



EMPIRE & EXCAVATION

Critical perspectives on archaeology in
British-period Cyprus, 1878–1960

THOMAS **KIELY**, ANNA **REEVE** & LINDY **CREWE** (EDS)



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Published by Sidestone Press, Leiden

www.sidestone.com

E-mail: [info @ sidestone.nl](mailto:info@sidestone.nl)

Phone: (+31)(0)71-7370131

Imprint: Sidestone Press Academics

This book has been peer-reviewed. For more information see www.sidestone.com

Lay-out & cover design: Sidestone Press

Photograph cover: 'Cyprus, Old Paphos: Digging in S. wing.' Photograph taken at Kouklia during the excavation of the Cyprus Exploration Fund, 1888. BSA SPHS Image Collection, Archive, British School at Athens (reproduced with the permission of the British School at Athens).

ISBN 978-94-6427-114-0 (softcover)

ISBN 978-94-6427-115-7 (hardcover)

ISBN 978-94-6427-116-4 (PDF e-book)

DOI: 10.59641/h6k2e3f4g5



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Exploring the legacy of imperialist logic

New theoretical approaches to the historiography of Cypriot sculpture

Catherine V. Olien

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to highlight useful applications of theoretical frameworks from art history, classical reception studies, and sociology to the field of Cypriot archaeology, especially its historiography. Widespread western interest in Cypriot art and archaeology coincided with the beginning of British rule on the island in 1878, making it vital for us to investigate the impact the intellectual underpinnings of this empire—including imperialism and Eurocentrism—had on the scholarship of this period. My contribution explores the historical and cultural context in which 19th-century discussions of Cypriot sculpture arose, demonstrating that this early discourse reveals as much about its authors, including their contemporary values and anxieties, as the ancient works of art they studied.

After putting forward two theoretical models ('boundary work' and a 'problem of description', both defined below) that enable us to see, name, and discuss this interplay more clearly, I conclude by raising an unsettling hypothesis that might be explored further in future work: that there was a feedback loop operating in the minds of some early scholars that led to increased denigration of Cypriot art and Cypriot people. This negative feedback loop was activated by imperialist and Orientalist logic, and ran directly between ancient works of art (especially anthropomorphic sculpture), the ancient craftsmen who created them, and the contemporary local labour forces who enabled their (re)discovery. For the period in question, judgments about aesthetic appeal and value—or lack thereof—proved slippery, morphing into and reinforcing negative commentary about Cypriot artists and labourers.

Introduction

My previous work has analysed how the discovery of ancient Cypriot sculpture—considered neither 'Greek', nor 'Oriental', nor 'Egyptian', nor fully independent—challenged 19th-century scholars and institutions, conditioned and constructed as they were to neatly package positivist, teleological narratives. One of the most influential models for this variety of scholarship was originally published in the 18th century by the German scholar Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768). His narratives continued to be employed in 19th-century survey scholarship and museums to explain the trajectory and development of ancient cultures, including in Cyprus as knowledge of its material past unfolded in this

period.¹ Elsewhere, I have argued that early treatments of Cypriot limestone votive sculpture from the Cypro-Archaic period (c. 750–475 BCE) and classifications of its ‘style’ and aesthetics launched a series of debates in which Cypriot material culture was used as a tool to measure ‘foreign’ influence and interaction with both ‘East’ and ‘West’, a fate reinforced by complex political circumstances, including periods of Ottoman and British rule, and followed by Cypriot independence and division. I have focused my investigations on early western (especially British, French, and German) approaches to Cypriot sculpture and have relied upon correspondence, excavations reports, art historical surveys, museum guidebooks, and internal archival museum documents.² Here, I am interested in providing a short synthesis of these discussions, mostly as they played out on ink and paper or in print rather than in museums. I seek to foreground the logic that united written scholarly accounts and activities across a variety of national contexts.

Nineteenth-century authors writing about Cypro-Archaic limestone votive sculpture were quick to note the latitude with which Cypriot sculptors incorporated and mixed iconographic elements, clothing, and other attributes, blurring the lines between components conventionally understood as local and those they deemed foreign. Both scholars and amateurs struggled to define and describe the chronological development of a ‘Cypriot style’. The Cypriot tradition was nearly always discussed and positioned in relation to those of other Mediterranean regions, especially the Phoenician and Levantine, or as a precursor to the classical Greek tradition. Many authors hoped that this puzzling new tradition might answer burning questions about the ancient world, including the possible interconnectedness of Mediterranean cultures, and especially concerning the origins and development of naturalistic large-scale sculpture.

As A.A. Donohue and Mark D. Fullerton have argued, ‘the study and interpretation of ancient art reflect contemporary ideas and practices’.³ If we agree, we should ground any discussion of early Cypriot scholarship firmly in the context of the 19th century and its imperialist legacies. We should also be prepared to ask tough questions. What were the consequences of these legacies for early analyses of Cypriot art and culture? What motivated scholars’ interest in Cyprus and the language they used to classify or describe Cypriot sculpture? To what extent might 19th-century perspectives on ancient Cyprus persist, lurking unchal-

lenged in our own investigations, potentially hindering new ideas from entering the scholarly discourse or taking root? What recent examples of Cypriot scholarship have moved beyond inherited modes of thought and how can we ensure that such work continues?

My aim here is to offer useful ways of thinking through these important questions. First, I provide a short analysis of the early western reception of Cypriot sculpture highlighting how trends in scholarship might be understood within contemporary social and political landscapes. I then advance three main arguments and a concluding hypothesis that might be explored in future research. The first argument is that what sociologist Thomas Gieryn terms ‘boundary-work’ (the policing of regional or disciplinary boundaries and divisions, most often in order to maintain them, but occasionally to stretch or challenge them) drove much of the early study of Cypriot sculpture. This led to an abundance of entrenched arguments declaring the ultimate stylistic identity of the works to *be* one thing (for instance, ‘Phoenician’), to *be like* another (‘Egyptianizing’, for example), or to *precede* something else (such as ‘pre-Greek’ or ‘preclassical’).⁴ While Cypriot specialists—especially amateur archaeologists—sought to champion the multi-faceted ‘Cypriot style’ in order to better market and sell their finds, Cypriot art was often brought into art historical surveys to delineate an aesthetic boundary scholars created between ‘Greek’ and ‘Oriental’ art.⁵ Boundary-work became a scholarly tradition within the field and was for many decades used to develop chronologies corresponding to periods of foreign rule. Only recently have scholars begun to reject the problematic classification systems and terminologies that for so long have boxed them in.

My second argument is that what Donohue calls a ‘problem of description’⁶—namely, the difficulty that arises when authoritative interpretations of works of art effectively come to stand in for those works, limiting our ability to have an original encounter with them, position them in new ways, or question existing narratives—has plagued the field of Cypriot sculpture for nearly a century. This predetermined what scholars saw when they looked at Cypriot works, thereby precluding alternative interpretations and firmly positioning Cypriot sculptors as ‘passive’ and their works of art as ‘crude’ or ‘unsophisticated’ (as characterised by Ernest Gardner, see below).⁷

1 Winkelmänn 1764; see Harloe 2013.

2 Olien 2018 provides a more comprehensive investigation of these early views and literature alongside an analysis of the display of Cypriot works in the Louvre and British Museum between 1860–1900.

3 Donohue and Fullerton 2003, abstract.

4 I first encountered ‘boundary-work’ in Whitehead 2009, which borrows and develops the term from Gieryn 1999.

5 For more on the distinction between early Cypriot specialists (including amateurs) and generalists (mostly professional), and for a discussion of sources written by both, see Chapters 1 and 2 in Olien 2018.

6 While Donohue 2005 adapts the concept from Panofsky 1932, it is her definition and application of the term that informs my work rather than his.

7 Quoted adjectives all from E. Gardner 1897b.

In comparison to what, one might wonder? The answer, even when not explicitly stated, was almost always the classical Greek tradition. Certain arguments made in the service of boundary-work and intended to elevate classical Greece—at the expense of Cyprus—led to a serious and long-lasting problem of description. Early observations—not necessarily the most accurate or astute—were recycled and repeated, and with each occurrence they gained unwarranted scholarly weight and attention, with the result that they persist even in select contemporary debates and publications.

Finally, I argue that investigating and acknowledging the problems outlined here allows us to move definitively beyond them. Indeed, most scholars already have, appreciating the style and iconography of ancient Cypriot sculpture as an expression of a multi-cultural, cosmopolitan elite seeking inclusion and cohesion rather than an eclectic and passive response to a series of foreign occupations. The future of the field lies in rejecting long-standing notions about Cypriot art as a derivative tradition rooted in a passive peripheral zone and exploring instead how the island was embedded in a lively and complex cultural sphere, capable of supporting and inventing functional solutions that fit the demands of a multinational population. My concluding remarks about a possible feedback loop between early scholars' descriptions and evaluations of ancient artworks, ancient artists, and 19th-century labour forces offers yet another reason why we should continue to expand the scope of our inquiries and steer the field of Cypriot archaeology in new directions.

Setting the scene: early exploration and study of Cyprus contextualised

The perceived perfection of classical Greek art loomed large in the scholarly and public imagination of Enlightenment Europe. Collecting classical antiquities helped European elites strengthen their claim to this ancient past. Preoccupied with ideas of purity and order, for the wealthy and educated classes who controlled the tides of taste, Cyprus was little more than a recurring footnote of history, an island on the periphery. It was little discussed and seldom visited, well outside the confines of a typical classical education or the prescribed path of the Grand Tour.

The political and social upheavals of the late 18th and early 19th centuries in Europe and America made room for new ways of understanding the ancient world. Post-Enlightenment scholars incorporated preclassical and nonclassical material into their studies, giving them a wider geographic focus while also extending them further back into the past. Using the Bible as a primary historical document, scholars, including Austen Henry Layard (1817–1894) and Paul-Émile Botta (1802–1870), travelled to the Ottoman Empire seeking material traces of biblical kings and their realms, hoping to prove the historicity of

these accounts. After their finds from ancient Assyria were welcomed into European museums in the mid-19th century, exploration of regions previously considered unappealing or unworthy of study began in earnest.

Meanwhile, western European scholars hoping to discover and collect archaeological material elsewhere in the Mediterranean faced increasing limitations and restrictions. Antiquities laws in the hotbeds of archaeology, such as Italy and Greece, meant that local officials more closely monitored and controlled the excavation and exportation of ancient material. Though not consistently enforced, these laws aimed to freeze collections in both private hands and museums, which could no longer (legally) obtain the objects they deemed the most desirable. Archaeologists and collectors were left with several choices: they could use agents to purchase looted items on local markets; participate in illegal excavations; obtain works from older, so-called princely collections on the occasions they became available on the market; commission casts and copies; or transfer their efforts to new, less protected frontiers. Cyprus, whose Ottoman officials did little to discourage exploration and treasure hunting, supported both scholarly curiosity and the hunt for profit or prestige that motivated certain excavators.

During the second half of the 19th century, Cyprus became a point of interest in the context of the political tensions surrounding the 'Eastern Question'. European nations increasingly relied upon their appointed consuls in Cyprus to monitor developments in the Ottoman east. Foreign collecting and excavation, activities that had begun as pastimes, expanded, and were reinforced by the expectation that the consuls keep their countries abreast not just of political development, but also of cultural matters and opportunities. Excitingly, Cypriot antiquities offered illuminating visual comparisons to prized Greek, Assyrian, and Egyptian works. I believe that Cyprus' distinctive material culture qualified it as what Frederick Bohrer, in the context of Mesopotamian antiquities entering European collections at the same moment, called a 'new antiquity', a civilization, like that of Troy or Assyria, attested in the Homeric epics or the Bible but not hitherto archaeologically visible.⁸ The result, beginning in the mid-1860s, was a sudden flurry of archaeological activity. Cyprus' archaeological potential was exploited above all by a group of individuals employed on the island as foreign diplomats. Robert Hamilton Lang's (1836–1913) discovery of a group of votives at an open-air sanctuary in Dali in 1869,⁹ and Luigi Palma di Cesnola's (1832–1904) even more extensive discovery of several hundred limestone statues at what he called the 'Temple of Golgoi' in 1870,¹⁰ were transform-

8 Bohrer 2003.

9 Lang 1878; Lang and Poole 1878; see Kiely 2020.

10 L.P. di Cesnola 1877, chapters IV–VI.

ative for the history of Cypriot archaeology. Following these events—and especially after their publication in 1877 and 1878, respectively—the heyday of excavating Cypriot antiquities began, coinciding exactly with the beginning of British rule in Cyprus.

From the mid-1870s onward, Cypriot artifacts were no longer viewed only as souvenirs or curiosities; they were instead sought after as museum objects, specimens of fine art that—even if not widely considered ‘beautiful’—could answer important questions about artistic lineages of the ancient Mediterranean. The perception of Cyprus’ dominant cultural heritage was flexible, but its role as a ‘precursor’ to classical Greece was relatively consistent.¹¹ In this way, Cypriot sculpture occupied a role similar to that of Egyptian art. As Moser has stressed, ‘[a]ncient Egypt is expected to serve as a heuristic device, its purpose being to demonstrate the extent of the achievements of the ancient Greeks.’ Scholarly and popular publications promoted models of Mediterranean artistic development in which Cyprus acted a conduit between Assyria, Egypt, Phoenicia, and Greece, absorbing and passing on ideas, from east to west, with little or no agency of its own. Most often, Cypriot sculpture was perceived as copying or imitating so-called foreign influences from Egypt and the Levant. The firm, fixed stance of Cypriot votives was thought to be a symptom leftover from the ‘rigid’ Egyptian style, while a dependence on the model of Assyrian relief sculpture was blamed for the overall ‘flatness’. Comparison between Cypriot and Egyptian art began as early as de Caylus in 1764,¹² while L.P. di Cesnola characterised Cypriot works as Egyptian or Egyptianizing in 1873 in a collaborative volume featuring text by Sidney Colvin and plates selected by Charles Newton.¹³ Perrot and Chipiez likewise position Cypriot in this manner in one of their earliest references to discoveries by Lang and Cesnola.¹⁴ Later works, including Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter’s *Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* of 1899, continue to treat Cypriot art as ‘Assyrian’, or, as in Heuzey’s 1882 catalogue of terracotta figurines in the Louvre, ‘pseudo-Assyrian’, with Assyrian elements introduced through the intermediary of the Phoenicians.¹⁵

Overall, the workmanship on Cypriot statues was considered ‘rude’, ‘languid’, ‘feeble’, or even ‘helpless’. In L.P. di Cesnola’s 1873 album, Colvin compared Cypriot work to those of Archaic Greek and Etruria, all of which display pre-Daedalic ‘helplessness’, while both Percy Gardner and Mitchell similarly categorise Cypriot sculpture—and

hence sculptors—as weak and lazy.¹⁶ Moreover, because Cypriot votives were clothed in ‘foreign’ costumes and attributes, they were considered artistically inferior to later works from the Greek mainland that were praised for their elegant, elastic, and naturalistic nude bodies. Authors most often identified Cypriot works as ‘Assyrianizing’ when highlighting ‘Assyrian’ elements of costume or facial hair such as in the ‘Assyrianizing Heracles’ that is commonly illustrated in this period. They reveal through their language an implicit comparison between the Cypriot and later Greek traditions, with the Cypriot being brought into scholarly considerations to investigate the so-called origins of free-standing Greek sculpture.

The most prominent figure in this regard was Charles Newton (1816–1894), whose influence on this budding field was substantial, enacted mainly through his correspondence with amateur archaeologists on Cyprus, his recommendations of purchases and excavations on behalf of the British Museum (in his role as Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities), and in his publications.¹⁷ His fascination with Cypriot art grew from, or perhaps alongside, a sustained interest in connections and perceived similarities between early Greek art and Assyrian art, observing that:

*Resemblances so clear as can be traced between some of the earliest specimens of Greek art and the smaller antiquities discovered by Mr. Layard at Nimroud, throw an entirely new light on the relations between Assyria and the Phoenician and the Hellenic races in ages too remote for our present system of chronology.*¹⁸

Newton’s interest in Cyprus stemmed above all from an interest in locating the origins of the Archaic Greek sculptural style, but he also saw the potential for the British Museum to acquire significant new material:

*There is a corner of the Levant where no such obstacle would stand in the way of exploration undertaken by the British Government. That corner is the island of Cyprus, an island which, though as yet only cursorily examined, has proved so rich in antiquities that the Museum of New York has already been created out of its spoils.*¹⁹

As early as 1863, Newton identified Cyprus as a desirable place for the British Museum to dig, highlighting Cyprus’ abundance of ‘Phoenician antiquities’. In a letter to Layard, he noted that ‘I would suggest that, if Lord Russel should think it fit to bestow a consulate on Mr. Dennis, the parts where he would be most likely to make remarkable

11 Moser 2006, 57.

12 De Caylus 1764.

13 L.P. di Cesnola 1873.

14 Perrot and Chipiez 1882, xi.

15 Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899; Heuzey 1882, 128 (and 126–134 *passim*).

16 L.P. di Cesnola 1873, 4; P. Gardner 1892, 183; Mitchell 1883, 117.

17 Kiely 2010.

18 Newton 1880, 67.

19 Newton 1880, 372.

discoveries and acquisitions for the BM would be Rhodes, Cyprus ... or Crete ... Cyprus has very interesting Phoenician antiquities'.²⁰

Cypriot art also featured prominently in the table of contents and text of Newton's collection of papers and reviews *Essays on Art and Archaeology* (1880), which surveyed recent archaeological discoveries in Greece and Asia Minor. Like French scholars Georges Perrot (1832–1914) and Charles Chipiez (1835–1901), Newton emphasised the importance of Cesnola's and Lang's discoveries, expressing hope that they would help scholars clear up the mystery of the birth of Greek art and especially its Archaic, perhaps Eastern, roots—indeed one of the aims of *Essays* was to help to better understand the Archaic period.

Newton compared Cypriot stone sculptures with those from Assyria and Egypt, as had become standard both in museums and publications by this time. He named a wide variety of influences on Cypriot sculptures, writing that some could be classified as 'direct imitations of Egyptian statues', while others 'have much of the peculiar mannerism of Assyrian art'.²¹ He identified the 'Phoenician style' as being a mix of the two, contemporaneous with remains that might be identified as 'Archaic Greek'. New, however, was a comparison of the Golgoi sculptures with examples originating from sites in Ionia.²² He considered the Cypriot works to be closer to Archaic works from Western Asia Minor than those from Egypt or Assyria, and suggested that the former might be used as a basis for dating Cypriot sculpture. Given that Newton and those who followed his lead were working in an age of imperial ambitions and expansion, it is only logical that their arguments often found footing in the language of empire, influence, and domination.

Samuel Birch (1813–1885), Keeper of the Department of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum, also exchanged letters regularly with excavators on Cyprus, including Lang and both the Cesnola brothers, and contributed to the discussion about Cypriot art. When Luigi Palma di Cesnola asks whether his newly recently discovered 'Golgoi Sarcophagus', might be 'archaic Greek' or 'Greco-Oriental', Birch suggests that 'early monuments of Lycia' might serve as useful comparanda for Cesnola's sarcophagus, which he considered to be 'Archaic Greek'. He cautioned that such a 'class of art ... did not simply copy the Assyrian or Egyptian monuments ... The subjects represented on it are Greek. The art of the sarcophagus has also a ... resemblance with Etruscan art ... [but] the myths of the [sarcophagus] of Golgos are quite Greek'.²³

'Boundary-work' and its application to the study of Cypro-Archaic sculpture

Christopher Whitehead has argued that the act of interpreting works of art and classifying them does more than simply *explain* them: interpretation *constructs* objects. An overlaying of artworks with meaning via study and interpretive or theoretical labor is achieved in part by the scholarly activity of boundary-work, which Whitehead borrows from Gieryn and defines in his own words as 'the development of arguments, practices and strategies to justify particular divisions of knowledge and the strategies used to construct, maintain and push boundaries'.²⁴ I argue that some of this more aggressive—and defensive—boundary-work 19th-century scholars exercised on Cypriot art was born from an imperialist logic (consistently linking 'styles' to 'empires') that simultaneously sought to keep Oriental 'influences', 'traces', or 'origins' firmly in the preclassical past. The impetus for this work was a preoccupation with ethnic 'purity' and Orientalist perspectives, including a desire to demonstrate the superiority of West to East. Debates about ancient Cypriot culture were fraught with purely modern political complications. That is to say, tensions about *ancient* Cyprus as 'Oriental' or 'Greek' were wrapped up in questions about the island's perceived *modern* identity as European or Asian, Christian or Muslim.

Many European scholars strove to promote the aesthetic pre-eminence of the classical style of the Greek mainland, thereby affirming the inherent and supposed superiority of contemporary continental Europe. They sought to bolster their views and assuage fears of Eastern 'contamination' while advocating (both directly and more subtly) for the desirability of Christianity over Islam, as Duesterberg has observed in contemporary literature.²⁵ While tracing the heritage of a Christian Europe to a pagan classical Greece required impressive feats of mental gymnastics, the place that ancient Greece occupied at the heart of modern European identity was anchored by its indisputable physical attachment to the land mass of mainland Europe. Especially after the Greek War of Independence (1821–1832), during which Greece received crucial support from western European countries—in the form of both intellectuals and soldiers—in this war, and because of the influence of the Greek Orthodox church, 19th-century Europeans could comfortably consider Greece a Western nation.²⁶ Ottoman Turkey, however, was in a more ambiguous situation. As Debbie Challis suggests, 'the Orient was on the whole defined by the geographical limits of the Ottoman Empire'.²⁷ While Cyprus was under Ottoman rule, it was more securely linked to the 'Orient'. After 1878,

20 British Museum (BM), London, Department of Greece and Rome archives, Letter Book 1861–1879, 29–30, no. 18, Newton to Layard, 3 July 1863.

21 Newton 1880, 78.

22 Newton 1880, 307.

23 BM Department of the Middle East archives, Correspondence 1868–1881, CA–CHE, Birch to Cesnola, letters of 14 February 1874 and 18 March 1874.

24 Whitehead 2009, 61.

25 Duesterberg 2015.

26 E.g. Beaton 2019, chapter 3; Mazower 2021.

27 Challis 2008, 12.

however, with the installation of a British government, Cyprus became a perplexing geographic puzzle: how to decide whether it fit best under the cultural umbrella of the 'West' or the 'East'?²⁸ The answer, for many, both before and after 1878, seemed to be to perform defensive boundary-work on its antiquities, using Cypriot art as a way to discuss what Greek art was not.

Even as excavations revealed impressive feats of engineering and artistic achievement in 'eastern' regions, in an effort to bolster their modern national identities (firmly grounded as they were in Philhellenism), western European scholars found ways to champion 'western' culture above all. Scholars writing histories of ancient art to affirm their culture's and/or nations' own crowning place in the 'Great Chain of Art', were troubled by objects, styles or traditions that forced them to dwell too long on the magnificence of 'Oriental' cultures. Beyond those active on Cyprus as specialists, these scholars included Perrot and Ernest and Percy Gardner. Using Aristotle's 'Great Chain of Being' as a model for constructing a 'Great Chain of Art', their systems of artistic taxonomy appear to have been modeled on a marriage of Aristotelian and Platonic ideas that ranked and classified life on earth and in the heavens.²⁹ As Thomas Scheffler writes:

*Among 19th-century European scholars, writers, and politicians, exploring the Babylonian 'roots' of Western civilisation had become part of a soul-searching exercise in re-negotiating Europe's identity and mission: The impressive size of ancient Oriental palaces, temples and cities was congruent with the era's sense of imperial grandeur. Conservative audiences were fascinated by the idea that the authoritarian monarchies of ancient Asia and Egypt had been capable of building much bigger monuments than the democratic city-republics of Greece and Rome.*³⁰

All types of individuals—including scholars, museum professionals, artists, archaeologists, and amateurs—did boundary-work in order to situate 'Oriental' and preclassical traditions comfortably within a scheme that felt safe and familiar to them, with ancient Greek 'masterworks' reigning supreme. Such models would have felt familiar due both to ancient authors' (including Pausanias, Plutarch, and others) presentations of similar models of bud, flower/bloom, and decay, and Winckelmann's analyses.³¹

Though it was never executed as a display scheme, an 1845 watercolor by Russian stage designer James Stephanoff (1786–1874) entitled *Assemblage of works of art*

from the earliest period to the time of Phydias illustrates how such a model might find visual expression (Figure 16.1). Incorporating works from around the world, the foundations of this imaginative assemblage are furnished by sculpture from Central America as well as Hindu and Buddhist works from India, Burma, and Thailand. In the centre are works from Persia, Egypt, and Etruria. Marble sculpture from Greece and Lycia follows, with the Aegina pediments leading the eye to what we are to understand as the apex of artistic achievement: the Parthenon marbles. While Stephanoff's title would suggest that the works are simply arranged chronologically, with the earliest at the bottom and the more recent at the top, they are in reality arranged according to prescribed aesthetic judgments about the relative merits of each culture's artistic traditions. As Jenkins has noted, '[t]his hierarchy, as mapped in Stephanoff's drawing, appears to derive from two principal sources. First, from the real-life assemblage of the British Museum itself, in which many of the examples were to be found ... second, from contemporary aesthetic theory'.³² The result is a clear illustration of how teleological arguments and boundary-work could effectively downplay the achievements of 'preclassical' civilizations to the benefit of the classical Greek, always given pride of place.

The precarious relationship between the Cypriot and Greek styles at this same moment and its ultimate designation as a 'foreign' rather than 'Greek' or 'classical' tradition, was determined in part by its ever-shifting political, racial, and religious profile. 'For both Christians and Muslims,' Scheffler writes, 'the most important pattern of spatial classification beyond the confines of narrow dynastic and territorial rule was the distinction between the realm of the true faith ... and the pagan rest of the world ... 'Europe' became a synonym for Christianity and the 'East' a synonym for the world of Islam'.³³ Yet, again, the classification was not so simple when it came to Cyprus and other border regions, which supported both Christian and Muslim populations. Some early western archaeologists insisted that Cyprus, under Ottoman rule, belonged to the Eastern tradition. Others took a more flexible view, with the Christian presence on the island effectively providing an opening to position Cyprus as a proto-Western culture. The corresponding outlook, which saw an ancient Cyprus that was predominantly 'Hellenic'—if somehow tainted by Ottoman rule—was fully illogical to those who considered Cyprus an 'Oriental' island. Critics wondered, how could an Ottoman island (with a substantial Muslim population) hold the keys to Western (and Christian) civilization? The founding of the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia in 1882—and its formal establishment in 1883—were turning points for the local relationship to antiquities. Demetrios Pierides

28 See Reeve, this volume; Kiely 2017.

29 Jenkins 1992, 13; Bohrer 2003, 121.

30 Scheffler 2003, 256.

31 Donohue 2005, 56.

32 Jenkins 1992, 62.

33 Scheffler 2003, 260–261.



Figure 16. 1: James Stephanoff, *Assemblage of works of art from the earliest period to the time of Phydias*, 1845. Watercolour over graphite (British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings PD 1994,1210.6, © Trustees of the British Museum).

(1811–1895) was instrumental in this development, though members of the Cypriot Muslim community who had followed similar movements in the Ottoman Empire to highlight local culture also served on the island's first Museum Committee.³⁴

Questions such as these ensured an additional level of complexity in arguments naming Cyprus as a direct precursor to Greece. The fact that Cyprus' transfer to British administration in 1878 did not result in a surge of discussions positioning Cypriot sculpture as 'Hellenic' reveals that the tensions indeed lay even deeper. What I identify as 'boundary-work' might have had the goal of delineating ancient cultural boundaries, but it also had contemporary implications. There were very real difficulties and dangers that

came along with the British eliding differences between Cypriot and Greek culture. Encouraging the Cypriots to form a pro-Greek national identity could threaten their claim to the island. Whether politically motivated or not, a neat answer to this challenge was for scholars to advance a view of Cypriot art as an independent tradition, perhaps distantly related to Greek, but above all the result of native, so-called Eteocypriot innovations and inventions. Though the term Eteocypriot first emerged in the twentieth century, some 19th-century scholars conceived of a local and distinct Cypriot tradition, molding perceptions of the aesthetic as they saw fit and using the 'Cypriot' category to their advantage, as a stepping stone from East to West without breaking the style down into composite parts or implying close proximity with the Greek.³⁵

34 See Stanley-Price 2001, 270; and for the role of the Muslim community, see Stylianou-Lambert and Bounia 2016, 75–76, 81; also see Marshall, this volume.

35 Given 1998; see also Marshall, this volume.

Others suggested Cypriot art was related to the Etruscan or Mycenaean styles, a view that highlighted its 'hybrid' nature and did little to promote its popularity. Writing in 1883, German classical archaeologist Arthur Alexander Johann Milchhöfer (1852–1903) argued that Mycenaean art was a type of *Mischkunst*, 'barbaric ... not trusted to untangle itself'.³⁶ Indeed, similar anxieties were expressed about Cypriot art, above all by scholars who were frustrated with what they perceived as a 'mixing' of styles (a subject Newton was also interested in) as they attempted to cleanly separate which elements belonged to which culture. For example, Mycenae, which was in some publications considered a distinct region and in others grouped with the 'Oriental' or 'Greek', provides a useful Bronze Age foil to my study of Iron Age Cyprus. Interestingly, works from the Cypriot Bronze Age were often linked to Mycenae while those from the Iron Age were considered in the context of Phoenicia.³⁷

Some attempts to classify Cypriot art at this moment were thus informed by the desire to locate a precise moment when 'Eastern' art became 'de-barbarised', another type of boundary-work. As Glenn Most reminds us, even 18th-century scholars were aware that there had been extensive contact between Greece and the Near East in the Early Iron Age. Yet he points to a shift during the 19th century, when many authors sought to 'tame' these influences and argue for the complete originality of the Greek style, noting that:

*The Philhellenes tended to have recourse instead to a different, weaker, and far more interesting claim: that the Greeks had indeed borrowed much from other cultures, but that they had transformed so completely whatever they had borrowed that they had succeeded in turning it into something thoroughly Greek. That is, they had debarbarized it.*³⁸

For a time, efforts to 'untangle' 'Oriental'—including Cypriot—art drove further studies of the Near East and Cyprus, contrary to what might otherwise be assumed. Notably, as early as 1863, in his treatment of the celebrated Cypriot 'Ross Torso', Stark called for scholars to carry out this type of 'untangling' work and research into 'Oriental' art, lest 'Greek' art come to be understood as a mosaic of Oriental art forms.³⁹ Similarly, 'Oriental studies' flourished in its early days because of—not despite—the prevailing Hellenistic mindset.⁴⁰ Explorations of 'Oriental' art were often carried out by trained classicists in the service of 'Greek' art. Cypriot art was in the unique position of being

able to answer questions about both traditions. The very fact that scholars were interested in investigating the supposed border between 'East' and 'West' meant that they gave Cypriot sculpture attention it might not otherwise have received. Thus, while boundary-work was not intentionally done in the service of Cypriot tradition, I believe it did encourage the study, publication, and display of Cypriot art.⁴¹

By the last quarter of the 19th century, however, scholars' increasingly confident and full rejection of Cypriot art as a type of Greek art served to dull the initial excitement that had surrounded the excavation of material in the 1860s and 1870s, providing justification for both veiled criticisms and outright attacks. By the 1880s, after the initial excitement for the 'new' Cypriot style had fully worn off, scholars began to employ loaded vocabularies that emphasised the 'foreign' (by which they meant non-Greek and non-Western) nature of both the island and its populations. Cypriot art was labelled, as Perrot and Chipiez phrased it, 'un art plus préoccupé d'imiter que de créer', a sentiment that would endure for the rest of the century.⁴² The logical underpinnings of the 'precursor' model slowly fell away, and advances in archaeological methodologies meant that much of the previously excavated Cypriot material was problematic, of dubious provenance or authenticity.⁴³ Moreover, while excavations had begun at the Athenian Acropolis in 1834, more systematic exploration was carried out in 1885–1886, revealing among other things the 'great find,' a series of korai at the Athenian Acropolis. By 1900, the publication of these discoveries, along with earlier, successful 'boundary-work', had largely succeeded in keeping Cypriot sculpture out of the Western canon.⁴⁴ Identifying indigenous Aegean development became a more attractive pursuit for scholars, and in many cases, Minoan Crete took over the role previously filled by Cyprus as a precursor to Greece. This can be seen in a comparison between the original and revised second editions of Ernest Gardner's *A handbook of Greek sculpture* (1897 and 1915) and Percy Gardner's *New chapters in Greek history* (1892 and 1926) where Cypriot art was dropped in favour of Minoan in both. Another reason for this shift may have been that Knossos was being explored by the renowned Arthur Evans, whose credentials far outshone those of the early, amateur adventurer-archaeologists in Cyprus.⁴⁵

36 Translation from Burns 2010, 64. Original: Milchhöfer 1883, 7.

37 See Steel 2001.

38 Most 2011, 41.

39 Stark 1863.

40 Most 2011, 41–42.

41 For more on the reception of Cypriot sculpture in the Louvre and the British Museum, see Olien 2018, Chapter 3.

42 Senff's quotation (2009, 267) of this phrase of Perrot and Chipiez (1885, 596) hints at its long-lasting impact.

43 Olien 2016 considers Cesnola's methodology, especially his restoration work.

44 Kavvadias and Kawerau 1906.

45 Olien 2018.

A 'problem of description' with regard to discussions of Cypro-Archaic sculpture

In this section, I move from exploring the historical and political underpinnings of boundary-work to analyse the impact the language used to perform this work has had on the study of Cypriot art. Donohue, who identifies a 'problem of description' in the field of ancient sculpture, highlights the importance of the words we employ to discuss works of art, specifically, how language predetermines our interpretation and evaluation: 'What the statue "looks like" is determined by the interpretive contexts'.⁴⁶ Following Donohue's model, I explore the extent to which the modern study and perception of Cypriot sculpture has been moulded by the specific vocabulary used to describe, evaluate, and interpret this tradition in the past.

The effect of descriptive language or labels was especially significant in an age when words circulated more easily than images due to limitations imposed by the cost, technology, and accuracy of drawings. Once a particular word became attached to a work of art, it was often repeated, even by scholars who had never seen the work. As I have outlined above, most 19th-century discussions of Cypriot sculpture revolved around identifying its component parts, supposed to have been lifted from a variety of other traditions. The ensuing vocabularies were complex and inconsistent, but were nevertheless influential, and many are still with us today. Language and labels, whether stylistic or value-laden—as adjectives used to describe Cypriot sculpture often were—determined the tone of an artwork's reception. Said another way, the perceived appearance of statues became inseparable from the language and framework used to describe them. For example, in accounts where Cyprus was considered under the umbrella of Phoenicia (itself often identified as a culture that facilitated transfer but did not generate a unique style or ideas), its creative force was downplayed and denied, resulting in descriptions such as 'primitive,' 'rude,' and 'helpless'. Admittedly, the word 'primitive' has since taken on stronger negative connotations; some early authors simply use it as a synonym for 'early'.⁴⁷ Nonetheless, when scholars viewed Cyprus as a precursor to classical Greece, or as a missing link between the 'Oriental' cultures and Greece, they tended to rate the sculpture more generously, still 'primitive' perhaps, but also 'promising,' or, more neutrally, 'conventional'. Authors who perceived the Cypriot style as an independent tradition employed yet a different set of vocabularies, often noting its 'peculiar' spirit, born at the 'crossroads' of civilization.

We can see these in the comments of Reginald Stuart Poole, one of the first specialists to study Lang's collection, who was most excited by the 'series' of identifiable styles

in the limestone and terracotta sculpture found by Lang, which he viewed as valuable in tracing the extent of foreign influence in early Greek art:

*Here we have the effects of the earliest contact of Greek barbarism with the semi-Phoenician civilization of northern Egypt, and see indications of that subsequent movement of the Hellenic race which for the time almost tolerated the old culture, while founding a stronger precursor. Here too we have a long series of Greek archaic works, showing more clearly than any other like collection the slow advance by a chain of delicate gradations which have led to maturity and decline, without ever losing the distinctive peculiarities of this style.*⁴⁸

L.P. di Cesnola often spoke and wrote in these terms, as did Colvin when writing for Cesnola. G. Colonna-Ceccaldi and P. Gardner also spoke of the Cypriot tradition as incorporating a variety of influences while maintaining an independent style.

This attitude was not however restricted to Cypriot art. In her analysis of the 'problem of description,' Donohue reviews several early descriptions of Nikandre's dedication, a 7th-century BCE kore discovered on Delos in 1878. Like many Cypriot works, this sculpture was troubling for early archaeologists, who did not know how to approach or classify it, and the language used to describe it was often summary and negative.⁴⁹ As Donohue writes, '[t]he statue is ... caught between two of the most stubborn problems in the history of Greek sculpture: the Daedalic style, and the beginning of large marble statuary'.⁵⁰ The Cypriot style occupied a similar position in much of the survey scholarship, where it was commonly brought into discussions of the origins of early Greek sculpture. The very same words used to 'describe'—or aesthetically evaluate—Nikandre's dedication often appear in scholarship on Cypriot sculpture. These vocabularies, posing as neutral descriptions, are in fact loaded with judgments and implicit comparisons. In order to illustrate how this phenomenon played out, I briefly consider two case studies, both surveys of Greek sculpture from the 1880s and 1890s, written by American art historian Lucy Mitchell (1845–1888) and English classical archaeologist (and for a time, director of the Cyprus Exploration Fund) Ernest Gardner (1862–1939). Both texts included important discussions of Cypriot art but have not often been brought into the conversation about the historiography of ancient Cypriot art and archaeology. While this section treats a much more limited range of texts than the previous, the significance of the works merits

46 Donohue 2005, 54.

47 See Mitchell 1883; Perrot and Chipiez 1882; 1894.

48 BM Central Archives, Original Papers 102 (1) January 1870–February 1870, 9 February 1870, Report to Trustees.

49 E. Gardner 1915.

50 Donohue 2005, 32.

the narrower scope and focus as they were vital texts at the time, enjoying a wide readership among scholars and amateurs.

Mitchell's 1883 survey of ancient sculpture (reissued in 1888), heavily informed by a series of works by Perrot and Chipiez, contains one of the most detailed discussions of Cypriot sculpture of the period.⁵¹ Mitchell divided Cypriot statuary into two types: a 'ruder and more primitive' type corresponding to a period when Phoenician motifs dominated the island's artistic landscape; and a second type, 'more developed' due to Greek influence, but still 'a very second-rate provincial art'.⁵² An illustration of a sculpture from the Cesnola Collection (Figure 16.2), which also appeared along with similar examples in accounts by Doell, L.P. di Cesnola, Perrot and Chipiez, and Dutch scholar Holwerda⁵³ serves as an example of the latter attitude. Mitchell noted the Cypriot 'neglect' of decorative detail, ultimately finding that whether in comparison to Phoenician, Egyptian, or Greek styles, the Cypriot style falls short of attaining the splendour of the original model. It is instead 'stiff and crude'.⁵⁴ Part of this failure is attributed to the artist's medium—limestone—which Mitchell classified as too soft, 'unsuited for fine carving', but this explanation does little to soften the blow of the negative, even dismissive, adjectives she uses to describe Cypriot sculpture: 'In all these crude figures, the native sculptor seems to be struggling to render a particular type, although hampered by conventionality and his crude material'.⁵⁵ Here, she developed ideas introduced by English art critic and classicist Sidney Colvin and Birch, who had also attributed the 'unsophisticated' manner of carving discernible in Cypriot sculpture to its medium.

Through her descriptions, Mitchell signals that the Cypriot tradition was not one to be admired. A problem of description prohibited readers from forming a positive, or even neutral, opinion of the work, thereby limiting scholars' possible interpretations of it and its relative artistic or archaeological importance. Further, throughout her volume, Mitchell forcefully rejects 'foreign' traditions in favor of a 'homegrown' Greek tradition: 'The continued intermixture of so many races, as well as the varying political fortunes of the island, may doubtless, in part, explain the unpleasant mongrel character of nearly every thing Cypriote, even down to a later date, whether it be in art or religion'.⁵⁶ The force of the term 'unpleasant mongrel' reminds us how fatal connotations of artistic

'mixing' or 'impurity' could be. A distaste for 'mixed' art and the preference for 'pure' styles had clear racial connotations in the 19th century, and revealed tensions surrounding desires to trace the origins of sculpture back into the past. Some fields (including ethnography and evolutionary biology) extended the search farther south, and farther east, but for scholars of archaeology and art history, ancient artistic genius lived only in Europe. These issues were explored by Martin Bernal in his three-volume *Black Athena* series. Though most scholars have rejected the validity of his evidence and many of his arguments, the work nevertheless launched a series of important debates surrounding his basic thesis—that classical civilization has African roots that have long been ignored or obscured by classicists.⁵⁷

Mitchell's language in this context should be considered alongside the much more positive, enthusiastic language she used to describe classical Greek sculpture, which included words such as 'perfected', 'majestic', 'graceful', and 'truly ideal'.⁵⁸ While Mitchell's basic interest in Cypriot sculpture resulted from its apparent nearness to a variety of traditions—including the Greek—one of the goals of her treatment of the Cypriot style was to clarify that it was *not* in fact Greek. Language consistently dominates illustrations of the actual works of art.

Writing nine years later but using similar vocabulary to Mitchell, in a chapter on the rise of Greek art, Gardner identified a statue type, labelled 'nondescript draped, standing' featuring 'rude statuettes without pretention to artistic merit' found in Cyprus, Rhodes, and Naucratis and dating from 600–480 BC. The illustrated example for this group is a photograph of Nikandre's dedication (Figure 16.3), which stands in for Cypriot and other works Gardner perceived as similar in form and technique.⁵⁹ The group is variously identified as 'shapeless', 'rectangular', and 'flat'. These disparaging words again offer up comparisons, and indeed, Gardner's critical descriptions of Archaic Greek or Cypriot sculpture stand in opposition to 'majestic', 'elegant', or 'graceful' later, classical works.⁶⁰ These terms all appear in relation to Greek sculpture, along with the following: distinguished, clear, definite, delicate, ideal, perfect, harmony, absolute freedom, correct, powerful, beauty, pleasantness, vigorous, severe excellence, realistic, marvelous translation, wonderfully soft and flowing. Like Mitchell, Gardner also finds the foreignness of Cypriot sculpture distasteful. Unlike Greek sculpture, Cypriot sculpture failed to achieve 'independence' or 'perfection'. The Cypriot artist 'never got beyond a mere mechanical repetition and combination of

51 Mitchell 1883, 117–123.

52 Mitchell 1883, 121.

53 See Doell 1873, pl. I, 11; cf L.P. di Cesnola 1877, 131 (left); Holwerda 1885, pl. III, 12; Perrot and Chipiez 1885, 519.

54 See Mitchell 1883, 122 and 128.

55 Mitchell 1883, 123; Colvin in L.P. di Cesnola 1873; see also Birch in A.P. di Cesnola 1882, ix–xviii.

56 Mitchell 1883, 118.

57 Bernal 1987–2006; see also Lefkowitz and Maclean-Rogers 1996; van Binsbergen 2011.

58 Mitchell 1883, 297, 315, 338, and 347.

59 E. Gardner 1897b, 96.

60 E. Gardner 1897b, 96.



Figure 16.2: 'Portrait statue of a Cypriot worshipper' (Mitchell 1883, 121, fig. 63).

these various elements, without ever rising beyond them, so as to create a style of his own ... in Greece there had already been signs of artistic promise, which showed that there was no fear of such a lifeless adoption of foreign products'.⁶¹ Here we see how deeply engrained the sentiment of Greek exceptionalism truly was. Thinking back to Stephanoff's 'Assemblage', we can clearly see how for Mitchell, Gardner, and their contemporaries, the Greeks reigned supreme. Any artistic traditions that came before, or failed in the scholars' minds to achieve the same aesthetic impact, were positioned below 'masterworks' such as the Parthenon Sculptures.

Although no longer acknowledged as useful models, descriptions and trends like these continued to shape inter-

61 E. Gardner 1897b, 87–88.



Figure 16.3: 'Statue dedicated at Delos by Nicandra of Naxos to Artemis' (E. Gardner 1897b, 120, fig. 14 [1905 edition]).

pretations of Cypriot sculpture and a Cypriot 'style' in the late 19th and even 20th centuries. This substantial inertia and weight of early Cypriot scholarship is consistent with Donohue's conclusions in her analysis of Greek sculpture:

*The descriptions of some of the most prominent works in histories of classical art prove not to rest on empirical observation but instead to reflect specific historiographic formulations. What is said about images very often lives on in scholarship long after the intellectual context that gave meaning to the observations and interpretations has vanished.*⁶²

62 Donohue 2005, 19.

Late 19th-century authors treating ancient Cyprus were loyal to earlier, authoritative texts, recycling information well into the 20th century and perpetuating dated modes of interpretation. Indeed, in performing historiographic work, we sometimes note the incredible longevity of a flawed idea, what Mariana Giovino has termed a ‘historical accident’.⁶³ Such accidents in the field of Cypriot archaeology had already emerged in the mid-1500s, with the misattribution of the Amazon Sarcophagus, the first major work of ancient art unearthed on the island, to a variety of sites outside of Cyprus. Putting them to rest has been an acute problem in the field of Cypriot archaeology, in part because of the way that descriptive language and chronologies masquerade as neutral. The fact that much of the Cypriot corpus was recovered in early excavations, separated irrevocably from its context, makes analysis even more challenging. In these cases, we see just how much power early and authoritative sources can exercise over all subsequent research. In a previous work, I have discussed how little the criteria for classification have changed, drawing attention to the sequence of illustrations and pairing of certain figures, for example the frequent juxtaposition of particular statues in 19th-century publications recurs frequently in works such as Hermary and Mertens catalogue of the sculpture from the Cesnola collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁶⁴

Conclusion

That Cypriot sculpture failed to gain traction as a branch of ‘Greek’ art in the 19th century should come as no surprise. Discussions of Cypriot art were, at their root, discussions about what Greek art was not, rather than what it was, or what it had been. Those who performed defensive boundary-work shared the goal of delineating an aesthetic boundary between ‘Greek’ and ‘Oriental’ art. As British classicist Jane Ellen Harrison (1850–1928) plainly stated in her 1885 survey of Greek art, ‘[w]e can only see what was really original in Greek art when we have eliminated what was borrowed from others’.⁶⁵ Similarly, returning to Gardner, we see that he acknowledged multiple ‘foreign’ elements in Greek sculpture, but distanced these ‘influences’ from the ‘true’ Greek:

We need not then think it any derogation to Greek sculpture if we trace the foreign influences that surrounded it in its earliest years; in the use it made of those influences we shall see the promise of that free and perfect development that marks its prime. As the

*German philosopher F. A. Lange (1828–1875) has well said, ‘the true independence of Greek art lies in its perfection, not in its origin’.*⁶⁶

Though early Greeks may have been inspired by foreign models, including the Cypriot, their sculptural tradition—later to reach a state of ‘perfection’—was thought to be wholly their own. In discussing the Cypriot tradition, many authors, especially those discussed above, therefore reliably signposted the traits that separated this style from the Greek. The Cypriot tradition was never elevated as a result of its comparison to the Greek. Instead, the language used to discuss Cypriot works was so negative that comparing it to the Greek showed just how much the Greeks had to overcome to ‘perfect’ their own works.

Gieryn introduces another concept, ‘cultural cartography,’ which is similar to boundary-work and can help us understand what was at stake here: ‘Cultural cartography happens when there is something valued on the line: material resources, prestige, the truth of a cherished claim, power’.⁶⁷ We might ask, as Gieryn does, ‘The question to be asked of any cultural map is not “Is it accurate?” but “Is it useful?” If so, by whom, and for what?’.⁶⁸ Though Gieryn’s definition of this concept is less literal—his use of the term applies to a mapping out of authority and methods rather than physical maps—it works here as a tool to think through geography as well.

During the 19th century, as explorations of the preclassical and ‘Oriental’ worlds were propelling scholars to revise their long-held beliefs about Greek exceptionalism, all of these—and more—were on the line. Steeped in a long Philhellenic tradition, scholars sought to impose a sense of order or rank on the world’s cultures and their iterations through time so as to better position themselves as the natural heirs. Still, the goal of my contribution is not to attack 19th-century models, but rather to ask ourselves if they are still serving us. The answer is clearly no. Using the Cypriot style as a way to shore up the aesthetic border between East and West is no longer a useful exercise; we can throw out both the language and the map. As Ann Gunter has demonstrated, the traditional divide between ‘Greek’ and ‘Oriental’ fails to accurately describe either region or style in antiquity. ‘Despite their ubiquity and seeming timelessness, the categories of ‘Greek’ and ‘Oriental’ are modern constructs that impose an artificial homogeneity and polarity not substantiated by ancient sources.’⁶⁹ The rigid boundary these terms imply does not reflect the reality of the ancient Mediterranean, where borders and the movement of people, ideas, and objects were fluid. We should thus understand boundary-work as applied to Cyprus for what it was—a symptom of the forces that shaped the field and

63 Giovino 2007, 3.

64 Olien 2018, 329–331; see Hermary and Mertens 2014.

65 Harrison 1885, 1–2.

66 E. Gardner 1897b, 46.

67 Gieryn 1999, xii.

68 Gieryn 1999, 356.

69 Gunter 2009, 50.

bolstered scholars' identities in the 19th-century—and leave it behind in favour of other approaches.

How should we revise or update approaches to Cypriot limestone sculpture? Many scholars already have, recognising the complexity of the Cypriot tradition and demonstrating that traditional models fail to capture this complexity in a meaningful way.⁷⁰ The Cypriot votive sculptural tradition embodies how artists, patrons, and the elite ruling class negotiated the complex political and social realities of empire, rule, and cultural exchange in the ancient eastern Mediterranean and expanding Neo-Assyrian Empire broadly, and with north Syria and southern Anatolia more specifically. Gunter for example foregrounds the importance of reevaluating the idea that the Neo-Assyrian empire was inaccessible to or wholly cut off from the Greek world, while Lavan, Payne and Weisweiler have discussed how difference is at times asserted or contained in the context of empire.⁷¹ Rather than considering sculptures as tools for establishing a chronology or illustrating external domination, new approaches instead suggest that the works functioned as a sort of social glue, promoting cohesion within the community and linking past and present in a sacred space. Displays of votive sculpture in such spaces perhaps functioned like ancestor galleries, showcasing the cosmopolitan diversity and cooperation that existed in ancient Cyprus, especially in the politically prominent territories or kingdoms. Other investigations have rejected old classification systems, acknowledging the futility of assigning close dates when so few sanctuary sites preserve reliable and undisturbed stratigraphy.⁷²

Cypriot votives' costume or dress is now understood to reflect social stratification rather than ethnicity or political allegiances.⁷³ Derek Counts has outlined the ways in which Cyprus provided artists with a fertile Middle Ground in which to develop a sculptural tradition that carried new meaning with the local audience, exploring what it means for a given tradition or iconography to be 'hybrid' and for artists to work in a so-called middle ground or third space. He argues that though the particular divinities or iconographies present in Cypriot sacred spaces may well have originated elsewhere, these elements adopted a new significance and could have entirely new meanings for a local Cypriot audience.⁷⁴ Reinhard Senff has suggested new ways of interpreting the social significance of Cypriot religious sculptures, on which work Papantoniou builds in considering the social impact of

the arrangement of figures within the temenos.⁷⁵ His work has been particularly important in challenging the notion that different 'styles' originated in different centuries, and instead suggesting that they may all date to the 6th century BC.⁷⁶ Karin Nys and Matthias Recke likewise offered a variety of new perspectives in their discussion of the social importance of the Cypriot figures' dress, concluding that specific, legible costume was more important to patrons than individualised features on votives.⁷⁷

Bringing us full circle, it is worth noting that the idea that statues' features were not individualised, but that it was primarily their clothing that set them apart from one another has 19th-century roots. As English classical archaeologist Percy Gardner writes of Cypriot statuary, 'In none of these figures do we find any serious study of nature, in none do we find the attempt to represent either movement or emotion. There is not even any attempt at the portraiture of individuals. The rich robes and the abundant jewellery of the natives are represented rather than themselves'.⁷⁸ Though P. Gardner has his own 'problem of description', and though this idea was not picked up or developed by subsequent scholars until recently, we nevertheless find in his work, as in many places in the early scholarship, a fascinating observation that merits further reflection. P. Gardner was also one of the earliest scholars to suggest that there were two possible ways to explain the great variety of costume or styles in Cypro-Archaic sculpture, hazarding that the works either dated from a long chronological span (corresponding to the political domination model), or from a narrow one, with several foreign models employed simultaneously, 'made by artists who had the custom to copy styles used in various countries'.⁷⁹ This latter hypothesis allows for more agency, including an intentional selection of models on the part of the Cypriot artist and/or patron, and has similarly gained in popularity in recent years.

The discipline of archaeology, in Cyprus, as everywhere, has not always been what we might consider open-minded or inclusive. Neither has it been consistently respectful or celebratory of ancient culture. In reading the early scholarship, one suspects that western excavators and scholars did not view ancient Cypriot craftsmen or artists in a very positive light, just as they did not view the local 'labourers' they employed to carry out their projects and excavations in a positive light, or as their equals. Many examples of such attitudes—especially a lack of regard for local Cypriots or their contributions to excavation work—appear in Cesnola's writings, especially *Cyprus*, and in other travelogues, books, and excavation reports such as that of

70 See Sørensen 2014, 33.

71 Gunter 2016; Lavan *et al.* 2016.

72 Works that propose a revised chronology for Cypriot sculpture include Gaber-Saletan 1986 and Connelly 1988. For a more recent discussion, see Karageorghis and Kiely *et al.* 2019, which also includes important new reflections on the reception of Cypriot terracotta and limestone sculpture.

73 Counts 2008; 2009. See discussion of 'hybridity' in Greek culture, especially as pertains to western Greece, in Antonaccio 2003.

74 Counts 2009.

75 Senff 1993; 2005; 2014; see Papantoniou 2016b.

76 Senff 2014; see also C. Vermeule 1974; Henke 2011; Fourrier 2007.

77 Nys and Recke 2004, especially 213–214.

78 P. Gardner 1892, 183.

79 P. Gardner 1892, 184.

Robert Hamilton Lang.⁸⁰ I suspect that there was a way in which Orientalist and imperialist logic merged in the minds of these early authors, mapping ancient onto contemporary and contemporary back onto ancient. As I considered the impact of boundary-work and the problem of description on the field of Cypriot archaeology, I began to think through a potential feedback loop operating alongside both, and how I might consider or discuss it in a productive way in a future publication. For now, I advance the hypothesis that negative evaluations of ancient sculptures, the people who created them, and the people who most often dug them up may have served to reinforce and amplify disdain for the others. Hence, both boundary work and the problem of description were not just problematic for the Cypriot tradition; this type of scholarship may also have reinforced cultural or racial hierarchies and negative views of local populations in the 19th century.

As Donohue and Fullerton remind us, ‘that the study of ancient art has reflected destructive aspects of its social intellectual matrices such as nationalism, imperialism, and racism is beyond doubt.’⁸¹ Still, despite my critique of 19th-century models, I have deep respect for our predecessors’ work. Nineteenth-century scholars were not uniquely flawed, nor was their work uniquely problematic. The passage of time has made their stakes, biases, and blind spots more apparent to us than our own. Donohue notes in her own conclusion:

*In acknowledging the extent and nature of our debt to the past ... we do not denigrate ... earlier scholars. The great benefit of approaching ancient art historiographically is that it frees us from the need to take sides in controversies that have lost whatever point they once had; it enables us to move from the conventions of praise and blame and adversarial polemic that have contributed to the marginalization of the study of classical antiquity.*⁸²

The subjects we study will always bear the trace of our intervention. Our scholarship will continue to betray our own preoccupations, norms, and limited imaginations. New problems will arise in the place of the old. Our shared goal should not be to ‘eliminate’ bias, to put forward universal ‘truths’ about ancient realities, or even to perfect chronologies, but rather to better understand—and to encourage interest in and respect for—our subjects. Confronting the legacy of imperialist logic in early Cypriot scholarship and exploring how it led to aggressive boundary-work and a unique, Cypriot problem of description is a crucial step that will enable us to move forward in this manner.

Further, by opening the scope of our inquiry—as this volume seeks to do—to subjects early scholars found uninteresting or were unable to pursue, we develop new lines of inquiry that can be picked up and improved by future generations. More than ever, we appreciate that Cypriot archaeology demands a transdisciplinary perspective and insights from scholars whose work bridges the traditional modes of thinking about the culture and geography of the ancient Mediterranean. Further, the field benefits from welcoming many minds, each with its own distinct visual image bank of comparanda and linguistic, diagnostic, and methodological resources. We cushion ourselves against blatant prejudice and increase the longevity of our work by welcoming a range of specialists, each of whom introduces a unique perspective rooted both in personal and professional characteristics. I am thus particularly pleased to contribute to this present volume, which so explicitly seeks to incorporate new perspectives and shed light on people, events, and topics that have been historically underrepresented or understudied.

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80 L.P. di Cesnola; Lang 1878; Lang and Poole 1878.

81 Donohue and Fullerton 2003, 4.

82 Donohue 2005, 223.

References

List of archives

Cyprus, Nicosia

Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute
Cyprus Museum
Cyprus State Archives
Centre of Visual Arts and Research
Department of Antiquities
The Press and Information Office
Evkaf

France

Aix-en-Provence: Bibliothèque Méjanes; Fonds Reinach
Paris: Collège de France
Strasbourg: Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire

Germany

Berlin: Zentralarchiv, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz
Berlin: Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz

Israel/Palestine

Jerusalem: Israel State Archives
Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authorities
Palestinian Museum Digital Archive

Italy

Florence: Soprintendenza Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio per la città metropolitana di Firenze e le province di Pistoia e Prato.
Florence: Archivio storico, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze.
Rome: Società Geografica Italiana

UK

Cambridge: Cambridge University Library
Cambridge: Gonville and Caius College
Leeds: Leeds Local and Family History Library
London: British Museum
London: King's College, London. Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives
London: London Metropolitan Archives
London: National Archives
London: Palestine Exploration Fund
London: Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

London: Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings
 London: Victoria and Albert Museum
 Oxford: Ashmolean Museum
 Oxford: Bodleian Library
 Oxford: Magdalen College Archives
 Oxford: St Anthony's College. Middle East Centre
 Swansea: West Glamorgan Archives

USA

Philadelphia: Penn Museum Archives
 Private archives: C.F. Jackson archive; J.L. Bruce archive;
 D.M. Creveling archive

List of abbreviations

Journals

ABSA *Annual of the British School at Athens*
 AJA *American Journal of Archaeology*
 AR *Archaeological Reports*
 ARDAC *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*
 BCH *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
 BHA *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology*
 CCEC *Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes*
 JHC *Journal of the History of Collections*
 JHS *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
 JMA *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*
 RDAC *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*
 WA *World Archaeology*

Series

BAR IS British Archaeological Reports, International Series
 SIMA Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
 SIMA PB Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology Pocket-book

Publishers

CUP Cambridge University Press
 MUP Manchester University Press
 OUP Oxford University Press

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