant and machinery of special character, in the design and preparation of which Mr. Brown took an important part. The setting out of these extensive works, and the formation of the breakwater and the quays, were under his immediate charge until the autumn of 1878, when he accepted

126. Cf. Vizetelly 1901, p. 26.

the position of Engineer to the Governor of Cyprus.¹²⁷ It may be stated that the mole and quays founded upon deep mud in the manner described have borne the test of eleven years without any sign of failure, and that the breakwater has maintained its character equally well.

“In the winter of 1878-9, Mr. Brown surveyed the island of Cyprus at the request of Sir Garnet (now Lord) Wolseley, and in the following year was appointed by the Colonial Office as Government Engineer of the island; his work there consisted principally in improvements to the harbours, erecting landing-stages, and making roads. He was also instrumental in saving the island from the locusts, by means of the ‘screen and pit system,’ described in his ‘Reports on Locust Campaigns in Cyprus’, which, together with a pamphlet entitled ‘Three Months in Cyprus’, may be consulted in the Library of the Institution. The pest was practically subdued within three years.

“In September, 1888, Mr. Crown, in a letter to *The Times*, gave an interesting account of the public works carried out in Cyprus during the ten years of British occupation. From that letter the following extracts are taken:

“It may interest some of your readers to compare the present state of Cyprus as regards means of communication with its condition at the time of the British occupation exactly ten years ago. There then existed what was called a road between the principal port of Larnaca and the capital, Nicosia (26 miles), but as it was unmetalled it was impracticable in wet weather; it was scored with deep ruts, and those who have made the journey in the solitary vehicle that occasionally ventured between the two towns, will not readily forget the shaking they had to endure. A cart tract had also been partially marked out from Nicosia to Kyrenia on the northern coast (16 miles), but I have not heard that any vehicle had ever succeeded, prior to the occupation, in accomplishing the journey. Besides these there was, in 1878, no other vestige of a made road throughout the island. At present about 400 miles of main roads have been laid out, and of these the earthworks and drainage of three-fourths of that length have been completed, and upwards of 200 miles have been metalled or gravelled, so as to be serviceable for wheeled traffic in all weathers. It is true that much remains to be done, by forming the connecting-links, to complete the main lines of communication. The works are, however, so far advanced that, were funds available, the main roads (by which I mean those that connect the capital with the chief towns of the various districts and these with each other) might be completed in little more than a year, and for a comparatively small sum. The advantages of the improvement in the communications already effected are manifest to all acquainted with the island. Instead of an occasional omnibus there are now four or five daily in each direction between Nicosia and Larnaca, besides numerous private carriages, and the cost of the transport of merchandise has been reduced one-half. A system of cart roads has been carried through the mountains of the Limassol district, reaching a summit level close on 3,000 feet above the sea, for connecting the principal wine-growing villages with the port of shipment, by which not only has the cost of transport been reduced one-third, but the wine now reaches its destination by carts in barrels, instead of as formerly on pack-animals in tarred skins. If, as seems probable, the future of Cyprus should depend largely on the development of wine-making and

127. Cf. Morgan 2010, p. 9-11.

fruit-growing, it is difficult to overrate the ultimate benefit which may accrue from the system of communication known locally as the 'wine roads,' when all the wine-growing villages have been connected with the trunk roads already completed.

"As regards bridges, besides hundreds of smaller bridges and culverts, some of the principal torrents have been spanned by works of considerable magnitude. Of these I may perhaps be allowed to mention an iron girder-bridge over the Pedias of three spans, each of 40 feet, and compound iron and timber bridges over the Idalia, the Vasilikos, and the Limnati torrents of from 120 feet to 210 feet of waterway.

"Shortly after my appointment as Government Engineer my attention was called to the Pedias canal, which supplies water to the best part of the rich plain of the Messaoria, and is the most extensive irrigation system in Cyprus; the ancient channels had been allowed to silt up, and the banks were so breached that the canals were altogether unserviceable. They have since been cleared out, the derivation weir reconstructed, and the breaches in the banks repaired; and during the past seven years the works have been maintained in an efficient state, and thereby the value of the crops from the area watered by the canal has been augmented by an annual sum of at least £10,000.

"Besides Kyrenia harbour, the following maritime works have been executed since my appointment, eight years ago:-An iron pier at Limassol, 600 feet long, carried out into 20 feet of water, provided with cranes and placed in communication with the Customs warehouses by means of a tramway; an iron pier at Larnaca, 450 feet in length. In addition to these piers four iron jetties for lighters have been constructed - at Larnaca, at Limassol, at the Carub shipping station on the coast of Ziyi, and in the ancient harbour of Papho. Harbour lights have been provided at Kyrenia, Famagusta, and Limassol, and an important coast light is in process of erection at Cape Papho, the south-western extremity of the island and the point first made by vessels approaching it from the westward'.

"In 1885 Mr. Brown married Zoe Melita, daughter of Mr. Stephen Joly, the British Vice-Consul at Smyrna. That lady unfortunately died in January, 1889, and he felt her loss most acutely. Soon afterwards the Colonial Office opportunely offered him the appointment of Surveyor-General of Hong Kong, which he gladly accepted, hoping that change of scene and work would enable him to bear his severe loss with greater resignation. In July, 1889, he arrived in Hong Kong, where he remained without break until August, 1891, when he left for a short visit to Japan. As he was returning on board the "Anchona" he was seized with cholera, and died, after a few hours' intense agony, on the 10th of October, 1891, at the age of fifty-five.

"Mr. Brown acquired the reputation of a most intelligent and capable engineer of a wide range of attainments, and was a man of high personal character. It was for these reasons that Lord Knutsford selected him for the important post of Surveyor-General of Hong Kong. In the Library of the Institution is his 'Report on the Great Storm at Hong Kong'. This occurred soon after his arrival in the Colony; the rainfall amounted to 33 inches in thirty-nine hours, and extensive damage was caused by landslips, and by the blocking of storm-water culverts. He was elected an Associate of the Institution on the 1st of March, 1864, and was transferred to the class of Member on the 9th of March, 1869."

[*Minutes of the Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers* Vol. 109, 1892, p. 395-398].

APPENDIX II

State School
Bald Hills
3rd Jany, 1886.

“To the Curator of The Brisbane Museum

Dear Sir

I left at the Museum on Wednesday last, a case of antique pottery and glass ware from the island of Cyprus, and a bale, containing some fossils of ammonites, &c, from the well known quarry of the lias formation at Swindon Wilts.

As I wish the public to get the benefit of these curios, I shall be gratified if you will, on behalf of the Museum, accept the custody of them, and exhibit them in the Museum.

The Cypriote antiquities were unearthed at the sites of the ancient towns of Soli and Curium by my brother, Saml Brown C.E., M.L.C. and Chief Engineer to the Government of Cyprus. The potteries are mostly of pre-historic date, & not more recent than the time of Homer. The glass consists chiefly of bottles and candle-sticks, and are of Phoenician type, but similar to glass vessels found in old Egyptian tombs, &c.

Hoping they may be an acceptable addition to your present valuable collection,

I am, Sir,

Yours truly

Jn. J. Brown”

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