

**ANCIENT CYPRUS IN LEEDS:
OBJECTS, NETWORKS AND MUSEUMS FROM 1870 TO 1947**

Anna Holly Reeve

**Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

The University of Leeds

**School of Languages, Cultures and Societies
School of Fine Art, History of Art, and Cultural Studies**

July 2021

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

The right of Anna Holly Reeve to be identified as Author of this work has been asserted by her in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis was made possible by the support and encouragement of many people. I have been very fortunate in my supervisors, Dr Roger Brock and Dr Mark Westgarth, who have guided my progress with patience, good humour, and intellectual generosity. I owe a debt of gratitude to Classics at Leeds for welcoming me to the discipline, and helping me to learn, research and teach. I am very grateful to Dr Katherine Baxter, Curator of Archaeology at Leeds Museums and Galleries, for introducing me to the ancient Cypriot collection, and for all her help. Thanks too to the staff of Leeds Museums and Galleries for sharing their expertise, especially Emma Bowron, Lucy Moore, and Kate Fellows who mentored me through my journey to Associateship of the Museums Association.

I would like to pay tribute to the team at the White Rose College of the Arts and Humanities, especially Caryn Douglas and Clare Meadley, whose support has enabled me to undertake training and share my research in the UK and overseas. I have been advised and encouraged by many academics who have been generous with their time and knowledge, in particular Dr Thomas Kiely, A. G. Leventis Curator of Ancient Cyprus at the British Museum, whose early encouragement to explore the history of the Leeds collection gave rise to this thesis, and Professor Susan Sherratt at the University of Sheffield, who kindly commented on a draft of Chapter 1. I am grateful to the organisers and participants of the conferences and workshops I have attended over the last few years, for sharing their views and providing feedback on my work. I owe many debts to the staff of libraries and archives for facilitating access to their collections, and for going the extra mile to help mitigate the challenges of Covid-19 lockdowns; in particular, Special Collections at the Leeds University Library, the Hellenic and Roman Library at the Institute of Classical Studies, and the Cyprus State Archives in Nicosia.

I would like to thank Catherine and Emma, who have walked every step with me; I am so glad our itineraries coincided. Simon has provided endless practical and emotional support with the challenges of work and family life, and our daughters, Holly and Katy, have embraced museum visits, tolerated my absences of person and of mind, and provided the best of all reasons to achieve a work-life balance. This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Noel and Wendy Robinson, who have always supported me in every undertaking.

This work was supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, grant number AH/L503848/1.

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the formation of the ancient Cypriot collection now belonging to Leeds Museums and Galleries over the period 1870 to 1947, focusing on the themes of Cypriot archaeology, collecting, and museums. Putting the objects themselves at the centre of this investigation, it classifies them according to modern archaeological systems, establishing a benchmark against which to assess earlier interpretations of them. It then traces their itineraries from Cyprus to the museum, exploring the people, places and ideas they brought into contact and their movements along intellectual and social networks. Examining the impact of objects on people, and people on objects, it analyses the different ways in which they were perceived, understood, valued, and used. Within the museum, it charts their changing classification, display and interpretation, and how they were used to create knowledge as part of the museum's overarching objective of understanding the world through objects. It also examines the audiences of this project of knowledge creation, and the evidence for their responses.

The thesis demonstrates that the formation of the ancient Cypriot collection in Leeds was highly contingent on changing social, intellectual and political contexts at local, national and international levels, and on the personalities, priorities and interests of collectors, donors, curators and their communities. Objects were set in motion, and brought into the museum by people with diverse objectives and motivations, in the context of British imperial and later colonial involvement in Cyprus. These objects' participation in the changing physical and intellectual structures of the museum provides a lens to examine the development of its theoretical approaches and its practices. Through this analysis, the thesis challenges broad-brush narratives of the history of Cypriot archaeology and collecting, and offers a methodology, firmly rooted in material culture and primary sources, for studying under-explored historic museum collections.

CONTENTS

<u>List of figures</u>	p. 9
<u>List of abbreviations</u>	p. 12
<u>Introduction: methodology and themes</u>	
Overview and structure	p. 13
Conventions	p. 15
Methodological approaches	p. 15
Object biography and object itinerary	p. 15
Provenance and provenience	p. 20
Object agency	p. 23
Microhistory	p. 24
Themes	p. 26
Cypriot archaeology	p. 26
Collectors and collecting	p. 28
Museums	p. 30
Conclusion	p. 33
<u>CHAPTER 1 Assessment of the collection</u>	
Introduction	p. 35
Ancient itineraries	p. 37
Objects with some archaeological provenience, and comparators	p. 38
Objects from Enkomi	p. 38
Objects from <i>Klavdia-Tremithos</i>	p. 42
Objects without provenience	p. 45
Middle and Late Bronze Age (c. 2000 – 1050 BC)	p. 45
Cypro-Geometric period (c. 1050 – 750 BC) and later	p. 48
Figurines	p. 53
Late Bronze Age (c. 1650 – 1050 BC)	p. 54
Cypro-Geometric – Cypro-Achaic periods (c. 1050 – 475 BC)	p. 54
Cypro-Classical period (c. 475 – 300 BC) and later	p. 57
Conclusion	p. 58

CHAPTER 2 The beginnings of the collection, 1870-1890

Introduction	p. 59
Excavation in Cyprus: the role of Thomas Backhouse Sandwith	p. 60
Consular collecting in Cyprus	p. 61
Sandwith's intellectual and social networks	p. 64
The reception of ancient Cyprus in Yorkshire	p. 73
The social context in Leeds: art for the working classes	p. 73
The intellectual context: interpreting antiquities	p. 75
Cyprus in the popular imagination from 1878	p. 77
John Holmes' intellectual and social networks	p. 80
Exhibiting and consuming ancient Cyprus	p. 89
The Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, 1875	p. 93
Conversaciones as sites of knowledge creation	p. 101
Holmes' lectures and the creation of knowledge	p. 105
Conclusion	p. 109

CHAPTER 3 Ancient Cyprus in Leeds museums, 1870-1890

Introduction	p. 110
The museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society	p. 112
Collecting and donations	p. 113
Museum audiences	p. 125
Display and interpretation	p. 128
Audience responses	p. 139
The Leeds Free Public Museum	p. 144
Ancient Cypriot objects in the Leeds Free Public Museum	p. 149
Display, interpretation, and audiences	p. 151
An art gallery for Leeds	p. 154
Conclusion	p. 159

CHAPTER 4 The donation from the British Museum and the development of the collection, 1890-1910

Introduction	p. 160
The British Museum's excavations at Enkomi and Klavdia-Tremithos	p. 161
Intellectual approaches to recording and preserving finds	p. 164

Interpretation of chronology	p. 167
Social and intellectual networks	p. 169
The development of the museum in Leeds	p. 172
Defining the ancient Cypriot objects	p. 175
Display	p. 180
Interpretation and audience responses	p. 184
Conclusion	p. 191

CHAPTER 5 Women donors of Cypriot antiquities, 1913-1921

Introduction	p. 193
Women donors to the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society	p. 194
Eliza Bodington's donation, 1913	p. 200
Frances Stott's donation, 1920	p. 205
Reception in the museum	p. 211
Display and interpretation	p. 213
Audience responses	p. 215
Conclusion	p. 217

CHAPTER 6 The final phase of acquisition, 1921-1947

Introduction	p. 218
From private to public museum	p. 219
Transfer of John Holmes' collection	p. 221
Acquisition from the British Empire Exhibition	p. 222
Display at Wembley	p. 224
Sale to Leeds	p. 228
Identifying the objects	p. 230
Display, interpretation and audience responses	p. 231
Developments of the 1930s and 1940s	p. 234
Acquisition of objects from the Hollings Collection, 1946-1947	p. 239
Coda: the later 20 th century history of the collection	p. 242
Conclusion	p. 246

Conclusion

Research aims and approach	p. 248
Research findings	p. 248
Implications and applications	p. 251
Areas for further research	p. 253

Bibliography

p. 256

Annex A Comparative chronology of the ancient Aegean, Cyprus and the Levant

p. 281

Annex B Map of Cyprus showing ancient locations mentioned in the text

p. 282

Annex C 1908 map of Leeds city centre (detail)

p. 283

Annex D Timeline of acquisition events and key dates, 1819-1947

p. 284

Annex E Objects in the Leeds Museums and Galleries collection, by accession number

p. 287

Table 1: Objects other than figurines

p. 287

Table 2: Figurines

p. 297

Annex F Identifying objects from Enkomi and Klavdia-Tremithos

p. 300

Annex G Henry Crowther's lantern slides

p. 304

List of figures

- [Fig. 0.1](#)** **Cypro-Archaic jar (LEEDM.D.1964.0380) in changing contexts from the late 19th to the early 21st centuries.** © Leeds Museums and Galleries. Composite image by the present author. p. 23
- [Fig. 1.1](#)** **Sherd (LEEDM.D.1964.0341) photographed under normal lighting conditions and processed at RetroReveal.org by the present author.** © Leeds Museums and Galleries. p. 45
- [Fig. 2.1](#)** **Bichrome footed kylix, Cypro-Geometric period (LEEDM.D.1988.0005)** Likely to have been exported by T.B. Sandwith from Cyprus and left with his brother Humphry. Perhaps displayed in Leeds. Deposited at the Leeds Art Gallery, possibly as part of the Holmes Collection, and transferred to Leeds Museum in 1988. © Leeds Museums and Galleries. p. 89
- [Fig. 2.2](#)** **Bichrome spouted jug, Cypro-Geometric period (LEEDM.D.1964.0346)** Label on base from the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, 1875. Exported by T.B. Sandwith from Cyprus, and exhibited by John Holmes. Possibly the object described in the Exhibition catalogue as a 'Child's Feeding-bottle; 3½ inches high, with horizontal rings'. Purchased from the Exhibition by the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. © Leeds Museums and Galleries. p. 96
- [Fig. 2.3](#)** **Bichrome oenochoe, Cypro-Geometric period (LEEDM.D.1964.0371)** Exported by T.B. Sandwith from Cyprus, exhibited by John Holmes at the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, and bought by William Verity. Sold by Verity to his neighbour Joseph Hall, and donated by Hall's daughter, Ethel Stott, to Leeds Museum in 1957. © Leeds Museums and Galleries. p. 98
- [Fig. 2.4a](#)** **Triple juglet of Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware, Middle-Late Cypriot period (LEEDM.D.1964.0305)** Exported by T.B. Sandwith from Cyprus, bought by John Holmes and sold to the Leeds Free Public Museum. © Leeds Museums and Galleries. p. 101
- [Fig. 2.4b](#)** **Plate IX,7 from Sandwith's *Archaeologia* paper (Sandwith, 1877)**
- [Fig. 2.5](#)** **Bronze axe, Middle Cypriot period (LEEDM.D.1964.0383)** Purchased by John Holmes at Dali (ancient Idalion) in Cyprus in May 1873, and displayed at the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures in 1875. Probably exhibited by Holmes at the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society's conversazione in 1881 and sold to the Leeds Free Public Museum in 1882. Transferred to Leeds Museum after 1921. © Leeds Museums and Galleries. p. 105
- [Fig. 3.1](#)** **Bichrome amphora, Cypro-Archaic period (LEEDM.D.1964.0350)** Exported by T.B. Sandwith from Cyprus. Purchased on behalf of William Aldam and donated to the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. © Leeds Museums and Galleries. p. 120

- Fig. 3.2** **White Painted bowl, Cypro-Geometric period (LEEDM.D.1964.0352)** p. 121
Donated by Joshua Ingham Ikin to the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, probably purchased from T.B. Sandwith's collection. © Leeds Museums and Galleries.
- Fig. 3.3a** **White Painted jug, Middle Cypriot period (LEEDM.D.1964.0314)** p. 124
Unprovenanced; possibly from T.B. Sandwith's collection, exhibited by John Holmes at the 1875 Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, and purchased by the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. © Leeds Museums and Galleries.
- Fig. 3.3b** **No. 126, 'Terra-cotta Pitcher of a frequent form' (Schliemann, 1875, p. 166).**
- Fig. 3.4** **Guide to the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, contrasting the approaches to displaying antiquities and the Zoological collections (1854, p. 3, 15).** p. 131
- Fig. 3.5** **Red Slip ware juglet, Cypro-Archaic period (LEEDM.D.1964.0327)** p. 136
labelled 'CYPRUS'. © Leeds Museums and Galleries.
- Fig. 3.6a** **Plan of the Philosophical Hall, Leeds (Miall, 1890, p. 2).** p. 138
- Fig. 3.6b** **Schematic representation of space in the museum, following Tzortzi, 2016.**
- Fig. 3.7** **Visitors to the Museum 1869-70 to 1921-22 (Kitson Clark, 1924, opposite p. 236).** p. 143
- Fig. 3.8** **Central Hall of the Leeds Art Gallery. 'Our New Gallery', Leeds Mercury, 3 October 1888, p. 8.** © The British Library Board. p. 155
- Fig. 3.9** **Bichrome oenochoe, Cypro-Geometric period (LEEDM.D.1964.0367)** p. 156
From the Holmes Collection, sold to the Leeds Free Public Museum in 1882, and perhaps displayed in the new Art Gallery in 1888. Transferred to Leeds Museum after 1921. © Leeds Museums and Galleries.
- Fig. 4.1** **Women workers (names unknown) at the British Museum excavations at Amathus, 1893 or 1894.** Photo: John L. Myres. Used with the permission of the School of Archaeology, University of Oxford. p. 164
- Fig. 4.2** **Comparison of disc-shaped spindle whorls from Enkomi in the British Museum's collections, and in Leeds.** Photos: © The Trustees of the British Museum and © Leeds Museums and Galleries. Composite image by the present author. p. 171
- Fig. 4.3a** **'Hera idol' / 'Fragment of vessel in form of ox' (left, Slide C, Annex E).** p. 178
© Leeds Museums and Galleries.
- Fig. 4.3b** **'Hera Idols in the shape of Cows', Plate XXIV (detail), Schliemann, 1886.**
- Fig. 4.4** **Plate IX showing Black Polished, Red Polished and Base Ring ceramics (Sandwith, 1877).** p. 179

- [Fig. 4.5a](#) **'Plan of the Philosophical Hall, Leeds', with the display space on the 'Staircase Landing' marked in red, and the 'Greek and Roman Room' marked in blue (Crowther, 1906, p. 2).** p. 181
- [Fig. 4.5b](#) **Schematic representation of space in the museum in 1906, following Tzortzi, 2016.**
- [Fig. 4.6](#) **Display case including Cypriot antiquities on the Staircase Landing of the Philosophical Hall. © Leeds Museums and Galleries.** p. 183
- [Fig. 4.7](#) **Lantern slides of objects from the ancient Cypriot collection:** p. 190
 a) **Top left: Spindle whorls (Slide E)**
 b) **Top right: Juglets (Slide G)**
 c) **Bottom left: Jar and juglet (Slide I)**
 d) **Bottom right: Lamps (Slide K)**
 © Leeds Museums and Galleries. Composite image by the present author.
- [Fig. 5.1](#) **Number of donations by women and men to the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1870-1921.** p. 196
- [Fig. 5.2](#) **Donations by women to the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1870-1921, by category.** p. 196
- [Fig. 5.3](#) **Bronze mirror (LEEDM.D.1964.0388).** Said to have been acquired by Nathan Bodington in Cyprus, and donated by Eliza Bodington after his death. © Leeds Museums and Galleries. p. 204
- [Fig. 5.4](#) **Corinthian aryballos, Archaic period (LEEDM.D.1967.1272).** Said to be from Cyprus, belonging to Frances Stott, and donated by Mrs M. Smith after her death. © Leeds Museums and Galleries. p. 206
- [Fig. 5.5a](#) **View into the North Geological Room from the Staircase Landing, c. 1895-1902** p. 214
- [Fig. 5.5b](#) **View into the North Geological Room from the Staircase Landing, c. 1915**
 © Leeds Museums and Galleries.
- [Fig. 6.1](#) **The Palestine and Cyprus pavilion at the British Empire Exhibition, 1924.** Postcard published by Raphael Tuck & Sons, from the present author's collection. p. 224
- [Fig. 6.2](#) **The Cyprus pavilion at the British Empire Exhibition, 1925.** Photo by Campbell Gray, from the present author's collection. p. 225
- [Fig. 6.3](#) **Composite vessel of Red Polished ware, Early-Middle Cypriot period (LEEDM.D.1964.0298).** Possibly one of the 'polished and decorated' pieces of 'red ware' purchased in 1926 from the British Empire Exhibition. © Leeds Museums and Galleries. p. 230
- [Fig. 6.4](#) **Plan of Leeds City Museum (Crowther, 1925).** p. 232

- Fig. 6.5** Bomb damage to the ancient Cypriot collections at the Philosophical Hall, 1941. © Leeds Museums and Galleries. p. 237
- Fig. 6.6a** Base Ring juglet, Late Cypriot period (LEEDM.D.1964.0322). p. 238
Extensively damaged and restored: the base (important for typological identification) and most of the rim have been replaced with plaster, painted to blend with the original fabric.
- Fig. 6.6b** Bichrome shallow dish, Cypro-Archaic period (LEEDM.D.1964.0343).
Broken and readhered. Painted decoration augmented with bright modern paint, probably overpainting the original decorative scheme.
© Leeds Museum and Galleries.
- Fig. 6.7a** White Painted juglet, Cypro-Geometric period (LEEDM.D.1988.0004). p. 240
Donated by Thomas Hollings, said to be from the Lawrence-Cesnola collection.
- Fig. 6.7b** Base of LEEDM.D.1988.0004 showing successive markings and labels.
© Leeds Museums and Galleries.
- Fig. 6.8** 1960s display of the ancient Cypriot collection. © Leeds Museums and Galleries. p. 244
- Fig. 6.9** Display in the Ancient Worlds Gallery featuring ancient Cypriot ceramics, Leeds City Museum, 2015. Photo by the present author. p. 246

All images of objects from the Leeds Museums and Galleries collection, the majority of which were taken professionally by Norman Taylor, are © Leeds Museums and Galleries.

List of abbreviations

BAAS = British Association for the Advancement of Science

CCA = Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities

LMG = Leeds Museums and Galleries

LP&LS = Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society

RDAC = Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus

SCE = Swedish Cyprus Expedition

TMS = The Museum System

V&A = Victoria and Albert Museum

INTRODUCTION: METHODOLOGY AND THEMES

Overview and structure

As a result of excavation and collecting practices in the 19th and early 20th centuries, Cypriot antiquities are dispersed across the world. There is a need for a thorough analysis of the formation of smaller, local collections, hitherto largely unexamined, to trace the broader social and intellectual networks within which they were produced, and contribute to a fuller understanding of the development of Cypriot archaeology, collecting and museum display and interpretation.¹ This thesis examines the ancient Cypriot collection held today by Leeds Museums and Galleries (LMG), around 150 objects dating from the Cypriot Bronze Age to the Roman period.² It traces the routes followed by the objects to Leeds between 1870 and 1947 (defined as the main period of acquisition) and the excavators, collectors, dealers, donors, curators and audiences who engaged with them along the way. Through this, it seeks to understand the changing meanings and values of the objects along their itineraries, and the ways in which these were created by the people and institutions with which they came into contact. By examining three themes - Cypriot archaeology, collecting, and museums - it aims to contribute to the history of the excavation and collection of the material culture of ancient Cyprus, and to the interpretation of historic museum collections, especially those lacking contextual data, for museum audiences.

This thesis proposes that we can better understand, interpret and communicate museum collections by tracing the itineraries of objects, and the changing ways in which they have been perceived, valued and understood.³ Work has already been done to catalogue major ancient Cypriot collections across the world, and the histories of the most significant collections in the UK are well studied and understood.⁴ Smaller, regional and local collections have not consistently received the same level of attention, and a fuller understanding of the history of the discipline requires that we investigate how and why these collections came together, and how this intersects with the histories of larger institutions and collections.

¹ As called for by Kiely and Ulbrich, 2012.

² A comparative archaeological chronology of the ancient Aegean, Cyprus and the Levant is at Annex A.

³ For the concept of object itineraries, discussed below, see in particular Joyce and Gillespie, 2015b, and Hahn and Weiss, 2013.

⁴ An overview of worldwide ancient Cypriot collections is given by Karageorghis, 2004. For major collections, see, for example, Kiely, 2011a, Karageorghis et al., 1999, and Nikolaou, 2013.

While the focus of this study is specifically ancient Cypriot material culture, it also charts the broader history of museums in Leeds in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and their growth from a well-established exhibitionary culture in the city. It offers an approach which could be applied to any historic archaeological museum collection to inform understanding of its organisational setting, and increase its contribution to the state of knowledge in its subject area.

The thesis begins with a discussion of the scope of the study and the methodologies employed, together with an overview of the main theoretical approaches which have been used (this chapter). Chapter 1 then identifies and classifies the objects surviving today in the Leeds City Museum's ancient Cypriot collection according to current archaeological systems of knowledge, establishing a benchmark against which earlier interpretations can be assessed, and outlining evidence, such as marks made on objects by excavators, collectors or curators, which is used in subsequent chapters to explore the collection's provenance. The analysis in Chapter 2 to Chapter 6 is then structured chronologically, to facilitate the comparison of key periods in the collection's history. It takes as its starting-point the ancient Cypriot collections of Thomas Backhouse Sandwith (1831-1900) and John Holmes (1815-1894) and their display and sale in Leeds and the surrounding area (Chapter 2). It investigates how objects from these two collections passed to and were received in the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, and in the short-lived Leeds Free Public Museum (Chapter 3). It then addresses objects excavated in Cyprus by the British Museum and donated to Leeds in 1902, and their reception and use in the museum, and the evidence for audience responses, up to 1910 (Chapter 4). The discussion of the period 1913-1921 (Chapter 5) focuses on the motivations and approaches of two women donors to the museum, and compares the museum's approach to display and interpretation, and the responses of audiences, with the preceding period. The examination of the formation of the collection is brought to a close with an exploration of a transfer from the Leeds Free Public Museum around 1921, a purchase from the British Empire Exhibition in 1926, and a bequest by Thomas Hollings (1860-1946) in 1947 (Chapter 6). The thesis concludes by evaluating this methodological approach, and scoping areas for future work. Seven Annexes provide supplementary information. Annex A gives an overview of the relative chronologies of the ancient Aegean, Cyprus and the Levant. Annex B provides a map of Cyprus showing ancient sites mentioned in the text, and Annex C is a 1908 map of Leeds city centre highlighting key locations. Annex D is a timeline of key events from 1819 (the founding date of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society) to 1947. Annex E gives images and brief descriptions of

the ancient Cypriot objects in the LMG collection. Annex F compares primary sources in order to identify the objects in the collection from the Cypriot sites of Enkomi and Klavdia-*Tremithos*, and Annex G presents early 20th century lantern slides of Cypriot antiquities in the museum's collection.

Conventions

Abbreviations are given on page 12 above. Citations are in Leeds Harvard style, except for newspaper articles, which are given in full, with newspaper titles listed in the bibliography. As most historic newspaper articles are anonymous, this convention has been adopted for the reader's convenience. Archival sources are similarly cited in full.

Methodological approaches

Object biography and object itinerary

The approach taken in this thesis is informed by concepts arising from the 'material cultural turn' in archaeology and anthropology through the 1980s and 1990s.⁵ New approaches to material culture have been developed across disciplines including archaeology, literary theory, art history, and museum studies, which share an interest in the relationships between people and things. These are conceived as being interconnected or 'entangled', in Hodder's term, their trajectories intersecting in complex ways which are mutually shaped and constrained.⁶ A fundamental tenet of this thesis is that our understanding and interpretation of collections of objects is dependent on situating them in their changing historical and social contexts.

In particular, this thesis draws on the concept of 'object itinerary', which has developed out of the approach of 'object biography'.⁷ The latter term has been applied to a range of approaches across the fields of archaeology, art history and sociology, which have in common that they put the object at the centre of their enquiry, and adopt the metaphor of a biography to trace its interactions and movements, exploring how it acquires meaning from its social and cultural context. To some extent this approach was foreshadowed by the 'life

⁵ An overview is given by Hicks, 2012; see also Olsen, 2010, p. 21.

⁶ Hodder, 2012.

⁷ Bauer, 2019, p. 336. 'Object biography' remains a current approach; see, for example, Costello et al., 2021.

history' approach developed by the archaeologist Michael Schiffer, which breaks down the life cycle of an object into activities concerning its manufacture, 'exchange, use, storage, maintenance, reuse, and discard'.⁸ The use of a biographical approach to examine the relations between people and things was explored by Appadurai in his seminal essay 'Commodities and the politics of value', which examined from an anthropological viewpoint the creation of economic value and how it changes according to social context.⁹ Appadurai argued that

we have to follow the things themselves, for their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories. It is only through the analysis of these trajectories that we can interpret the human transactions and calculations that enliven things.¹⁰

Kopytoff's essay in the same volume formulated the concept of the 'cultural biography of things' from an ethnological perspective. This influentially emphasised the extent to which perceptions of value and other qualities are culturally specific and contingent: 'As with persons, the drama [in object biographies] lies in the uncertainties of valuation and of identity.'¹¹ This connection between an object's movement through space and time, and the different valuations placed upon it, is key to the approach taken in this thesis. Other methodological approaches, such as social network analysis, have been shown to be valuable in charting the history of archaeology, in particular by Thornton.¹² While this would be a valid alternative approach to exploring the history of the LMG collection, the methodology adopted here maintains a close focus on the objects themselves and their 'trajectories'.

Building on the insights of Appadurai and Kopytoff, Gosden and Marshall define the 'biographical approach' as an attempt

to understand the way objects become invested with meaning through the social interactions they are caught up in... [meanings which] change and are renegotiated through the life of an object. ...Meaning emerges from social action and the purpose of an artefact biography is to illuminate that process.¹³

⁸ Schiffer and Miller, 1999, p. 22.

⁹ Appadurai, 1986.

¹⁰ Appadurai, 1986, p. 5.

¹¹ Kopytoff, 1986, p. 90.

¹² Thornton, 2015.

¹³ Gosden and Marshall, 1999, p. 170.

As Pearce argues, the historical context of this social action is paramount:

it is the understanding of the object's historical position... which gives meaning to the object, which gives it cultural content. It is from this cultural meaning that all scientific importance, all designated value and all pleasure flows.¹⁴

There are additional challenges in applying an object biography approach to ancient objects. Joy draws attention to the difficulties caused by gaps in their recoverable life histories, and the impossibility of interrogating the archaeological record in a way which would provide comprehensive data on an individual artefact's use, arguing that 'The best possible outcome when constructing a biography for a prehistoric artefact is that there is evidence for production and good contextual evidence for death'.¹⁵ As a result, he advocates 'non-linear' biography which is 'comprised of the sum of the social relationships' in which an object participates.¹⁶ Similarly, Hill considers that 'a great deal of documentation' is required to construct an object biography, raising the risk that 'as with biographies of people, only the "stars" will be considered'; her suggested approach is to use the limited available information to produce collective biographies of groups of objects.¹⁷

Partly due to these challenges, the use of biography as a metaphor has been critiqued as inappropriate for objects, which differ from people in many ways, in particular by Joyce.¹⁸ While an object's 'birth' can be identified with its manufacture, this becomes problematic when considering, for example, the modification of a fired pot. Indeed, archaeologists such as Schiffer, in examining the chaîne opératoire of pottery production, define its life history as beginning still earlier, with 'the procurement and shaping of its raw materials'.¹⁹ The analogy becomes further strained by the concept of death.²⁰ Archaeological objects can be out of circulation for long periods in human terms when they are deposited in a tomb; but as Keswani's work on Bronze Age interments shows, even in antiquity they may have participated in repeated funerary rituals, making it difficult to define the moment at which they were laid to rest.²¹ Their post-excavation movements, groupings and disbandings are then to be understood through an uneasy metaphor as resurrections or afterlives, which

¹⁴ Pearce, 1993, p. 132.

¹⁵ Joy, 2009, p. 543.

¹⁶ Joy, 2009, p. 545. See also Joy, 2010, pp. 9-10.

¹⁷ Hill, 2016, p. 77.

¹⁸ Joyce, 2015.

¹⁹ Schiffer and Miller, 1999, p. 79.

²⁰ The limitations of the analogy are discussed by Hahn and Weiss, 2013, p. 4.

²¹ Keswani, 2004, p. 51.

implicitly devalues this period of their existence. The unilinear human lifespan is also inadequate for describing the multiple trajectories of objects that are divided, for example into sherds, each of which exists independently and has its own itinerary through time and space, and its own changing value and significance. The death of an object, like its birth, can be a difficult moment to pinpoint. Objects which have been destroyed may still have a continued existence in images or in written records. As Joyce comments, 'by viewing things through an explicitly anthropomorphic construct, object biographies can impede our understanding of how objects work in the manner of things, instead personifying them in the manner of humans.'²²

Recently, the concept of 'object itinerary' has been proposed as an improvement on object biography. Hahn and Weiss state that

the notion of an itinerary highlights the nonlinear character of an object's mobility and the subsequent changes in its contexts and roles. ...[it] suggests moments of inertness as well as moments of rapid transformation.²³

In Joyce and Gillespie's conception, such an itinerary 'traces the strings of places where objects come to rest or are active, the routes through which things circulate, and the means by which they are moved'.²⁴ It therefore emphasises the object's movements through both space and time, encompassing periods of stasis as well as movement, and resisting the privileging of a past 'life' (or 'use life') over a present 'afterlife'. It draws attention to places where 'multiple itineraries... converge', encompassing archaeological sites, public displays, private collections, and museums, and emphasising that objects' agential possibilities are directly related to the places through which they pass.²⁵ This concept also helps overcome the difficulties posed by gaps in the life history of prehistoric objects. As Joyce states, 'Itineraries have a collective aspect... segments of similar routes may be followed by multiple things', allowing analysis to move between the general and the specific in exploring sections of an individual object's itinerary which are not directly evidenced.²⁶ Objects now divided between separate collections may have parts of their itineraries in common, and an understanding of the links between them is essential to gain a fuller insight into their

²² Joyce, 2015, p. 25.

²³ Hahn and Weiss, 2013, p. 8.

²⁴ Joyce and Gillespie, 2015a, p. 3. In her examination of Cypriot antiquities, Nikolaou similarly uses the term 'object diaspora' in 'tracing their movement across space and the relationships they form' (Nikolaou, 2013, p. 44).

²⁵ Joyce and Gillespie, 2015a, p. 13; Joyce, 2015, p. 30.

²⁶ Joyce, 2015, p. 29.

histories. To this end, recent scholarly work led by King's College London and the University of Umeå, supported by the Getty Foundation, has investigated how digital technology can be employed to explore 'the "spatial narrative" of objects' stories', focusing on provenance, geographies and visualization and the possibilities afforded by linked open data.²⁷

The concept of an object itinerary avoids artificial division between an object's past, present, and future, and prompts a recognition that the totality of its entanglements should be considered in its current interpretation.²⁸ Encompassed in this approach is 'the potential to resist the imposition of a boundary between a thing and representations of it, allowing us to ask when a reproduction or translation of a thing remains actively connected to it.'²⁹ This helps to accommodate the fractured, multiple lives of objects dispersed through different media, which the metaphor of biography fails to do. As Joyce points out, 'the texts we write are part of the ongoing engagement of things with humans', and form another site where objects are brought together.³⁰ The concept of an itinerary lends itself to the exploration of the distributed object, whether broken into sherds, or represented in other media such as text, drawn illustrations or photographs.³¹ This allows a broader interpretation of the networks in which an object participates, and an exploration of how, paradoxically, it can come to rest in a collection while its images continue to travel and make new connections. Joyce and Gillespie comment that '[object] itineraries also include the scholarship about them', and objects' itineraries are changed even by the act of studying them.³² Such representations made during the period covered by this thesis are discussed in their historical context, for example the lithograph illustrations in Chapter 2, and the lantern slides discussed in Chapter 4. While beyond the scope of this thesis, a significant new stage of the objects' itineraries has been brought about in recent years by their digitisation and online presentation, with the potential to transform the ways in which they are used and the connections they make, and this will be an important area for future investigation.

The concept of object itinerary also emphasises that the journeys of objects are ongoing, and their current location should not be considered as an end-point. As Burgess puts it in a recent survey of approaches to the history of collecting, 'collections are never static, and must instead be understood as dynamic, multi-layered spaces shaped by – and shaping – the

²⁷ King's College London, 2019.

²⁸ Byrne et al., 2011, pp. 19-20; Bauer, 2019, pp. 345-346.

²⁹ Joyce and Gillespie, 2015a, p. 12. See also Hahn and Weiss, 2013, p. 9.

³⁰ Joyce and Gillespie, 2015a, p. 5.

³¹ Balm, 2016, p. 44.

³² Joyce and Gillespie, 2015a, p. 19.

identities of people, communities and objects.³³ Just as the classification, interpretation and valuation of objects is socially and historically constituted and subject to change, so their current status, of ‘museum objects’ for the collection in question, is contingent and merely one point on their ongoing itinerary. Recently debate has been growing over whether their current museum locations are appropriate resting-places for objects collected during the colonial era, and this is a growing issue for all who are concerned with ancient cultural heritage.³⁴ Increasingly, calls are being made for the imperial and colonial pasts behind museum collections to be confronted and addressed.³⁵ It is important that these discussions should be informed by a nuanced, detailed understanding of each collection. An early priority must be to fully understand what these collections are – their locations, numbers, and identities – and how their itineraries led to their current physical and social location within museums. This thesis aims to provide such information, and to present a model for a socially and historically informed understanding of historic museum collections.

Provenance and provenience

The study of a collection of ancient objects which largely lack information on their archaeological contexts, such as the LMG ancient Cypriot collection, poses an epistemological challenge. What can we know about such objects, and how can we know it? The approach taken to this question hinges on the difference between provenance and provenience. Joyce draws a helpful distinction, adopted in this thesis, between ‘provenience’ as an archaeological term defining ‘the original findspot of an object’, a singular point in the object’s itinerary, and ‘provenance’ as an art-historical term for an object’s diachronic ‘chain of ownership’.³⁶ These terms reflect different ways in which an object can be valued and understood. From an archaeological perspective, provenience is vital as a source of data for an object’s deposition, and objects which have become dissociated from this information, or decontextualised, are felt to have lost much of their evidential value.³⁷ As the archaeologist Colin Renfrew puts it, ‘separated from their context of discovery [artefacts] have very little

³³ Burgess, 2021, p. 118.

³⁴ For example, see O’Neill, 2006 on repatriation, and Hicks, 2020 on the Benin bronzes.

³⁵ For example, Procter’s work on art collections, and Das and Lowe’s approach to natural history collections (Procter, 2020; Das and Lowe, 2018).

³⁶ Joyce, 2012, p. 48.

³⁷ For example, Galanakis’ survey of Late Bronze Age funerary archaeology outlines the rich information which can be recovered through recent advances in technology and methodologies, and hence gives a sense of what is lost from unrecorded sites (Galanakis, 2018).

potential to add to our knowledge of the past'.³⁸ In the same way, for art historians, 'the appreciation of an art object is as much a cognitive as a sensory experience' and requires 'knowledge of its historical context.'³⁹ Other ways of valuing objects prioritise provenance: a history of distinguished ownership can create market value, while such prized objects in their turn confer credit on their owners.⁴⁰ These issues, bound up in the circumstances of the objects' excavation and onward itineraries, are highly pertinent to the wider question of what knowledge value such objects can have. In their examination of the intersection of archaeology and the trade in antiquities, Brodie and Luke take a pessimistic view of the interpretation of objects lacking provenience:

Such catalogue entries merely describe pieces in light of what is already known and rarely add anything new to our understanding of the culture that produced them. ... such studies of decontextualised antiquities can in fact draw erroneous conclusions about their original purpose, function, symbolism.⁴¹

Similarly, in her study of critical approaches to Roman sculpture, Marlowe describes such objects as 'ungrounded' and emphasises their minimal contribution to knowledge about the ancient world, as opposed to the historiography of ancient art and museums.⁴² By contrast, Boardman asserts that the properties of the object itself are paramount:

Our museums are full of objects that speak for themselves, to the public and to scholars, without knowledge of their exact provenance. To hold that an object without context is worthless is pure nonsense.⁴³

The approach taken by this thesis is situated between these two positions. Objects can, to some extent, convey information through their physical properties. Their form, fabric and decoration often allow them to be incorporated into existing typologies, and thus to benefit from studies of the creation, use and deposition of better-evidenced objects of similar types. This is essential for the interpretation of such objects in museum settings, as argued by Costello et al. in a recent collection of biographies of museum objects.⁴⁴ They propose that museum interpretation of archaeological objects must rest on four modes of engagement: close study of the object itself; investigation of its provenance, or chain of ownership; study of its provenience, or archaeological findspot; and 'exploration of its uses and meanings in

³⁸ Renfrew, 2000, pp. 19-20.

³⁹ Brodie and Luke, 2006, p. 308.

⁴⁰ Joyce, 2012, p. 58. Gosden and Marshall, 1999, p. 170.

⁴¹ Brodie and Luke, 2006, p. 309.

⁴² Marlowe, 2013, pp. 5, 29.

⁴³ Boardman, 2006, p. 39.

⁴⁴ Costello et al., 2021.

antiquity', its participation in social and cultural practices in its ancient context.⁴⁵ Chapter 1 of this thesis addresses the first and third of these criteria, and to some extent the fourth, by closely examining the objects in the LMG ancient Cypriot collection and situating them within existing typologies and their assumed ancient contexts, addressing the challenges identified by Joy by looking at evidence for classes of objects in the ancient world, their interactions and itineraries, while recognising that evidence concerning their own, individual experiences has been lost. However, Brodie and Luke are surely correct in suggesting that objects which lack provenience can only take from, rather than contribute to, knowledge of ancient social and cultural contexts. Only in rare cases can the study of the physical properties of a decontextualised object make a meaningful contribution to knowledge about archaeological sites and ancient practices. While using generalised data to make assumptions about the ancient life of a specific, unprovenienced object is a valid, and indeed a necessary approach to object interpretation in a museum setting, it draws from rather than adds to the totality of knowledge. Therefore, beyond the formal analysis presented in Chapter 1, this thesis concentrates primarily on the post-excavation itineraries of the objects, the second mode of engagement identified by Costello et al., in order to make an original contribution to the histories of archaeology, collecting and museums.

Increasing attention has been paid recently to the distribution of objects from historic excavations, focusing on the 'dispersal events' which sent them in different directions.⁴⁶ It is not always possible to track objects which have been widely dispersed, due to their complex and lengthy itineraries. By undertaking a ground-up investigation of a collection formed through successive dispersals, this thesis complements such studies by providing examples of the ways in which objects circulate through networks, and the techniques that can be used to trace back their itineraries from their current organisational setting towards their archaeological find-spot. It holds that objects are polysemic, and that historically specific meanings are created by the object's interactions with people and institutions over time, following Gosden and Marshall in tracking the changing meanings and values resulting from different social interactions in the lifetime of an artefact, and Pearce in rooting this analysis in historical specificity. It draws on Joyce's insights in breaking free of the anthropomorphic constraints of biography as a narrative frame. It employs the tools of object itinerary in order to understand the objects in as much depth as possible, in a pragmatic response to a museum collection whose objects largely lack provenience.

⁴⁵ Costello et al., 2021, p. 12.

⁴⁶ The term 'dispersal events' is used in the context of antiquities by Stevenson, 2021, p. 266. See, for example, Villing et al., 2015 on British Museum excavations at Naukratis.

For example, a small Bichrome Cypro-Archaic jar ([LEEDM.D.1964.0380](#)) has no archaeological provenience. It can be assumed to have come from a tomb, and so to have been a gift to the dead and/or feasting equipment, but no further information on its ancient context or uses can be deduced. However, it has a complex post-excavation itinerary. **Fig. 0.1** shows it in a museum display around the turn of the 20th century; represented in a lantern slide of the early 20th century to accompany lectures to public audiences; in the immediate aftermath of Second World War bomb damage; mounted with glue in a wooden and Perspex case for circulation to schools in the second half of the 20th century; and in museum storage today. These images also form part of its itinerary; for example, the lantern slide, hand-coloured and back-lit, brought a representation of the jar, mediated by the available technology, vividly before the eyes of lecture audiences while the object itself remained in its display case. These changing contexts, representations and uses, for this and the other objects, are examined in the course of this thesis.



Fig. 0.1 Cypro-Archaic jar (LEEDM.D.1964.0380) in changing contexts from the late 19th to the early 21st centuries. © Leeds Museums and Galleries. Composite image by the present author.

Object agency

The concept of object itinerary naturally leads on to the question of the ways in which objects may be said to have agency. Hodder's notion of entanglement, the ways in which interconnected people and objects depend and create dependencies on each other, supports the idea that agency can be understood as acting across a network rather than being sited purely in the human actors.⁴⁷ Greenblatt proposes the concepts of 'wonder' and 'resonance' as ways to understand the power exerted by displayed objects; a sense of the object's 'charisma', displayed 'to compel and reward the intensity of the viewer's gaze', which ideally leads to a desire in the viewer to place the object in its context, to gain 'a sense of [its] cultural and historically contingent construction'.⁴⁸ Both these aspects – the ability of the

⁴⁷ Hodder, 2012.

⁴⁸ Greenblatt, 1991, pp. 51, 45, 54.

object to draw attention, and the ‘intimation of a larger community of voices and skills’, represent ways in which the object can be said to act on the viewer.⁴⁹ Gell’s work on the agency of artworks, which continues to be influential among archaeologists and art historians, also provides a useful approach. He explores the ways in which objects can be granted agency by humans, and thus act as “‘secondary’ agents... through which primary agents distribute their agency in the causal milieu, and thus render their agency effective’.⁵⁰ According to Gell’s approach, agency can be understood as distributed between people and objects, both of which can set events in motion, and this concept is relevant to analysis of the relationships between objects and people. Foxhall recasts this concept as ‘attributed agency’, with the effect that ‘Things perform as actors when agency is attributed to them by humans’, downplaying the idea that an object can exercise ‘independent agency or autonomy’.⁵¹ Such approaches vary in the degree of agency they ascribe to objects, and can be criticised either for allowing them too much agency through ‘material-culture mysticism’, or, in Joyce’s terms, for ‘simply reduc[ing] things, however active, to extensions of a human presence.’⁵² However, these ideas provide useful tools for thinking about relations between people and objects without privileging the former, and this thesis draws on them to examine the ways in which objects move along their itineraries, form connections, and ‘mak[e] a difference... [in] our shared world’.⁵³

Microhistory

The methodology of this thesis draws on insights from historians adopting the ‘exploratory stance’ of microhistory.⁵⁴ There is no unifying theory of microhistory, but it can be broadly described as ‘the intensive historical investigation of a relatively well defined smaller object’.⁵⁵ Within this, approaches vary as to whether this investigation seeks to illuminate a ‘great historical question’, or whether it focuses primarily on the individual case for its own sake.⁵⁶ It attempts to capture the detail of the lived experience of historical actors, while setting these within a wider context, in order to ‘work against oversimplification and

⁴⁹ Greenblatt, 1991, p. 48.

⁵⁰ Gell, 1998, p. 20.

⁵¹ Foxhall, 2021, p. 12.

⁵² Gell, 1998, p. 21; Joyce, 2015, p. 22.

⁵³ Olsen, 2010, p. 35.

⁵⁴ See the overview of microhistorical approaches given by Walton et al., 2008 (quotation p. 4).

⁵⁵ An introduction to the theory of microhistory and its approaches is given by Magnússon and Szijártó, 2013 (quotation p. 4).

⁵⁶ Magnússon and Szijártó, 2013, pp. 57-58.

superficial historical judgement.⁵⁷ The aim of this thesis is not to treat this defined set of objects, and their excavation, collection and display, as an exemplary microcosm of universal practices, a fractal which replicates a larger-scale structure in miniature; rather, it is to reconstruct the itineraries of one collection in specific detail in order to complicate and challenge broader narratives of the development of archaeology, collecting and museums.⁵⁸

Microhistory has been fruitfully applied in archaeology by Mentésana et al., who have examined ‘the movement of people, materials and knowledge in Early Bronze Age Sicily’ through the analysis of the pre-excavation history of a single vessel.⁵⁹ By contrast, this thesis focuses on post-excavation itineraries. By following these and the people and institutions connected by them, a picture can be drawn from the ground up of the social and intellectual networks through which the meanings and values of the objects were constituted. While these are specific to their locality and time period, they can be compared to similar networks in different times and places; but they must be built upwards. As Magnússon puts it, ‘from detailed maps, we can produce survey maps, but never *vice versa*.’⁶⁰ This concept of scale is key to the methodology of this thesis, which seeks to investigate different vantage points from which to understand objects from this collection in their contexts.

This microhistorical focus on a single collection, circumscribed to those people and institutions with which the objects came into contact, allows for intensive investigation of historical documents, including contemporary records of excavations, sales and exhibition catalogues, and museum and personal archives. Reports in periodicals of visits to collections, lectures, and displays provide evidence for contemporary responses to the objects. Where possible, the original words of excavators, collectors, curators and audiences are used, in order to allow voices less frequently heard in the history of archaeology, museums and collecting to come to the fore. Laite discusses the ‘mass digitized turn’, through which a huge range of published and unpublished sources such as periodicals and state records have been made widely available in digital form, and sets out its major implications for small-scale history.⁶¹ It is now possible to follow individuals and objects through the traces they have left in the quotidian historical record, and in multiple archival contexts; the choice of subject is no longer determined by the existence of a dedicated archive for an individual or collection.

⁵⁷ Magnússon and Szijártó, 2013, p. 11.

⁵⁸ Magnússon and Szijártó, 2013, pp. 63-64.

⁵⁹ Mentésana et al., 2018, p. 261.

⁶⁰ Magnússon and Szijártó, 2013, p. 37 n. 2.

⁶¹ Laite, 2020, p. 1.

It is thus widened out from the exceptional, whose records are more likely to have been preserved, to the less prestigious, but more valuable for understanding a collection in its social context, and allows the study of relatively marginalised figures. While this huge increase in available data poses methodological challenges for larger-scale studies, in this thesis the ‘boundlessness of the past’ is given structure by the defined scope of the investigation.⁶² The records thus gathered of course remain partial (in both senses) and fragmentary, and require contextualisation and analysis, as with any sources; nevertheless, they function as evidence for the movements and changing interpretation of these objects. This thesis offers an example of what can be achieved through exploration of the immense, and growing, resources offered by newly digitised material, with the aid of sophisticated finding tools, to restore the almost-lost history of poorly provenanced museum collections.

Themes

Cypriot archaeology

All archaeological approaches are culturally specific and products of the intellectual context of their times; as Walker Tubb states, ‘[i]t is now commonly acknowledged that the subjective in terms of the individual archaeologist and his or her contemporary sociocultural context cannot be separated from the interpretation of evidence.’⁶³ This position is taken to its postmodernist extreme by Holtorf, who argues that ‘All the thing’s properties and characteristics, including its material identity and age, are taken to be the outcome of processes taking place in the present.’⁶⁴ Interpretations of artefacts are inherently unstable and subject to change. While recognising these limitations, this thesis seeks to assimilate the objects in the LMG ancient Cypriot collection to current systems of archaeological knowledge, identifying and classifying them in accordance with current typologies. This informs the analysis of the post-excavation itineraries of the objects which follows, on the basis that successive acts of interpretation are fundamental to the task of engaging with material culture from the past.⁶⁵

This work of identification and classification draws on an established body of knowledge, underpinned by the foundational work of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (SCE). Between

⁶² Laite, 2020, p. 5.

⁶³ Walker Tubb, 2006, p. 286.

⁶⁴ Holtorf, 2002, p. 49.

⁶⁵ As argued by Andrews et al., 2000, p. 527.

1927 and 1931 this Expedition excavated widely on Cyprus, and the findings were published in four multi-part volumes from 1934 to 1972, covering the Stone Age to the Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁶⁶ The groundwork of the SCE has been built on and developed by subsequent excavations and by archaeologists who have published on individual sites, periods, collections and classes of objects, for example in the *Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities (CCA)* series, the standard publication for ancient Cypriot museum collections and the counterpart of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum (CVA)* for Greek ceramics. The LMG ancient Cypriot material is recorded on the museum's database, The Museum System (TMS), and a projected outcome of this doctoral project is to build on these records to produce a full catalogue description of each of the objects, in line with the standards established by the CCA, a summary version of which is presented in Chapter 1. This makes a contribution to archaeological knowledge by adding new items to the known corpus of Cypriot antiquities, facilitating the study of types of object or wares. This is part of a wider move to make ancient Cypriot collections available in virtual space, extending their itineraries beyond the relative obscurity of unpublished museum collections.⁶⁷

This thesis focuses on the post-excavation itineraries of the objects, starting, where possible, with the moment of recovery from sites in Cyprus. Primary sources such as field notebooks, published excavation reports and contemporary periodical articles can help to elucidate not only what archaeologists and explorers found, but what their expectations and intentions were, and how the results were framed for different audiences.⁶⁸ Histories of archaeology, such as those by Trigger and Murray, provide overviews of the state of scientific knowledge at the time, the prevailing beliefs about ancient cultures and the methodologies employed by those undertaking or sponsoring excavation work.⁶⁹ Some histories of museum collections, such as the British Museum's online research catalogue 'Ancient Cyprus in the British Museum', also discuss contemporary excavation practices and priorities.⁷⁰ Recently there has been much work to maximise the knowledge value of early excavations, using the original excavation records and the surviving objects. This includes Tatton-Brown's examination of the 1899 field notebook from the British Museum's Enkomi excavations, and Crewe's reassessment of a tomb from the same site.⁷¹ This thesis contributes to this work by placing

⁶⁶ Göransson, 2012 gives an overview of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition and its impact.

⁶⁷ For example, Pilides, 2016, a project which digitises objects from Enkomi.

⁶⁸ For example, the British Museum's publications of its late 19th century excavations in Cyprus (Murray et al., 1900), discussed in Chapter 4.

⁶⁹ Trigger, 2006; Murray, 2014.

⁷⁰ Kiely, 2011a.

⁷¹ Tatton-Brown, 2003; Crewe, 2009b. See Chapter 4 for further references.

the objects in the context of their excavation, where possible, thus adding to the data available about excavated sites and the associated finds.

Studies of early explorers, excavators and collectors in Cyprus are drawn upon to outline the prevailing intellectual and social climates. These include Goring's survey of early excavation in Cyprus; McFadden's biography of Luigi Palma di Cesnola (1832-1904), who excavated widely between 1865 and 1877, and Nikolaou's more recent study examining the activities of Cesnola and R. Hamilton Lang (1836-1913); Merrillees' study of T.B. Sandwith (1831-1900), who is closely linked with the Leeds collection; and Masson's survey of excavators in Cyprus between 1866 and 1878.⁷² The historiography of archaeology in Cyprus is relatively small but growing, particularly through the *Cahier du Centre d'Études Chypriotes*; key authors include Kiely and Ulbrich, who have provided a survey of archaeological activity on the island during the 'long 19th century', as well as many others who have concentrated on specific individuals or areas.⁷³ Wider studies of periods in Cypriot history, such as Varnava's and Hook's work on the British Protectorate, and Markides' on the interplay of finance and politics, also set the context for the actions of individuals.⁷⁴ This thesis investigates how the excavators and collectors associated with the Leeds collection participated in intellectual and social networks and how this influenced the movements, interpretations and valuations of the objects.

Collectors and collecting

In order to understand the motivations of those people who brought the objects together in the late 19th and early 20th centuries before they came to museums in Leeds, this thesis studies collectors and their collecting practices. Biographical investigation of the collectors, using archives and contemporary periodicals, is used to place these individuals within their social and intellectual networks, examining their motivations for collecting and the ways in which they valued, used and interpreted the objects. In an influential formulation, Pearce identifies three types of collection: souvenir, fetishistic, and systematic.⁷⁵ Souvenirs are 'intrinsic parts of a past experience' for their owner, and as such are 'intensely individual'.⁷⁶ 'Fetishistic' collections are notable for the obsessive way in which they are pursued, and the

⁷² Goring, 1988; McFadden, 1971; Nikolaou, 2015; Merrillees, 2001; Masson, 1992.

⁷³ Kiely and Ulbrich, 2012. For example, Kiely and Merrillees, 2012; Crewe, 2011.

⁷⁴ Varnava, 2012; Hook, 2014; Markides, 2019.

⁷⁵ Pearce, 1993, pp. 68-88.

⁷⁶ Pearce, 1993, p. 72.

'lack of an intellectual rationale' underpinning them.⁷⁷ By contrast, 'systematic' collections are outward-facing and based on 'principles of organization' which do not depend on the personal experience of one individual.⁷⁸ This classification, and Brodie and Luke's study of collectors specifically of antiquities, provide valuable tools for critical analysis of these activities.⁷⁹ A closely related topic is the study of how objects were used by individuals as a means of self-actualisation, to fashion their own identity. Hoskins' ethnographic approach examines the construction of life stories through the narration of the histories of objects. She explores the concept of 'biographical objects', objects which are used by a person to construct their own biography 'as a vehicle for a sense of selfhood.'⁸⁰ Unlike object biography, her focus is less on the object itself than on its role in the history and self-image of a particular individual: 'a pivot for reflexivity and introspection, a tool of autobiographic self-discovery; a way of knowing oneself through things.'⁸¹ This thesis examines the ways in which collectors identified with their objects, both figuratively and through acts such as inscribing their names onto the object's surface. It also explores the ways in which the identity of the collector, and the meanings they ascribed to their objects, were recorded or erased when an object was transferred into a museum setting. In Crane's terms, 'the collector can only hope to stimulate his memory and preserve it eternally in the minds of others', and to some extent this is also true of the personal memories reified in the objects for their collectors.⁸² This thesis examines where and how these memories were preserved or lost, and the factors underpinning these processes.

The complex itineraries of objects along acquisition networks are examined, as they moved between people and institutions, in groups and individually.⁸³ Collectors created and shared knowledge about their objects through the social spaces of the exhibition hall, the lecture theatre, and the scientific *conversazione*, a social gathering for scholarly discussion. Analysis of these heterogeneous routes, and key points at which objects came together, is informed by the work of Gosden and Larson, and of Wingfield, which maps the networks which grew the collections of the Pitt-Rivers museum, and by Alberti's analysis of the different ways in which objects joined the Manchester museum.⁸⁴ By following specific objects, this analysis

⁷⁷ Pearce, 1993, p. 78.

⁷⁸ Pearce, 1993, p. 87.

⁷⁹ Brodie and Luke, 2006.

⁸⁰ Hoskins, 1998, p. 3.

⁸¹ Hoskins, 1998, p. 198. This distinction is lucidly drawn by Hoskins, 2006, p. 74.

⁸² Crane, 2000, p. 10.

⁸³ For the term 'acquisition networks', see Alberti, 2005, p. 562.

⁸⁴ Gosden and Larson, 2007; Wingfield, 2011; Alberti, 2009.

demonstrates how complex and multifaceted these networks were in practice, and how distinctions between the roles of collector, donor and vendor break down under close scrutiny.

Museums

Key to this thesis is an understanding of the ‘relational museum’ in Gosden’s influential term, defined as a dispersed organisation whose boundaries extend far beyond its physical premises and the people employed to work within it.⁸⁵ As Gosden and Larson state in their study of the Pitt Rivers museum, ‘The Museum is an aggregation of people and things that stretches beyond its immediate physical confines and involves a variety of events, negotiations, and technologies’.⁸⁶ A similar conception of museum collections is articulated by Byrne et al., who explore ‘the social relations in which collections have been embedded and continue to function’ and emphasise that ‘museums and their collections are simultaneously social *and* material’.⁸⁷ Museum collections are formed, interpreted and displayed through complex interactions of people, objects and ideas; as Hill puts it, museums are less ‘a place where fixed meanings were produced and distributed, and clear roles acted out’ than a site ‘where dialogue took place, about ideas, identities, and valuations’.⁸⁸ This thesis explores these contests, dialogues and debates, as enacted through ancient Cypriot collections in successive museums and galleries in Leeds.

The methodology developed by Moser to ‘read’ the historic displays of Egyptian antiquities at the British Museum unpacks how they were ‘acquired, displayed, and then received by museum audiences’, drawing on a broad range of evidence from within and beyond the museum, including historic photographs and museum documentation such as guide books, alongside data on visitor numbers, and an examination of the intellectual context.⁸⁹ This thesis adopts a similar approach, following the routes of the objects to the museum and exploring the available evidence for their display and interpretation within it, and for visitors’ responses. This analysis has responded to the challenges of the limitations of historic data by ranging widely in its use of sources and employing them in combination to produce the clearest possible picture. In structuring the discussion, Wingfield’s concept of ‘acquisition

⁸⁵ Gosden, 2009.

⁸⁶ Gosden and Larson, 2007, p. 1.

⁸⁷ Byrne et al., 2011, pp. 5, 21.

⁸⁸ Hill, 2016, p. 6.

⁸⁹ Moser, 2006, pp. 3-4.

events' has been employed to ensure that equal consideration is given to each route by which objects entered the museum, and that this is not skewed by the relative size of each acquisition.⁹⁰ An 'acquisition event' is defined as a single acquisition of material by the museum, regardless of the number of objects included or their type. The donation of a single object is therefore given the same weight as the donation of over a hundred. In the case of much larger collections, such as the Pitt Rivers collection examined by Wingfield, this allows comparison of different forms of exchange (such as purchase or donation), and analysis of the strength of the relationship between the museum and key individuals, differentiating between one-off transactions and sustained relationships. For present purposes, examining acquisition events prioritises objects' social contexts rather than the size of each acquisition, facilitating a chronological approach and ensuring that the means by which the objects came to the museum are the focus of investigation (see the timeline at Annex D).

An object's itinerary does not end when it enters a museum. Alberti has explored for natural history collections how 'We can trace the careers of museum things from acquisition to arrangement to viewing, through the different contexts and the many changes of value incurred by these shifts.'⁹¹ The value judgements inherent in the museum work of collecting, cataloguing, ordering and displaying are examined to explore the changing understanding and interpretation of material culture from ancient Cyprus, and the divergent perspectives of different individuals and groups; as Gosden and Larson put it, 'Museums have multiple authors', and the meanings assigned at one point on the object's itinerary may be preserved, amended or discarded later on.⁹² While gender is not a major theme in this thesis, Chapter 5 pays specific attention to the roles and motivations of women donors of ancient Cypriot objects. This draws on Hill's analysis of the relations between women and museums in the late Victorian to Edwardian periods in order to explore how women interpreted, valued and made use of ancient Cypriot objects, and negotiated their transfer into a museum setting. Hill's discussion of 'strategies... whereby women used exchanges of objects to mark relationships, assert their position within the family, and pursue emotional goals' illuminates the use of ancient Cypriot objects to negotiate status and commemorate personal relationships.⁹³ Crane and Stewart's work on souvenirs, museums and memory is employed to examine the transfer of personal significance into a museum setting, while Bourdieu's concepts of social, cultural and economic capital are also employed to explore the factors

⁹⁰ Wingfield, 2011.

⁹¹ Alberti, 2005, pp. 560-561.

⁹² Gosden and Larson, 2007, p. 5.

⁹³ Hill, 2016, p. 48.

behind the relative success or failure of women's strategies of memorialisation.⁹⁴ As Hill remarks, 'the records which museums kept were not designed to foreground women's roles and contributions; indeed, their silencing of women's voices can even seem intentional', and these case studies recover these women's roles in the formation of this collection, an aspect often elided in the histories of museums, and thus contributes to the historically situated study of collecting more generally.⁹⁵

This thesis also examines the impact of successive curators of the Leeds City Museum and its precursors in valuing, interpreting, and displaying the ancient Cypriot collections. As Byrne comments, 'museum curators are the pivotal agents around which museum collections are built' and therefore their 'intentions, desires and opinions' must be investigated in order to understand their approaches.⁹⁶ At the same time, as the discussion in Chapters 3-6 demonstrates, curators operated as part of networks of people, objects, and institutions which constrained their ability to deliver their own agendas, and denied them absolute control, including over the objects which entered the museum's collections. This thesis assesses how the objects were displayed and interpreted within what Hooper-Greenhill describes as the changing 'frameworks of intelligibility' employed by the museums, comparing curatorial intentions with what was achieved in practice.⁹⁷ This analysis draws on primary sources, such as contemporary museum guides, annual reports and periodicals, supplemented by published accounts of the museums' histories.⁹⁸

The placing of the ancient Cypriot objects within the museum's classificatory systems was complemented by their physical placement within the space afforded by the museum's building. Analysis of the changing 'space syntax' of the museum, its 'system of spatial connections', drawing on the work of Tzortzi, allows the underpinning logic of the displays to be examined, and, crucially, actual practice to be compared with theoretical ambitions.⁹⁹ Following the itineraries of the objects through the museum elucidates changing cultures of display. Similar analysis is also applied to the short-lived Leeds Free Public Museum, which became part of the City Art Gallery (Chapter 3). Studies of the historical development of

⁹⁴ Stewart, 1992. Bourdieu, 1986.

⁹⁵ Hill, 2016, p. 12.

⁹⁶ Byrne, 2011, p. 307.

⁹⁷ Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, p. 3.

⁹⁸ For example, the history of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society by Kitson Clark, 1924, and the history of Leeds City Museums by Brears, 1989. See Çelik, 2016 for an example of using a similar range of sources to chart museum history.

⁹⁹ Tzortzi, 2016, p. 104.

museums and their modes of power, such as Bennett's, are used to inform a discussion of the ways in which these museums were structured and operated, and their attempts to regulate the behaviour of those who experienced their collections.¹⁰⁰ Alberti's study of the Manchester Museum, which developed in parallel with museums in Leeds, provides a useful comparator for the Leeds experience.¹⁰¹ Hooper-Greenhill's conception of museums as sites where 'the meanings of objects are contingent, fluid, and polysemic' and knowledge is negotiated, constructed and conveyed in historically specific ways, allows the evidence for the display and interpretation of the museum's ancient Cypriot collections to be analysed, and placed in the broader context of intellectual and cultural developments in museum practice.¹⁰²

Museum theory emphasises visitors as active creators of meaning from museum objects and displays, and draws attention to the disjunct between curatorial intention and visitor experience.¹⁰³ There is a well-understood asymmetry of evidence for the views of curators and museum personnel, and those of the audiences for whom displays and interpretation were intended.¹⁰⁴ This study draws on available sources to explore the actual as opposed to the desired or presumed responses of museum visitors, and hence the intersection of curatorial intentions and audience responses in creating meaning from the objects. This aspect of the study provides a theoretically informed account of the history of the museum in Leeds as it relates to its ancient collections, and the ways in which they were interpreted, displayed and received.

Conclusion

The history of Cypriot archaeology is often summarised as one in which profit-motivated digging and wholesale export of ancient objects mainly to museums, with a strong imperialist inflection, gradually gave way to controlled and evidence-based excavation under the British colonial administration. For example, in a short overview of archaeology in Cyprus, A. Bernard Knapp states that

Its earliest practitioners... were often diplomats or soldiers who had developed an abiding taste for the antiquarian, and the profits that came from selling them. ...Men

¹⁰⁰ Bennett, 1995.

¹⁰¹ Alberti, 2009.

¹⁰² Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, p. 10; Hooper-Greenhill, 1992.

¹⁰³ Hooper-Greenhill, 1992.

¹⁰⁴ Hill, 2016, pp. 103-104.

such as these left Cypriot archaeology with a decidedly chequered pedigree... and in the process helped to fill museum coffers in London, Glasgow, Cambridge, Stockholm, Paris and New York (to name a few)...

After the unrestrained plundering of the 19th century, early 20th-century fieldwork and research gave way to a more stable and 'scientific' approach.¹⁰⁵

This high-level account smooths over a more complex picture that this thesis aims, in part, to recover. For example, the motivations of T.B. Sandwith, an early excavator and collector, were more complex and multifaceted than a simple concern for profit, and his investigation of Cypriot antiquities resulted in an innovative study that anticipated later developments in Cypriot archaeology.¹⁰⁶ As well as floods of objects into the collections of major museums, ancient Cypriot objects began to circulate in the UK from the late 1860s via exhibitions and commercial sales, and through local high-street shops as well as auction houses, resulting in numerous small-scale private collections. While authorised excavations – of varying scientific quality, as discussed in Chapter 4 - increased the collections of museums such as the British Museum, Liverpool Museums and the Ashmolean Museum, other ancient objects followed more convoluted and unpredictable routes, such as those purchased by Leeds Museum from the British Empire Exhibition of 1925, discussed in Chapter 6. The detailed examination of the history of an individual collection set out in this thesis helps to create a nuanced account, grounded in historical specificity and guarded against progressionist framing, of the development of Cypriot archaeology, and the collection and display of its material culture.¹⁰⁷

Gosden and Larson's study of the Pitt Rivers museum was groundbreaking 'in providing rich detail on the build-up of the collections and the influences – intellectual, institutional, and economic – on the genesis and growth of the Museum.'¹⁰⁸ This thesis similarly offers an approach to interpreting a museum collection by tracing the itineraries of its objects, and the ways in which their meanings and values have been created through social interaction at different points in their histories, grounded in archival research. It puts individual acts of excavation, collection and curation into social and cultural context, and engages directly with the objects themselves, assimilating them to current systems of knowledge, as the latest in a continuing series of interpretations. In doing so, it contributes to the historiography of archaeology in Cyprus, and the collection and interpretation of its material culture.

¹⁰⁵ Knapp, 2013, pp. 20-21.

¹⁰⁶ Merrillees, 2001.

¹⁰⁷ On progressionist approaches to the history of archaeology, see Trigger, 2006, pp. 5-17; Hicks, 2012, p. 27.

¹⁰⁸ Gosden and Larson, 2007, p. 12.

CHAPTER 1 ASSESSMENT OF THE COLLECTION

Introduction

This chapter gives a brief overview of the 148 objects identified by the author as constituting the Leeds Museums and Galleries (LMG) ancient Cypriot collection, based on examination of the objects, and drawing on current archaeological typologies. It sets out, in summary form, the results of the present author's detailed examination of and research into each object, and sets out a best estimate of their relative chronology and their classification by material and form. The objects are introduced here in order to set the context for the discussion of the collection's itineraries which follows in Chapters 2-6. An understanding of current archaeological interpretations of these objects is a necessary baseline against which to assess the earlier intellectual frameworks within which they were excavated, collected and displayed, and how these have changed over time, following the methodological agenda set out in the Introduction. Like these earlier interpretations, the assessment presented here is not definitive but is the product of its time, and will inevitably be subject to revision in the future as new approaches to the material culture of the ancient past are developed.

It is important to define the set of objects under discussion – which does not entirely align with those designated as from Cyprus in the LMG collections management system (TMS) – in order to clarify the scope and boundaries of the investigation. This work also provides the basis for future publication of this collection, so that new studies of specific sites (e.g. Enkomi) or of types of material (e.g. Red Polished composite vessels) can draw on the objects it includes. This makes a contribution to the broader movement towards identifying and publishing previously overlooked ancient Cypriot collections discussed in the Introduction. Close attention to the objects, including any traces of previous ownership (e.g. labels), has also helped to narrow down their provenance and, in many cases, to clarify when and in what circumstances they joined the collection, feeding into the discussion in Chapters 2-6.

In her discussion of approaches to dating Roman sculpture which lacks provenience – or is ungrounded, in her terminology – Marlowe draws attention to the many drawbacks of connoisseurship. These include an assumption of consistent and uniform development of style, and the risk of tautological argument where elements of style are assumed to originate solely from one specific place and period, and then used to assign an object to that place and

period.¹⁰⁹ While the identification of ancient Cypriot ceramics is rather different from Roman sculpture, similar risks are run by the formal analysis undertaken in this chapter, due to the lack of provenience data. The identifications of wares and periods (and hence dates) are necessarily tentative, and can be made more secure for future publication by robust peer review.¹¹⁰ While underpinned by objective data such as measurements, this assessment is ultimately largely based on the subjective judgement of the present author. This has been based on two factors for each object: an assessment of the likelihood that it is a Cypriot production or an import to ancient Cyprus, based on comparing the observed characteristics of the object to typologies and studies of objects excavated in Cyprus; and an assessment of the reliability of its provenience and provenance information in assigning it a Cypriot origin. For example, the observed physical properties of the stone pestle [LEEDM.D.1964.0394](#) do not identify it as Cypriot, but it is securely linked to the British Museum's excavations in Cyprus. By contrast, the barrel jug [LEEDM.D.1964.0368](#) has very little provenance data and no provenience, but its characteristic shape and decoration strongly support its identification as Cypriot. At the other end of the confidence scale, a lamp such as [LEEDM.D.1963.0012](#) could have been found in Cyprus or elsewhere in the Roman world, and is included in this study solely on the basis of its provenance data in TMS. Conversely, among the objects which have been excluded are two juglets (LEEDM.D.1964.0307 and .0308) recorded as Cypriot in TMS at the time this study began, but whose appearance suggests they are from Central Africa and probably not ancient, and therefore very unlikely to have been found in an excavation context in Cyprus.

The first objects presented here are those known to have been excavated by the British Museum at the sites of Enkomi in 1896 and Klavdia-*Tremithos* in 1899, since these have some archaeological provenience, although imperfect, which enables them to be contextualised more fully; the excavations and contemporary interpretations of the finds are discussed in Chapter 4. References are made in this section to similar objects without provenience where relevant. The rest of the collection is then presented in chronological order, according to ware and type of object. Where some information regarding provenience is available, although incomplete and/or unreliable, it is included in the discussion. Since figurines have their own typologies, and those at Leeds comprise almost 25% of the collection and all lack provenience, they are discussed separately. Analysis of the forms of objects has, in some

¹⁰⁹ Marlowe, 2013, pp. 65-66.

¹¹⁰ I am grateful to experts in ancient Cypriot material culture, especially Professor Susan Sherratt and Dr Thomas Kiely, for their advice on some specific objects and questions. Any errors in identification are my own.

cases, allowed them to be tentatively attributed to specific areas or sites in Cyprus. Further scientific analysis, for example of fabric composition, has the potential to allow the areas of production to be identified, but this is outside the scope of the present study. A chronological chart and map of sites are at Annexes A and B, and an illustrated list of objects by accession number is at Annex E.

The majority of these objects were re-accessioned into the Leeds collection in the 1960s as part of a reassessment of the museum's holdings after damage resulting from the Second World War. As a result, the sequence of their accession numbers does not map closely to their dates of production, or the dates or order in which they joined the collection.

Exploration of the collection's history has also brought to light traces of objects which were once part of the collection, but are now known or presumed to be lost; these are discussed briefly in the relevant chapters, but do not form part of this analysis.

Ancient itineraries

This thesis examines the post-excavation itineraries of the objects in the LMG collection, following their movements along intellectual and social networks, and exploring the different ways in which they have been understood, interpreted and presented in the course of these journeys. Their itineraries began in ancient Cyprus, in some cases long before their deposition in the tombs, settlements or sanctuaries where they were later found, and encompass movements, contexts and uses which are now largely unrecoverable. The objects may have been exchanged or sold, invested with significance as grave goods or offerings to the gods, inherited, gifted, stolen or discarded, and in the course of these events they may have moved far from their place and date of production. Few of these events have left any recognisable trace on the materiality of the objects, although in occasional cases (e.g. [LEEDM.D.1963.0082](#)), a fingerprint is an enduring record of the physical relationship between maker and object. Kopytoff suggests that the singular 'biography' of an object can be illuminated by comparing it to a typical or 'ideal' life history of similar objects, and investigating where it differs.¹¹¹ While the term 'ideal' carries unhelpful connotations of the relative value of different ancient itineraries, the concept of a composite biography, deduced from objects whose archaeological context was recorded at their excavation, can provide a means of hypothesising about the ancient lives of objects for which such contextual information has been irretrievably lost.

¹¹¹ Kopytoff, 1986, pp. 66-67.

Objects with some archaeological provenience, and comparators

Objects from Enkomi

In the late Bronze Age (1650-1050 BC) the coastal town of Enkomi was a centre for trade and exchange, and the production of copper. Material culture from this period suggests increasing contact with overseas peoples, and an increasing trade in luxury goods, allowing elites to differentiate themselves.¹¹² It is highly likely that the LMG objects from Enkomi were found in tombs, due to the approach taken in the British Museum's excavations. They were deposited there as grave goods, perhaps because they had belonged to the person who had died, or were offered as gifts, representing the beliefs, values and status (or aspirations) of their kinship groups. Evidence from more recent and better-recorded excavations has demonstrated that during the Bronze Age mortuary practice shifted from single inhumations within settlements to the use of extramural cemeteries with chamber tombs.¹¹³ These could be large and elaborate, and used for multiple successive inhumations, 'establishing inter-generational kinship ties and reinforcing ancestral links'.¹¹⁴ As Keswani emphasises, burial rituals provided an important opportunity for the assertion and negotiation of status and social relations through a public display of wealth and power. The removal of valuable objects from circulation through deposition in the tomb would make a powerful statement about the wealth of a kinship group who could afford to do this.¹¹⁵ However, it is not straightforward to extrapolate from the objects found in tombs to deduce information about the individuals with whom they were buried. Grave goods might be used strategically to assert or lay claim to status, rather than necessarily accurately reflecting the status of a person or their kinship group in life. The British Museum excavators did not generally record information on the physical relationships between human remains and objects. In addition, Late Bronze Age tombs were often reused for multiple burials, and the objects displaced, obscuring the links between people and objects. Tombs were often also disturbed more recently by flooding or looting, so the surviving objects should be interpreted with caution.¹¹⁶

During the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, Cypriot elites at coastal sites in the south-east adopted imported Mycenaean pottery, especially drinking-sets of which a pictorial

¹¹² Crewe, 2009a.

¹¹³ Keswani, 2004, p. 37. As Crewe et al. discuss, extra-mural cemeteries are also known in the mid-Chalcolithic period (Crewe et al., 2005).

¹¹⁴ Crewe et al., 2005, p. 43.

¹¹⁵ Keswani, 2004, p. 75.

¹¹⁶ Crewe, 2009b, p. 28.

krater was the centrepiece. Indeed, such kraters may have been made not for local Aegean consumption but specifically for export to Cyprus and the Near East.¹¹⁷ This pottery has sometimes been found in domestic settings but is more commonly associated with feasting as part of funerary rituals, as part of wealthy, high-status burials.¹¹⁸ Access to these prestigious items seems generally to have been limited to coastal areas and was an important way of asserting status. Ownership of such Mycenaean ceramics would proclaim familiarity with distant cultures, and objects decorated with the iconography of warriors and chariots would associate their owners with an international elite. In Sherratt's terms, such objects might be used by

people who wished to convey an image, or create an appearance, of association with chariot-ownership – even if, in some cases, one might speculate that the nearest they ever got to a chariot may have been a picture of one painted on a pot.¹¹⁹

The enactment of feasting rituals using exotic equipment would also assert the breadth of an individual's cultural experience, laying claim to the cultural knowledge required to carry out such rituals, in an exclusionary strategy marking out difference.

Several Mycenaean objects from Enkomi in the collection can be interpreted in this light. Enkomi is noted for its large quantities of Mycenaean imports, although this may be due to its relatively extensive excavation.¹²⁰ In addition, the high proportion of imported objects in the Enkomi collection at Leeds reflects bias on the part of the British Museum excavators; see Chapter 4 for further discussion.¹²¹ A Late Helladic shallow cup with loop handle ([LEEDM.D.1964.0336](#)) could have been a tomb offering by itself, or have been associated with a pictorial krater as part of an imported drinking service, a higher-prestige offering.¹²² This cup has 'Mycenaean pottery, Enkomi Cyprus' written in pencil on the base, and a scrawl on the side which is hard to read, but could be interpreted as '66'. If so, it might associate the cup with Tomb 66 at Enkomi, a particularly rich tomb which is known to have included similar cups.¹²³ A 'stirrup jar' ([LEEDM.D.1964.0337](#)) from Enkomi is also a Late Helladic import, evidence of trade with the Aegean. It has a handle formed by the false neck, and a narrow upright spout used for controlled pouring. Two further Late Cypriot small closed vessels – a

¹¹⁷ Steel, 2013, pp. 33, 88. Sherratt, 1999, p. 187.

¹¹⁸ Crewe, 2009b, p. 31.

¹¹⁹ Sherratt, 1999, p. 188.

¹²⁰ Steel, 2004b, p. 2.

¹²¹ Steel, 2004b.

¹²² Steel, 2004b, p. 5. The Early, Middle and Late Helladic periods broadly map to the Aegean Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age (see chronological chart at Annex A).

¹²³ Murray et al., 1900, pp. 35-36, figs. 63-64. Crewe, 2009b, pp. 53, Pl. 57-58.

flat-bottomed jar with handles ([LEEDM.D.1964.0340](#)) from Enkomi and an unprovenanced three-handled pyxis ([LEEDM.D.1964.0331](#)) may also be imports, or local productions. Imports and local manufactures are often difficult to distinguish due to a thriving ongoing exchange of ideas and techniques, although scientific analysis of fabrics can help to resolve this in relation to specific research questions. These vessels were probably used to transport some kind of ‘specialty oil’, whether perfumed or treated in another way, and are likely to have been widely available and not a notable marker of status.¹²⁴

Mycenaean style wares are also represented in the Leeds collection by two Late Cypriot pithoid jars, [LEEDM.D.1964.0338](#) and [LEEDM.D.1964.0339](#), both without provenience. Graziado’s analysis of such vessels suggests that these are of Cypriot manufacture. The spiral motif of the former jar is particularly associated with Cyprus.¹²⁵ This decoration has been heavily overpainted in the 20th century, a curatorial intervention suggesting that maximising the visual appeal of the object for display was a higher priority than authenticity at this point; this is further discussed in Chapter 6. Pezzi tentatively concludes that such jars were produced primarily for funerary purposes, and tend to be associated with relatively wealthy burials.¹²⁶

Equipment for drinking and eating of Cypriot manufacture from Enkomi includes a round-mouthed jug of Late Cypriot II Bucchero Handmade ware ([LEEDM.D.1964.0319](#)) with thin, patchy black slip. The distinctive appearance of the body, characterised by vertical ribbing, perhaps imitates more costly metal models.¹²⁷ There is another jug with similar ribbing ([LEEDM.D.1964.0325](#)), without provenience, in the Leeds collection, but this is Black Slip ware of the later Cypro-Geometric period, and is wheel-made, with a trefoil mouth.

Base Ring ware is typical of the Late Cypriot period and is characterised by a very hard fabric, thin walls and a metallic lustre. Fired at high temperatures, it demonstrates advances in technical skills in this period. Two Base Ring juglets from Enkomi ([LEEDM.D.1964.0321](#) and [LEEDM.D.1964.0323](#)) are of a common type, and are joined in the collection by two further juglets without provenience ([LEEDM.D.1964.0320](#) and [LEEDM.D.1964.0322](#)). The shape of such juglets has been interpreted as designed to resemble the capsule of an opium poppy, with the stem represented by the neck of the jar, and the base ring resembling the top of the

¹²⁴ Bushnell, 2016, p. 32ff; Steel, 2004b, p. 9.

¹²⁵ Graziado, 2017, p. 56.

¹²⁶ Pezzi, 2017, p. 116.

¹²⁷ Åström and Popham, 1972, p. 425.

poppy capsule; plastic or incised decoration on the shoulder represents the incision made on the capsule to collect the opium-bearing latex. According to this theory, the shape indicates that the juglets contained an opium-bearing product, and acts as a form of advertising.¹²⁸ Scientific analysis of juglet residues offers some support for this, although other uses for the juglets are also proposed, most notably perfumed oil, essential for burial rituals in hot countries, especially in view of tomb re-use.¹²⁹ [LEEDM.D.1964.0320](#) has applied decoration of a stylised snake on the shoulder, a chthonic motif associated with sleep and death, and therefore also appropriate to opiate contents.¹³⁰ Such juglets have been found throughout the eastern Mediterranean, indicating an extensive trading network.

Cyprus' rich resources of copper ore were key to its social and economic development, driven by overseas trade, and Enkomi was an important centre in the development of metallurgy in Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age.¹³¹ The collection has one bronze object from this site, a ferrule for a spear ([LEEDM.D.1998.0055](#)). Weapons are rare in burials, and this may therefore be a marker of high status.¹³² An axehead ([LEEDM.D.1964.0383](#)) which lacks provenience but probably dates to the Early-Middle Bronze Age, may have similar significance. By contrast, a stone pestle ([LEEDM.D.1964.0394](#)) from Enkomi, in the shape of a truncated cone with a polished face, may also be a personal possession and/or a practical tool for use in the afterlife, but is unlikely to carry such prestige.

Five Late Cypriot spindle whorls from Enkomi ([LEEDM.D.1964.0385.001](#), [-002](#), [-003](#), and [-004](#) and [LEEDM.D.1964.0395](#)), three of stone and two of bone or ivory, may also have had personal significance for the person or people they were buried with. Due to inadequate recording of their excavation, it is not known whether they were found together in the same tomb or separately, or associated with male or female burials; as Keswani emphasises, modern assumptions about the gender-based associations of certain kinds of objects (such as weapons and textile production tools) are generally not grounded in the available evidence.¹³³ The usewear on the spindle whorls indicates that they initially had a function as tools in textile production, before they were taken out of use and added to the burial, perhaps for a range of overlapping reasons: as a tool provided for further use in the afterlife; as a social marker of the habitual activity of the dead person during their life; and/or as a

¹²⁸ An early proponent of this theory was Merrillees, 1962.

¹²⁹ See recent scientific analysis of residues by Smith et al., 2018. Bushnell, 2016, p. 41.

¹³⁰ Morris, 1985, p. 232.

¹³¹ Kassianidou, 2016.

¹³² Graziado and Pezzi, 2010, p. 23.

¹³³ Keswani, 2004, pp. 75-76.

personal possession closely associated with them.¹³⁴ Spindle whorls have been described as ‘expedient... with little intrinsic value and easily replaced’, and compared to some of the very elaborate grave goods found at Enkomi, this is doubtless the case.¹³⁵ However, to function successfully a whorl has to comply with technical criteria as to weight, size, and the centrality of the piercing; they therefore required some skill and effort to make.¹³⁶ In addition, the decoration, especially the border of semicircles on one of the stone whorls, would have taken time and skill to produce, suggesting that these objects were valued by their owners. These objects therefore constitute grave-goods of not negligible value, although unlikely to have been prestige items compared with imported ceramics and high-status material such as gold and faience.¹³⁷ Two other terracotta objects without provenience and therefore difficult to date ([LEEDM.D.2018.0003.062.001](#) and [LEEDM.D.2018.0003.062.002](#)), are most likely loom weights, also part of textile equipment.

Objects from Klavdia-Tremithos

The history of the British Museum’s excavations at Klavdia-Tremithos is likewise discussed in Chapter 4. This site is situated near to the Tremithos river, in the south-east of Cyprus, and was populated from the later Middle to the Late Cypriot Bronze Age (around 1750-1200 BC). This was part of a wave of settlement in the south-east and south of Cyprus during the Middle and Late Cypriot Bronze Age, related to increased trading activity and production. It was situated near to the major coastal cities of Hala Sultan Tekke and Kition (see map at Annex B), which were centres of trade with the eastern Mediterranean.¹³⁸ As with Enkomi, the objects excavated by the British Museum demonstrate considerable cultural contact between the population and overseas communities, with imports from Egypt and the Aegean. This suggests that at least some of the community at Klavdia were able to access the prestigious goods imported at the coastal cities, perhaps by acting as a trading post for communities further inland, although the degree to which it was independent, or was a subordinate node in a wider economic network, continues to be debated.¹³⁹ The objects in the Leeds collection were again almost certainly found in tombs, and therefore provide

¹³⁴ See the detailed study by Crewe, 1998. Graziado and Pezzi, 2010, p. 23.

¹³⁵ See Smith’s discussion of textile production in Late Bronze Age Cyprus (Smith, 2002, p. 292).

¹³⁶ Crewe, 1998, pp. 12-14.

¹³⁷ Crewe, 1998, p. 65.

¹³⁸ Kiely, 2011b.

¹³⁹ Malmgren, 2003 argues that Klavdia-Tremithos was a primary site (pp. 114-117), while Iacovou, 2005 considers that the evidence is insufficient to support this; see also Kiely, 2011b, suggesting Klavdia was ‘an intermediary settlement between the coast and the interior’.

evidence for funerary rituals and beliefs, although as at Enkomi information on precise locations or relations to human remains was not recorded.¹⁴⁰

As at Enkomi, the objects from Klavdia include vessels for perfumed or otherwise treated oils. A Middle Cypriot III Black Slip flask ([LEEDM.D.1964.0300](#)) has incised and punctured decoration. This Black Slip ware, to be distinguished from the Cypro-Geometric bucchero-style jug ([LEEDM.D.1964.0325](#)) discussed above, was first produced in the Early Bronze Age and became more widespread in the Middle Bronze Age. It is handmade, and characterised by thin brown-black slip and incised decoration. Black Slip Ware is further represented in the Leeds collection by four vessels without provenience: a cylindrical juglet ([LEEDM.D.1964.0299](#)), a globular-bodied juglet ([LEEDM.D.1964.0304](#)), and two ovoid-bodied juglets with small button feet ([LEEDM.D.1964.0301](#) and [LEEDM.D.1964.0302](#)). The decoration of this last juglet in particular, with its combination of incised lines and punctured dots, may reflect the influence of imported Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware (see discussion of this ware below).¹⁴¹

White Painted ware is characterised by painted geometric decoration on pale slip, and dates from the Middle Cypriot – Late Cypriot periods. A White Painted juglet from Klavdia ([LEEDM.D.1964.0316](#)) is decorated in Pendent Line Style, defined as ‘vertical straight and wavy lines, alternating in groups’.¹⁴² It is of a style thought to have been manufactured in eastern Cyprus.¹⁴³ There are two further White Painted juglets without provenience ([LEEDM.D.1964.0317](#) and [LEEDM.D.1964.0318](#)); the first is very similar in decoration, while the second, of which the neck is missing, has more complex cross-hatched decoration, ranging from dark brown to reddish due to variation in the firing. Base Ring ware from Klavdia is represented by a Late Cypriot lentoid flask, with painted white linear decoration ([LEEDM.D.1964.0306](#)), which can be included in the category of vessels used for perfumed or otherwise treated oil. There is also a stone pestle with a rounded base ([LEEDM.D.1998.0056](#)).

Some objects from Klavdia are indicative of contact with other cultures, and can be interpreted as reflecting the desire of elites to differentiate themselves through displays of wealth, such as a Late Cypriot Pastoral Style krater ([LEEDM.D.1964.0335](#)) featuring a scene

¹⁴⁰ The approach and results of the British Museum’s excavations are discussed by Kiely, 2011b and Malmgren, 2003.

¹⁴¹ Malmgren, 2003, pp. 72-73; Negbi, 1978.

¹⁴² Åström, 1972, pp. 29-30.

¹⁴³ See analysis in Bushnell, 2016, p. 160.

on either side of a bull sniffing a plant, iconography which symbolises fecundity and material abundance.¹⁴⁴ This is not an import but a Cypriot production; analysis has shown that kraters of this kind, recognisable by their fabric and decoration, are made of local clay.¹⁴⁵ According to the art-historical judgement of Vermeule and Karageorghis, Pastoral Style kraters such as this are technically inferior imitations of Mycenaean kraters; the clay is coarser, the pictorial decoration is rather more crude, and they do not achieve the surface lustre which might have been a major part of the attraction of the Mycenaean ware.¹⁴⁶ However, this assessment is to some extent subjective, and as Sherratt proposes, the decoration of such kraters may be more appropriately considered in a broader Mediterranean context; the iconography has similarities with Egyptian polychrome or blue-painted ware, and may echo other media such as finely carved ivory or textiles.¹⁴⁷

Further Mycenaean sherds, of which two survive ([LEEDM.D.1964.0341](#) and [LEEDM.D.1964.0341.003](#)), were also donated by the British Museum in 1902, at the same time as the Enkomi and Klavdia objects. They are said to have come from Cyprus, but their findspot is unknown. They are from pictorial kraters (a bell krater and an amphoroid krater respectively) and show warriors and chariots, associated with wealth and elite activity. Although the bell-krater sherd appears to have been misfired or suffered heat damage, the use of specialist software has allowed its image to be recovered (**Fig. 1.1**), showing part of a chariot with a standing figure following.¹⁴⁸ As discussed above, such pictorial craters were high prestige objects and limited to wealthier burials.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁴ Steel, 2013, p. 88.

¹⁴⁵ Anson, 1980. This krater can be assigned to Anson's Group B, which he suggests were made at a workshop outside Enkomi, perhaps at Kition (p. 15).

¹⁴⁶ Vermeule and Karageorghis, 1982, pp. 59-64.

¹⁴⁷ Sherratt, 1999, pp. 190-192. Karageorghis, 1965, p. 235.

¹⁴⁸ Ogburn et al., retroReveal.org.

¹⁴⁹ Steel, 2004b, p. 9. Sherratt suggests that this kind of pottery is more likely to have served as a proxy for 'genuinely elite' objects, for example of metal, for people who were unable to obtain such objects, or in contexts in which their use was unnecessary (Sherratt, 1999, pp. 185, 188).



Fig. 1.1 Sherd (LEEDM.D.1964.0341) photographed under normal lighting conditions and processed at RetroReveal.org by the present author.

© Leeds Museums and Galleries.

Objects without provenience

Due to their lack of archaeological provenience, the remaining objects – the majority of the collection – are discussed in a chronological framework, with brief mention of their surmised archaeological context where possible. This discussion is organised by type of ware, broadly divided into two periods: the Middle and Late Bronze Age (c. 2000 – 1050 BC), and the Cypro-Geometric period (c. 1050 – 750 BC) and later.

Middle and Late Bronze Age (c. 2000 – 1050 BC)

The collection has five vessels of Red Polished Ware, which was ‘the predominant pottery in Cyprus throughout the Early and Middle Bronze Age periods’ and is handmade, characterised by a red or red-brown slip which is usually polished, resulting in a lustrous appearance.¹⁵⁰ Vessels often have incised linear decoration, sometimes filled with white lime to produce a contrasting colour effect. They appear in a wide range of forms, such as vessels for storing and serving food and drink, and for presumed ritual use. They may have been used for

¹⁵⁰ Barlow, 1991, p. 51.

feasting as part of funerary rites, and/or deposited in the tomb as markers of status and potentially for use in the afterlife.

An Early to Middle Cypriot Red Polished III composite vessel of three jars joined by their handles ([LEEDM.D.1964.0298](#)) has an intriguing form, and was perhaps made for ritual rather than practical use. By contrast, two jugs could have been used for feasting or libations, before being deposited in tombs. An Early Cypriot IIIA - Middle Cypriot II Red Polished III Ware jug ([LEEDM.D.1964.0303](#)) with incised linear decoration and lustrous red/orange slip is of a common form, often compared to gourds, and most frequently found in the northern part of Cyprus but also in the south.¹⁵¹ A Red Polished III jug with a cut-away spout ([LEEDM.D.1964.0303.001](#)) has a double horizontal incised mark at the top of its handle, which would have been made deliberately before the vessel was fired. Such marked vessels are not uncommon in Early Cypriot tombs, with the numbers growing less into the Middle Cypriot period.¹⁵² As Hirschfeld's study demonstrates, such markings could carry a wide range of meanings, and cannot be interpreted in isolation.¹⁵³

Red Slip ware is closely associated with Black Slip (discussed above in relation to Klavdia), being reddish in appearance rather than brown-black; the difference may be due simply to variations in firing.¹⁵⁴ A Red Slip II-III Ware jug ([LEEDM.D.1964.0330](#)) from the Middle Cypriot period has applied decoration in shallow relief marked with deeply punctured dots. Another juglet ([LEEDM.D.1988.0002](#)) with a horned handle and small pierced string-loop projection opposite the handle, may be characterised as Black Slip or Red Slip, and probably dates to the Middle Cypriot II period.

As the Middle Bronze Age progressed, White Painted ware replaced Red Polished ware as the most common ceramic type. It is handmade, with pale slip and red to brown painted decoration. As well as the juglet from Klavdia and similar juglets discussed above, there are two more juglets of this ware, [LEEDM.D.1964.0314](#) and [LEEDM.D.1988.0001](#). These have similar-shaped piriform bodies but their mouths are cut-away instead of round. A flattened oval flask ([LEEDM.D.1964.0315](#)) with a small loop handle and round rim also belongs to this category. All these have painted linear decoration in complex motifs. A Late Cypriot IIC-III

¹⁵¹ Karageorghis, 2003, p. 21.

¹⁵² Salter, 2008, p. 246.

¹⁵³ Hirschfeld, 2002, p. 49.

¹⁵⁴ Bushnell, 2016, p. 156.

two-handled bowl ([LEEDM.D.T.2185](#)) is similar in appearance to imported Late Helladic bowls, which have been found at Enkomi, although this one has no provenience.

In addition to the Base Ring juglets and lentoid flask discussed above, there are two Base Ring tankards, one with a thumb grip and white decoration ([LEEDM.D.1964.0324](#), Late Cypriot II), and the other slightly earlier ([LEEDM.D.T.1878](#), Late Cypriot I) with damage where a thumb grip might have been; both these are self-evidently drinking vessels. The versatility of Base Ring Ware is demonstrated by an askos in the form of a bull ([LEEDM.D.1964.0403](#)) which retains faint traces of similar decoration in white paint. Such vessels are suitable for slow, controlled pouring of liquids, and those for which the provenience is known were found in tombs. It is often thought that they would have had a ritual function, although Yon cautions against extrapolating from the object's characteristics – its animal shape and ability to pour liquids slowly - to assumptions about its use.¹⁵⁵ The iconography of the bull was current in Cyprus over a long period in the form of figurines, vessels such as this one, and painted decoration (for example on the krater discussed above).

Three pouring vessels of Late Cypriot White Painted ware are zoomorphic in shape. As above, it is possible that vessels of this kind had a ritual function, although little is known about their actual uses. The first is a Proto-White Painted askos ([LEEDM.D.1964.0354](#)). It schematically represents a duck, with three stub feet, a small forked tail, a long goose-neck with trefoil lip, and two breast-shaped protrusions on the back. The next ([LEEDM.D.1964.0326](#)) is quadrilateral in shape with bifurcated legs at the front and back, and resembles a quadruped, perhaps a bull; its neck ends in a flared rim tapered to form a spout. It has painted geometric decoration. By contrast, the third ([LEEDM.D.1964.0309](#)) is bull-shaped and fairly naturalistic, with a narrow muzzle, four legs, forward-curving ears and a tail. Archival images show that it originally had a small dog perched on its handle, a playful Bronze Age motif.¹⁵⁶ It is again decorated in abstract linear patterns and cross-hatched motifs.

The collection includes two Late Cypriot White Slip II bowls, [LEEDM.D.1964.0312](#) and [LEEDM.D.1964.0313](#). Popham posits that such bowls, with their distinctive white clay and geometric painted decoration, functioned as 'finer table-ware', and suggests that they may have been hung on walls to display their decoration.¹⁵⁷ Their rounded bases make them

¹⁵⁵ Yon, 1997, p. 58.

¹⁵⁶ See Slide N, Annex E. Morris, 1985, p. 220 and Vermeule and Wolsky, 1991, Fig. 73 give examples of these kinds of animal attachments.

¹⁵⁷ Åström et al., 1972, pp. 431-432.

unstable, but they can easily be stacked, as indicated by the finds from the Uluburn shipwreck.¹⁵⁸ Fired at high temperatures, they would have been robust enough to serve hot as well as cold foods.

An unusual Middle Cypriot-Late Cypriot juglet of Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware ([LEEDM.D.1964.0305](#)) has three acorn-shaped sections joined by a single shoulder and neck, with punctured decoration, and was probably used for perfumed oil.¹⁵⁹ This belongs to the corpus of Tell el-Yahudiyeh juglets designed in the shape of fruit.¹⁶⁰ Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware has been found widely across the eastern Mediterranean, although its origins and development remain the subject of debate.¹⁶¹ Its presence in Cyprus is indicative of close trading relationships between Cyprus and neighbouring countries in this period. As Keswani comments, imported goods may have been highly prized due to their exotic, unfamiliar nature, and their contents would also have been valuable, as indicated by the small capacity.¹⁶²

Cypro-Geometric period (1050 – 750 BC) and later

Black on Red Ware appears in Cyprus from the Cypro-Geometric to the Cypro-Archaic periods. It is found in both tomb and settlement contexts and was also exported widely.¹⁶³ It appears in the form of vessels of many kinds, such as amphorae, cups and bowls, but probably the most common are the small vessels such as two-handled flasks ([LEEDM.D.1964.0362](#), [LEEDM.D.1988.0007](#) and [LEEDM.D.2004.0001.017](#)) and single-handled juglets ([LEEDM.D.1964.0363](#), [LEEDM.D.1964.0364](#), and [LEEDM.D.2018.0003.079](#)). They were used to hold liquids, most likely perfumed or otherwise treated oil given the small size of many of the vessels.¹⁶⁴ They are made of fine orange-red fabric with lustrous slip, decorated with black painted bands and rings, and concentric circles drawn with the aid of a compass or multiple brush. The neck-ridge is characteristic of this style of pottery, and is thought to imitate the method of joining the handle to the neck on more costly metal vessels.¹⁶⁵ The highly burnished finish, most noticeable on [LEEDM.D.1964.0362](#) and [LEEDM.D.1964.0363](#),

¹⁵⁸ Hirschfeld, 2011, p. 119.

¹⁵⁹ Merrillees, 2001, p. 224.

¹⁶⁰ As identified in the corpus set out by Aston and Bietak, 2012, p. 81.

¹⁶¹ Aston, 2008.

¹⁶² Keswani, 2004, p. 79.

¹⁶³ Schreiber, 2003, xxix.

¹⁶⁴ Schreiber, 2003, p. 56.

¹⁶⁵ Schreiber, 2003, p. 58.

also resembles that of jugs made of copper, a less readily obtainable and easily worked material which would therefore have been more expensive and prestigious; these cheaper imitations would have been more robust and may have had a role as more affordable grave goods.¹⁶⁶

The collection includes one small Cypro-Archaic II pottery juglet of Red Slip III Ware ([LEEDM.D.1964.0327](#)), which has a small loop handle and an outturned 'mushroom' lip. Such juglets are thought to imitate larger imported Phoenician juglets and to have been 'mass-produced for votive use'.¹⁶⁷

The White Painted Ware includes a small bowl ([LEEDM.D.1964.0352](#)) from the Cypro-Geometric period with straight sides, decorated with broad bands of dark brown, and a slightly later Cypro-Archaic I bowl with outturned rim and broad and narrow bands of decoration ([LEEDM.D.1964.0356](#)). Two Cypro-Geometric III White Painted juglets ([LEEDM.D.1988.0003](#) and [.0004](#)) have 'free field' decoration on their bodies of a rayed circle and a stylised tree respectively. These jugs are imaginative representations of animals, perhaps birds, with beaked spouts, painted eyes (represented by a dot within a circle) below the rim on either side, and curving tails painted below the handles.

White Painted Ware is also represented by a Cypro-Archaic pierced dish ([LEEDM.D.1964.0377](#)) which might have been used as a strainer, a Cypro-Geometric amphoriskos or two-handled cup ([LEEDM.D.1964.0351](#)), and a Cypro-Geometric lenticular flask ([LEEDM.D.1964.0361](#)). The decoration of concentric circles on the latter has been overpainted to make it stand out more vividly, an indication of curatorial priorities and practices in its more recent history, discussed further in Chapter 6. A Cypro-Geometric globular spouted vessel ([LEEDM.D.2018.0003.078](#)) is of a type often described as a 'feeding bottle', suitable for delivering liquid food or medicine. A two-handled bowl ([LEEDM.D.1964.0342](#)) decorated with red-brown concentric circles inside and bands on its exterior probably also dates to the Cypro-Geometric period.

Bichrome Ware, decorated in two or more colours, is first seen around the Late Bronze Age to the beginning of the Cypro-Geometric period, and continues to develop through the Cypro-Archaic period. There are continuities in shape and decoration with contemporary

¹⁶⁶ Schreiber, 2003, pp. 59, 274.

¹⁶⁷ Webb, 1997, p. 8.

White Painted ware. Earlier vessels are characterised by abstract geometric decoration, while pictorial and floral designs develop later.¹⁶⁸ Two shallow dishes in the Leeds collection have Bichrome decoration, one from the mid-late Cypro-Geometric period ([LEEDM.D.1964.0345](#)) and the other slightly later, possibly into the Cypro-Archaic period ([LEEDM.D.1964.0343](#)). The more elaborate bichrome decoration on their outer surfaces, compared to the monochrome interiors, may indicate that they were designed to be displayed by being hung on walls from their small loop or pierced handles.¹⁶⁹ Two stemmed drinking vessels, [LEEDM.D.1964.0348](#) (Cypro-Geometric) and [LEEDM.D.1988.0005](#) (Cypro-Archaic), have elaborately detailed decoration. The central rectangular motif on the former is of a type identified by Karageorghis as representing a tray with opposed handles, which could be effectively displayed hung from a wall, and is associated with sacrifice and ritual banquets.¹⁷⁰

Two spouted vessels with handles ([LEEDM.D.1964.0346](#) and [LEEDM.D.1964.0347](#)) are later Bichrome versions of the White Painted 'feeding bottle' described above; the former has a horizontal basket handle over its rim while the latter has a vertical handle from rim to shoulder, both designed to make pouring easy and controlled, suggesting that these vessels had a practical use. A Cypro-Archaic amphora ([LEEDM.D.1964.0350](#)) is imposingly large and elaborately decorated, and would have made an impressive contribution to grave goods. Two smaller amphorae ([LEEDM.D.1964.0358](#) and [LEEDM.D.1964.0359](#)) have simpler decoration of painted bands, while a third ([LEEDM.D.1988.0006](#)) is decorated with a stylised lotus motif on the shoulder, an Eastern motif which is often found on ceramics in the Cypro-Archaic period.¹⁷¹ The museum's records report that this amphora was labelled as being from Amathus, although without giving any further details; the style and decoration do not contradict this identification, although they are not diagnostic.

A Cypro-Archaic juglet with a round mouth and Bichrome decoration in black and red ([LEEDM.D.1964.0349](#)) is of a suitable size for perfumed oil. There are also nine Cypro-Archaic Bichrome jugs with trefoil mouths, perhaps used for water or wine. Of these, [LEEDM.D.1964.0374](#) has painted decoration of a dot within a circle on either side of its rim representing eyes, and abstract geometric decoration on the body similar to the White Painted 'bird' jugs discussed above. The others ([LEEDM.D.1964.0365](#), [.0366](#), [.0367](#), [.0369](#), [.0370](#), [.0371](#), [.0372](#), and [.0373](#)) feature characteristic Bichrome decoration of concentric and

¹⁶⁸ Gjerstad, 1948, pp. 55, 61.

¹⁶⁹ Karageorghis, 2003, p. 65.

¹⁷⁰ Karageorghis, 2006, pp. 543-546.

¹⁷¹ Morris, 1985, p. 240.

intersecting circles in different diameters and widths, in red and brown/black paint.

[LEEDM.D.1964.0370](#) has been thoroughly scoured at some point, perhaps in an attempt to clean its surface of dirt and accretions. As a result, only faint traces of its original decoration remain. To this group also belongs a large barrel jug ([LEEDM.D.1964.0368](#)) with an elaborate decorative scheme and a flared trumpet mouth, its striking visual presence perhaps suggesting a role as a high-status grave offering. On a smaller scale, a Cypro-Archaic Bichrome jar ([LEEDM.D.1964.0380](#)) has straight sides and decoration designed to emphasise its carinated shoulder and foot.

A fusiform (spindle-shaped) unguentarium ([LEEDM.D.1968.0035](#)) from the Hellenistic period, 2nd century BC, is wheel-made with a solid stem and foot. This shape of vessel is widely found throughout the Mediterranean, and would have been practical for a wide range of commodities, but was most likely used for perfumed oil.¹⁷² Its ubiquitous form is indicative of the extent to which Cypriot productions became aligned with those of the wider Greek world during the Hellenistic period.

A carinated wheel-made bowl ([LEEDM.D.1964.0334](#)) is so small, at 31mm high, that it could be a miniaturised grave offering, standing in for a larger and more costly bowl. Without context, it is difficult to date, and could come from the Cypro-Archaic to the Hellenistic/Roman periods.

Four wheel-made objects are of Cypriot Sigillata, 'the standard fine ware in Cyprus in Early Roman times', and are notable for their deep red colour with metallic lustre.¹⁷³ Lund suggests that the main centre of production for this ware could have been the Nea Paphos region.¹⁷⁴ A flask ([LEEDM.D.1964.0329](#)) is decorated with rouletting and incised grooves, and a two-handled cup ([LEEDM.D.1964.0376](#)) has a sharply carinated profile. Two slender jugs ([LEEDM.D.1964.0310](#) and [LEEDM.D.1964.0311](#)) both have 'Lefka T.8' written in pencil on the side, perhaps a reference to a findspot in a tomb or trench at Lefka in the north of Cyprus. Considerable amounts of Cypriot Sigillata ware have been found in the nearby Soli region, which would add support to this findspot, but the excavation which produced these jugs is not known.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² Rotroff, 2006, p. 137.

¹⁷³ Hayes, 1967, p. 74.

¹⁷⁴ Lund, 2002, pp. 188-189.

¹⁷⁵ Hayes, 1967.

In addition to the ferrule from Enkomi and the axe discussed above, there are several other bronze objects in the collection. These include two pieces of jewellery, one which is perhaps a bracelet or necklet with an engraved spiral pattern running along its length ([LEEDM.D.1964.0390](#)), and a bracelet with spiral terminals ([LEEDM.D.1964.0384](#)).

Comparison with other objects for which the archaeological context is known (from which an 'ideal' biography can be deduced, in Kopytoff's terms) suggests that these might have been worn at the time of burial; they are also robust enough to have been used as jewellery before deposition, in contrast to the fragile gold-leaf adornments sometimes found associated with human remains, which may have been produced specifically for the burial.¹⁷⁶ There is also a mirror ([LEEDM.D.1964.0388](#)) with a tang for a handle of some perishable material such as ivory or wood which has not been preserved; this could be Cypro-Geometric to Cypro-Classical. In addition, there are two metal strips perhaps originally joined as tweezers ([LEEDM.D.1964.0391.001](#) and [.002](#)), and a spatula ([LEEDM.D.1964.0393](#)) which could be Hellenistic to Roman. These can be interpreted as toilet items, which were personal possessions or gifts for use in the afterlife; alternatively (or additionally), the spatula could have been used as an applicator for unguent as part of funerary rituals. There is some evidence for associating mirrors with female burials, but otherwise there are few grounds for interpreting these as gendered offerings.¹⁷⁷

The collection includes two Roman terracotta lamps with moulded decoration, from the first century AD; [LEEDM.D.1963.0012](#) shows a cockerel, and [LEEDM.D.1963.0013](#) depicts Jupiter with his eagle gripping a thunderbolt in its feet. Another, undecorated lamp is from the Hellenistic period ([LEEDM.D.1963.0014](#)). Mythological scenes, as well as animals and scenes from daily life, are common on Roman lamps, which were produced in Cyprus and also imported.¹⁷⁸ A further saucer-shaped lamp ([LEEDM.D.2018.0003.086](#)) is wheel-made, of a very simple design. Lamps made in this way were used between the Late Bronze Age and Classical periods, and so without archaeological context it is difficult to date.¹⁷⁹

An alabastron ([LEEDM.D.1964.0382](#)) could have been made locally or imported, and could date from the Cypro-Achaic to the Classical or Hellenistic periods. It would have held perfumed oil, which could have been used for personal grooming, or for funeral rites.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ Parks, 2009, p. 215.

¹⁷⁷ Parks, 2009, p. 216.

¹⁷⁸ Walters, 1914, xxvii; Lightfoot, 2021.

¹⁷⁹ Lightfoot, 2021, p. 32.

¹⁸⁰ Chavane, 1990, pp. 77-78.

There is also one astragalos or knucklebone ([LEEDM.D.1964.0387](#)), part of gaming equipment, and as such a personal possession or gift for use in the afterlife, perhaps suggesting a conception of life after death with leisure for gaming. These have been found in burials at Amathus, Soli and Ledri, often in large numbers, and based on these comparators this example may date from the Cypro-Classical to the early Roman period.¹⁸¹

A 6th century Corinthian aryballos decorated with a frieze of warriors carrying round shields ([LEEDM.D.1967.1272](#)) is noted in the museum's records as having come from Cyprus, while it was evidently made in Greece. Corinthian pottery was exported widely in the 7th and 6th centuries BC, including to Cyprus, although it is found there relatively rarely.¹⁸² Another import is an Archaic East Greek Black Glaze cup ([LEEDM.D.1964.0381](#)) without provenience, of a type found at various sites in Cyprus.¹⁸³ A Bichrome vessel ([LEEDM.D.1964.0344](#)) is a Phoenician import to Cyprus, of a type best attested at Kition, while another ([LEEDM.D.1964.0355](#)) is more likely to be a Cypriot production imitating Phoenician prototypes. They are both of the Cypro-Geometric period.¹⁸⁴

Figurines

There are 36 terracotta figurines in the LMG collection, many fragmentary, and one head made of limestone. While none of these has archaeological provenience, it is possible to situate some of them in relation to well-developed typologies based on objects from recorded excavations, and therefore to have some degree of confidence in identifying their likely date and place of manufacture. They may have come from settlement sites, and have been used in day-to-day life; from tombs, as part of grave goods; or from sanctuaries, as offerings to the gods. They therefore have the potential to reflect beliefs, rituals and identities, although it is beyond the scope of the present study to engage fully in ongoing debates about their interpretations and range of significance.¹⁸⁵ The discussion is divided into three chronological sections: the Late Bronze Age (c. 1650 – 1050 BC); the Cypro-Geometric – Cypro-Archaic periods (c. 1050 – 475 BC); and the Cypro-Classical period and later (c. 475 BC onwards).

¹⁸¹ Parks, 1999, pp. 301-302.

¹⁸² A survey by Sørensen recorded only 19 6th-century Corinthian aryballoi found in Cyprus (Sørensen, 1991).

¹⁸³ Gjerstad et al., 1977.

¹⁸⁴ Hadjisavvas, 2014, pp. 20, 24; Bikai, 1987 no. 185. I am grateful to Dr Anna Georgiadou for information on these vessels.

¹⁸⁵ A more detailed discussion of some of these figurines is in Reeve, forthcoming-b.

Late Bronze Age (c. 1650 – 1050 BC)

The collection includes two fragmentary Base Ring Ware female figurines, a torso including the upper part of the legs ([LEEDM.D.2001.0084](#)) and most of a head ([LEEDM.D.1963.0075](#)). Base Ring figures are commonly divided into Type A, known as ‘bird-headed’ with exaggeratedly large ears often bearing multiple earrings, and Type B, ‘flat-headed’. Both of these can be identified as ‘flat-headed’ despite their fragmentary state, due to details of their shape and decoration.¹⁸⁶ Their sexual characteristics are emphasised through incised decoration and the placement of the hands, and they are often interpreted as representations of a fertility goddess.¹⁸⁷

Cypro-Geometric – Cypro-Archaic periods (c. 1050 – 475 BC)

Two heads of figures ([LEEDM.D.1963.0072](#) and [LEEDM.D.1963.0073](#)) are typical of the Cypro-Archaic period, with features distinguished by jutting noses and chins or beards, and headdresses low over the foreheads. Such features are found in figurines engaged in a wide range of activities, which are now unrecoverable for these examples due to their fragmentary nature. A similar figure ([LEEDM.D.1964.0402](#)) carries a disc against its body, a drum or perhaps an offering, which indicates its role as a votive at a sanctuary.¹⁸⁸ Another Cypro-Archaic figure ([LEEDM.D.1968.0036.001](#)) wears a pointed cap and has an ambiguous pose, with one arm held against the body, and the other slightly away from its side with the hand curved round; it might have formerly carried a weapon.

A Cypro-Geometric figurine has a similar hand-made head, with a jutting chin or beard and a peaked cap, but has a hollow wheel-made bell-shaped body pierced at the sides ([LEEDM.D.1968.0036.002](#)). This would once have had articulated legs attached through the holes, and so would have had an element of movement, which must have been an important part of its identity. Interpretations of such figurines range from children’s toys to votive offerings.¹⁸⁹ The upraised arms are ambiguous; this is a pose more commonly associated with female figurines representing ‘goddesses with upraised arms’ or adorants, such as

¹⁸⁶ This identification is based on the detailed study of the known corpus by Alexandrou, 2016, pp. 19-20, 25-26.

¹⁸⁷ Alexandrou, 2016, p. 38.

¹⁸⁸ Karageorghis, 1998, p. 30.

¹⁸⁹ Karageorghis, 1993, pp. 80-81. Vandenabeele, 1973, pp. 55-57, Fig. 11.

[LEEDM.D.1968.0036.003](#) (Cypro-Archaic).¹⁹⁰ Although this latter figure is fragmentary, with the head and most of the arms missing, the pose of epiphany or adoration can still be detected. It may represent a worshipper or the 'Great Goddess' of Cyprus.¹⁹¹

A further fragmentary figurine ([LEEDM.D.1963.0081](#)) is made of limestone, and represents a head with short curly hair, well-defined almond-shaped eyes and a small slightly upturned mouth. It probably dates to the Cypro-Archaic period.

Small terracotta representations of animals, such as the quadruped, possibly a dog [LEEDM.D.1964.0397](#), are frequently found in mortuary and sanctuary settings. They may represent toys, or perhaps stand in for the sacrifice of animals. Models of horses carry a different range of connotations, being associated with high status and military prowess.¹⁹² They are found from the Cypro-Geometric period onwards, and especially during the Cypro-Archaic period, most commonly in shrines, and also in graves. A fragmentary horse figurine ([LEEDM.D.2018.0003.084](#)) is missing the lower parts of all its legs, and also its rider, whose former presence can be deduced by traces of his hands on its neck. As Karageorghis states, 'The possession and use of a horse, not necessarily for warfare but also in daily life and ceremonies, must have been considered as a status symbol', and models such as this were appropriate for dedication at sanctuaries.¹⁹³ It dates from the Cypro-Archaic period, probably towards the latter end.

Two standing female figures ([LEEDM.D.1963.0070](#) and [LEEDM.D.1963.0071](#)) from the Cypro-Archaic period have mould-made fronts and unfinished, flattened backs, suggesting that they would have been displayed facing forwards in a sanctuary setting. They closely resemble each other, each wearing a clinging robe through which the shape of her body is clearly visible, and ornate jewellery. Both retain traces of polychromy; the latter's robe is painted red, with black paint on the hair. Similar figurines are known from Salamis, Idalion and Lapethos. Yon and Caubet suggest that the transparent robe represents a compromise between the Cypriot tradition of fully-clothed figures and the Eastern motif of the nude goddess.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰ Ulbrich, 2010, p. 173.

¹⁹¹ Karageorghis, 1982, p. 144.

¹⁹² Müller, 2018.

¹⁹³ Karageorghis, 1995, p. 61.

¹⁹⁴ Yon and Caubet, 1988, p. 9.

Probably also belonging to this period are three heads of figures; [LEEDM.D.1963.0074](#) has moulded features and a separately applied high headdress; [LEEDM.D.1963.0076](#) is again moulded, and hollow, with wide eyes and a prominent rounded nose; and [LEEDM.D.1963.0079](#) perhaps represents a youth, with a pointed cap and fringed hair across the forehead.

Two Cypro-Archaic heads of male figures wearing pointed caps ([LEEDM.D.1963.0078](#) and [LEEDM.D.1963.0082](#)) are very similar, raising the possibility that they come from the same site. They are closely paralleled by a figurine from Cyprus at the British Museum (BM 1886,0401.1479) described as a beardless youth and found at Naukratis in Egypt. By this analogy they would have been standing, and holding an animal as an offering.¹⁹⁵

The head of a male warrior wearing a pointed helmet with a nose protector ([LEEDM.D.1963.0080](#), also from the Cypro-Archaic period) belongs to a chariot rider, which would have been one of a group of three or four in a terracotta model of a chariot for dedication at a sanctuary.¹⁹⁶ It may have originally held a shield and/or a weapon. Chariots, and the horses required to pull them, were markers of prestige and status throughout the eastern Mediterranean and Middle East. The depiction of a prestigious activity in the low-value medium of terracotta indicates a wish to lay claim to high status without necessarily having the resources to dedicate an object made of precious or rare materials. It may perhaps have been a votive offering to request safety in battle.¹⁹⁷

A moulded head of a female figurine ([LEEDM.D.1963.0083](#), late Cypro-Archaic or early Cypro-Classical) can be identified as *dea gravida* type, representing a standing, pregnant woman, by means of the features and the elaborate arrangement of the hair. Such figures are based on Phoenician types and have primarily been found at Kition and Amathus.¹⁹⁸

A group of five Cypro-Archaic percussionists ([LEEDM.D.1964.0398](#), [.0399](#), [.0399.001](#), [.0399.002](#) and [.0399.003](#)) can be associated with Lapethos due to their similarity to figures with better provenience.¹⁹⁹ They have cylindrical wheel-made bodies and mould-made faces, and four carry a cylindrical disc representing a drum; the fifth no longer has its instrument,

¹⁹⁵ See Villing et al., 2015.

¹⁹⁶ Karageorghis, 1995, pp. 127, cat. II(v)111, Pl. LXXV:126.

¹⁹⁷ Müller, 2018.

¹⁹⁸ Caubet et al., 1998a, pp. 289-290; Hermary, 1996, p. 20; Yon and Caubet, 1989, p. 31.

¹⁹⁹ Yon and Caubet, 1988.

although the pellet designed to support it remains. Similar figurines have been found in sanctuary and funerary settings, and can be interpreted as making music for ritual purposes.²⁰⁰ A similar figure ([LEEDM.D.1964.0400](#)) carries a small animal as a votive offering, and is likely to be from the sanctuary of Kamelarga at Kition on the basis of its similarities to figures known to come from this site.²⁰¹

Another figurine also represents a votive ([LEEDM.D.2018.0003.085](#)). It has a long, narrow, undifferentiated body with a slightly splaying base, applied arms and headdress, and a mould-made face which is very worn. Both arms are broken, but the left is curving round and may have supported a child. It could have been stood upright as part of massed votive offerings, perhaps planted in the soil, and probably dates from the Cypro-Archaic – Cypro-Classical periods.

Cypro-Classical period (c. 475 – 300 BC) and later

Two female heads wearing *kalathoi* ([LEEDM.D.1963.0084](#) and [LEEDM.D.1963.0085](#)) can be identified as Cypro-Classical ‘throned goddesses’, votives common in the region of Kition and identified with Aphrodite; the iconography of the vegetal decoration on the tall crowns is associated with fertility and abundance.²⁰² More complete examples, e.g. 74.51.1589 from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, show the goddess seated on a throne and flanked by two attendants.

A moulded head of a woman with hair arranged in a latticed pattern below a veil, but without a *kalathos* ([LEEDM.D.1963.0087](#)), is similar to those from Salamis identified by Monloup as cult attendants or priestesses of the goddess at a sanctuary.²⁰³ Two further moulded heads of female figures probably date from this period; the first with long hair and a peaked headdress ([LEEDM.D.1963.0086](#)); and another with waving hair standing off her face, and the remnants of a high headdress ([LEEDM.D.1963.0090](#)). Two female heads ([LEEDM.D.1963.0088](#) and [LEEDM.D.1963.0089](#)), each swathed closely in a *himation*, can be

²⁰⁰ Karageorghis, 2003, p. 95; Walcek Averett, 2008.

²⁰¹ Yon and Caubet, 1989, pp. 29-30.

²⁰² Caubet et al., 1998b, p. 450; Karageorghis et al., 2004, pp. 178-180; Ulbrich, 2010, p. 181; Maillard, 2019.

²⁰³ Monloup, 1994, p. 18.

identified as Hellenistic by comparison with more complete examples, e.g. British Museum 1982,0729.87 from Salamis.²⁰⁴

A fragmentary female figure ([LEEDM.D.1964.0401](#)), broken at the bottom of its robe and with both hands missing, was probably part of a much larger jug. Such jugs have one, or rarely more, figures attached to their shoulder or neck, who hold a miniature juglet against the body of the jug; this juglet is pierced at the bottom so liquid can be poured through it from the main body of the jug. They are mainly associated with western Cyprus, and found in tomb contexts. Their use is debated, although the slow, controlled pouring suggests a ritual rather than a practical function.²⁰⁵ Without the accompanying jug it is difficult to date, but is probably Cypro-Classical.

Conclusion

This brief overview of the objects in the LMG ancient Cypriot collection gives an indication of their relative chronology, and of current archaeological interpretations of their forms, dates and places of production, where possible. This is intended to provide context for their journeys from their place and moment of excavation to their current position in the LMG collection. It also provides a framework for assessing their reception by successive dealers, collectors and curators, and the different interpretations and valuations which they attracted along the way. The next chapter traces the itineraries of the first objects to join the collection to the archaeological activities of Thomas Backhouse Sandwith in Cyprus from 1866 to 1870.

²⁰⁴ Burn and Higgins, 2001, p. 262, cat. no. 2871.

²⁰⁵ Vandenaabeele, 1998 gives a detailed discussion of these vessels with figurines opposite the handle.

CHAPTER 2 THE BEGINNINGS OF THE COLLECTION, 1870-1890

Introduction

This chapter traces the origins of the LMG ancient Cypriot collection, and the people and processes which brought the first objects to join the collection from Cyprus to Leeds. It investigates the networks along which they travelled and the intellectual frameworks within which they were situated and through which knowledge about them was produced and consumed. As Hooper-Greenhill states,

The physical character of artefacts has a material identity and a history that can be researched; but the significance that is given to this identity and this history will be determined by the frameworks of intelligibility deployed to understand the artefact.²⁰⁶

This chapter therefore explores both the objects' physical itineraries and the 'frameworks of intelligibility', in Hooper-Greenhill's term, within which they created meaning. This provides context for Chapter 3's examination of the objects' classification, interpretation and exhibition within museums in Leeds. As Hill states, 'to understand the museum object, we have to understand the whole complex network of people through whose action the object came to be a museum object', and the exploration of these networks allows a fuller understanding of the collection and its historically and geographically contingent meanings, and how these have changed over time.²⁰⁷

The roots of the collection are traced back to the period of excavation and collection of antiquities by foreign diplomats and businessmen on Cyprus in the mid to later 19th century. One of these was Thomas Backhouse Sandwith (1831-1900), whose engagement with Cypriot archaeology and ancient material culture is discussed here. In order to relieve suffering from famine in Cyprus, Sandwith sent Cypriot antiquities to Sheffield to be sold. This chapter outlines how they were encountered there by John Holmes (1815-1894), a Leeds businessman, art enthusiast and collector whose self-definition as an expert on the ancient past led him to engage closely with these objects, disseminating them through learned societies and antiquarian circles, placing them in exhibitions and facilitating their sales.

²⁰⁶ Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, p. 115.

²⁰⁷ Hill, 2016, p. 47.

It then explores the circulation of these Cypriot antiquities through private collections and public exhibitions, as they both travelled along existing networks and made new connections between people and places, and the range of valuations and interpretations placed on them as they were recruited to different intellectual and social agendas. It identifies and discusses the frameworks of intelligibility deployed to interpret them, including the role of art in improving the working classes; Biblical archaeology; aesthetic appreciation; and object-based approaches to creating knowledge of human prehistory. It examines the ways in which Holmes' interpretation of the objects was disseminated to public audiences, especially after Cyprus became a British Protectorate in 1878, bringing the island and its culture into the spotlight of public attention.²⁰⁸ Employing the techniques of microhistory – in particular, close analysis within a defined geographical and temporal framework - this discussion draws on archival evidence such as letters and handwritten catalogues, contemporary published sources, and current theory on the history of archaeology and collecting, to provide a detailed and nuanced analysis of the multiple and shifting interpretations of ancient Cypriot material culture during this period.²⁰⁹

Excavation in Cyprus: the role of Thomas Backhouse Sandwith

An overview of Thomas Backhouse Sandwith's consular career and engagement with Cypriot archaeology is important for an understanding of how he came to set Cypriot antiquities in motion from Cyprus to Leeds.²¹⁰ Sandwith was Her Majesty's Vice-Consul in Cyprus between October 1865 and 1870, reporting to the Consul General in Beirut.²¹¹ He came to Cyprus as a step on the *cursus honorum* of his consular career, and left on being promoted to full Consul in Crete. He is not known to have had any previous archaeological interests or pursuits, but his consular reports demonstrate his enquiring and thoughtful approach to all aspects of the countries in which he worked.²¹² His more celebrated brother, Dr Humphry Sandwith (1822-1881), was also tangentially engaged in archaeology, accompanying Austen Henry Layard (1817-1894) as doctor on his expedition to Nineveh.²¹³ Humphry Sandwith served as a medical officer in the Crimean War, and provided humanitarian service during the Siege of

²⁰⁸ Varnava, 2012; Hook, 2014; Pourgouris, 2019.

²⁰⁹ For the 'exploratory stance' of microhistory, see the Introduction and Magnússon and Szijsártó, 2013.

²¹⁰ Merrillees has evaluated Sandwith's contribution to Cypriot archaeology, and Boys Smith gives a full account of his consular career (Merrillees, 2001; Boys Smith, 2020).

²¹¹ Sandwith was formally appointed in October 1865 but did not arrive in Cyprus until April 1866.

²¹² Boys Smith, 2020, pp. 219-220.

²¹³ Boys Smith, 2020, p. 23.

Kars in 1855, as a result of which he was awarded honours by England, France and Russia.²¹⁴ Through these actions he made the Sandwith name well-known, which was to have implications for the prestige of the Cypriot antiquities collected by his brother.

T.B. Sandwith's unofficial responsibilities as a representative of Britain in Cyprus extended beyond his consular duties. These were sufficiently light to leave him time to provide intellectual services for institutions back in Britain, including making records of the climate for the Scottish Meteorological Society.²¹⁵ As Gunning discusses, collecting antiquities for the British Museum was a recognised consular role, which may have helped to prompt Sandwith's activities in this area; in 1864 the British Museum produced guidance for consuls, asking them to look out for 'ancient architectural remains, sculptures, inscriptions, coins, pottery and other antiquities', so Sandwith's attention to such matters was part of an established practice.²¹⁶ However, Sandwith's relationship with the ancient Cypriot objects that came into his possession was unusual among the consular collectors in two respects: his disinterested and scholarly observation of his findings and ability to synthesise these to produce a workable chronology of ancient Cypriot pottery; and his efforts to sell the ancient objects in England to raise money for the support of Cypriot people. These two aspects are discussed below.

Consular collecting in Cyprus

Sandwith was part of a network of expatriate businessmen and officials in Cyprus who were interested in the island's ancient past and took part in exploring sites and collecting antiquities, a possibility afforded them by their relatively privileged financial and social position, and leisure from paid duties. This network of consular collectors, with their camaraderie and rivalries, has been extensively explored in recent years as part of a wider re-evaluation of early archaeological investigation in Cyprus.²¹⁷ Contemporary with Sandwith's residence in Cyprus were Robert Hamilton Lang (1836-1913), a businessman, manager of the Imperial Ottoman Bank agency at Larnaca, and sometime acting British Vice-Consul; the American and Russian consul and large-scale excavator and collector Luigi Palma di Cesnola (1832-1904) who took up post in December 1865; and Tiburce Colonna-Ceccaldi (1833-1892),

²¹⁴ See the biography of Humphry Sandwith by his nephew Humphry Ward, 1884.

²¹⁵ Boys Smith, 2020, pp. 221, 240-241.

²¹⁶ Gunning, 2009, pp. 187-188.

²¹⁷ See, for example, Goring, 1988; Masson, 1990; Masson, 1992; Marangou, 2000; Merrillees, 2001; Kiely, 2010; Kiely and Ulbrich, 2012; Nikolaou, 2015; Leriou, 2015.

the French consul, who was in post from January 1866 to the end of 1869. Colonna-Ceccaldi was frequently visited by his brother Georges (1840-1879), resident at the French consulate at Beirut, who studied and collected Cypriot antiquities.²¹⁸ di Cesnola's brother Alessandro Palma di Cesnola (1840-1914), like him a large-scale excavator and exporter of Cypriot antiquities, joined him on Cyprus in 1873, and so did not coincide with Sandwith's time on the island. Sandwith was preceded as consul by Dominic Colnaghi (1834-1908), the son of the London art dealer Paul Colnaghi, whose family donated antiquities to the British Museum.²¹⁹

Charles Newton (1816-1894), Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, was a central figure in this network of exploration in Cyprus, despite being based in London. Legislation passed by the newly formed Greek state in 1834 prohibiting the export of antiquities meant that archaeological attention had shifted towards lands within the Ottoman empire, including Cyprus, and Newton was a key mover in securing new acquisitions for the British Museum.²²⁰ He himself had acted as Vice-Consul in Lesbos and Rhodes, where he collected for the museum, and had excavated at Bodrum (Halicarnassus) in the 1850s.²²¹ In Newton's view, the consular network was invaluable in securing antiquities for the museum.²²² Newton corresponded with those working in Cyprus, guiding their researches, providing expert opinions on their finds, and sometimes purchasing these for the museum.²²³ Sandwith's predecessor Colnaghi was a friend and former colleague of Newton's, and Sandwith and Newton had a close working relationship. Newton encouraged Sandwith to present the results of his investigations into Cypriot antiquities to the Society of Antiquaries of London (of which he was himself a Fellow) in 1871, and later, in 1877, to publish this communication in the Society's journal *Archaeologia*.²²⁴ Newton's colleague Samuel Birch (1813-1885), Keeper of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum, was also an important part of this network. He worked closely with the Cesnola brothers (including writing the introduction to A.P. di Cesnola's 1884 work *Salaminia*) and on the interpretation of Lang's epigraphic material, but it was with Newton that Sandwith dealt primarily.²²⁵

²¹⁸ Goring, 1988, pp. 7-8; Marangou, 2000, p. 53; Masson, 1992, p. 123.

²¹⁹ Kiely and Ulbrich, 2012, p. 320; Gunning, 2009, p. 167.

²²⁰ Gunning, 2009, p. 46.

²²¹ Challis, 2008, pp. 55-57.

²²² Gunning, 2009, p. 185.

²²³ Kiely provides a detailed account of Newton's 'prosopographic web' (Kiely, 2010, p. 238ff.). See also the art critic Sidney Colvin's memoir of Newton (Colvin, 1921, p. 212) and Nikolaou, 2015, pp. 52-53.

²²⁴ Merrillees, 2001, p. 225.

²²⁵ Kiely, 2010, p. 233.

Sandwith struck up a close friendship with Lang, who drew Sandwith into his antiquarian interests, and they compared notes and theories on the sites they explored and the objects they found.²²⁶ Lang's interest in Cypriot antiquities was first aroused by Demitrios Pierides (1811-1895), the Cypriot antiquarian and scholar, who corresponded with Newton and sent antiquities to the British Museum, took on the role of Sandwith's dragoman (interpreter and cultural guide), and acted as British Vice-Consul in 1884-85.²²⁷ Newton was closely involved in some of Lang's researches; Lang consulted Newton about his excavations at the shrine of Apollo-Reshef at Dali (Idalion) and followed his advice in exploring the site, resulting in 'what can reasonably be described as the first Cypriot archaeological site report'.²²⁸ In this he was aided by Stuart Reginald Poole (1832-1895), Assistant Keeper of the Coins and Medals Department at the British Museum, who visited Cyprus in November 1869 to view Lang's collection, and who read a report on it at the Royal Society of Literature in 1871.²²⁹ Poole and Sandwith also met during the former's visit to the island. The networks of those interested in Cypriot antiquities were close-meshed, with many interconnections, and knowledge created through archaeological investigation in Cyprus was rapidly communicated to intellectual circles centred in London.²³⁰

Lang's *Reminiscences* record that he was intrigued by the island's antiquities soon after his arrival in 1861, but the catalyst for the major phase of his and Sandwith's excavations and collecting was the chance exposure of objects from sites around Dali (Idalion) in 1868, as a result of heavy rain. Their collections quickly grew, to the extent that their 'houses became like earthenware shops'.²³¹ Some of Sandwith's objects were displayed and sold in a 'Phoenician museum' alongside those of the other consuls.²³² He is also likely to have bought objects excavated elsewhere on the island.²³³ As was typical of the time, no record was kept of the provenience of individual objects, and as a result, those objects in Leeds which are known to have come from his collection cannot be securely linked to Idalion. The extent of Sandwith's direct sponsorship of excavation remains unclear. He was unable to obtain legal permission to excavate, but it is unlikely that this would have greatly impeded him in

²²⁶ Sandwith, 1877, p. 133; Merrillees, 2001, p. 227.

²²⁷ Lang, 1905, p. 622. Pierides has long been recognised as an important figure in the development of Cypriot archaeology; see Marangou, 2000, p. 23; Kiely, 2010, pp. 238-239; Kiely and Ulbrich, 2012, pp. 313-316; Boys Smith, 2020, pp. 215-216.

²²⁸ Kiely, 2010, pp. 235, 240.

²²⁹ Lang, 1905, pp. 626-627, 630; Lang and Poole, 1878.

²³⁰ See Nikolaou, 2015 for a discussion of these networks from Lang's perspective.

²³¹ Lang, 1878, pp. 331-332.

²³² Nikolaou, 2013, p. 248.

²³³ Merrillees, 2001, p. 226.

practice.²³⁴ Sandwith's paper in *Archaeologia* includes details, for example of the position of human remains, which supports his claim of 'having repeatedly gone over the ground and made excavations in these cemeteries myself.'²³⁵ It also demonstrates close familiarity with the objects recovered, such as his observation that red paint on pottery was 'easily washed off with water.'²³⁶ Although he is unlikely to have undertaken actual digging himself, his observations and deductions are evidently based on detailed examination of the sites and objects.

The digging itself would have been done primarily by local Cypriot workers, keen for employment after a bad harvest.²³⁷ As Marangou emphasises, the practice of recovering antiquities and selling them to wealthy Europeans was of long standing and 'a matter of survival'.²³⁸ The objects will have carried meaning for the people who retrieved them from the earth, beyond their financial value. These meanings were not prioritised in the accounts of their researches produced by the consuls, and are difficult to recover, although traces can sometimes be identified. For example, Sandwith compared the burial gifts of food and drink in ancient Cypriot tombs with 'a custom... [which] still exists in this island... called "Food for the dead"', an analogy which may well have been brought to his attention by his workers.²³⁹ If so, this indicates that they made a contribution to the interpretation as well as the physical recovery of the artefacts, an aspect of their work which was often overlooked.

Sandwith's intellectual and social networks

In the intellectual circles described above, archaeological finds in Cyprus were chiefly valued for the contribution they could make to the early history of Greek art, and their use as evidence for cultural contact between Near Eastern countries and Greece. This was part of the broader intellectual aim of tracing the 'Great Chain of Art', a theory which held that art could be understood as a developmental chain which reached its high point in the cultural productions of Classical Athens.²⁴⁰ From this point of view, the Cypriot discoveries were felt to be important and to hold considerable evidential value. The art critic Sidney Colvin (1845-

²³⁴ See a brief discussion on this point in Reeve, 2016, p. 278; Nikolaou, 2015, p. 47.

²³⁵ Sandwith, 1877, p. 128 (observations on human remains), p. 141 (carrying out excavations).

²³⁶ Sandwith, 1877, p. 133.

²³⁷ Lang, 1878, p. 331.

²³⁸ Marangou, 2000, p. 26.

²³⁹ Sandwith, 1877, p. 128.

²⁴⁰ For the 'Great Chain of Art', see Kiely, 2010, p. 235; Jenkins, 1992, p. 65ff.

1927) argued that ‘for the study of the primitive intercommunication between Greek and Asiatic, Cyprus is the centre of the position’ and emphasised ‘the high consequence of these discoveries for the science of antiquity and the knowledge of Greek religion and art’.²⁴¹ Cyprus had begun to take on the identity of a conduit of artistic traditions, the ‘crossroads of the Mediterranean’, which is still a recurring trope today.²⁴² In purely aesthetic terms, Cypriot antiquities were assessed against Greek mainland art, and inevitably found wanting. In Colvin’s view, ‘there are none that rival the Greek work of the central states and noblest ages.’²⁴³ The French art historians Georges Perrot (1832-1914) and Charles Chipiez (1835-1901) considered that

The Greeks of Cyprus were, so to speak, only half Greek; our study of the monuments they have left us will help us to understand the effects of what, in the language of physiology, we may call an arrested development.²⁴⁴

A clear hierarchy of value is detectable in this assessment, which discounts the non-Greek cultural elements in Cypriot productions. For Poole, it was self-evident that ancient Cypriot material culture had little aesthetic value. He commented that

The work [of Cypriot archaeology] is interesting alone to the serious student of the remote annals of the Mediterranean. To him the antiquities of the island are a precious connecting-link between Egypt, Assyria, and early Greece, and the less attractive they are to the artistic eye the more valuable are they to his comparative vision.²⁴⁵

In this analysis, it was in their use as evidence for the development of Greek art that the objects’ value was located, and this was considered to be in inverse proportion to their aesthetic value. This view was promulgated to the interested public both through specialist works on ancient art and through publications for more general audiences, such as an 1870 ‘Handy-Book’ to the British Museum, which described ‘clay idols’ of Cyprus as ‘among the earliest and most grotesque of terra-cotta specimens’, the first step in ‘tracing... the progress of the plastic art to... perfection.’²⁴⁶ Ancient Cypriot objects were valued as a staging-post on the path to artistic ‘perfection’, in a hierarchical approach to the interpretation of ancient art.

²⁴¹ Colvin, 1873, pp. 1, 4.

²⁴² E.g. Reyes, 1994, p. 5; Karageorghis, 2002.

²⁴³ Colvin, 1873, p. 4.

²⁴⁴ Perrot and Chipiez, 1885, p. 147.

²⁴⁵ Poole, 1878, p. 150.

²⁴⁶ Nichols, 1870, pp. 328-329.

Sandwith's study of ancient Cypriot objects arguably carries less of this cultural baggage than many of his contemporaries and later archaeologists, being less 'overtly Hellenocentric' and demonstrating a willingness to approach the Cypriot artefacts on their own terms, rather than prioritising an assessment of the degree to which they failed to achieve the standards of classical Greek art.²⁴⁷ His paper 'On the different styles of Pottery found in Ancient Tombs in the Island of Cyprus', presented in 1871 and published in *Archaeologia* in 1877, is notable for its close observation of different kinds of pottery and their contexts.²⁴⁸ Sandwith categorised the pottery by context, observing four 'classes' of tombs in which the same kinds of pottery could be found, as well as recording the other types of objects found in each class.²⁴⁹ In line with the scholarship of the time, he traced Phoenician and Egyptian influences in the objects he discussed, and compared Cypriot to Greek productions, noting that 'the Cyprians seem not to have developed this higher style of art' (i.e. Archaic Greek).²⁵⁰ However, his comments are appreciative of the inherent interest and artistic merit of the objects in their own right, as well as in comparison with those of other cultures:

The ingenuity of the potters, or artists as they deserve to be called, of those remote times in devising new and singular shapes, and in adorning them with a variety of tasteful patterns, is certainly most remarkable, though the execution is not always equal to the conception.²⁵¹

His *Archaeologia* paper demonstrates his keen interest in the objects he describes, his powers of close observation, and his measured and cautious reasoning based on empirical observation. This capacity for dispassionate observation and accurate recording is also evident in his consular reports.²⁵² This paper, undervalued by his contemporaries and immediate successors, is now accepted as a pivotal point in the history of Cypriot archaeology.²⁵³ Sandwith's clear and well-evidenced exposition, as well as the status which accrued from his presence in the field, gave standing to his work and legitimised its claim to be presented to the Society of Antiquaries.

²⁴⁷ Jenkins, 1992, p. 67.

²⁴⁸ Sandwith, 1877.

²⁴⁹ Merrillees, 2001, pp. 223-224.

²⁵⁰ Sandwith, 1877, p. 138.

²⁵¹ Sandwith, 1877, pp. 138, 128.

²⁵² See the examples in Luke, 1921, p. 216 ff., and Boys Smith, 2020, pp. 219-220; see also Reeve, 2016.

²⁵³ Merrillees, 2001, pp. 222, 232-233; Goring, 1988, p. 13.

Sandwith's researches on Cyprus, and Newton's championing of them, gave him the entrée to learned societies in London.²⁵⁴ He exhibited some objects at a meeting of the Royal Society of Literature in 1868, and also sold some objects at auction around this time.²⁵⁵ He presented his paper at the meeting of the Society of Antiquaries on 4 May 1871, at which ancient Cypriot objects 'from the Cesnola collection', probably purchased from L.P. di Cesnola's sale at Sothebys a few days earlier, were also exhibited, by Col. Lane Fox (1827-1900) (later General Pitt Rivers, the pioneering ethnologist and archaeologist) and J.W. Flower (1807-1873), antiquarian and geologist.²⁵⁶ At the Society's meetings members faced each other across 'great tables' upon which illustrative objects were placed, which could be passed from hand to hand; the objects themselves thus played a key role in the discussion, providing material evidence with which members could engage directly.²⁵⁷ This 1871 meeting constituted a key nexus in the networks of ideas, people and objects connected with the study of ancient Cyprus, and no doubt helped to create a market in London for Cesnola's subsequent sales of Cypriot antiquities. The Society of Antiquaries was one of the primary sites for the exploration and discussion of ancient pasts in this period, and Sandwith's participation in its structures for producing knowledge through members' communications and debate, a 'group-based adjudication of the past', enhanced his standing within these networks and provided an authoritative guarantee of the quality of his work.²⁵⁸

Despite this opportunity, and his undiminished interest in antiquity, Sandwith appears to have had little interest in further building his reputation in the networks of archaeological exploration, or of taking a more major role in them; for example, he did not become a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.²⁵⁹ In this he can be contrasted with L.P. di Cesnola. Throughout his career Cesnola attempted to parlay his archaeological findings into social and financial advancement, evidenced by his protracted negotiations with museums, playing off one against the other. He was ultimately successful in this approach, selling himself (as the first Director of the Museum) along with the products of his excavations to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.²⁶⁰ Sandwith, by contrast, appears to have had no desire to move

²⁵⁴ Kiely, 2010, p. 236; Boys Smith, 2020, p. 199.

²⁵⁵ Anon. 1868. Royal Society of Literature. *The Athenaeum*. 4 July, p. 23.

²⁵⁶ Society of Antiquaries of London, *Minutes of Ordinary Meetings*, 4 May 1871.

²⁵⁷ Evans, 2007, p. 272.

²⁵⁸ Evans, 2007, pp. 289, 296.

²⁵⁹ Merrillees, 2001, p. 233. From his next posting to Crete, Sandwith sent ancient objects to the British Museum, and made a collection of Cretan embroidery and lace, some of which was purchased by the South Kensington Museum. See Williams, 1996, p. 100 and Boys Smith, 2020, pp. 407-420.

²⁶⁰ This collection and its formation are presented in Karageorghis et al., 2000.

outside his consular career pathway, and it is possibly for this reason that his paper had less impact on the development of Cypriot archaeology than might have been expected.²⁶¹ He was self-effacing, and evinced no ambition to achieve the heroic individualism of Heinrich Schliemann (1822-1890), the excavator of Hissarlik (Troy), whom Cesnola ceaselessly sought to emulate.²⁶² No photographs have appeared of Sandwith posing with monumental antiquities in an attitude of possession, as Cesnola did.²⁶³ His approach can also be compared to that of Robert Hamilton Lang, who likewise undertook serious study of the results of excavations. While Lang did not seek the status of Cesnola, having a highly successful and well-rewarded business career, he did make efforts to cement his reputation as an authority on Cyprus and a collector of its antiquities. He published extensively, in both learned journals and the popular press, and organised the Cyprus court at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London of 1886.²⁶⁴ As well as selling objects, including a major collection to the British Museum, he also loaned, then donated a substantial group to the Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, a collection which attracted some attention in the press, ensuring that his name would remain associated with it.²⁶⁵ By contrast, Sandwith's objects today are dispersed throughout the UK and beyond, with no major collection surviving, and in many cases the objects' connections to Sandwith have become obscure over time.²⁶⁶ He did not use his involvement with Cypriot antiquities, and later with ancient remains in Crete, to fashion a public role for himself as an antiquarian and 'savant', but his place in networks of knowledge and influence, facilitated by the flow of antiquities, did provide him with career opportunities; Newton's support was instrumental in gaining him his next posting and promotion as full Consul in Crete.²⁶⁷

Sandwith also made use of the objects for a more immediate, humanitarian purpose, to provide relief from famine for Cypriot people. In this he was an outlier among the community of expatriates who excavated and collected ancient Cypriot objects. It is evident from their activities that the ancient objects functioned for them both as intrinsically interesting evidence of the ancient past, and as commodities whose financial value could be realised for

²⁶¹ Merrillees, 2001, p. 222.

²⁶² Karageorghis et al., 2000, p. 5. See also Masson, 1994, pp. 8-9.

²⁶³ E.g. Fig. 6 in Masson, 1992.

²⁶⁴ Lang and Poole, 1878; Lang, 1871; Lang, 1878; Lang, 1905; Lang, 1886.

²⁶⁵ Goring, 1988, pp. 9-10. Anon. 1872. Kelvingrove House Museum. *Glasgow Daily Herald*. 14 March, p. 4.

²⁶⁶ The dispersal of Sandwith's collection is discussed by Reeve and Waite, 2020.

²⁶⁷ Kiely and Ulbrich, 2012, p. 320; Gunning, 2009, pp. 31, 37; Boys Smith, 2020, p. 245.

their collectors' benefit. This possibility was afforded them by their socially elevated status on the island. As Balm says,

the levers of privilege could mobilize objects and enable their displacement, delivering the archaeological encounter from remote locations and transforming it into forms of display and evaluation.²⁶⁸

The legal position regarding the export of objects developed during Sandwith's time in Cyprus, with a regulation passed in 1869 which controlled the authorisation of excavations and the export of finds.²⁶⁹ In practice, the privilege of the consular class enabled them to mobilise objects with little difficulty, and they unashamedly made use of stratagems to bypass any objections.²⁷⁰ Selling the objects obtained through excavation was a recognised source of additional income for collectors in Cyprus.²⁷¹ Many of those who collected archaeological objects sold them to museums or collectors, and many collections in Europe and beyond have objects which can be traced to this source.²⁷² Sandwith also participated in this practice, and sold objects at auction and to the British Museum, for motives which appear to have been scholarly as well as financial.²⁷³ He sought out objects he thought would be of interest to Newton, and did not negotiate or quibble over the relatively low figures Newton was able to offer.²⁷⁴ The financial transaction was informed by the expectation that British diplomats overseas would take opportunities to collect for UK institutions, so this was not purely a commercial negotiation.

However, alongside this normalised traffic in antiquities for personal gain and the benefit of national institutions, Sandwith was innovative in introducing a scheme for exporting ancient objects for sale in England, to raise money to counteract the disastrous impact of famine in Cyprus. His plan was set out in a letter by his brother the Rev. Henry Sandwith to the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* in April 1870:

My brother proposes as the best and indeed only means at his disposal of mitigating the distress, to consign to me boxes of ancient Cyprian art – one is now on its way –

²⁶⁸ Balm, 2016, p. 238.

²⁶⁹ See Çelik, 2016 for the development of Ottoman policy and legislation on antiquities, and Stanley-Price, 2001 for its application in Cyprus.

²⁷⁰ Lang, 1905, pp. 635-636, 638. When refused permission as the American consul to export antiquities, Cesnola took advantage of his dual status as Russian consul to do so (di Cesnola, 1877, pp. 174-175).

²⁷¹ Masson, 1992, pp. 128 n. 21, 137-138. See also Lang, 1905, p. 622.

²⁷² See the overview of ancient Cypriot collections overseas provided by Karageorghis, 2004.

²⁷³ Kiely and Ulbrich, 2012, p. 320.

²⁷⁴ Kiely, 2010, p. 237; Gunning, 2009, p. 141.

by the proceeds of which he hopes to keep the Islanders at work in excavating, and thus to feed them. ... "The poor people are nearly starving," are my brother's words, "and I have not the heart to turn them away."²⁷⁵

In the context of a commercial saleroom - Mrs Parkin's Glass and China Saloon on Sheffield High Street – the Cypriot antiquities took on a new range of meanings.²⁷⁶ Their monetary value for potential purchasers derived from their association with Sandwith's elevated social status as Vice-Consul and the charitable aims driving their sale, as well as their aesthetic appeal and use as evidence of the ancient past. Unlike those Cypriot antiquities that Sandwith had dispatched to Newton at the British Museum, these objects were placed in a commercial business whose customers were the middle-class general public rather than intellectuals or connoisseurs.²⁷⁷ The Rev. Henry Sandwith's letter to the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* described Cyprus as 'very interesting not only to the classical student, but also to the reader of the New Testament', emphasising the 'great and interesting variety' of pottery found in its tombs, of which 'only the British Museum and a very few fine art collectors possess any specimen'.²⁷⁸ The interest of the pottery, however, was secondary in his presentation to the charitable purpose behind its sale:

may I appeal to the wealthier inhabitants of Sheffield and its neighbourhood to buy this pottery, on which no fancy price will be put, and thus to succour a beautiful and devoted land...?²⁷⁹

A range of motivations for purchasers are brought to the fore in this appeal, including the scholarly interest of the objects from both a Classical and a Biblical point of view, their aesthetic attraction and their rarity. Christian charity is also emphasised, with the mention of Cyprus as a 'devoted' land hinting at its place in the early history of the Christian church.²⁸⁰ All of these motivations, and more, can be traced in subsequent purchases from the Sandwith collection, as discussed below. As Henry Sandwith emphasised, Cypriot antiquities appeared only infrequently on the market at this time; L.P. di Cesnola had begun selling from his collections overseas, but his first sale at Sothebys did not take place until 1871.²⁸¹ Ancient Cypriot objects had not yet percolated down for resale on the local auction markets in

²⁷⁵ Sandwith, H. 1870. Distress in Cyprus. *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*. 30 April, p. 7. See Reeve, 2016.

²⁷⁶ Anon. 1870. Interesting Collection of Ancient Pottery. *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*. 14 June, p. 2.

²⁷⁷ Anon. 1866. Mrs Parkin's Glass and China Saloon. *Sheffield Independent*. 24 February, p. 1.

²⁷⁸ Sandwith, H. 1870. Distress in Cyprus. *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*. 30 April, p. 7.

²⁷⁹ Sandwith, H. 1870. Distress in Cyprus. *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*. 30 April, p. 7.

²⁸⁰ See Varnava, 2012, p. 57, for an outline of Cyprus' importance to early Christian history.

²⁸¹ Masson, 1996.

Yorkshire, and so the monetary value of Sandwith's objects was thus open for negotiation. While Sandwith's scholarly research helped to increase interest in ancient Cyprus in London, it was Henry Sandwith's skilful reworking of it which initially created a market in Yorkshire.

Sandwith's consular responsibilities gave him insight into the situation of Cypriot farmers and the crushing tax burden under which they laboured, reporting to the Foreign Office in 1870 that 'they are reduced so low from constant claims made upon them by the tax gatherers as to be in no position to meet the coming distress' from famine.²⁸² As a result of this tax burden, hardship can never have been far away from Cypriot farmers, but it appears that 1870 was a particularly difficult year due to the cumulative effects of locust depredations and drought.²⁸³ This perhaps explains why Sandwith continued this charitable project after he left the island in September 1870. Gunning charts a general development over time of consular attitudes from 'a humanitarian role to a more detached point of view', but Sandwith, somewhat in opposition to this trend, evidently subscribed to a more engaged, socially responsible approach, apparent through his actions in seeking to relieve poverty and distress throughout his career.²⁸⁴

This philanthropic work was made possible by Sandwith's relationships with local people in Cyprus, as a consequence of his residence on the island as British Vice-Consul, and his links with middle-class society in England, facilitated by his brother Henry Sandwith who lived near Sheffield. These were quite separate from the intellectual and social networks centred in London and consular circles in Cyprus, in which he participated through his formal study of the island's antiquities. Balm comments of Cesnola that

the metrics of valuation for his artifacts were based on custodial power, money and prestige. Of central importance for him was the effective conveyance of his collections into and through networks of appraisal and acclaim.²⁸⁵

While Sandwith was happy for his informed views on Cypriot antiquities, and selected objects, to be brought into the 'network of appraisal' represented by the Society of Antiquities and the British Museum, he was far from seeking 'acclaim' or to translate his participation in these networks into 'power, money and prestige'. By contrast, his dispatch of

²⁸² Luke, 1921, pp. 225-236. Boys Smith, 2020, p. 229.

²⁸³ Luke, 1921, p. 250. See also Lang, 1878, pp. 238-255, Markides, 2019 and Boys Smith, 2020, p. 233.

²⁸⁴ Gunning, 2009, p. 108. Sandwith sympathised with hardship and relieved it out of his own pocket in Syria, and intervened on the issue of peasant debt in Crete (Boys Smith, 2020, pp. 156-157, 296).

²⁸⁵ Balm, 2016, p. 192.

ancient Cypriot objects to England for charitable purposes was driven by his humanitarian concerns.²⁸⁶ It is because of this characteristic of Sandwith's that these objects were routed to a commercial setting in Sheffield rather than a London auction room or museum, which had a huge impact on their subsequent itineraries.

Sandwith's sustained action to relieve poverty by selling ancient Cypriot objects was unusual among his fellow excavators and collectors of the consular class in Cyprus. They worked more or less harmoniously with local Cypriot people, and many told anecdotes celebrating their own proficiency in gaining control of all the objects found at minimal cost from the people engaged in the digging.²⁸⁷ Lang describes how he bargained a peasant down from £10 to £5 for the purchase of a gold coin, which he subsequently sold for 'a profit of £65'.²⁸⁸ A certain degree of mutual distrust between the consular collectors and the workers seems to have been common.²⁸⁹ This is not to say that these others did not also feel distress at the hardship they witnessed, or take action to relieve it. Lang states that

It was sad to see the long lines of these poor people arriving daily at the market-places with their trinkets and copper household vessels for sale in order to carry back with them a little flour for their famishing families,

and considered that he did them a service in spending his own money to employ them as diggers.²⁹⁰ An opinion piece in *The Graphic* in 1879 rebuked 'the very unscrupulous way in which Consuls... have been accustomed to deal with Cyprian antiquities' with particular reference to Cesnola and Lang.²⁹¹ This called forth a defence from Lang that 'the 2,000*l.* or 3,000*l.* which I gave the peasants for antiquities during my residence in the island was a 'god-send' to them in their misery'.²⁹² Indeed, Cypriots themselves took the initiative to excavate antiquities for sale in times of hardship.²⁹³ However, it appears that only Sandwith undertook a larger-scale plan to mobilise support from further afield, and to go beyond the limits of his

²⁸⁶ On Sandwith's 'strong sense of humanity', see Boys Smith, 2020, p. 430 (for quotation), p. 567.

²⁸⁷ For such anecdotes see, for example, di Cesnola, 1877, pp. 126-127; Lang and Poole, 1878, p. 40.

²⁸⁸ Lang, 1905, pp. 622-623.

²⁸⁹ Balm, 2016, p. 174.

²⁹⁰ Lang, 1878, p. 253.

²⁹¹ 'H.S.F.'. 1879. Cyprian Antiquities. *The Graphic*. 15 February, p. 163.

²⁹² Lang, R.H. 1879. Cyprian Antiquities. *The Graphic*. 1 March, p. 215.

²⁹³ A petition of February 1880 from 'Certain inhabitants of Larnaca' requests permission from the British administration to be allowed to search for antiquities to relieve poverty, as was permitted under the previous administration. Cyprus State Archives SA1 9359/1880. I am grateful to Dr Thomas Kiely for this reference.

own financial resources. Sandwith's humanitarian project represents a considerable step forward from the appropriation of the island's antiquities for the personal gain of foreigners which was common at the time.

Sandwith's engagement with Cypriot antiquities was therefore multifaceted: as evidence of past customs and beliefs, from which knowledge could be created; for sale, for his financial benefit and to augment the collections of the British Museum; and as agents to help achieve his humanitarian aims. The exploration of this complex engagement with and use of objects, including Sandwith's groundbreaking *Archaeologia* paper, demonstrates that excavation by consular officials on Cyprus in the 1860s and 70s was not purely conducted for personal gain. Tracing the itineraries of the Cypriot antiquities which first began the collection in Leeds back to their post-excavation origins has revealed the interplay of circumstances which set them in motion, and drove their movement along Sandwith's social networks to Sheffield.

The reception of ancient Cyprus in Yorkshire

The analysis which follows explores the onward journeys of the objects excavated in Cyprus and transported by Sandwith to Sheffield. It examines the social contexts which guided their itineraries, in particular the movement in Leeds, as elsewhere in the country, to improve and educate the working classes through exposure to art, in order to achieve both social and commercial benefits.²⁹⁴ It traces the objects' movements through exhibitions, sales, and public and private collections, and considers mutually constitutive relationships between people and things, exploring how the objects' itineraries were inflected by the people and places whom they brought into contact.

The social context in Leeds: art for the working classes

By the second half of the nineteenth century, Leeds was heavily industrialised, requiring a constant supply of workers, who often endured poor living conditions. Art was considered by the middle and upper classes both as a means of providing education in design for the skilled workforce, and of ameliorating some of the negative effects of industrialisation on the city, providing moral and spiritual uplift for those exposed to it.²⁹⁵ It was thought that working people could be inspired, refreshed and even morally reformed through access to art in its

²⁹⁴ Bennett, 1995; Hill, 2005; Woodson-Boulton, 2012.

²⁹⁵ Hole, 1860.

widest sense, a definition which included antiquities.²⁹⁶ This was a continuation of a movement begun in London in the early 19th century and most notably achieved in the Great Exhibition of 1851 at Crystal Palace, which Leeds had played a role in making a success.²⁹⁷ This led to ‘a grander and more permanent vision of education and improvement’ in London in the shape of the South Kensington Museum.²⁹⁸ Contemporary attitudes to art and design were shaped by the influential views of John Ruskin (1819-1900) and William Morris (1834-1896), who championed pre-industrial modes of production and domestic, unalienated labour.²⁹⁹ They prioritised the ‘authentic’ hand-produced object, echoing Romantic views of the importance of continuity through time, and the value of survivals from earlier ages.³⁰⁰ Morris and Ruskin both recognised the need for working people to be exposed to good design and trained in its principles, to enliven their own productions and reinvigorate craft traditions.³⁰¹ The perceived need for access to examples of excellent art and design to educate workers and therefore improve manufacture was an important focus of discussion and action, both in South Kensington and in northern industrialised cities.³⁰²

In Leeds, civic mechanisms were put in place to help achieve these ends, including the Leeds Mechanics’ Institute, founded in 1824, which ‘[sought] to serve all classes alike, by the advancement of their moral, mental, and social well-being’ through evening classes providing elementary education, Girls’ and Boys’ Schools, Schools of Art and Science, weekly lectures, and a library.³⁰³ Later in the century, the development of a new civic quarter for Leeds created ‘both an object of awe and a backdrop for bourgeois display’, as well as improved cultural provision for all classes.³⁰⁴ The Leeds Town Hall was completed in 1858, and soon after additional space was required to accommodate new public services, leading to the construction of the Education Board Building (1877) and Municipal Buildings (1876-84) across the road. In 1888 the Municipal Buildings were extended to create a Free City Art Gallery and Museum, discussed in Chapter 3 (see the map at Annex C).³⁰⁵ In the meantime, however,

²⁹⁶ Hill, 2016, pp. 194-195. See also Woodson-Boulton, 2012 and Bennett, 1995. On the role of antiquities in this agenda, see Kiely and Merrillees, 2012, p. 256 and Kiely and Ulbrich, 2012, pp. 323-334.

²⁹⁷ Morris, 1970.

²⁹⁸ For the South Kensington Museum, see Robertson, 2004, pp. 1, 7; MacGregor, 1997, p. 17.

²⁹⁹ Anthony, 1983, p. 165.

³⁰⁰ Hill, 2016, p. 92.

³⁰¹ MacCarthy, 2009.

³⁰² Forgan, 1994, p. 146; see also Davies, 1985 for Birmingham, and Brears and Davies, 1989, p. 53 for Leeds.

³⁰³ Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, 1875. Morris, 1970, p. 295.

³⁰⁴ Gunn, 2000, p. 30.

³⁰⁵ For a discussion of the development of Leeds civic architecture, see Thorp, 2012, p. 86.

there was felt to be a deficit of cultural access for the working people of Leeds. Before a permanent public art gallery was in place, the ground was prepared through a series of public exhibitions, latterly supported by loans from the Circulation Department of the South Kensington Art Gallery, in which art was lent by the wealthy and put on temporary display for all comers for a nominal fee.³⁰⁶

The intellectual context: interpreting antiquities

The 19th century saw huge changes in the understanding of the remote past, through parallel developments in the fields which came to be known as archaeology, anthropology, natural history, and geology, all of which were 'concerned with reconstructing lost pasts on the basis of the traces or survivals they had deposited in the present.'³⁰⁷ As archaeological discoveries pushed back the beginnings of human history, bringing it into line with evidence from geology for the great antiquity of the earth, the emergence of humanity could no longer be explained by a literal reading of the Book of Genesis in the Bible, and answers to the questions of human origins were sought in these scientific fields.³⁰⁸ New perspectives on the length of human history, and the development of humankind from primitive origins, were incorporated into a world view that traced a gradual progression from the lowliest beginnings through to the perceived pre-eminence in culture and civilisation of Victorian society.³⁰⁹

Deep anxieties over the place of traditional Christian religion in view of the new horizons revealed by science were reflected in ongoing debates, and resistance to the concept of humans as evolved from animal origins persisted. A progressionist view of human development emerged which provided a way of reconciling the two poles of the argument, 'the only way of salvaging the belief that the operations of natural law fulfilled a divine purpose.'³¹⁰ This progressionist viewpoint, 'theistic evolutionism', avoided the troubling implication of Darwin's theory of biological evolution: that it came about arbitrarily, purely through chance and competition, without any predetermined goal.³¹¹ Instead, it interpreted biological and cultural progression as the working-out of a divine plan for the continued

³⁰⁶ Morris, 1970, pp. 285-286; James, 1998, xxv.

³⁰⁷ Bennett, 2004, p. 32.

³⁰⁸ Bowler, 1989, pp. 3-5.

³⁰⁹ Levine, 2003, pp. 98-99.

³¹⁰ Bowler, 1989, p. 77.

³¹¹ Bowler, 1989, p. 184. Trigger, 2006, p. 147.

improvement of the human race.³¹² Individual morality and personal responsibility remained important, as a world-view based on progression and continuous development could easily accommodate the idea that progress was owing to individual striving for self-improvement, and that people therefore had a moral responsibility to develop themselves and others.³¹³

This concept of progress lent itself to an understanding of different cultures as travelling parallel but identical paths towards civilisation, albeit at different rates, and (in some conceptions) with different potential for ultimate achievement.³¹⁴ This idea of unilinear cultural evolution allowed anthropologists to interpret new archaeological evidence of western Europeans' past in the light of the presents of cultures they considered more 'primitive', and to make cross-cultural comparisons between the stages of development of different peoples at different times.³¹⁵ The archaeologist and ethnologist John Lubbock (1834-1913) was particularly influential in developing and communicating this comparative method, encompassing new evidence from prehistoric archaeology for the length of human history, and drawing on anthropological studies of living 'primitive' peoples to illustrate earlier chapters in the history of western Europeans, for example in his influential 1865 work *Pre-historic Times, as Illustrated by Ancient Remains, and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages*.³¹⁶

The later 19th century also saw debates over methodological approaches to studying the human past, broadly characterised in hindsight as a move away from 'antiquarian' towards more scientific approaches, although this division was less distinct as it emerged. The development of new ways of studying and exploring human pasts, and the concomitant development of the more specialised – and increasingly professionalised – disciplines of archaeology, history and anthropology, over time encroached on the territory formerly occupied by the antiquary, leading to the growing marginalisation of activities characterised as 'antiquarian' by the turn of the century. In Levine's terms, what distinguished archaeologists was a narrower focus on objects in their context of excavation, while by contrast, the 'most singular characteristic [of antiquarian study] was its promiscuous mix of sources, its use of both literary and material evidence', as well as a Romantic attachment to

³¹² Bowler, 1989, p. 184.

³¹³ Trigger, 2006, p. 145.

³¹⁴ Trigger, 2006, pp. 154-155.

³¹⁵ Bowler, 1989, p. 11; Trigger, 2006, pp. 153-154.

³¹⁶ Lubbock, 1865. See Bowler, 1989, pp. 35-36, 80, and Trigger, 2006, p. 171.

old objects for their age alone.³¹⁷ Similarly, Evans contrasts academic specialisation with antiquarian ‘popularization’.³¹⁸ The emerging distinction was therefore of methodology, focus, and priorities, with no clear-cut divide between antiquarian and archaeological approaches.³¹⁹

Cyprus in the popular imagination from 1878

When the objects sent by Sandwith first came to Yorkshire, there was little public awareness of Cyprus and its antiquities. This changed dramatically after Cyprus was made a British Protectorate in July 1878, as a result of the Cyprus Convention of the previous month, which meant that it was administered by the British Government while remaining nominally under Ottoman sovereignty.³²⁰ The political aim was to provide a strategic base from which to mount a defence against Russian expansion in the eastern Mediterranean, but from the outset, the British were also concerned to ‘redevelo[p] the island’s resources for integration into the British Empire’ and secure ‘a potential trade centre in the Levant’.³²¹ Although the Protectorate was ostensibly a temporary measure, the British made preparations for long-term occupation, investing in infrastructure and revamping administrative systems; for example, the Foreign Office immediately commissioned Lieutenant Kitchener to survey and map the island, to help understand its resources and potential.³²²

This ambition of developing and exploiting the island encompassed private enterprise as well as public works. There was an immediate rush to seek economic opportunities on Cyprus. In August 1878, *The City Jackdaw*, a ‘humorous and satirical journal’, declared that ‘As a people, we have got Cyprus on the brain. ...capitalists and adventurers are pouring down in hundreds on Cyprus; wily advertisers are dragging into their announcements some mention of Cyprus’.³²³ Sandwith’s contemporary Lang reported that, as a businessman with extensive experience of Cyprus, he had received a huge range of enquiries from ‘Merchants... clergymen... sportsmen... a professional singer... a Frenchman connected with the theatre...

³¹⁷ Levine, 2003, pp. 31, 71.

³¹⁸ Evans, 2007, p. 297.

³¹⁹ Boast, 2009, pp. 52-53.

³²⁰ See Pourgouris, 2019 for a detailed survey of the British press response to Cyprus from 1878.

³²¹ Hook, 2014, p. 5. This period is discussed in detail by Varnava, 2012.

³²² On the Kitchener survey, see Shirley, 2001.

³²³ Anon. 1878. Who’s for Cyprus? *The City Jackdaw*. 2 August, p. 299.

A fashionable hairdresser'.³²⁴ The island was 'built into an Eldorado' in the popular imagination, a fantasy of riches and opportunity compared to which reality could only fall short.³²⁵ However, the Protectorate was not universally considered as a golden opportunity, with strong criticism from the Liberal party of the scale of the administrative and developmental challenge the British had taken on, within the context of wider party-political disagreements about the advisability of imperial expansion.³²⁶ The satirical newspaper *Punch* took a sceptical approach, emphasising the burden Britain had undertaken in propping up the Ottoman Empire.³²⁷ These debates were reflected in the local Yorkshire press, which closely followed national discussions relating to this newest addition to Britain's overseas interests. For example, the conservative *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* criticised the pessimistic reports of Archibald Forbes for the *Daily News*, 'whose verdict on the island was naturally coloured by the politics of the journal which he represented.'³²⁸

Cyprus became a hot topic in current debate, reflected in both high and low culture. A wealth of travellers' accounts quickly appeared to satisfy the need for knowledge.³²⁹ In addition, a range of popular entertainments taking the theme of Cyprus were produced, forming part of a wider pattern of 'sensational spectacles' celebrating empire and promoting patriotism in this period.³³⁰ The popular music-hall composer G.W. Hunt wrote 'Cyprus', 'A Comical-Tropical Political-Topical Song upon Britain's new acquisition', and in London Hamilton's Amphitheatre, as part of its 'Grand Panstereorama of Passing Events', promised 'Superb and Realistic Scenes in Cyprus'.³³¹ Britain's acquisition of Cyprus was also celebrated by 'the creation of [the ballet] *Cyprus* by Luiza Collier for the South London, and *Aphrodite* by John D'Auban for the Metropolitan', entertainments which capitalised on British perceptions of Cyprus as 'exotic and sensual'.³³² At local level, the 1879 conversazione of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, a social event with scholarly discussion, featured 'original

³²⁴ Lang, 1879, p. 441.

³²⁵ Varnava, 2012, p. 96.

³²⁶ Edbury, 2001, p. 16; Varnava, 2012, pp. 29, 33, 97ff; Hook, 2014, p. 28.

³²⁷ Varnava, 2005, pp. 168-172.

³²⁸ Anon. 1878. From a London Correspondent. *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*. 24 October, p. 6. Pourgouris, 2019.

³²⁹ Pourgouris, 2019, pp. 30-31. Reeve, 2020a.

³³⁰ Beaven, 2012, p. 182ff.

³³¹ Anon. 1878. Cyprus! Cyprus! Cyprus! *The Era*. 21 July, p. 13. Anon. 1879. Hamilton's Amphitheatre. *The Era*. 2 March, p. 10.

³³² The relationship between ballet and imperialism in this period is discussed by Pritchard and Yeandle, 2016, p. 164. See also Pourgouris, 2019, p. 34 for the framing of Cyprus as 'exotic'.

photographs of Cyprus' which were 'exhibited by the oxyhydrogen light', using the latest technology to respond to increased public interest in Cyprus.³³³

This interest in Cyprus naturally extended to its antiquities, building on growing public awareness of Cyprus' ancient culture, owing in part to Cesnola's popular work *Cyprus, its ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples*.³³⁴ This was published in 1877 by John Murray, a publisher well known for travellers' accounts aimed at popular audiences, including Layard's successive publications on Nineveh and Babylon from the 1840s through to the 1880s, and Schliemann's accounts of Troy and Mycenae in 1875 and 1877. Cesnola's publication thus associated Cyprus with other highly popular narratives of adventure, discovery, and the treasures of antiquity.³³⁵ The *Illustrated London News* sent a 'Special Artist and Correspondent' to Cyprus and included ancient sites in its visual depictions of the island, bringing Cypriot antiquity before the eyes of British people and providing a visual frame of reference for the ancient objects newly on display in museums, exhibitions and meetings of learned societies.³³⁶ The profit-driven interest in Cyprus also extended to its ancient remains, as satirised in *Punch*:

Don't you think that the Antiquities of Cyprus should be looked up, somehow or other? I am rather hazy about the character of these Antiquities... But I shall be happy to serve on a Commission... I don't quite know what the duties of the Commissioners would be, except – I am tolerably clear on this point – to receive their salaries.³³⁷

Huge numbers of objects obtained from the Cesnola brothers' excavations in Cyprus, especially those of Alessandro Palma di Cesnola (1840-1914), sponsored by his father-in-law Edwin Henry Lawrence (1819-1891), were sold in a series of auctions at Sotheby's in London between 1883 and 1892, bringing ancient Cypriot objects into public view, and creating new opportunities for collectors.³³⁸ However, at the time when Sandwith's objects first arrived in Yorkshire around 1870, this widespread public interest had not yet begun to be generated, so that John Holmes was at the forefront of creating and disseminating knowledge about them locally.

³³³ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1880, p. 5.

³³⁴ di Cesnola, 1877.

³³⁵ Masson, 1994, p. 8. For the rise of the traveller-archaeologist and their popular accounts of their exploits, see Challis, 2008, pp. 4-7.

³³⁶ Anon. 1878. Ancient Tomb excavated near Larnaca, Cyprus. *Illustrated London News*. 5 October, p. 18. Anon. 1878. Sketches in Cyprus. *Illustrated London News*. 19 October, p. 22. Anon. 1878. Cyprus: The Site of Ancient Paphos. *Illustrated London News*. 2 November, p. 14.

³³⁷ Anon. 1878. Happy Cyprus! *Punch*. 24 August, p. 81.

³³⁸ A comprehensive account of the Lawrence-Cesnola sales is given by Hetherington, 2000.

John Holmes' intellectual and social networks

Shortly after Sandwith dispatched ancient Cypriot objects to England, John Holmes came across them on display in Sheffield High Street. Holmes' account of this encounter is worth quoting at length:

In one of the very beautiful modern pottery displays in a shop window, High-street, Sheffield, in the autumn of 1869, I saw, in passing, a group of pottery of a very different kind to those of the Wedgwoods and Mintons, which, though very fine, did not attract me half as much as the quaint, very old, but to me wholly new forms there displayed. The modern I simply admired, but the group of ancient vases, urns, and sundries, from three to eighteen or twenty inches in height and diameter, puzzled me completely. I thought I was fairly up in the fictile arts of the world... But these, for the first time seen, threw me out entirely. They struck me as being unique – clearly genuine, original; of an art and character that appeared to be a compound of all that I had before seen or heard of.³³⁹

Holmes' initial reaction to the Cypriot antiquities aligns with Greenblatt's definition of the sense of wonder evoked by museum objects: 'the power of the displayed object to stop the viewer in his or her tracks, to convey an arresting sense of uniqueness, to evoke an exalted attention.'³⁴⁰ In Greenblatt's formulation, this 'derives at least in part from respect and admiration for the *ingenia* of others' which ideally 'then leads to the desire for resonance', defined as the power of the object 'to evoke in the viewer the complex, dynamic cultural forces from which it has emerged and for which it may be taken by a viewer to stand.'³⁴¹ This closely maps to Holmes' engagement with ancient Cypriot objects. At first attracted by their fascinatingly unfamiliar aesthetic qualities, he was prompted to find out more, and to understand their place in cultural development, in relation to other ancient ceramic productions. It is clear that Holmes was struck by the novelty of the objects, and this became key to their reception in early 1870s Yorkshire, where antiquities from Cyprus were much less familiar than, for example, the better-known artistic products of Greece and Rome, allowing considerable freedom for their perceived identities and knowledge value to be shaped.

Holmes was a self-made businessman with a strong social conscience and a keen aesthetic sense. His driving passions were the advancement of the working class and the appreciation of art, and his engagement with Sandwith's ancient Cypriot collection provided him with

³³⁹ Holmes, J. 1885. A Hero and an Antiquary: A Reminiscence. *Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement*, 3 January, p. 5. The date mentioned here of 1869 predates Henry Sandwith's letter in the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, and may be an error. See also Reeve, 2016.

³⁴⁰ Greenblatt, 1991, p. 42.

³⁴¹ Greenblatt, 1991, pp. 53, 54, 42.

opportunities to further these interests, expand his networks, and gain admittance to new social and intellectual circles. He was closely involved in contemporary debates about the education of the working classes in Leeds, both through intellectual conviction and through personal experience. From an early age he had a deep love of ancient and modern art, which he pursued whenever possible; although apprenticed at the age of 14, he took drawing lessons at the Mechanics' Institute outside his lengthy hours of work.³⁴² While his success in business eventually allowed him leisure and means to explore his artistic and antiquarian interests, and to move to the greener suburbs, he never forgot the experiences of those who laboured in the city:

my business grew to be very large, and would have been profitable... if the body could have borne the strain of sixteen hours' work, for seven days a week, in premises most wretchedly unhealthy, in a situation near to a filthy river, surrounded by an atmosphere clouded thick by smoke, and heavy with soot and stenches of works, chemical, dyeing, &c., &c.³⁴³

A great admirer of John Ruskin, with whom he met and corresponded, Holmes was passionate about improving conditions for the working classes, or rather, providing the means through which they could improve their own situation; a contemporary described him as 'never happier than when he was urging young men to make the most of their opportunities to obtain intellectual culture.'³⁴⁴ He was an active social reformer and key driver of the co-operative movement in Yorkshire.³⁴⁵ Holmes' philosophy echoes that of Samuel Smiles' hugely popular *Self-Help* (1859); he conceived of the working classes less as passive recipients of improvement through art and advice, than in need of being equipped to improve themselves.³⁴⁶ While this was an opinion often espoused by the wealthier classes, *de haut en bas*, Holmes' engagement with this agenda was driven by his personal experience of the 'smoke... soot and stenches' he so vividly described.³⁴⁷

Holmes believed that the working classes could improve themselves and their lot by access to art. In 1869 he was a member of the organising committee of a Fine Art Exhibition in the

³⁴² See the biographical note in Smith, 1882b.

³⁴³ Holmes, J. 1886. John Ruskin: A Reminiscence. *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*. 17 April, p. 5.

³⁴⁴ Anon. 1894. Death of Mr John Holmes, of Roundhay. *The Barnsley Chronicle*. 2 June, p. 5.

³⁴⁵ Holmes published a pamphlet on 'The Economic and moral advantages of Co-operation in the provision of food' (Holmes, 1857).

³⁴⁶ Smiles, 1859.

³⁴⁷ Holmes, J. 1886. John Ruskin: A Reminiscence. *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*. 17 April, p. 5.

Picture Gallery of the Leeds Mechanics' Institute, a fundraiser for a permanent public art collection.³⁴⁸ This committee saw social improvement as part of its role, emphasising

the duty and desirability of elevating the tastes of the working classes... If the people are ever to be lifted up to the stature of mental manhood they must be led and assisted in the matter of art culture.³⁴⁹

Holmes also pursued this objective through involvement in local Mechanics' Institutes. He was Chairman of the School of Art Committee at the Leeds Mechanics' Institute, and had acquired sufficient knowledge of art through his own endeavours to lecture to the pupils there, especially on the 'evolution of art'.³⁵⁰ Holmes' status as a self-made man, a supporter of trades union and co-operative movements, with a strong interest in art and antiquities, placed him in an ambiguous position in relation to Leeds' social strata. It was said of him that 'it was his merit to be an enthusiast for art, when few persons of the middle-class engaged in trade were so'.³⁵¹ He was evidently perceived as stretching the boundaries of his class, which perhaps influenced his keenness to build his reputation as an antiquarian, a leisured, socially superior pursuit.³⁵² As a result of his connections to intellectual and social networks, as well as his inclinations, talent and leisure, Holmes was well placed to bring Sandwith's ancient Cypriot objects to wider audiences; not just to wealthy collectors of art, but to all those he felt could benefit from them.

As the key mover in placing ancient Cypriot objects in exhibitions and displays, arranging sales, lecturing to the public and writing lengthy articles in the local press, Holmes played a crucial part both in disseminating the objects themselves, and influencing the ways in which they were interpreted and valued. He himself made no major original contribution to the state of knowledge regarding ancient Cyprus. He collected on a relatively small scale, as part of a wider antiquarian collection, and mostly at second-hand from Sandwith. The terminology he used to describe individual objects reflected that employed by Sandwith and by Newton at the British Museum, with emphasis on cross-cultural influences.³⁵³ Holmes was not involved directly in archaeology in Cyprus, although he paid a brief visit on a Cook's Tour of the near East in 1873 to Larnaca and 'with a guide visited one of the graveyards, or rather

³⁴⁸ Holmes, J. 1869. The Leeds Art Gallery. *Leeds Mercury*. 6 July, p. 3.

³⁴⁹ Anon. 1869. Fine Art Exhibitions. *Leeds Mercury*. 4 May, p. 7.

³⁵⁰ Anon. 1894. Death of Mr John Holmes, of Roundhay. *The Barnsley Chronicle*. 2 June, p. 5.

Anon. 1894. The Late Mr John Holmes. *Leeds Mercury*. 4 June, p. 7.

³⁵¹ Holyoake, 1897, p. 200.

³⁵² Evans, 2007.

³⁵³ Sandwith, 1877; The British Museum, 1875, pp. 120-121.

hill-sides in which the graves were excavated.³⁵⁴ Holmes' great impact was as a populariser of Cypriot antiquities, bringing the objects to the attention of members of local learned societies, and the wider public who read his articles in the local press or attended his lectures. While the knowledge he spread was not groundbreaking, he undoubtedly created interest in ancient Cyprus and a market for its antiquities. It is therefore important to investigate how he understood and interpreted the objects, and conveyed this knowledge to others.

Holmes' interpretation and presentation of ancient Cypriot objects allow his position in the intellectual debates outlined above to be calibrated. The centrality of Christianity to his world-view is evident, and he demonstrated a positivist approach by seeking evidence from antiquities for cultural progression, and drawing parallels between cultures in an attempt to identify staging-posts in their development. As Diaz-Andreu notes,

Positivists brought to extremes the eighteenth-century empiricist understanding of knowledge. This should be empirical and verifiable, and not contain any sort of speculation. Knowledge was, therefore, based exclusively on observable or experiential phenomena.³⁵⁵

Objects, as material facts, were central to this method of creating knowledge. In some ways Holmes' activities were characteristic of the indeterminate boundary between antiquarian and archaeological pursuits in the mid to late 19th century. Holmes was described approvingly by his peers as an 'antiquary', and some of his work demonstrably falls into this category, such as the history he wrote of Leeds.³⁵⁶ However, his approach to the ancient Cypriot objects was more in keeping with emerging archaeological thought. As Boast emphasises, at this point the collection was seen as 'the essential instrumen[t] for the study of ancient history and prehistory', and in a memoir on his collection and its uses, Holmes positioned himself in opposition to traditionally antiquarian practices:

A very few years ago it was usual to place objects of both savage art and antiquities in fanciful forms as trophies, or mere curiosities ... Now, anthropologists who consider that 'the proper study of mankind is man,' look upon the objects made and used by man as the exact evidence and exponents of his condition – physical, social, and religious. ... A well-arranged collection of antiquities in a museum... thus ...

³⁵⁴ Holmes, J. 1885. A Hero and an Antiquary: A Reminiscence. *Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement*. 3 January, p. 5.

³⁵⁵ Díaz-Andreu, 2007, pp. 104-105.

³⁵⁶ E.g. Smith, 1882b; Holmes, 1873.

enable[s] one to tell the story of humanity from infancy to manhood, and from the barbarian to the philosopher.³⁵⁷

This chimes with Charles Newton's conception of the 'links in that chain of continuous tradition, which connects the civilised nineteenth century with the races of the primaeval world'.³⁵⁸ Holmes' commitment to object-based research also bears a similarity to the thinking of Pitt Rivers, whose ideas were heavily influenced by the work of Lubbock and centred on the universal nature of cultural progression, according to which peoples were compared according to their perceived cultural age, based on the kinds of technology they used.³⁵⁹ This approach was necessarily based on material culture, holding that 'objects were reliable evidence for distant, intangible customs and beliefs'.³⁶⁰ Objects were considered relationally, in terms of the links between them and the calibration of their similarities and differences, rather than as individual curiosities. While the Pitt Rivers museum charted human development through a wide range of artefacts, from weapons to musical instruments, Holmes limited his research to the investigation of cultural progression as evidenced by pottery, using his own collection.³⁶¹ He found considerable value in the ancient Cypriot objects for their perceived role in filling a gap in this unified history. His collection, or 'private museum', was designed to illustrate this principle through 'the classification of a series of archaeological objects to indicate their design and use in the domestic conditions of life, also to show the progress in art, manufacture, and development at different periods of social history.'³⁶² For Holmes, 'use' and 'art' went hand in hand, and his interests straddled archaeological and aesthetic concerns. Unlike Pitt Rivers, who selected 'ordinary and typical specimens' rather than those notable for 'beauty or value', Holmes continued to place a high value on ancient Cypriot ceramics for their aesthetic and innovative qualities, while aware that not everyone shared his taste for 'the beautiful, or as some said ugly, antiques.'³⁶³ For him, however, these aesthetic qualities were secondary in importance to the evidence provided by the objects for ancient views, beliefs, and ways of life:

³⁵⁷ Boast, 2009, p. 56. Batty, J. 1901. The "Holmsted" Collection of Antiquities. *Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement*. 26 October, p. 10.

³⁵⁸ Newton, 1880, p. 38.

³⁵⁹ Petch, 2011; Gosden and Larson, 2007, pp. 92-93.

³⁶⁰ Lane Fox, 1875a, p. 520; Gosden and Larson, 2007, p. 88.

³⁶¹ Holmes, J. 1882. Evolution in Pottery. *Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement*. 6 May, p. 1.

³⁶² Batty, J. 1901. The "Holmsted" Collection of Antiquities. *Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement*. 26 October, p. 10.

³⁶³ Lane Fox, 1875b, pp. 293-294. Holmes, J. 1885. A Hero and an Antiquary: A Reminiscence. *Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement*. 3 January, p. 5.

What the people were we can judge to some extent by their remains. ... They were people believing in a hereafter, and they buried their dead in tombs... surrounding them with the objects they loved, or the articles they used in daily life, believing that these would be necessary, useful, or agreeable on their resurrection... In this way in death we have fair evidence before us, of the ideas, habits and arts of the people when living.³⁶⁴

This approach accords with that of the early developers of the Pitt Rivers museum who 'saw objects as unambiguous extensions of human mind at a particular 'evolutionary' stage'.³⁶⁵

However, Holmes went further in using these observations to make a moral point, emphasising the continuity between modern and ancient concerns as illustrated by ancient Cypriot objects:

...some [pots are] exquisitely finished, while others display the carelessness of a modern trades unionist demagogue, giving as little as possible for what he can get. There must have been a good deal of human nature even in those good old days. Yet we doubt whether our most ardent grumblers would care to give our gas for their oil ... And this is one of the benefits in the study of archaeology—that it shows how much better we are placed than our forefathers were; and how much we ought to prize the advancement of art and science.³⁶⁶

In this exposition, the advances in technology which placed Victorians at the summit of civilisation are framed as a reminder to Holmes' readers to appreciate the comforts of their modern lives. The self-improvement of the working classes was an important priority for him, and he drew moral lessons from the objects in his lectures and newspaper articles, aimed at encouraging self-reflection and improvement in his audiences: 'It ought to teach them the privileges we had; the advantages we had got; and the use we ought to make of the opportunities that we have.'³⁶⁷ By these means Holmes made his collection of Cypriot antiquities support his moral doctrine of self-improvement. As Levine discusses, theories of cultural evolution were used to shore up Victorian self-confidence, threatened by new scientific discoveries, by emphasising the distance between the English and 'modern "primitives"', who remained at a stage of development which they had left behind a long time ago.³⁶⁸ Holmes' use of his collection aligned with this approach, although his aim was to prompt his audiences to continued striving rather than self-satisfaction.

³⁶⁴ Holmes, J. 1876. Weston Park Museum. *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*. 30 November, p. 2.

³⁶⁵ Gosden and Larson, 2007, p. 239.

³⁶⁶ Holmes, J. 1876. Weston Park Museum. *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*. 30 November, p. 2.

³⁶⁷ Anon. 1878. Cyprus and its Antiquities. *Bradford Daily Telegraph*. 30 October, p. 2.

³⁶⁸ Levine, 2003, p. 98.

The itineraries of the objects were shaped by the connections made by Holmes, but they also had an impact on him, helping him to construct his identity as a scholar, antiquarian and collector, and allowing him access to socially and intellectually advanced circles. As Hill describes, the movement of objects ‘might remake or revalue their owners... [and produce] identities and emotional states’, and Holmes’ interaction with Cypriot antiquities inflected his itinerary as decisively as it did theirs.³⁶⁹ Living in Leeds, and bound by the requirements of his family and business, Holmes did not have the opportunity to take part in the societies and learned organisations based in London. He did, however, participate in a range of similar organisations at local level, including the Yorkshire Geological and Polytechnic Society and the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, which were connected with national institutions through programmes of eminent guest speakers. As Gosden and Larson comment, the ‘inclusive ethos’ of such societies fostered contact between leading figures in anthropological circles and ‘a range of interested amateur collectors and scholars.’³⁷⁰ The ideas and discoveries communicated along these networks were influential in shaping Holmes’ understanding, interpretation and communication of the ancient Cypriot objects. In particular, he benefited from the egalitarian approach of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS), which held its annual meetings in cities outside London specifically so that local people could participate. At these meetings, and at local societies, Holmes had the opportunity to hear emerging archaeological and anthropological views. He was present at the BAAS Meeting at Leeds in 1858, at which the attendees included Lubbock, whose ideas on progression influenced Holmes’ own views. Lubbock also addressed the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, of which Holmes was a member, in its 1861/62 session.³⁷¹ The influential archaeologist and collector Canon William Greenwell (1820-1918), who gave Pitt Rivers practical lessons in excavation, also addressed the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society on ‘The Inhabitants of Yorkshire in Pre-Roman Times’ during the 1866/67 session.³⁷² Other notable lecturers to the Society included Professor Thomas H. Huxley (1825-1895), then President-Elect of the BAAS, and William H. Flower (1831-1899), the anatomist and anthropologist. These lectures sometimes repeated with very little delay those delivered on the national stage, facilitating the rapid spread of new ideas. While Holmes was not central to these networks, he participated in them and had access to the ideas which travelled along them. His interest in Cypriot antiquities might have been furthered by a paper, ‘Three Months in Cyprus’, given at the BAAS’ annual Meeting at Sheffield in 1879 by

³⁶⁹ Hill, 2016, p. 83.

³⁷⁰ Gosden and Larson, 2007, pp. 58-59.

³⁷¹ Kitson Clark, 1924, p. 73.

³⁷² Pitt Rivers, 1887, xix.

Samuel Brown (1836-1891), a Government Engineer in Cyprus, who took part in the common expatriate pastime of sponsoring excavations and acquiring objects from them.³⁷³

Holmes played an active part in the BAAS Meeting in York in 1881, where he read a paper in the Anthropology section 'On the Collection of Cyprian Pottery, &c., deposited by Consul Sandwith, C.B., in the Museum, York.'³⁷⁴ W.H. Flower presided over this session, and Pitt Rivers and the eminent geologist and archaeologist Sir John Evans (1823-1908) were in attendance at the Meeting.³⁷⁵ As a result of this paper, 'his loan of art treasures to the York Exhibition and his reputation as an archaeologist', Holmes was elected an honorary member of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society.³⁷⁶ This distinction was awarded to both Sandwith and Holmes, demonstrating the extent to which Holmes became associated with Sandwith's discoveries and intellectual work through his efforts to communicate them. It was 'an honour he very highly esteemed' and in writing for the local press from this date he habitually styled himself 'H.M.Y.P.S.' (Honorary Member of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society).³⁷⁷ This demonstrates the extent to which Holmes' identity became bound up in the Cypriot antiquities and his status as their interpreter and disseminator; in Hoskins' term, they can be seen as 'foils for self-definition' as an antiquary respected by his peers.³⁷⁸

Holmes also gained social advantages from his involvement in local learned societies.

'Membership of such societies was often an entrée into educated and respectable social circles', and Holmes profited from the social opportunities offered by his participation.³⁷⁹ For example, as a consequence of his service on the Fine Art Committee of the 1875 Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, he attended a grand commemorative dinner chaired by the Mayor.³⁸⁰ However, Holmes' ambiguous social status is perhaps reflected by the nature of his participation in the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. This Society was a private membership organisation, led by the Leeds elite. He joined in 1850 in the relatively lowly category of Subscriber at the rate of £1 per year, and was a generous supporter of the

³⁷³ Brown, 1879; Kiely and Merrillees, 2012.

³⁷⁴ Anon. 1881. British Association: The York Meeting. *Leeds Mercury*. 7 September, pp. 2-3.

³⁷⁵ MacGregor, 1997, p. 16.

³⁷⁶ 'J.B.'. 1894. John Holmes, Antiquary and Connoisseur. *Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement*. 9 June, p. 8.

³⁷⁷ Smith, 1882b, p. 59.

³⁷⁸ Hoskins, 1998, p. 7.

³⁷⁹ Levine, 2003, p. 40.

³⁸⁰ Anon. 1875. Yorkshire Exhibition at Leeds: Commemorative Dinner. *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*. 9 November, p. 5.

Society's museum, donating a range of specimens.³⁸¹ He also presented the Society with a copy of his self-published history of Leeds, inscribed 'as a token of the author's esteem for the Institution'.³⁸² As well as donating objects themselves, Holmes contributed financially towards the purchase of important individual objects for the museum, and to funds for specific collections or to improve the Society's premises.³⁸³ He took part in the social side of the organisation, on several occasions lending objects for the annual *conversazione*.³⁸⁴ These acts can be interpreted both as support for the Society's objectives of increasing scientific knowledge, and also as a way of asserting his claim to belong in these learned circles. His contributions were publicly recognised in the Society's Annual Report, a transaction which added to his public status as an antiquarian and collector. As Hill states, 'the civic elite attempted to use museums as a space for display and legitimation', and this was perhaps even more important for those whose social status was more precarious.³⁸⁵ However, although an enthusiastic lecturer for other audiences, he does not appear to have addressed the Society, although it was common for members to do so in their areas of expertise, and did not serve on any of its committees. It is not clear whether Holmes was discouraged from seeking a more central role in the Society, or whether he chose instead to devote his energies to the improvement of the working classes from which he had originated, but it appears that there were limits to the social mobility offered through participation in learned societies.

Holmes relished the connections made through the Cypriot antiquities to the three Sandwith brothers, including Humphry Sandwith, the 'hero of Kars'. In August 1870, with the help of Henry Sandwith, Holmes displayed part of the collection for sale in an exhibition in the Picture Gallery of the Mechanics' Institute.³⁸⁶ This led to an acquaintance with Humphry:

[T.B. Sandwith] told me to go and see certain reserved and rare specimens that he had left with his brother at the Old Manor House, Wimbledon. This led me to call upon Humphrey Sandwith, and so my writing first to the Rev. Henry S. led to pleasant

³⁸¹ For example, a shark's tooth (Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1868, p. 13), fossil plants (Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1871, p. 11) and plaster casts of inscribed rocks (Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1872, p. 12).

³⁸² Holmes, 1873. Leeds University Library Special Collections (classmark Leeds Phil. and Lit. Y/HOL).

³⁸³ E.g. a substantial donation towards the purchase of a Peruvian mummy. Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1863, p. 13.

³⁸⁴ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1874, p. 5; Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1876, p. 5.

³⁸⁵ Hill, 2016, p. 53.

³⁸⁶ Anon. 1870. Local and General. *Leeds Mercury*. 19 August, p. 3.

communication with Consul Sandwith, and with their brother at Wimbledon, in a way most delightful, with my especial proclivities of mind, and “craze” for Cyprian and all other antiquities.³⁸⁷

Fig. 2.1 shows a candidate for one of the objects left in the care of Humphry Sandwith: a kylix with a handwritten label ‘Humphry, Early G.P.’ (= ?Greek pottery) under its foot. The exhibition raised a considerable sum towards Sandwith’s charitable aims, thereby strengthening the links between Holmes and the distinguished Sandwith family.³⁸⁸ As Brodie and Luke discuss, antiquities can be collected ‘to provide a passport into polite society’ and it appears that the Cypriot antiquities fulfilled this function, among others, for Holmes.³⁸⁹



Fig. 2.1 Bichrome footed kylix, Cypro-Geometric period (LEEDM.D.1988.0005)

Likely to have been exported by T.B. Sandwith from Cyprus and left with his brother Humphry. Perhaps displayed in Leeds. Deposited at the Leeds Art Gallery, possibly as part of the Holmes Collection, and transferred to Leeds Museum in 1988. © Leeds Museums and Galleries.

Exhibiting and consuming ancient Cyprus

These intellectual and social frameworks – of a progressionist approach towards human pasts, explored through objects and reconciled with Christian moral imperatives, and pursued through local learned societies through which ideas and developments on the national stage quickly circulated - form the context within which Holmes, working with Henry

³⁸⁷ Holmes, J. 1881. Humphrey Sandwith of Kars. *The York Herald*. 27 May, p. 3.

³⁸⁸ Holmes, J. 1881. Humphrey Sandwith of Kars. *The York Herald*. 27 May, p. 3. Holmes’ links with the Sandwiths are discussed in Reeve, 2016, p. 281.

³⁸⁹ Brodie and Luke, 2006, p. 305.

Sandwith, arranged for the exhibition and sale of Sandwith's objects from 1870 onwards. The objects' participation in these frameworks, and movements between exhibitions, dealers and collectors, can be understood as mapping the reach of the 'relational' museum enmeshed in broader networks.³⁹⁰ Outside learned circles, the antiquities of Cyprus had made little impact on the popular imagination; there were few references in the local press, and the island was not often visited by the British public. As Edbury notes, before 1878 an educated English person's perception of Cyprus, beyond its place in the Ottoman empire, was likely to be limited to St Paul and St Barnabas' visit (*Acts of Apostles* ch. 13), the setting of Shakespeare's *Othello*, and perhaps its conquest by Richard the Lionheart as part of the Third Crusade.³⁹¹ However, during the early years of the 1870s, popular awareness of ancient Cyprus and its antiquities was slowly growing.³⁹² L.P. di Cesnola had sold Cypriot antiquities at auction in London in 1871, and the 1872 display of his collection in London had excited attention in the local and national press, and emulative display from the British Museum.³⁹³ The purchase of this collection by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and its loss to Britain, was widely reported and represented as a missed opportunity for the Government.³⁹⁴ The timing was therefore opportune for Holmes to bring Cypriot antiquities to public attention.

Holmes recruited Sandwith's ancient Cypriot objects to the broader social agenda of improving the experiences and morals of working people through exposure to art, and helped to fit them into systems of knowledge about the ancient past and the development of art, which paved their way towards their assimilation into museum collections. They were purchased by collectors as scientific evidence of ancient human pasts, as a means of supporting Sandwith's charitable objectives, and as aesthetic objects, both for enjoyment and in order to display the purchasers' middle-class credentials as consumers of art.³⁹⁵ Described by Henry Sandwith as mostly of 'Phenician character', their identity as 'Graeco-Phoenician', reflecting their supposed cultural origins, proved persistent as they transferred between settings.³⁹⁶ Some were put up for sale in Liverpool 'at the shop of Mr Stonier, glass and earthenware dealer', explicitly for the purpose of relieving famine. The *Liverpool Daily Post* stated that 'antiquaries of the town have... made a selection of some of the rarest and

³⁹⁰ Gosden, 2009.

³⁹¹ Edbury, 2001, pp. 13-14.

³⁹² Kiely and Ulbrich, 2012, p. 321 n. 86.

³⁹³ E.g. Anon. 1872. Antiquities from Cyprus. *Liverpool Mail*. 21 December, p. 15. See Masson, 1996, pp. 7-9 and Marangou, 2000, pp. 187-188.

³⁹⁴ Anon. 1874. American Antiquities. *Leeds Mercury*. 10 January, p. 11.

³⁹⁵ Cohen, 2009, p. 155.

³⁹⁶ Sandwith, H. 1870. Distress in Cyprus. *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*. 30 April, p. 7.

most illustrative of the types, in the hope that the committee of the public museum will purchase them' and this duly came to pass; the 1870 Annual Report of the Free Public Library, Museum and Schools of the Borough of Liverpool records the purchase of 'Ten specimens of Graeco-Phoenician Pottery and Glass found at Cyprus'.³⁹⁷ These were joined in 1872 by a donation of Cypriot sculpture, reflecting growing interest in ancient Cyprus in this period.³⁹⁸

In Leeds, sales of the objects appear to have been managed by a nexus of Henry Denny (1803-1871), curator of the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, John Holmes, and Henry Sandwith. Correspondence in the LMG archives gives some insight into how this process was managed. In the absence of a wider market in Cypriot antiquities, the monetary value of each object was not fixed but determined on a case-by-case basis. A letter from Henry Sandwith reveals some of the factors which influenced this: it outlines his intention to 'consult with Mr Holmes whether any reduction in the prices of them should be made', in view of 'the relief of famine which must also guide my decision', and his resolve 'not to lower the price [of the larger vase] any further – considering the expense of its transit, and its intrinsic beauty'.³⁹⁹ The charitable purposes behind the sales, and the aesthetic value of the objects, were the main factors controlling their monetary value, which had to be set at a price to cover costs and was dependent on what the market would bear.

As well as local interest, the objects attracted collectors from further afield. The Rev. Samuel Savage Lewis (1836-1891), Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, wrote to Denny for this purpose:

Having heard from Mr Sandwith of Todwick [i.e. Henry Sandwith] that the last consignment of Cyprian vases from his brother, the Consul for Crete, has been sent to your charge, I write to ask if you will have the goodness to give me some idea of the class of pottery despatched, & the prices at which single pieces might be sold. I am anxious to secure good specimens of the Aryballos, Cylix, Phiale, Prochoos, & one or two lamps.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁷ Anon. 1870. Interesting Articles of Ancient Potteryware. *Liverpool Daily Post*. 13 August, p. 4. Committee of the Free Public Library Museum and Schools, 1870, p. 17. The connection with Sandwith was identified as a result of this doctoral project (Reeve, 2019).

³⁹⁸ Kiely and Ulbrich, 2012, p. 321.

³⁹⁹ MS letter from Henry Sandwith, 10 September [n.d. - 1870?], Leeds Museums and Galleries Archive.

⁴⁰⁰ MS letter from S.S. Lewis to H. Denny, 9 February 1871, Leeds Museums and Galleries Archive.

Lewis was a Classicist and specialist collector of antiquities, including coins and engraved gems, and ancient Egyptian, Italian, Greek and Cypriot ceramics. He went to considerable lengths to track down desired objects for his collections, and was noted for his 'collecting-by-post method'.⁴⁰¹ In Pearce's terms, he can be identified as a 'systematic' collector whose collection was guided by clear organising principles.⁴⁰² His use of specialist terminology, belonging to the study of ancient Greek ceramics, indicates that in his view the ancient Cypriot objects could be assimilated to a Classically focused study of the ancient past. Lewis' enquiry also demonstrates that, despite the relatively unknown status of Cypriot antiquities in the years before L.P. di Cesnola's discoveries and showmanship brought them to public attention, there were nevertheless English collectors who were eager to obtain specific objects. Here, the objects travelled along elite networks; Lewis was elected Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1873, and as a Fellow at Cambridge was very much part of the intellectual establishment. In this instance, the objects derived their value from their place in typologies of ancient art, and were fitted into this system of knowledge. Lewis's use of the term 'good specimens' made the objects akin to natural history specimens, valued for the work they could do to represent types as part of a 'systematic' collection.⁴⁰³

It was not just specialist collectors who purchased the objects. The later 19th century saw 'a gravitational shift in the collecting scene, with both public institutions and private collectors of middling rank making significant inroads into territory formerly dominated by the aristocracy.'⁴⁰⁴ Cypriot antiquities, relatively new on the market and less sought after than better-known Greek and Roman antiquities, offered greater opportunities for the casual collector. One of these was a Mr. G. Sinclair Robertson of Liverpool, a commercial agent, who bought a '£5 vase' and later donated it to Liverpool's Public Museum.⁴⁰⁵ Described as a 'large early Greek pottery vase', it may have been an amphora of the type discussed and illustrated in Sandwith's *Archaeologia* paper.⁴⁰⁶ This purchase gives a sense of the relative affordability of ancient Cypriot objects, since £5, a substantial but not excessive sum (around £313 today) was sufficient to purchase a 'large vase'.⁴⁰⁷ Robertson's motivations are not recorded, but he

⁴⁰¹ S.S. Lewis' collecting practices are discussed by Spier and Vassilika, 1995 (quotation p. 91).

⁴⁰² Pearce, 1993, pp. 68-88.

⁴⁰³ Alberti, 2009, p. 66; Pearce, 1993, pp. 68-88.

⁴⁰⁴ MacGregor, 1997, p. 6.

⁴⁰⁵ MS letter from Henry Sandwith, recipient unknown (Henry Denny?), 8 October 1870, Leeds Museums and Galleries Archive. Committee of the Free Public Library Museum and Gallery of Art, 1877, p. 16.

⁴⁰⁶ Sandwith, 1877, pp. 137, Plate XIII. A similar amphora from Sandwith's collection is now in National Museums Scotland (NMS 1901.317), see Goring, 1988, p. 81.

⁴⁰⁷ *National Archives currency converter*, accessed 6 January 2021.

does not appear to have made a notable collection of antiquities; it may well have been the amphora's aesthetic qualities that attracted him to it. The size, completeness, and striking decoration of these objects evidently made them valuable to collectors.

The Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, 1875

An important nexus in the onwards movement of the Cypriot antiquities through local networks was the 1875 Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures in Leeds. Housed on the site of the Coloured Cloth Hall and adjoining land, with a purpose-built Central Hall, this large-scale Exhibition was formally opened by the Duke of Edinburgh on 13 May 1875 and ran to September of that year.⁴⁰⁸ Its primary purpose was to raise funds to support the Leeds Mechanics' Institute, and it also contributed to the agenda of educating working people through access to art and the provision of informative displays, in keeping with broader trends in regional exhibitions in the second half of the 19th century.⁴⁰⁹ Its exhibits were divided into five Departments: Fine Art, Science, Machinery, Manufactures, and Sanitary (covering the 'science of hygiene').⁴¹⁰ This organisational approach loosely followed the example set by the 1851 Great Exhibition in London, the trailblazer for all subsequent exhibitions.⁴¹¹ Taking one of the two roles of Honorary Secretary of the Fine Art Department, under the Chairmanship of the Rev. Dr. Gott, Vicar of Leeds, Holmes was responsible for the Antiquarian Section, using his own collection and loans from others, including Sandwith's ancient Cypriot objects.⁴¹² The 1851 Great Exhibition had accustomed the public to the spectacle of objects from far-off lands, and the collections of ethnographic and antiquarian collections, including a case devoted to Sandwith's objects from Cyprus, appealed to this taste for the exotic.⁴¹³

A lengthy description of the display of Sandwith's collection appeared in the *Leeds Mercury*, probably authored by Holmes:

One of the most wonderful and unique points in the Exhibition... is furnished as a contribution from Cyprus by Her Majesty's Consul, Mr. B. Sandwith. Mr Sandwith, finding the Cyprians actually starving from a series of bad harvests from 1870 to 1872, set the people to explore the ancient graves and cemeteries which he and

⁴⁰⁸ Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, 1875, p. 27.

⁴⁰⁹ Greenhalgh, 1988, pp. 21-22.

⁴¹⁰ Committee of the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, 1875.

⁴¹¹ Mack, 1997, p. 35.

⁴¹² Merrillees, 2001, p. 223.

⁴¹³ Mack, 1997, pp. 35-36.

others had discovered in various places in that interesting island. Hence resulted the discovery of hundreds of specimens of ancient pottery... Of these Consul Sandwith, now of Crete, has selected specimens to preserve for himself, while much was sold for the benefit of the starving Cyprians. Those selected – marvellous in character and completeness... are most varied and curious, and the ornaments are primitive and characteristic.⁴¹⁴

This description asserted the value of the objects on aesthetic, scientific, and charitable grounds. It drew attention to their visual properties, described as ‘wonderful and unique’, ‘marvellous’, and ‘varied and curious’. By describing them as ‘specimens’ and emphasising their ‘completeness’ it recruited them to scientific systems of knowledge, in which they took an early place as ‘primitive’. Sandwith was given undue credit as one of the discoverers of the ancient tombs, while the role of Cypriot people was limited to being ordered to carry out excavations, an imperialist framing which overlooked the fact that consular explorers were invariably guided by local intelligence. In a ‘mutual process of value creation between people and things’, in Gosden and Marshall’s terms, Sandwith gained intellectual as well as social prestige through his role as collector and consul, the objects’ status was enhanced by their association with him, and Holmes himself, through his connections and role as explicator, took on some of this intellectual and social cachet.⁴¹⁵ As well as placing articles in the local press, Holmes employed other strategies to raise the profile of the collection, while boosting his own reputation as an antiquary. During the Duke of Edinburgh’s guided tour of the Exhibition, he ‘especially directed the Duke’s attention to... the remarkable collection of pottery from Cyprus.’⁴¹⁶ Over the course of the Exhibition Holmes gave ‘brief popular expositions of interesting exhibits in the Gallery of Antiquities’, which provided further opportunities for promoting the sale of Sandwith’s objects.⁴¹⁷ These activities helped to generate interest in Sandwith’s collection and assert its value, resulting in sales which set the objects in motion locally and further afield, where they circulated for years to come.

Holmes’ contribution on the Cypriot antiquities to the Catalogue of the Fine Art Department attached interpretations to the objects which remained persistent as they travelled onward through different contexts, reflecting the authority he derived from being one of the first to present relatively unfamiliar ancient Cypriot material culture to local audiences.⁴¹⁸ His

⁴¹⁴ Anon. 1875. Antiquities. *Leeds Mercury*. 14 May, p. 6.

⁴¹⁵ Gosden and Marshall, 1999, p. 170.

⁴¹⁶ Anon. 1875. The Duke of Edinburgh in Leeds. *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*. 14 May, pp. 2-3, 6-7.

⁴¹⁷ Anon. 1875. Yorkshire Exhibition in Leeds. *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*. 19 June, p. 1.

⁴¹⁸ Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, 1875, pp. 106-110.

comments demonstrate the lack of a standardised typology at this stage, in comparison to better-studied Greek and Roman ceramics. This impeded the objects' accurate description, to the extent that Holmes felt it necessary to append an apology:

The cataloguing and placing of this interesting collection is felt to be very imperfect and inadequate; but the wish to show something of characteristics and progressive period is urged as apology.⁴¹⁹

Compared to the precise terminology now current in archaeological discourse, as used in Chapter 1, Holmes' descriptions are ambiguous and insufficient to identify the objects to which he refers. His lack of certainty regarding the objects is reflected in descriptions such as 'Peculiar bottle-shaped scent (?) vessels' and 'a series of vessels and objects not readily classified'. His Catalogue indicates his awareness of Sandwith's paper for the Society of Antiquaries, for example in dividing the objects into three chronological periods, but lacks Sandwith's cautious, evidence-based approach. For example, Sandwith refers to 'little rude clay figures... which it has been the fashion, perhaps without sufficient reason, to consider as toys', while Holmes makes no qualifications in describing 'A series of Animal and Bird-shaped Toys, evidently made for juvenile objects... usually found along with remains of children', a statement for which archaeological evidence was certainly lacking.⁴²⁰ Holmes' somewhat cavalier approach reflects the emergent state of archaeological practice at this time, and the extent to which Sandwith, in his methodical observation, was an outlier.

⁴¹⁹ Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, 1875, p. 110.

⁴²⁰ Sandwith, 1877, p. 137; Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, 1875, pp. 107-109.



Fig. 2.2 Bichrome spouted jug, Cypro-Geometric period (LEEDM.D.1964.0346)
 Label on base from the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, 1875.
 Exported by T.B. Sandwith from Cyprus, and exhibited by John Holmes. Possibly
 the object described in the Exhibition catalogue as a 'Child's Feeding-bottle; 3½
 inches high, with horizontal rings'. Purchased from the Exhibition by the Leeds
 Philosophical and Literary Society. © Leeds Museums and Galleries.

Holmes' progressionist approach to antiquities is clearly reflected in this 1875 Exhibition Catalogue. The overarching aim of the Fine Art Department was to demonstrate 'the gradual progression from the rude and savage condition of our forefathers to our present high state of civilisation', placing the European man of the Victorian age at the apex of human development.⁴²¹ The display of ancient objects was designed to play its part in this programme. Alongside the Cypriot antiquities, Holmes included objects from Egypt and Peru, and emphasised cross-cultural comparisons. A 'Small child's feeding-bottle' (**Fig. 2.2**) was described as 'Interesting from similar ones being found recently at York, and being still used in the Hertz and other districts of Germany', while a 'Water-bottle from Cuzco, Peru' was included because it 'Should be compared with other Cyprian vessels around to show same characteristics and feeling'.⁴²² Holmes' display was designed to draw parallels between similar stages of cultural progression among different peoples, and to place the objects in order of technical and artistic progression.

Those purchasing objects from the Exhibition did so for a variety of reasons, according to their own tastes, priorities and knowledge. One such purchaser was William Henry Verity, a collector of fine English ceramics who also served on the Fine Art Committee, bringing him

⁴²¹ Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, 1875, pp. 5-6. See Bennett, 1995, p. 39.

⁴²² Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, 1875, pp. 109-110.

into contact with Holmes. He bought one small jug, a Bichrome oenochoe (**Fig. 2.3**), which was later sold as part of a general disposal of the Verity household goods in 1881 when the family emigrated to Canada.⁴²³ A copy of a letter from Verity to the jug's purchaser, his neighbour Joseph Hall, gives some insight into its significance for him:

I am writing to give you some information respecting the pitcher you bought at my sale... The pottery was dug from ancient graves at Dali in the island of Cyprus. It appears to be Phoenician or very early Greek. ... The digging has been under the charge of Mr Sandwith our Vice Consul, brother to the late Dr Sandwith of Kars celebrity, and the pottery sent to England to be sold for the relief of the inhabitants, who were suffering from famine.

The pottery is most interesting in an antiquarian sense, being as it was a link between the Prehistoric and an early Greek art.⁴²⁴

In contrast to the specialist terminology used by S.S. Lewis (discussed above), Verity described the oenochoe as a 'pitcher', a domestic term suggesting that he had no particular expertise in ancient ceramics. His letter demonstrates the persistence of the information attached to the pottery by Holmes: that it provided archaeological evidence of the distant past in Cyprus, and operated as a link in the Great Chain of Art. It evidently gained some of its value from its association with 'Mr Sandwith' as Vice-Consul, and indirectly with Humphry Sandwith, widely celebrated as the 'hero of Kars'; the links made through its purchase between Verity and these figures give it the status of a souvenir, a memento of personal experience, in Pearce's formulation.⁴²⁵ The jug's role in providing the means to relieve famine is also mentioned, demonstrating how firmly this had become part of its identity. Its sale by auction along with Verity's collection of 'rare old china' indicates that for Verity it was primarily a decorative curio, valued for its personal associations rather than its scientific evidence, and could be disposed of as such.

⁴²³ Anon. 1881. Preliminary Advertisement: Crescent Villa, Burley Wood, Kirkstall. *Leeds Mercury*. 19 March, p. 4. The jug was donated by Joseph Hall's daughter, Ethel Stott, to Leeds Museums in 1957.

⁴²⁴ 'Copy of a letter on the early Greek pottery', Leeds Museums and Galleries Archive.

⁴²⁵ Pearce, 1993, p. 72.



Fig. 2.3 Bichrome oenochoe, Cypro-Geometric period (LEEDM.D.1964.0371)

Exported by T.B. Sandwith from Cyprus, exhibited by John Holmes at the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, and bought by William Verity. Sold by Verity to his neighbour Joseph Hall, and donated by Hall's daughter, Ethel Stott, to Leeds Museum in 1957. © Leeds Museums and Galleries.

Other purchasers were more firmly committed to the study of the ancient past through objects. While fine art collecting still required considerable financial resources, antiquities, especially those without the distinction of originating from the cultures of Greece and Rome, could be obtained relatively inexpensively. As MacGregor comments,

in the field of antiquities there were ample opportunities for men of more modest means (but necessarily of a dedicated character), as well as the noble and landed classes, to make valuable contributions through their collections.⁴²⁶

On a still smaller scale, local antiquarians also took advantage of the relatively affordable prices of antiquities to produce less ambitious collections which were nevertheless extensively viewed and discussed by local intellectual societies. In Yorkshire, such local antiquarians took the opportunity of purchasing from the ancient Cypriot display at the 1875 Exhibition to add to their collections, and these objects surfaced repeatedly in subsequent soirées and exhibitions, participating in local intellectual and social networks. Gosden and Larson describe 'learned clubs and societies' as 'A crucial pump, sustaining the circulation of objects through different groups of people in British society', an observation which is borne out by the movements of these ancient Cypriot objects.⁴²⁷ For example, at the Yorkshire Fine

⁴²⁶ MacGregor, 1997, p. 14.

⁴²⁷ Gosden and Larson, 2007, p. 38.

Art and Industrial Exhibition in 1879, 'Greco-Phoenician antiquities exhumed from ancient tombs in Cyprus, by Mr. T.B. Sandwith' were exhibited by 'Mr. F. Barber, Mr. Luke Thompson, York, and Mr. R. Smith'.⁴²⁸ Fairless Barber was a well-known Yorkshire lawyer, antiquarian and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and one of the principal organisers of the meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute at Ripon in 1874.⁴²⁹ Holmes also contributed Cypriot antiquities to an archaeological exhibition at this 1874 meeting, alongside Canon Greenwell, the archaeologist who had addressed the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society in the 1866/67 session.⁴³⁰ The circulation of the objects therefore strengthened the relations between people in intellectual and social networks.

The histories of Cypriot antiquities now in public ownership in Harrogate further demonstrate the ways in which they forged links between local collectors, and were incorporated in diverse collections according to individual approaches. The collection formerly belonging to Bramley Kent (1848-1924) and his son Benjamin (1885-1968) farmers, landowners and collectors of antiquities from Beckwithshaw near Harrogate, includes Sandwith's objects from the Exhibition, of which one was obtained indirectly from William Cudworth (1830-1906), a Bradford journalist and local historian who was a keen collector of Cypriot antiquities.⁴³¹ These objects were early acquisitions for the Kents' ancient Cypriot collection which eventually numbered some 150 objects, and through which many excavators, collectors and dealers are linked.⁴³² The wider Kent collection incorporated a huge variety of material, in terms of periods and cultures as well as types of object. As such, it does not indicate a 'systematic' approach as taken by S.S. Lewis, who sought specific types of object to fill gaps in his collection, but rather suggests that they took opportunistic advantage of the availability of the objects to bring together an extensive and eclectic collection, in which the objects were valued both for their aesthetic qualities and for their use as evidence for the past.⁴³³ As well as private collectors, objects were also purchased directly from the Exhibition by museums, including the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art.⁴³⁴ In addition, after the close of the Exhibition, Holmes arranged loans of objects from

⁴²⁸ Anon. 1879. Yorkshire Fine Art and Industrial Exhibition. *York Herald*. 27 September, p. 4.

⁴²⁹ See the biographical note in Smith, 1882a. Anon., 1874, p. 387.

⁴³⁰ Anon., 1874, pp. 408-409.

⁴³¹ Cudworth's collecting networks are explored by Reeve, 2020b. See also the discussion of Thomas Hollings' collection in Chapter 6.

⁴³² Reeve and Waite, 2020 discuss the Kents' ancient Cypriot collection, its formation and later reception. See also Reeve, 2020b.

⁴³³ Reeve and Waite, 2020; Pearce, 1993, p. 87.

⁴³⁴ Goring, 1988, p. 14.

Sandwith's collection to museums in York, Sheffield and Halifax, reinforcing his position in these networks.⁴³⁵

As well as circulating in their material form, their participation in the 1875 Yorkshire Exhibition provided the opportunity for visual representations of the objects to be produced. An endnote to Sandwith's paper for the Society of Antiquaries' journal *Archaeologia* stated that 'Advantage has... been taken of the author's having sent a portion of his collection to the Leeds Exhibition, 1875, to obtain larger drawings from selected examples'.⁴³⁶ The Society of Antiquaries had long recognised that 'a taxonomic ordering of visible antiquities could offer useful data for historical conclusions'; having first appointed a draughtsman in 1780, it continued to contribute to evolving practice in the representation of antiquities.⁴³⁷ By conforming to contemporary conventions of archaeological illustration – representing each object in its own space on a neutral background, grouping them into sets to facilitate comparison, and accurately reflecting form, decoration and key attributes through shading and colour (see **Fig. 4.4**) – the engravings of Sandwith's collection authenticated the objects' status as archaeological specimens or data with the potential to create knowledge about the ancient past.⁴³⁸ The objects' circulation in this form gave them the potential to 'inform collective knowledge and facilitate the development of a community specializing in the interpretation of ancient material culture'.⁴³⁹ As Joyce and Gillespie emphasise, these engravings added to the objects' itineraries: while the objects themselves moved in a relatively circumscribed way along networks of collectors and institutions, their images were reproduced and circulated much more widely.⁴⁴⁰ In one specific example, this circulation enabled an object, much later, to take part in archaeological discourse, even while the identity of the object itself had been lost. The image of the juglet of Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware shown in **Fig. 2.4** was discussed by Merrillees in 2001, at which point the location of the

⁴³⁵ Holmes, J. 1885. A Hero and an Antiquary: A Reminiscence. *Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement*. 3 January, p. 5. Holmes, J. 1876. Weston Park Museum. *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*. 30 November, p. 2. Council of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, 1881, p. 14.

⁴³⁶ Sandwith, 1877, p. 142.

⁴³⁷ Smiles, 1994, p. 18.

⁴³⁸ Moser, 2014 discusses how the production of such images, and the establishment of their conventions in the 17th and 18th centuries, assisted in the production of expert knowledge. See also Meyer and Petsalis-Diomidis, forthcoming.

⁴³⁹ See Moser, n.d. on the Society of Antiquaries' practices of illustration.

⁴⁴⁰ For images as part of object itineraries, see Joyce and Gillespie, 2015a, p. 13; Wallis, 2015; and the discussion in the Introduction.

juglet itself was unknown, and the illustration in *Archaeologia* enabled the present author to re-identify it in the LMG collection.⁴⁴¹



Fig.2.4a

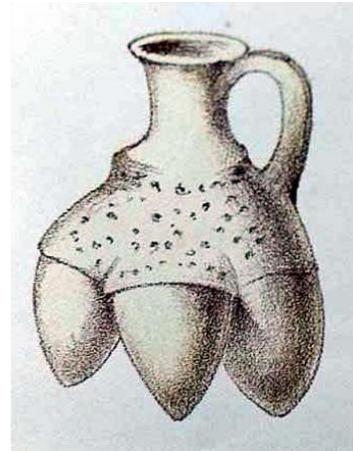


Fig. 2.4b

- a) Triple juglet of Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware, Middle-Late Cypriot period (LEEDM.D.1964.0305).** Exported by T.B. Sandwith from Cyprus, bought by John Holmes and sold to the Leeds Free Public Museum.
© Leeds Museums and Galleries.
- b) Plate IX,7 from Sandwith's *Archaeologia* paper (Sandwith, 1877)**

The 1875 Exhibition was therefore a major catalyst in the collection of ancient Cypriot objects in the Yorkshire region, as a result of which they made new connections and travelled along and strengthened existing intellectual and social networks. Holmes used his role on the Fine Art Committee to bring the objects into contact with wide audiences, including visitors, purchasers, and those who read about the Exhibition in the local press. The objects' aesthetic qualities, their contribution to knowledge about human history, and their function as charitable donations all appealed to their purchasers, and gained them entrance to new and existing collections, and a place in local museums.

Conversaciones as sites of knowledge creation

One of the routes through which knowledge about the ancient Cypriot objects was produced and consumed in Yorkshire was through their participation in conversaciones, the annual social events of learned societies which brought members and invited guests together for

⁴⁴¹ Merrillees, 2001.

scholarly discussion.⁴⁴² These events had some similarities with the *conversazioni* held by organisations such as the Burlington Fine Arts Club, a London-based gentlemen’s club, at which members exhibited artworks from their collections and shared their knowledge in the mutual creation of expertise.⁴⁴³ However, they were much more broadly conceived, in terms of the range of objects incorporated, the participants, and the generally festive nature of the proceedings. These provincial *conversazioni* were designed as entertainment for middle-class society, usually held in the evening in a venue decorated for the occasion and accompanied by music and refreshments, and they attracted an audience which went beyond each society’s usual membership, providing an additional route through which women could access science and culture.⁴⁴⁴ They were important in the construction of ‘a culturally sophisticated urban middle-class identity’, with full lists of guests reported in the press for the *conversazioni* of major societies such as the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, ensuring that their participation was widely visible.⁴⁴⁵ As Plunkett and Sullivan discuss, ‘the attending civic leaders... could both experience and align themselves with the improving impact of science.’⁴⁴⁶ Members and visitors contributed objects from their collections, usually in accordance with broad themes agreed in advance, and presented them to attendees. The events thus combined instruction and entertainment, and formed a social rather than primarily intellectual context for the objects. Invariably reported in detail in the local press, information about the proceedings also reached a much wider audience than those who attended.

Conversazioni were participatory affairs. The exhibitors were largely drawn from the society’s membership, who would themselves be attendees in different years. They had no expert status, but conveyed knowledge to their peers through practical demonstration, allowing a ‘hands-on’, experiential encounter.⁴⁴⁷ The participation of objects, to be seen, handled, and discussed, was key to this process. The attendees were not therefore merely passive recipients of knowledge, but took part in appraising and interpreting the objects they saw, through the free discussion which was the hallmark of the *conversazione*. The objects displayed at *conversazioni* were ‘a microcosm of Victorian culture’, ranging from the latest

⁴⁴² See the discussion of 19th century *conversazioni* in Alberti, 2003; Evans, 2007; Plunkett and Sullivan, 2012; Hill, 2016, pp. 110-111; and Steadman, 2019, pp. 179-189.

⁴⁴³ Pierson, 2017.

⁴⁴⁴ Plunkett and Sullivan, 2012, p. 47.

⁴⁴⁵ Alberti, 2003, p. 209.

⁴⁴⁶ Plunkett and Sullivan, 2012, p. 45.

⁴⁴⁷ Plunkett and Sullivan, 2012, p. 42; Alberti, 2003, p. 209.

scientific and technical innovations to antiquities and works of art.⁴⁴⁸ As Plunkett and Sullivan state, the exhibits could include ‘working models, scientific apparatus, specimens of natural history and archaeology, painting, sculpture and sketches’ and were ‘often accompanied by literary readings and music.’⁴⁴⁹ By including the ancient Cypriot objects in these displays, their exhibitors asserted their scientific and aesthetic value.

In the years following Sandwith’s dispatch of Cypriot antiquities to Yorkshire, the objects participated in numerous conversazioni in the region. In February 1874 Henry Sandwith displayed ‘Antique Graeco-Phoenician vases, &c., discovered in Cyprus’ at the Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society’s conversazione, and later that year Holmes contributed ‘an extensive, but most select and valuable, collection of antiquities’ to the conversazione of the Huddersfield Literary and Scientific Society.⁴⁵⁰ In 1876 James William Davis (1846-1893), geologist and palaeontologist, exhibited ‘specimens of Cyprian pottery from the graves at Dali, Crete [sic], and Lanarka, exhumed a year or two ago’ at the conversazione of the Bradford Scientific Association.⁴⁵¹ Holmes took ‘a collection of antiquities from Cyprus’ to the 1879 conversazione of the Headingley Wesleyan Young Men’s Society, and also gave a lecture on ancient lamps.⁴⁵² Davis again exhibited ‘a variety of household vessels, lamps, and female heads in terra cotta, which were discovered by Consul Sandwith in graves in the Island of Cyprus’ at the 1884 Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society’s conversazione.⁴⁵³ This activity demonstrates both the objects’ geographical diffusion along local networks – the learned societies of which their exhibitors were members - and also their participation in this social setting which enabled them to be experienced by wider audiences.⁴⁵⁴

The ways in which the ancient Cypriot objects were interpreted for attendees is difficult to determine, but several pieces of information recur in newspaper reports: that they were

⁴⁴⁸ Alberti, 2003, p. 211.

⁴⁴⁹ Plunkett and Sullivan, 2012, p. 44.

⁴⁵⁰ Anon. 1874. Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society. *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*. 6 February, p. 3. Anon. 1874. Huddersfield Literary and Scientific Society. *Huddersfield Chronicle*. 24 October, p. 8.

⁴⁵¹ Anon. 1876. Conversazione of the Bradford Scientific Association. *Bradford Observer*. 4 February, p. 3.

⁴⁵² Anon. 1879. Conversazione at Headingley. *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*. 3 January, p. 2.

⁴⁵³ Anon. 1884. Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society. *Bradford Daily Telegraph*. 30 January, p. 4.

⁴⁵⁴ Plunkett and Sullivan point out the importance of conversazioni held by organisations other than scientific societies, such as ‘religious and educational groups’ (Plunkett and Sullivan, 2012, pp. 47; 45-54).

from Cyprus, and recovered from graves; their great antiquity (not usually specified); and their association with Vice-Consul T.B. Sandwith. In the convivial atmosphere of the *conversazione*, very different from the hush of the lecture theatre, the presenter was required to capture his audience's attention with the most salient aspects of his objects, and these pieces of information were evidently felt to be their key characteristics. The association with Sandwith, important for gaining publicity for his philanthropic purpose when the objects were first dispatched to England, proved to form a long-lasting part of the objects' identities in these settings.

More is known about Holmes' participation in the *conversazione* of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society in 1881, when he exhibited ancient metal objects, no doubt including Cypriot bronze tools and arrow heads (such as the axe shown in **Fig. 2.5**), as part of the overall theme of 'artistic metalwork'. The report of this *conversazione*, filling nearly three columns of the *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, recorded that an 'elegant throng' were entertained with refreshments in the Society's Philosophical Hall, which was decorated with flowers; it includes an extensive 'list of the company present', indicating that this was a social occasion aimed at pleasure as well as instruction.⁴⁵⁵ Holmes was successful in conveying his ideas on cultural progression and cross-cultural comparisons through the objects he exhibited in this setting. The *Yorkshire Post* reporter found that 'the placing of the pre-historic bronze implements and weapons side by side, with the fine example of later work, was provocative of thoughtful musing.'⁴⁵⁶ The then president of the Society, the Rev. Dr. John Gott, praised Holmes' collection in his speech as 'illustrative of the proper collecting spirit. He took care not to get anything which did not show evolution – a great principle which was too often forgotten by collectors.'⁴⁵⁷ Gott had been Chairman of the Fine Art Committee for the 1875 Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, at which Holmes had exhibited Sandwith's objects, a further example of the interconnectedness of Leeds intellectual society in this period. Through participation in this event, Holmes' objects and his ideas about them reached an audience both of middle-class attendees and the *Yorkshire Post's* readership, in the process adding to his own prestige.

⁴⁵⁵ Anon. 1881. Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society *Conversazione*. *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*. 23 November, p. 5.

⁴⁵⁶ Anon. 1881. Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society *Conversazione*. *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*. 23 November, p. 5.

⁴⁵⁷ Anon. 1881. Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society *Conversazione*. *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*. 23 November, p. 5.



Fig. 2.5 Bronze axe, Middle Cypriot period (LEEDM.D.1964.0383)

Purchased by John Holmes at Dali (ancient Idalion) in Cyprus in May 1873, and displayed at the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures in 1875. Probably exhibited by Holmes at the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society's conversazione in 1881 and sold to the Leeds Free Public Museum in 1882. Transferred to Leeds Museum after 1921.

© Leeds Museums and Galleries.

Holmes' lectures and the creation of knowledge

As outlined above, after Cyprus became a British Protectorate in 1878 public interest in every aspect of the island, including its antiquities, was at an all-time high, creating commercial and social opportunities for those in a position to respond. Due to his prior interest, researches and collection, Holmes was well placed to meet local demand in Yorkshire for information pertaining to Cyprus, and the frequency of his lectures, talks, and pieces in the press increased over the following years. Probably his highest profile engagement was a lecture on 'Cyprus and its antiquities' on 19 October 1878 in the Albert Hall of the Mechanics' Institute. This lecture, 'which was listened to with evident interest', attracted an audience of '400 to 500 persons, who were admitted free', and was presided over by the Mayor of Leeds.⁴⁵⁸ Despite his lack of direct archaeological experience, his familiarity with the hitherto relatively obscure topic of Cypriot antiquities gave Holmes intellectual authority and the ability to command an audience. Part of this authority was based on the precedence that Sandwith's excavations gave him; Holmes emphasised that 'Cyprian pottery became known, to a few, before Cesnola sent his collection from Cyprus, or published to the world, in 1877, the account of his wonderful discoveries.'⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁸ Anon. 1878. Cyprus: Its History and Antiquities. *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*. 21 October, p. 2.

⁴⁵⁹ Anon. 1881. Cyprus – At the Yorkshire Museum. *York Herald*. 17 May, p. 7.

As part of this increased public-facing activity, Holmes developed and delivered popular lectures on the value of the ancient Cypriot objects as evidence for the truth of Biblical history, a ‘framework of intelligibility’, in Hooper-Greenhill’s term, which was shared by and popular with his audiences.⁴⁶⁰ Holmes considered ancient objects as embodying objective truths, which could then be used to challenge or corroborate historical accounts. As a counter-measure to the troubling perspectives opened up by new scientific discoveries, Biblical archaeology, especially the Palestine Exploration Fund, provided reassuring accounts of finds which tended to support historical New Testament narratives.⁴⁶¹ Holmes steered clear of debates around the implications of evolutionary theory for the divine role in the origins of humankind, instead seeking to press the Cypriot antiquities into service as witnesses for the early spread of Christianity, and therefore material proof of New Testament history.⁴⁶² Holmes was able to draw on the authority bestowed by his own 1873 tour of the near East to support his views, for example in a lecture titled ‘My Travels and Adventures in the East’, assimilating himself to the heroic ‘traveller-archaeologists’ whose exploits were popularised in Murray’s publications.⁴⁶³ The popularity of this approach is evidenced by the audiences’ positive response to his remarks: ‘When he (the lecturer) went abroad... he could not help seeing how Scripture truth came out to a great extent when he commenced to study the facts themselves. (Applause).’⁴⁶⁴

Holmes’ authority derived from his collection, which acted as a guarantor of his intellectual credentials. He developed a much-repeated lecture titled ‘Ancient Life by the light of Ancient Lamps’, in which he was able to bring into play his previous research into ancient Cypriot material culture, as well as his first-hand experience of the Near East and collecting objects there.

Now, it would be very important indeed if we could track the probability of genuine Christian symbol evidence up to within a century of the Christian era. And this is what I believe a lamp that I obtained at Cyprus really does. I obtained it at Larnaca, the ancient Salamis, where Paul and Barnabas first preached... There can be no mistake upon the positive Christian evidence figured on the lamp, the date of which is, then, of interest. I got the lamp, along with two others, bearing out a very different kind of evidence – the sin denounced by Paul, 1st Romans. Locality,

⁴⁶⁰ Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, p. 115.

⁴⁶¹ See Trigger, 2006, pp. 155-158.

⁴⁶² Others took a similar approach; for example in 1878 the Rev. J. Thain Davidson published a short work titled *Cyprus: England's New Possession and its Place in Bible History* (Davidson, 1878).

⁴⁶³ Anon. 1875. Lecture at the Mechanics’ Institute, Scarbro’. *York Herald*. 22 January, p. 6.

⁴⁶⁴ Anon. 1878. Cyprus and its Antiquities. *Bradford Daily Telegraph*. 30 October, p. 2.

circumstance, and indications, bear out, I believe, fully that the three were made within eighty or ninety years after Christ.⁴⁶⁵

While the British Museum created a *Museum Secretum* to keep ancient erotica away from the general public, Holmes used the erotic imagery on his lamp as evidence of culture at the time of the early spread of Christianity, no doubt adding a certain *frisson* to his presentation.⁴⁶⁶ There is little approaching archaeological provenience in his description; it is highly unlikely that Holmes recovered these lamps from their depositional context, and he does not give any details of how he came by them, or the information that accompanied them. Nevertheless, his audience were satisfied with the 'confirmation of many of the great truths of Christianity' which he claimed to present.⁴⁶⁷ As Gosden and Larson comment, 'The real cultural value of objects lay in their perceived objectivity', and it is this evidential value that Holmes emphasised.⁴⁶⁸ He found this a valuable application of his belief that objects provided unproblematic, unmediated access to the world view of their makers:

On them we have depicted the very life, amusements, superstitions, abominations, indecencies, and the virtues of the peoples, as made by themselves, and so telling their own tale, and certainly not open to the charge of being exaggerated or false. Lamps... are not only curious but invaluable as material facts.⁴⁶⁹

The objects were proposed by Holmes, and eagerly accepted by his audiences, as providing 'positive or historic evidence of matters hitherto accepted merely on faith or credence.'⁴⁷⁰ Developments in archaeology, geology and biology threatened to put 'evidence' and 'faith' in conflict with each other. Archaeological results that supported Biblical narratives tended to receive popular support, and the use of material culture to demonstrate 'the truth of history', in this case written accounts of the early Christian era, appears to have been attractive to Holmes' audiences, judging by their large numbers and applause.⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁵ Holmes, J. 1882. Early Christian Symbols. *Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement*. 18 February, p. 6.

⁴⁶⁶ For the *Museum Secretum* see Johns, 1982, pp. 29-32.

⁴⁶⁷ Anon. 1882. Lecture to Pupil Teachers. *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*. 6 February, p. 3.

⁴⁶⁸ Gosden and Larson, 2007, p. 88.

⁴⁶⁹ Batty, J. 1901. The "Holmsted" Collection of Antiquities. *Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement*. 26 October, p. 10.

⁴⁷⁰ Anon. 1880. Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society: The Annual Conversazione. *Sheffield Independent*. 27 February, p. 3.

⁴⁷¹ Anon. 1887. Lecture at the Technical School. *Huddersfield Chronicle*. 5 March, p. 5. Trigger, 2006, p. 158.

Holmes' emphasis on Cyprus' role in early Christian history chimed with broader public concern for current-day Cyprus as a Christian land requiring British support and defence from Ottoman rule, another side of Cyprus in the 'British colonial imaginary'.⁴⁷² As Hook explains, 'Ottoman governance was already seen by many British liberals as despotic, and British occupation as the salvation of the Cypriots, the majority of whom were Christian, from the Turkish tyrant', although Varnava emphasises how far this British projection differed from lived reality for most Cypriot people.⁴⁷³ Cyprus' role in the early history of the Christian church was framed as conferring an obligation on England to promote and support Christianity there, offering further justification for imperial intervention. In his lectures, Holmes

spoke of the mission of Paul and Barnabas in the island, and he said that from thence Christianity was communicated to our own land. If it had not been for that mission he would ask what would have been the condition of England from this time?; so that from whence we had received benefit we ought to confer it where we had the opportunity of doing so. (Applause.)⁴⁷⁴

Continuity can be detected with Sandwith's project to mobilise support in England to relieve famine, although the tone of public discourse was now markedly chauvinistic and paternalistic, partly to provide political cover for the acquisition of Cyprus; in Demetriou's terms, 'Politicians effectively managed to present the whole issue of the possession of the island under the guise of a philanthropic and civilising mission'.⁴⁷⁵ Holmes echoed the prevailing mood in claiming that

under the rule of the Turks Cyprus had fallen from a position of almost unparalleled wealth to one of almost unparalleled degradation; but now that the island belonged to England there were hopes that English pluck and energy would do something to restore it to its former greatness.⁴⁷⁶

In this way, too, Holmes adapted his material to the world-view and expectations of his audiences. Pourgouris comments that 'The role of newspapers and magazines in reporting, constructing, propagating and eventually solidifying colonial perceptions of the island was paramount'.⁴⁷⁷ Holmes' lectures – which reached far wider audiences than those attending through detailed reports in the local press, from which the above accounts are taken –

⁴⁷² Pourgouris, 2019, p. 1.

⁴⁷³ Hook, 2014, p. 32. Varnava, 2012, pp. 189-190.

⁴⁷⁴ Anon. 1878. Cyprus and its Antiquities. *Bradford Daily Telegraph*. 30 October, p. 2. The same point is made by Davidson, 1878, p. 37.

⁴⁷⁵ Demetriou, 1997, pp. 6-7.

⁴⁷⁶ Anon. 1879. Brighouse Mechanics' Institution. *Huddersfield Chronicle*. 23 October, p. 3.

⁴⁷⁷ Pourgouris, 2019, p. 2.

formed part of this process, and contributed to local understanding of Cyprus, both ancient and modern. By applying his archaeological research to strengthen the case for Biblical history, emphasise Cyprus' importance in the early spread of Christianity, and provide a further rationale for British control of Cyprus, he asserted the value of his collection.

Conclusion

As Joyce states, 'Things in motion make things happen'.⁴⁷⁸ As the discussion in this chapter has shown, the concept of object itinerary, coupled with a microhistorical investigation of 'the way human and object histories inform each other', provides a useful framework with which to explore the beginnings of the Leeds ancient Cypriot collection.⁴⁷⁹ These Cypriot antiquities were set in motion by highly contingent combinations of circumstances and motivations. The meanings and values associated with them accreted and shifted, as they were used by Sandwith in the preparation of his study of Cypriot antiquities, to augment the British Museum's collections and for his own profit, and as a means to leverage financial support for Cypriot people; and by Holmes, who drew on them to develop theories of human cultural development, including a strong moral dimension, and as support for Biblical history. In these ways they had an impact on Sandwith and Holmes in their turn; as Gosden and Marshall state, 'transformations of people and object are tied up with each other'.⁴⁸⁰ Examination of their itineraries has identified key points where they came together, for example at the High Street shop in Sheffield, and at the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures in 1875, from which they moved in many different directions, demonstrating that, in Joyce's terms, 'their meaning or potential for action is inflected by their coming to rest in specific places'.⁴⁸¹ From these loci they travelled along existing intellectual and social networks, circulating through local learned societies, and also made new connections between people, places and objects. The next chapter explores the movement of Cypriot antiquities into the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, and their continuing itineraries within the museum's physical and intellectual structures.

⁴⁷⁸ Joyce, 2015, p. 29.

⁴⁷⁹ Gosden and Marshall, 1999, p. 169.

⁴⁸⁰ Gosden and Marshall, 1999, p. 169.

⁴⁸¹ Joyce, 2015, p. 30.

CHAPTER 3 ANCIENT CYPRUS IN LEEDS MUSEUMS, 1870-1890

Introduction

This chapter follows the itineraries of ancient Cypriot objects into and within the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, and explores their classification, exhibition and interpretation in this physical and intellectual context. It draws on Pearce's work to examine how this fits within the broader context of collecting for and by the museum.⁴⁸² It sets out how knowledge about these objects was created and the strategies which were employed to convey this knowledge to museum audiences. As Alberti says of the Manchester museum, 'The history of collections is a shifting intellectual topography involving... not only the location and classification of objects within the collection, but also the training and outlook of keepers'.⁴⁸³ This chapter maps this 'intellectual topography', and demonstrates that the views and approaches of successive museum curators were key determining factors. It employs Gosden and Larson's concept of the 'unbounded' museum, showing that the nature of the institution and the meanings it created and conveyed were shaped by people and ideas which went far beyond its immediate context, and it examines the ways in which earlier interpretations of the ancient Cypriot objects were or were not translated into museum settings.⁴⁸⁴

The analysis in the first part of this chapter is centred on two acquisition events of ancient Cypriot objects; those donated by William Aldam and Joshua Ingham Ikin in 1870; and those purchased by the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society from Sandwith's collection displayed at the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures in 1875. Although only five years separate these two acquisition events, they offer contrasting snapshots of the reception of ancient Cyprus in two different eras of the museum's development. 1871 saw the death in service of Henry Denny (1803-1871), an entomologist and the longstanding curator of the museum, whose approach to collecting and display had shaped the collections and their interpretation since the early development of the museum. His role was filled by Louis Compton Miall (1842-1921), who had a different conception of the form and functions of a museum, and introduced many changes which altered the ways in which the objects, including the Cypriot antiquities, were displayed and interpreted. The analysis of these

⁴⁸² Pearce, 1993.

⁴⁸³ Alberti, 2009, p. 4.

⁴⁸⁴ Gosden and Larson, 2007, p. 4.

acquisition events looks at how they were framed in the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society's annual Report, and the benefits conferred both on donors and the organisation.

Attention is also given to the way in which these donations were integrated into the museum's displays and interpretation, adapting the methodology outlined by Moser in her study of the history of Egyptian antiquities at the British Museum. Moser's work explores the 'connection between display and knowledge making', covering acquisition, arrangement and reception.⁴⁸⁵ This includes analysis of 'the space allocated to the display of the collection... the location of the collection in the museum... the way in which the collection was structured or organized... [and] how the objects were spatially distributed', as well as audiences' responses.⁴⁸⁶ A similar approach is adopted here, focused on these two acquisition events. In addition, Tzortzi's methodology of 'space syntax' is used to assess the physical space of the museum and the objects' placement within it, and the implications of its layout for the ways in which knowledge was conveyed.⁴⁸⁷ Alberti's concept of 'cultural cartography' is employed to explore how the distribution of objects among the physical spaces of the museum, and within its intellectual structures, indicates their relative value within its inventory.⁴⁸⁸ Alongside this, the interpretative aids available for visitors are considered. This analysis aligns with Alberti's concept of 'clusters of processes – physical, textual and exhibitionary' as a means of exploring what happened to the objects in the museum, and how knowledge was produced from them.⁴⁸⁹ This chapter also examines what can be ascertained about audience responses to the meaning-making strategies of the museum – as Pearce puts it, 'the convergence of object and viewer that brings the object into meaningful existence' - and demonstrates that the evidence reveals a gap between curatorial intentions to convey knowledge, and what was achieved in practice.⁴⁹⁰

The short-lived Free Public Museum for Leeds, founded in 1882, and the acquisition event of the Council's purchase of John Holmes' collection, including his ancient Cypriot objects, are also discussed in this chapter.⁴⁹¹ Following Bennett, the contribution of this museum to the development of civic space in Leeds is analysed, and hence how these objects were used to

⁴⁸⁵ Moser, 2006, p. 3.

⁴⁸⁶ Moser, 2006, pp. 3-4.

⁴⁸⁷ Tzortzi, 2016.

⁴⁸⁸ Alberti, 2009, Chapter 2 (p. 32).

⁴⁸⁹ Alberti, 2009, pp. 5-6.

⁴⁹⁰ Pearce, 1993, p. 219.

⁴⁹¹ A brief account of John Holmes' collecting is given in Holmes, 1992, p. 20.

create meaning in this context.⁴⁹² This Free Public Museum is often overlooked in histories of museums in Leeds, which usually trace the development of the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society.⁴⁹³ However, the analysis presented in this chapter demonstrates that the brief history of this Free Public Museum is significant and gives an illuminating insight into late 19th century debate over the value of museum collections, their contribution to social goals, and the factors essential to successful museum development. This discussion draws on Hill's study of municipal museums in the 19th to early 20th centuries. As Hill comments, 'municipal museums... can reveal details, weaknesses and inconsistencies that are not present in national and other more prestigious museums', and the debate over the role and value of this museum and its collections reveals some of the opposing ideologies which shaped its development.⁴⁹⁴ The discussion of this museum aims to complicate the broader received narrative of museum development in Leeds, and to examine the crosscurrents which ran counter to the steady progression towards today's museum.

The museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society

The Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, founded in 1819, was an important focus of intellectual activity in Leeds before the establishment of the Yorkshire College of Science in 1874. It drew its membership by subscription from the wealthier sections of Leeds society, ranging from Proprietary Members who had made a significant financial investment in the Society, through a sliding scale of fees and associated rights down to annual subscribers of five shillings.⁴⁹⁵ Philosophical and Literary Societies commonly made use of honorary membership as an important tool in associating the Society both with members of the landed gentry, and with those pre-eminent in related intellectual fields, as discussed by Knell with regard to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society.⁴⁹⁶ This was also true of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, which appended a lengthy list of distinguished Honorary Members to every annual Report.⁴⁹⁷ Later in its history, it attracted a wide range of leading figures from science and the arts as guest lecturers. Its founders aimed at comprehensiveness, and 'to

⁴⁹² Bennett, 1995.

⁴⁹³ See Brears and Davies, 1989 and Alberti, 2002, and compare Sitch, 2007.

⁴⁹⁴ Hill, 2005, p. 1.

⁴⁹⁵ The membership categories have undergone many changes through the Society's history; this description is based on 1866/67.

⁴⁹⁶ Knell, 2007.

⁴⁹⁷ Reports of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, *passim*.

bring within the institution members possessed of every kind of literary and scientific knowledge.’⁴⁹⁸

In keeping with these intellectual ambitions, the initial aim for the Society’s museum was to bring together objects which would be of practical help with its members’ researches. In its earliest days the museum was served by a combined curator and librarian, later joined by a salaried sub-curator. By 1838 this had developed into three curator roles in Geology, Zoology, and ‘Antiquities, &c.’, still supported by the sub-curator.⁴⁹⁹ By 1859 these three roles had been redefined as ‘Honorary Curators’, reflecting the fact that these curatorships were as much a reflection of social standing as of expertise, and that the bulk of the day-to-day development and management of the collections was undertaken by the sub-curator, a role filled since 1826 by Henry Denny.⁵⁰⁰ As Hill observes,

curators, especially early in the period, might be regarded socially as rather lowly and subordinate men... particularly at smaller, local museums, social status and connections could still trump an as yet embryonic professional authority.⁵⁰¹

This accurately describes the situation in Leeds, where Denny’s duties encompassed general support to the Society and its museum as secretary as well as curator. Despite his wide range of skills and expertise as an accomplished scientist and draughtsman, his remuneration was not large and his sudden death left his wife and ‘large family’ in need of financial support from the Society’s members.⁵⁰²

Collecting and donations

In his study of the development of Philosophical Societies and their museums in the early 19th century, Knell emphasises ‘the desire to construct a collection as a resource and cultural statement’, which motivated rapid growth in their collections.⁵⁰³ The development of the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society under Denny’s curatorship can be understood in this context. As the museum’s salaried curator for a period of 45 years, Denny had a major impact on the development of its collections. His expertise was in natural

⁴⁹⁸ Baines, 1877, pp. 169-171.

⁴⁹⁹ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1838, p. 19.

⁵⁰⁰ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1859, p. 31.

⁵⁰¹ Hill, 2016, pp. 34, 36.

⁵⁰² See the biographical note in Davis, 1889, pp. 244-248. Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1871, p. 6. Brears and Davies discuss the huge range of duties and responsibilities of salaried curators in this period (Brears and Davies, 1989, p. 30).

⁵⁰³ Knell, 2007, p. 267.

history, specifically entomology and botany, and therefore the museum's natural history collections received most of his attention. He was remembered by his contemporaries as an 'insatiable collector', seeking out additions to the museum ranging from the purchase of newly deceased animals from travelling menageries (thus effecting their translation from a setting of spectacle to one of science), to securing prospective bequests of desired objects from their owners.⁵⁰⁴ His aim was 'to make the museum the pride of the town and of the county, and the envy of all other museums in the kingdom'.⁵⁰⁵ Denny's collecting method was twofold: filling perceived gaps in the museum's collections, including soliciting financial donations towards the purchase of such objects, and, more generally, pursuing any notable collection or object for the museum, with less regard to its fit with the existing collections. To some extent, then, the collecting activity was purposeful and directed, but the rapid growth of the collections was the primary objective, with considerations of relevance and use coming second. Like neighbouring Literary and Philosophical Societies, the Society was eager to increase its prestige by growing its museum, and from 1855 the Annual Report of the Council included a standard 'Form of a Bequest to the Society' to encourage and facilitate donations.⁵⁰⁶

Denny's efforts to add to the museum's collections ran in parallel with those of the members themselves, who did not necessarily share his priorities. Acquisition was therefore both active and passive; while Denny strove to obtain specific objects to fill gaps in the natural science collections, the museum was also regularly presented with individual objects or extensive collections on the initiative of the Society's members, regardless of scientific importance or relevance. The archive is silent on unsuccessful or refused donations, but there is no evidence that any offered object was turned away; in Knell's terms, 'Donation was claimed as a right by the giver'.⁵⁰⁷ The museum was thus shaped by members' interests and collecting preferences, whether souvenir, fetishistic or systematic in Pearce's formulation, and had to accommodate collections formed in all these modes, with the attendant challenges of creating meaning for broader audiences from previously personal, private collections.⁵⁰⁸ The growth of the collections, as a result of this activity, was rapid and they constantly threatened to outrun the available space. They were housed in the 'Philosophical Hall and Museum', a 'beautifully classical hall' designed specifically for the Society's meetings

⁵⁰⁴ See the reminiscences collected by Kitson Clark, 1924, pp. 130, 135. Baines, 1877, p. 171.

⁵⁰⁵ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1870, p. 26.

⁵⁰⁶ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1855, p. 2. Brears and Davies, 1989, p. 26. Knell, 2007, pp. 267-268.

⁵⁰⁷ Knell, 2007, p. 269.

⁵⁰⁸ Pearce, 1993, pp. 68-88.

and museum and opened in 1821 (see map at Annex C).⁵⁰⁹ Large-scale building work was accomplished in the 1860s to provide more accommodation, but the respite gained was only temporary.⁵¹⁰

The 'urge for long-term recognition' often motivated donations to museums, and the Society put structures in place to achieve this and make the act of donation visible.⁵¹¹ Donations to the museum can be considered in terms of Mauss' concept of the gift, which signifies a mutual obligation and therefore requires a return.⁵¹² As Knell puts it, 'the donor hoped to reap a social reward from the act', and this reward was actualised partly through the Society's annual Report: prominent space was allocated for recording donations, with the most significant donations highlighted in the main narrative.⁵¹³ Complimentary adjectives were invariably deployed to assert the value of the objects and the generosity and intelligence of the donor. In 1866/67, for example, donations are described as 'highly important', 'rare and interesting', 'very fine specimens', 'a very nearly perfect series of fine examples', 'extraordinary and elegant', and a 'munificent contribution'.⁵¹⁴ This language served as 'linguistic payment', conveying status and recognition on the donor.⁵¹⁵ Donated objects thus functioned as markers of prestige as well as contributing to the museum's project of creating knowledge through its collections. This prestige was not only conferred by the transfer of objects but could also be achieved through financial means. Members often contributed to funds to purchase specific objects or collections, and received recognition and association with the objects through the annual Report of the Council in the same way as if they had donated them directly; prestige and intellectual cachet could therefore be bought.⁵¹⁶

This system of museum acquisitions was inherited by Louis Compton Miall (1842-1921) on his appointment as Curator in 1871 following the death of Denny.⁵¹⁷ Miall came from a family of teachers, and from an early age was drawn to 'the new scientific subjects that were

⁵⁰⁹ Baines, 1877, p. 170.

⁵¹⁰ Brears and Davies, 1989, p. 21.

⁵¹¹ Pearce, 1993, p. 65.

⁵¹² Mauss, 2001, pp. 16-18.

⁵¹³ See Knell, 2007, pp. 268-269.

⁵¹⁴ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1867, pp. 7-9.

⁵¹⁵ Knell, 2007, p. 271.

⁵¹⁶ Alberti, 2009, p. 102.

⁵¹⁷ The following summary of Miall's life and career is drawn from Anon., 1922, and Baker and Bayliss, 1983.

attracting the attention of the younger generation'.⁵¹⁸ He taught himself zoology and geology alongside teaching schoolchildren at the beginning of his career, and studied a course in anatomy at the Leeds School of Medicine. He published scientific papers in learned journals and took the post of curator at the Bradford Philosophical Society, which brought him into contact with Professor Richard Owen, head of natural history at the British Museum, and the eminent biologist and anthropologist Thomas Huxley. His scientific interests were wide-ranging; he lectured in geology and botany, and the discovery of fossil bones of a prehistoric Labyrinthodont in a Bradford mine led to a joint examination of the remains with Huxley and W.H. Flower. From September 1869 Miall was recruited by the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society to present a course of lectures on geology, using the museum's collections, with the intention 'to offer the advantages of science classes to all sections of the community'.⁵¹⁹ His interest in promoting scientific study through museum collections was to have important implications for the development of the museum.

When he took up his role at Bradford, Miall was faced with 'the making of a museum from objects mostly given by people who wanted to get rid of them', and while the situation at Leeds was rather different, he perceived his task was similarly to improve the scientific rigour of the heterogeneous collections.⁵²⁰ In terms of the objects joining the collections, Miall faced the same challenges as Denny; while he could actively seek specific objects to fill gaps, he had little power to stem the flow of donations from members prompted by a range of other motivations, from personal interests to a desire to seek recognition. As under Denny's curatorship, the Report of the Council continued to direct members' attention towards 'important deficiencies, which cannot be readily supplied' and 'many blanks in the series, which can only be supplied slowly as opportunity may offer', attempting to steer their donations towards objects of desire for the completeness of the museum's scientific collections.⁵²¹ In the late 1870s Miall managed to stem the tide of donations somewhat, pleading that 'The unoccupied space at disposal is now so scanty as to permit of few additions'.⁵²² However, donations of all kinds continued to flow into the museum (see **Fig. 5.1**, which shows the number of donations per year).

⁵¹⁸ Anon., 1922, xi.

⁵¹⁹ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1870, pp. 5-7.

⁵²⁰ Anon., 1922, xii.

⁵²¹ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1876, p. 8.

⁵²² Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1879, p. 6.

This was the context for the museum's acquisition of two ancient Cypriot objects in 1870.⁵²³ As far as is known, these were the first ancient Cypriot objects to join the museum, and the first acquisition event of the ancient Cypriot collection which was to grow from this point onwards. Their itineraries are therefore worth exploring in some detail. An amphora donated by William Aldam (1813-1890) is of Bichrome ware, dating to the Cypro-Archaic period ([LEEDM.D.1964.0350](#), **Fig. 3.1**). It is an imposing object similar to those discussed in Sandwith's *Archaeologia* paper.⁵²⁴ Aldam was a prominent figure in upper-class Leeds society.⁵²⁵ His family combined land ownership with new wealth from industry in the business of woollen manufacture. He was educated at London University, and as a young man he travelled widely in North America and Europe. He devoted much time and effort to the running of his estates, while also pursuing business opportunities, investing in canal companies and railway ventures. Alongside these responsibilities, he 'played a full part in the life of the county', as a Justice of the Peace and chairman of the West Riding Quarter Sessions, as well as actively supporting many philanthropic causes.⁵²⁶ The Aldam family were supporters of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society from its earliest stages. William Aldam senior was a Proprietary Member from 1824/25, and in 1844/45 Aldam junior made a 'munificent offer... to take a proprietary share of £100' in his own right.⁵²⁷ He never served on the Society's Council or addressed it, but made various donations to the museum over the years, from 'glass apparatus for chemical experiments' to geological and natural history specimens, as well as subscribing to funds to enlarge the museum's premises and to purchase collections.⁵²⁸

During his travels in Europe in the mid-1830s, Aldam purchased *objets d'art*, possibly including antiquities, and shipped them back home; a letter of 1837 from his father mentions that 'The Marbles are just arrived all safe and the table is very beautiful.'⁵²⁹ There is however no indication that Aldam was a serious collector of antiquities or had any especial interest in the ancient world. He had broad scientific interests; he was elected as an Associate of the British Archaeological Association in 1871, and was a member of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, and the Geological and

⁵²³ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1871, pp. 12-13.

⁵²⁴ Sandwith, 1877, pp. 133-134, Pl. XIII.

⁵²⁵ This account of Aldam's life and work is drawn from Ward, 1962.

⁵²⁶ Ward, 1962, p. 213.

⁵²⁷ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1845, p. 5.

⁵²⁸ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1839, p. 22.

⁵²⁹ Lewis, 2013.

Polytechnic Society of West Yorkshire.⁵³⁰ It is in the latter capacity that his itinerary and that of the amphora coincided. On 28 September 1870 he chaired a meeting of the Society, at which John Holmes read a paper by T.B. Sandwith, 'On recent discoveries of Greco-Phoenician Pottery at Dali'; presumably a version of the paper which came to be presented to the Society of Antiquaries in 1871.⁵³¹ Aldam's personal diary gives a brief account of the meeting:

...went to Doncaster at 12.30 – the W.R. G. & P. meeting began at 2 – after a short time a fair attendance – I made a few introductory remarks – after which 5 papers were read – some of great interest – I gave £5 to purchase Greek pottery from Cyprus for Leeds Museum.⁵³²

It seems likely that Holmes solicited a donation from Aldam to purchase some of Sandwith's collection for the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. Denny may also have been involved in this transaction, given his role as Secretary to the Geological and Polytechnic Society. Aldam's motivation for making the donation is not recorded, but was probably linked to the object's scientific value to the museum, as articulated in Sandwith's paper, and to the charitable aim behind its sale. The object's physical properties - large, impressive and with aesthetically appealing decoration – gave it prestige and made it appropriate for selection as his donation. It is striking that Aldam changed the course of this object's itinerary, and that his name became part of its identity in the museum, through a purely financial transaction, without it ever having come into his possession, and perhaps without him having chosen it specifically. The object's itinerary was therefore inflected by Aldam's participation in local intellectual and social networks, extending far beyond the museum. Through patronage objects and people became linked, acting upon each other; through this transaction Aldam gained further recognition as a benefactor, and the amphora gained a permanent place in the museum's collection.

The other ancient Cypriot object donated to the museum in 1870 is a Cypro-Geometric White Painted bowl, with small opposed horizontal handles, now damaged, decorated with

⁵³⁰ *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 1905, x; Council of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, 1858, p. 18; Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1892, p. 101; Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1849, iv.

⁵³¹ Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1870, pp. 219-220. Unfortunately Holmes' text does not survive. Sandwith had probably completed at least an initial draft of his paper by June 1869, as Newton mentions it in correspondence (Merrillees, 2001, p. 225).

⁵³² Domestic Diary of William Aldam, entry for 28 September 1870 (Doncaster Archives DD/WA/D/1).

horizontal bands of brown paint ([LEEDM.D. 1964.0352](#), **Fig. 3.2**). This is not recorded as having come from Sandwith's collection, but this seems the most likely source, given the rarity of Cypriot antiquities in Yorkshire at this time. Its donor, Joshua Ingham Ikin (1813-1887), was a prominent although less socially elevated figure in Leeds society. He was a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons and practised at the Leeds School of Medicine.⁵³³ He was closely involved in the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, donating (or perhaps providing funds for the purchase of) natural history specimens, as well as supporting various funds for the improvement of the museum.⁵³⁴ He served for many years on the Society's Council, and was vice-president or president between 1871 and 1878. Unlike Aldam, Ikin was an Ordinary Member, with an annual subscription of two guineas, a distinction perhaps maintained in the relative size, impressiveness and presumably cost of their respective ancient Cypriot donations.⁵³⁵ He was also a prolific lecturer to the Society, mainly on medical topics but ranging into a diversity of subjects including 'On the study of Antiquities, in connexion with Science and the useful Arts'.⁵³⁶ Apart from this paper, about which nothing beyond the title is known, Ikin appears to have had no sustained antiquarian interests which would have prompted his purchase and donation of this object. It is likely that Holmes again took a role in arranging it; like Holmes and Aldam, Ikin was a member of the Yorkshire Geological and Polytechnic Society. In the relatively small world of Leeds intellectual society, the same names recur on committees and at meetings, and their paths will have crossed at many points, such as the British Association for the Advancement of Science's annual Meeting in 1858, at which Holmes, Ikin, and Aldam were all present.⁵³⁷ Again, the object travelled along local intellectual networks, in which the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society was an important nexus.

The 1870/71 Report of the Council gives an insight into how these objects were received in the museum. The 'List of Donations and Additions' records a 'Very fine Graeco-Phoenician Vase, 2 feet 2 ½ inches high, found among tombs in Laimia, Cyprus' against the name of Mr. W. Aldam, while Ikin's donation is recorded as a 'Graeco-Phoenician Patera, Cyprus'.⁵³⁸ This

⁵³³ Ikin, J. 1851. To the Trustees of the General Infirmary at Leeds. *The Leeds Times*. 5 April, p. 5.

⁵³⁴ For example, a zoology donation in 1870, and a subscription to the fund for enlarging the Philosophical Hall in 1861 (Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1870, p. 29; Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1861, p. 23).

⁵³⁵ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1871, p. 21.

⁵³⁶ Anon. 1839. Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. *Leeds Mercury*. 14 December, p. 5.

⁵³⁷ Anon. 1858. Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. *Leeds Intelligencer*. 25 May, p. 8.

⁵³⁸ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1871, pp. 12-13.

terminology reflects aspects of their earlier itineraries that the objects brought with them to the museum; the term ‘Graeco-Phoenician’ was current at the time for ancient objects from Cyprus, understood in terms of their perceived cultural origins. Conversely, the term ‘patera’ is an odd choice for Ikin’s bowl, more usually used of a shallow libation dish. It perhaps reflects a desire to use correct nomenclature for ancient ceramics, hampered by the absence of agreed terminology for ancient Cypriot pottery at this time. The claim in the Report that Aldam’s amphora was from ‘Laimia, Cyprus’ has never been explained; no such place as ‘Laimia’ has been identified in Cyprus and it cannot readily be explained as a misreading or mishearing. The value of objects could be increased by unscrupulous excavators by associating them with important sites, but this seems unlikely to be the case here, as ‘Laimia’ is unknown and carries no prestige.⁵³⁹ It perhaps reflects the object’s convoluted route to the museum, along which information could easily be distorted, but proved persistent in attaching to the object. As Barr comments, “‘Said to be’ and other provenance just-so stories are easily perpetuated and difficult to disprove’, and demonstrate the importance of careful provenance research.⁵⁴⁰ Further examples of the identities assigned to objects being preserved in the museum setting, or proving unstable or being lost, are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.



Fig. 3.1 Bichrome amphora, Cypro-Achaic period (LEEDM.D.1964.0350)

Exported by T.B. Sandwith from Cyprus. Purchased on behalf of William Aldam and donated to the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society.

© Leeds Museums and Galleries.

⁵³⁹ Masson, 1990, p. 287.

⁵⁴⁰ Barr, 2018, p. 195.



Fig. 3.2 White Painted bowl, Cypro-Geometric period (LEEDM.D.1964.0352)
 Donated by Joshua Ingham Ikin to the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, probably purchased from T.B. Sandwith's collection.
 © Leeds Museums and Galleries.

The next group of ancient Cypriot objects came to the museum in 1875, under Miall's curatorship. This acquisition event was again driven by Joshua Ingham Ikin, who was then president of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. When Ikin took on the Presidency in 1875, he set about raising a 'special fund' of £100 to make improvements to the museum. His motivations in doing this are not recorded, but were perhaps to boost the Society's collections and increase the impact and status of his term of office. The Report of the Council for 1875/76 included a full report of this fund, including the names of the 21 donors and the exact amount of their contributions, a further example of the economy of recognition operating in the museum. The uses of the fund were miscellaneous; as well as £14 on 'Cypriot pottery', £22-14-8 was given to the Society's Treasurer, with a further £30 for plate glass cases; further sums were spent on specimens, publications and physiological models, with the remainder funding a trip by the curator to London and the 'purchase of sundry specimens'.⁵⁴¹ It is not clear whose impetus drove which items of expenditure, and how they were negotiated between the subscribers, Ikin as president, Miall as curator, and the honorary curators. The following year's Report of the Council commented that

The Leeds Museum, comprising as it does antiquities, ethnology, zoology in all its branches, technology, rocks, minerals, and fossils, is perhaps over-ambitious, and may be forced at some future time to restrict its comprehensiveness.⁵⁴²

⁵⁴¹ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1876, pp. 3, 15.

⁵⁴² Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1877, pp. 9-10.

Miall was more blunt in a letter to *Nature* on museum displays in the same year:

At present we aim at too much, introduce too many departments into a small museum, show too many obscure and uninstrusive objects, and spoil everything by over-crowding.⁵⁴³

These words indicate an ongoing tension between the drive to accumulate, driven by initiatives such as Ikin's, and the perceived need to streamline and order the museum's collections, a priority for Miall.

The £14 spent on ancient Cypriot artefacts, around £876 today, was a substantial sum, bearing in mind that the large amphora bought with Aldam's donation was priced at £5.⁵⁴⁴ Ikin's interest in the ancient Cypriot objects, beginning with his donation in 1870, was perhaps increased by his participation in the Fine Art Committee of the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures in 1875, of which Holmes was Honorary Secretary, an example of the ways in which networks extending beyond the museum influenced its acquisitions.⁵⁴⁵ There is evidence that Holmes played a role in arranging the purchase, as the payment from the Special Fund was routed via him.⁵⁴⁶ We do not know whether Miall actively sought this purchase, or was simply presented with a *fait accompli* by Ikin as the Society's president, the highest ranking position. Again, it is clear that the curator had to accommodate the members and their different motivations in developing the museum's collections.

The Report of the Council for 1875/76 indicates how these ancient Cypriot objects were interpreted and valued in the museum:

Among the most noteworthy objects of the recent Yorkshire Exhibition was the selection of Cyprian pottery, exhibited by Consul Sandwith, late of Crete. ...The pottery is of great antiquity, dating from several centuries before the Christian era. It is chiefly sepulchral, and interesting on account of its simplicity and the light which it throws upon the derivation of the common types of Greek vessels from such natural objects as skins, gourds, and horns. Added to a series already possessed by the Society, this recent acquisition renders our ceramic collection fairly rich in early examples.⁵⁴⁷

At the point at which they entered the museum's collections, these objects' association with Sandwith was still a key part of their identity. The pottery was considered 'noteworthy' and

⁵⁴³ Miall, 1877.

⁵⁴⁴ *National Archives currency converter*, accessed 6 January 2021.

⁵⁴⁵ Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, 1875, p. 5.

⁵⁴⁶ Ikin, 1876, p. 8.

⁵⁴⁷ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1876, pp. 3, 9.

‘interesting’ because of its role in illustrating human development in moving from the use of ‘natural objects’ to their derivations in clay. This demonstrates an awareness of the principles of Pitt Rivers’ typological approach, in which a key concept was that series took as their starting point objects which approximated most closely to ‘natural forms’.⁵⁴⁸ The pottery was understood as providing evidence for the development of ‘Greek vessels’, reflecting the prevailing understanding of Cypriot antiquities as a precursor of Greek art. The framing of the objects as ‘examples’ which contribute to a ‘series’ demonstrates a fundamental change in their knowledge value under Miall’s curatorship. No longer valued for their visual properties and ability to create a response of wonder, they derived value from their status as specimens, interchangeable with other objects representing the same stage of development within an overall sequence.⁵⁴⁹

The objects were not itemised in the Society’s Report, and so are identified in today’s collection with varying degrees of confidence. Some still have labels from the 1875 Exhibition: a Red Polished jug ([LEEDM.D.1964.0303](#)), a Bichrome spouted jug with basket handle ([LEEDM.D.1964.0346](#), **Fig. 2.2**), and a Bichrome juglet ([LEEDM.D.1964.0349](#)). An early image of the collection on display (**Fig. 4.6**, discussed in Chapter 4), which pre-dates further acquisitions, shows other objects which can be presumed to be from Sandwith’s collection via this purchase: two askoi ([LEEDM.D.1964.0309](#) and [LEEDM.D.1964.0354](#)), a White Slip bowl ([LEEDM.D.1964.0312](#)), a two-handled White Painted flask ([LEEDM.D.1964.0361](#)), a Black on Red juglet ([LEEDM.D.1964.0363](#)), a Bichrome jug ([LEEDM.D.1964.0373](#)), and a Bichrome jar ([LEEDM.D.1964.0380](#)). Further objects marked ‘CYPRUS’ can perhaps also be attributed to Sandwith’s collection, as this labelling practice appears to have been discontinued for later acquisitions.⁵⁵⁰ This would add a Red Slip ware juglet ([LEEDM.D.1964.0327](#), **Fig. 3.5**), a Bichrome shallow dish ([LEEDM.D.1964.0343](#), **Fig. 6.6b**), an alabastron ([LEEDM.D.1964.0382](#)), and four figurines ([LEEDM.D.1964.0401](#) and [.0402](#), and [LEEDM.D.1968.0036.001](#) and [.003](#)). Many of these objects are complete, and varied in shape and decoration, characteristics which would make them attractive for purchase and display.

In addition, a White Painted jug ([LEEDM.D.1964.0314](#)) can perhaps be identified with Holmes’ 1875 Exhibition catalogue description ‘Oval-bodied oil vessel, painted striped ornaments, with peculiar leaf-shaped mouth. Similar shaped vessels have been exhumed by

⁵⁴⁸ Pitt Rivers, 1906, pp. 94-95.

⁵⁴⁹ Greenblatt, 1991.

⁵⁵⁰ Such labelling was still practiced at the time of the British Museum donation in 1902, but those objects can be more securely identified; see the discussion in Chapter 4.

Dr Schliemann beneath old Troy (See 'Troy and its Remains', London, 1875, p.166, etc.)' (**Fig. 3.3**).⁵⁵¹ This description again reflects the lack of standardised terms for describing ancient Cypriot pottery wares, forms and decoration at this time. Holmes' comparison with Schliemann's finds, based on his observation of ancient Cypriot objects and his reading, is an example of broad-based, curiosity-driven antiquarian research bringing together relevant information and reaching conclusions in anticipation of later, more scientific analysis.⁵⁵² Beyond this, Holmes' catalogue descriptions of 'barrel-shaped vessels', 'small vessels... ornamented with circles', and Black on Red ware could all be fitted to otherwise unprovenanced objects in today's collection, but the descriptions are too generic to allow firm identification.⁵⁵³ The Exhibition Catalogue was designed to create meaning in conjunction with the objects on display, with the visitor combining the sensory information from viewing the objects with the printed information on the page; the descriptions are more difficult to interpret without these visual referents.



Fig. 3.3a

a) White Painted jug, Middle Cypriot period (LEEDM.D.1964.0314)

Unprovenanced; possibly from T.B. Sandwith's collection, exhibited by John Holmes at the 1875 Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, and purchased by the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society.
© Leeds Museums and Galleries.



Fig. 3.3b

b) No. 126, 'Terra-cotta Pitcher of a frequent form' (Schliemann, 1875, p. 166).

⁵⁵¹ Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, 1875, p. 107. Schliemann, 1875.

⁵⁵² Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1899, pp. 17-18.

⁵⁵³ Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, 1875, p. 109.

In his study of the Manchester museum, Alberti employs 'a fivefold typology of acquisition: by gift, purchase, fieldwork, transfer or loan' but as he comments, 'separating these routes... proves challenging'.⁵⁵⁴ This aligns with Pearce's classification of the ways in which material reaches museums: through donation, loan, purchase, exchange, or field collection.⁵⁵⁵ However, analysis of the complex itineraries of these ancient Cypriot objects demonstrates that their modes of acquisition cannot readily be classified in the ways Alberti and Pearce propose. The large amphora [LEEDM.D.1964.0350](#) was acquired by Sandwith in Cyprus in a way which can be loosely described as 'fieldwork', although the extent to which Sandwith himself participated in excavations is unclear. Since he paid Cypriot people to excavate objects, the amphora may have passed to him through an employment contract, or alternatively may have been purchased by him from another consular collector. His dispatch of objects to England is situated between a gift and a sale; Sandwith nominally owned the objects but did not profit personally from their sale, which was designed to benefit Cypriot people by funding their continued employment in excavation. The objects' purchase therefore also constituted a charitable donation. Aldam's purchase also incorporates elements of gift-giving; he gave money to purchase the amphora, money which passed back to Sandwith to be distributed in Cyprus, and the amphora was presented as a gift to the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, never having actually entered Aldam's possession. The relationships between people and objects are complex and multifaceted. The meanings of the objects were equally complex; through their acquisition and donation they served as philanthropic donations benefiting both Cypriot people and the museum, cultural artefacts, aesthetic objects, creators of prestige for their donors, and contributors to knowledge as constructed in the museum.

Museum audiences

From the mid 19th century museum access was widely seen as promoting the self-improvement and morality of the working classes, and there was an increasing consensus that it should be made more readily available.⁵⁵⁶ In the absence of a free public museum in Leeds, the Society's Council, largely drawn from the elite of the city, were deeply aware of their social responsibility to share the museum's educative potential with wider sections of society, with the aim of achieving a range of social and economic benefits. The Council's

⁵⁵⁴ Alberti, 2009, pp. 5, 91.

⁵⁵⁵ Pearce, 1993, p. 121.

⁵⁵⁶ Forgan, 1994, pp. 144-146.

Report of 1841 was explicit about the benefits of the knowledge the museum was expected to impart:

Being thus brought into familiar and immediate contact with well arranged Collections of the works of Nature and Art, whether of the present day or of ages which are past, cannot fail to have a most beneficial and humanizing effect upon the mind of even the least informed member of the community, and forms not an unimportant feature in the means for civilizing and refining the great body of the people.⁵⁵⁷

Reports of the Council of this period reflect this optimism about the elevating effect of the Museum by frequently commenting on the large numbers of visits ‘by the humbler classes of society’ which took place ‘without the slightest damage to the specimens, or any impropriety of demeanour’.⁵⁵⁸ Hill notes that ‘commentators consistently stress *either* the rough *or* the respectable in their description of working-class behaviour in museums’, and this positive assessment of its lower-class visitors demonstrates the Society’s conviction of the benefits of making its museum more widely accessible.⁵⁵⁹ Steps were taken to achieve this, such as the introduction of ‘Juvenile Lectures’ at Christmas with free admission from 1853/54, but it became increasingly apparent that mere physical access, bringing people and objects together, was not sufficient.⁵⁶⁰ In 1860, James Hole (1820-1895), Honorary Secretary of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics’ Institutes and a committed supporter of education for the working classes, set out the need for further improvement:

It is true that the Museum is easy enough of access to the *body* of the working man,—for scarcely any one is too poor to afford the small fee of a penny for admission. But as yet there is no provision whatever for access of the objects to his *mind*. Even an explanatory catalogue, or handbook, giving the leading facts relating to the more remarkable objects, would greatly enhance the utility of the Museum.⁵⁶¹

In fact, a general Guide was available, but had numerous shortcomings, as discussed below. The Council were aware that, despite their efforts to increase access, their collections could not easily be understood by visitors. In the 1860s an industrial museum of materials used in manufacturing was planned and implemented, specifically to provide an exhibit which could be easily understood by non-specialists:

⁵⁵⁷ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1841, p. 8.

⁵⁵⁸ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1845, p. 8.

⁵⁵⁹ Hill, 2005, p. 132.

⁵⁶⁰ Kitson Clark, 1924, pp. 63-64.

⁵⁶¹ Hole, 1860, p. 80.

The geologist and the naturalist may luxuriate in the wealth of the Leeds Museum in certain branches of their several studies. The Egyptian scholar may revel in its mummies and sarcophagi. ... But the majority of men are neither geologists, naturalists, Egyptologists, nor any other kind of 'ists'. ...It is right to have a museum of which the key is to be found only in extensive study and profound research. But is it not desirable also to have a museum of which the key can be found in daily experience and ordinary intelligent observation?⁵⁶²

This foreshadowed what was later to become a crucial question for the museum: whether it should cater primarily for specialist or general audiences, and whether it was possible to do both. Its approach to this question came to have a significant impact on the frameworks of interpretation within which the ancient Cypriot collection was situated.

A new and important audience for the museum's collections emerged during Miall's curatorship in the Yorkshire College of Science, established in 1874, which eventually developed into the University of Leeds (founded 1904). Although a museum was included in the original plans for the College, it was never established (though individual departments inevitably built up their own collections), presumably because of the ready access for the College's staff and students to the Philosophical Society's collections.⁵⁶³ While this arrangement was a pragmatic solution to the need of the fledgling organisation for collections on which to base its research, it was to become increasingly unsatisfactory as the College grew and developed. At the outset, the Society welcomed the College as a positive development that would help to forward its own objective of the advancement of scientific research. The 1872/73 Report of the Council recorded the resolution

That the Council have heard with much satisfaction of the proposal for the formation of a Yorkshire College of Science, regarding it as an object of great public importance and utility, in which they hope to co-operate by such means as may be within their power.⁵⁶⁴

On the opening of the College, the Report noted 'great satisfaction' that

The consolidation of the College of Science will promote in the surest and most rapid manner those studies which this society endeavours to cultivate. We may expect before long to include among our members a number of trained investigators; the resources of the society, particularly the museum and library, will be more largely utilised.⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶² Anon. 1863. The Philosophical Society and the Industrial Museum. *Leeds Mercury*. 5 May, p. 2.

⁵⁶³ Forgan, 1994, pp. 143, 154.

⁵⁶⁴ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1873, pp. 6-7.

⁵⁶⁵ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1875, pp. 9-10.

The close partnership between Society and College continued over the coming years, in a relationship at times symbiotic, at times verging on the parasitic, with members of the College seeking increased control over the use and development of the museum's resources and collections. In 1875 Miall was appointed Lecturer in Biology at the College, and Professor the following year, posts he held concurrently with his curatorship. He used the facilities of the Society in his College role, both the library as a venue for his lectures and the museum, while College accommodation was lacking.⁵⁶⁶ Classics, history and literature were soon added to the College's remit, and it became known simply as the Yorkshire College. As the Society remained a focal point for intellectual activity in Leeds, it was inevitable that Professors at the College became closely involved in its work, sitting on its Council, giving lectures, and donating objects to the museum.⁵⁶⁷ The Report of the Council for 1876/77 indicates the impact that this new audience was beginning to have on the arrangement of the collections, proposing that 'it would be in all respects beneficial to separate more and more typical and easily understood examples from the obscurer and minuter objects, valuable only to the close observer.'⁵⁶⁸ For the first time, it was explicitly acknowledged that not all the collections could be made interpretable to those without specialist training. This reduction in the number of objects on display was in line with a wider museological movement towards representative objects (as opposed to unique curios) and hence improved legibility of collections, as advocated by W.H. Flower at the Natural History Museum.⁵⁶⁹ There was no immediate impact on the archaeology collections, but this developing audience and function for the museum as a resource for the College's students was, in future, to inflect the itineraries of further ancient Cypriot objects towards the museum, as discussed in Chapter 4.

Display and interpretation

The itineraries of the Cypriot antiquities continued within the museum. An examination of the locations of objects within the museum's physical spaces, and within the intellectual categories used to sort and order the collections, can reveal how they were valued and the meanings they were used to create. In Alberti's term, this analysis reveals the 'cultural cartography' of the museum, 'a shifting intellectual topography involving both tangible and intangible factors'.⁵⁷⁰ It draws on successive published Guides to the museum, and the

⁵⁶⁶ Anon., 1922, xv.

⁵⁶⁷ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1875, p. 10.

⁵⁶⁸ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1877, p. 10.

⁵⁶⁹ Bennett, 1995, p. 42.

⁵⁷⁰ Alberti, 2009, p. 4.

updates on museum developments in the Society's Annual Reports. The first Guide to the museum was published in 1854, providing information on the composition and display of the museum's collections.⁵⁷¹ A revised Guide was not published until 1890, so this 1854 Guide provides the best source for deducing the arrangement of the collections in 1870, at the time of the first ancient Cypriot acquisitions and at the very end of Denny's curatorship. Building work in 1861/62 greatly extended the premises and remodelled the staircase area, which appears to have mainly affected the natural science collections. In 1854, the main spaces used for antiquities were the Entrance Hall, a small ground floor 'Ante-room', and an 'Ægyptian Room' on the upper floor.⁵⁷² In 1862 it was resolved to repurpose the ante-room, by then known as the Archaeological Room, in favour of a new Industrial collection and to displace its contents to the vestibule and ground floor lobbies.⁵⁷³ This layout reflects a disciplinary hierarchy, with marginal spaces used for antiquarian collections which could readily be displaced by other developments.

The reader of the 1854 Guide was led first to the Entrance Hall, where they encountered

the following miscellaneous objects:- skeleton of the Indian elephant; the Pleiosaurus macrocephalus a fossil reptile from the lias of Somerset... the stem of an Oak tree found in the brick clay at Wortley; a column of Rock salt; a fine specimen of Columnar basalt from the Giants' Causeway; a cast of the Sitting Muse from the antique; and a statue of the late M.T. Sadler, M.P., formerly President of the Society.⁵⁷⁴

Next, in the 'Ante-room' were placed a similar assortment of objects:

A model of Jerusalem; a series of specimens illustrating the Manufacture of flax, silk, cotton, worsted, cloth, and iron; model of the Alps south of the Lakes Thun and Brientz; miniature casts of the Elgin and Phygaleian marbles, Antique gems, Napoleon medals, &c.⁵⁷⁵

An Egyptian mummy and mummy case were located in the Ægyptian Room, and the Guide offers a brief account of their historical context and the process of mummification. However, the walls of this room were occupied by cases 'illustrative of the strata of the Yorkshire Coal field'.⁵⁷⁶ Other 'Egyptian antiquities' were displaced to the 'the Gallery of the Zoological

⁵⁷¹ Council of the Philosophical and Literary Society, 1854.

⁵⁷² Council of the Philosophical and Literary Society, 1854, pp. 3-4.

⁵⁷³ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1863, p. 15.

⁵⁷⁴ Council of the Philosophical and Literary Society, 1854, p. 2.

⁵⁷⁵ Council of the Philosophical and Literary Society, 1854, p. 2.

⁵⁷⁶ Council of the Philosophical and Literary Society, 1854, p. 4.

Room', where they were joined by heterogeneous ethnographic and archaeological objects such as

Human skulls and bones of the Ox and Swine taken from Roman graves,
Lachrymatories from Agrigentium... Breast-plate, pipe, arrow-heads, bowl, &c., found
in Indian graves in America... A series of casts of the Great seals of England.⁵⁷⁷

It is evident that, as Alberti comments of the Manchester Museum, 'the sheer materiality of galleries and objects constricted the enactment of theoretic arrangement', so that different categories of objects were mixed. However, even allowing for the restrictions of space, there is little apparent order in these groupings of objects.⁵⁷⁸ Placed in the marginal spaces of entrance hall and ante-room, these eclectic collections, including those defined as antiquities, reflected the lack of co-ordinated collecting strategy beyond the natural sciences under Denny's curatorship, and offered little help to the visitor in making sense of what they were seeing. If, as Hill states, 'classification is an important tool in the creation of meaning', its absence in these collections in the museum at this period implies that meaning was left to the visitor to create as best they could.⁵⁷⁹ As Pearce discusses, 'uninhibited speculation' unbounded by the provision of factual information would give rise to 'polysemantic possibilities', constrained only by the individual's imagination, and would limit the knowledge that could be conveyed through the encounter of visitor and objects.⁵⁸⁰

The contrast with the layout of the Zoological and Geological collections is striking. These physically and intellectually occupied the central ground of the museum, taking up the majority of the display space, and 29 of the 32 pages in the 1854 Guide. Their arrangement, both in the museum and in the Guide, was structured and ordered according to the classificatory epistemology of natural history. Material culture here formed the basis of knowledge, and functioned as exemplar and illustration. For the zoology collections, the Guide follows a 'Cuvieran taxonomy' set out in two columns, with the Orders of each Sub-Class on the left, and specimens indexed to their numbered display cases on the right (**Fig. 3.4**).⁵⁸¹ This allowed the visitor to use the Guide and displays in combination as a work of reference; a similar approach is adopted for Geology. This structure allowed the completeness of the collections to be assessed, and provided the framework for the frequent calls in the Reports of the Council for specific objects to fill gaps. As Pearce points out, 'The

⁵⁷⁷ Council of the Philosophical and Literary Society, 1854, pp. 4, 25.

⁵⁷⁸ Alberti, 2009, pp. 33-34.

⁵⁷⁹ Hill, 2005, p. 74.

⁵⁸⁰ Pearce, 1993, p. 220.

⁵⁸¹ Steadman, 2019, p. 167.

development of systematic collecting is an intrinsic part of the development of the natural sciences', and the museum's systematic approach to these objects provided a context into which suitable objects could be slotted.⁵⁸² By contrast, at this time no order or system was imposed on ancient artefacts which would enable them to be understood relationally rather than individually. Although the casts, gems and medals mentioned in the Guide might have constituted small-scale systematic collections, there was no overarching structure into which other types of objects could fit.

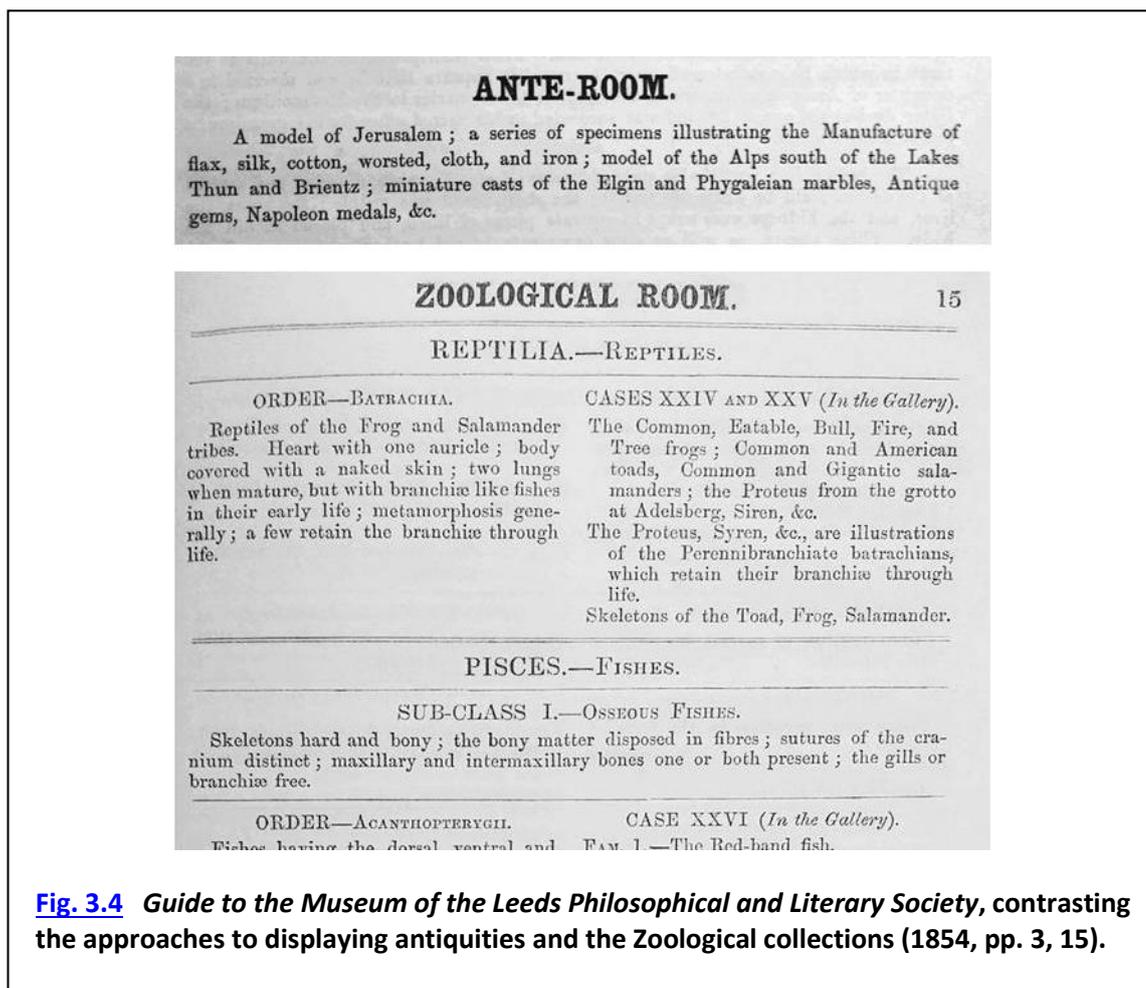


Fig. 3.4 *Guide to the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, contrasting the approaches to displaying antiquities and the Zoological collections (1854, pp. 3, 15).

Hooper-Greenhill states that

The communication and learning theory on which nineteenth-century museums were premised positioned the visitor/learner as passive, understood knowledge to be objective and information-based, and saw authoritative linear communication as one of the main purposes of the museum.⁵⁸³

⁵⁸² Pearce, 1993, p. 84.

⁵⁸³ Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, xi.

This evidently applies to the approach taken in the museum at this time to creating knowledge through the natural history collections. Visitors could reasonably be expected to be informed and educated by specimens laid out in this structured way, with the Guide providing additional information. The visitor was required to play a more active role in making meaning from the 'Antiquarian' collection, using whatever prior knowledge they possessed to enable them to interpret the objects on display. It is in this context that the Cypriot antiquities donated by Aldam and Ikin in 1870 would have been displayed. They would probably have been labelled, but it is unlikely that they were placed in any context or structured arrangement, a 'framework of intelligibility', that would have enabled them to be perceived as more than individual objects of antiquarian curiosity or aesthetic appreciation.⁵⁸⁴ The complex range of meanings that Sandwith and Holmes had derived from ancient Cypriot objects – as evidence for distant human pasts and the development of artistic skills, and as prompts for moral reflection – were not reproduced for Aldam's and Ikin's donations at this time in this setting. The museum at this moment was caught between two 'representational regime[s]... the principle of *representativeness* [and]... that of *rarity*.'⁵⁸⁵ While the natural history collections were organised to create knowledge relationally, where each specimen acted metonymically as part of an ordered whole, those in the liminal space of the entrance hall could only represent themselves, unless the visitor brought with them a broader framework of knowledge which would allow him or her to put the objects in context.

By the time of the next acquisition of ancient Cypriot objects, in 1875, Miall's curatorship had led to a marked change in museum approaches to display and interpretation. Although he could not control the flow of objects into the museum, he had more jurisdiction over their ordering within it, in terms of their spatial arrangement and the systems of knowledge to which they were made to contribute. In the same way that the study of natural sciences required complete collections to use as evidence, the history of human development was now understood to require an example of each link in the chain. Antiquarian curiosities began to be redefined as representative specimens, taking their place in sequences and therefore gaining relational value. As a result, they were able to produce different kinds of knowledge, about human development and the remote past of Western European peoples. A number of changes in museum classification date from this period. From 1871 the museum had an 'Honorary Curator in Ethnology and Archaeology', instead of 'Antiquities and Works of Art, &c'. From 1874 the post was titled 'Honorary Curator in Ethnology and Works of Art',

⁵⁸⁴ Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, p. 3.

⁵⁸⁵ Bennett, 1995, p. 39.

although acquisitions were still recorded in the Report under 'Archaeology and Ethnology'. This ambivalent nomenclature reflects the porous boundaries between the emergent disciplines at this time. As Bennett puts it, 'the "long ago" and "far away" were superimposed on one another through the network of assumptions which equated what was distant from Europe with its prehistory'; ethnology and archaeology could therefore be seen as a continuum.⁵⁸⁶ While these borders remained fluid, the shift from 'antiquities' to archaeology and ethnology represented a new approach to objects within these categories, and new ways of constructing meaning in the museum.

Miall began to produce Guides on specific sections of the museum's collections, with the aim of 'making the Society's Museum as easy to be read by the student as the pages of an open book'.⁵⁸⁷ These started with the mineral collection, then moved on to the fossils, and were sold to visitors for the price of one penny.⁵⁸⁸ In 1874 a further 'Descriptive Guide to the collection of British birds' joined these.⁵⁸⁹ As well as eliciting knowledge from the objects for the visitor, Miall's Guides also made a significant statement about the knowledge value of the museum's collections, increasing the museum's prestige as the Guides circulated along intellectual networks.⁵⁹⁰ Miall never published a Guide to the archaeology collections, reflecting the lower priority of these objects. The Report of the Council in 1881 reported the development of 'a systematic manuscript catalogue... which now includes all the antiquities', but this cannot now be located.⁵⁹¹ Nevertheless, the arrangement and interpretation of these collections can be deduced to some extent from the general Guide produced in 1890. This *Guide to the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, authored by Miall, gives an overview of the development of the museum:

... the Leeds Society has endeavoured to exhibit a selection of objects drawn from all countries, which may give a more distinct and vivid impression than descriptions or pictures can do, of the life-history of the earth, of its present animal and vegetable population, and of the history of man. ...our ideal of a popular museum – very far, we must admit, from realisation as yet – is a text-book, illustrated by objects instead of pictures.⁵⁹²

⁵⁸⁶ Bennett, 2004, p. 22.

⁵⁸⁷ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1872, p. 6.

⁵⁸⁸ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1873, p. 6; Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1874, p. 6.

⁵⁸⁹ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1875, p. 7.

⁵⁹⁰ Alberti, 2009, p. 134.

⁵⁹¹ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1881, p. 6.

⁵⁹² Miall, 1890, pp. 3-4.

This programmatic statement puts visitors rather than the Society's members at the heart of the museum's audiences. The didactic role is clearly articulated; the museum is to function as a 'text-book', in which the objects will convey knowledge to the visitor. As Forgan discusses, this was a widespread conception of the purpose of museums at this time.⁵⁹³ The ancient Cypriot collection was put to use as part of the 'history of man', indicating that its objects were now used to convey information through their relation to other objects rather than standing alone as curiosities. In Bennett's terms, the attitude to the visitor was 'increasingly pedagogic, aiming to render the principles of intelligibility governing the collections readily intelligible to all.'⁵⁹⁴

The displays were rearranged in order to help achieve these pedagogic aims. In line with contemporary ideas of best museum practice, there was an early drive to improve the labelling of the exhibits; in a brief article for *Nature* on museum displays, Miall emphasised the importance of labels of 'perfect legibility' for 'public instruction'.⁵⁹⁵ Printed labels were produced which were 'in part descriptive', with the intention of eventually creating such labels for all the objects in the museum.⁵⁹⁶ This prioritisation of labelling, progress on which was regularly reported in the annual Report of the Council, indicates a new conception of the needs of the visitor and the relationship between object and text. Miall's new Mineraology display was aimed at

making the series more thoroughly illustrative of Mineraology as a science... the visitor to this department is led up to the science of the subject, and, as far as possible, a clue is given him which will serve as a guide to his intelligent inspection of the mineral collection.⁵⁹⁷

This development was evidently designed to improve the impenetrable displays of the earlier museum, and forward the objectives of accessibility and education. In 1872 this was followed by rearrangement of the fossil collection, including improved labelling and colour-coding 'to indicate the zoological position of the specimens.'⁵⁹⁸ By 1874, Miall had moved onto Antiquities:

⁵⁹³ Forgan, 1994, p. 148.

⁵⁹⁴ Bennett, 1995, p. 41.

⁵⁹⁵ Miall, 1877. See also Forgan on the priority accorded to labels in this period (Forgan, 1994, pp. 149-150).

⁵⁹⁶ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1872, p. 6.

⁵⁹⁷ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1872, pp. 6-7.

⁵⁹⁸ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1873, pp. 5-6.

Instead of a simple geographical division, such as previously obtained, the objects are now distributed into the three primary groups of Pottery, Stone Implements and Metal-work, the sub-divisions being geographical, and in some degree chronological. The collections of Cave Relics, objects from Lake Dwellings, and Egyptian Mummies, remain distinct from the three chief groups.⁵⁹⁹

This taxonomic approach, similar to that adopted by the palaeontologist and archaeologist William Boyd Dawkins in the Manchester museum, attempted to map the evolution of cultures by structuring the displays according to geography, chronology, and type of material.⁶⁰⁰ This allowed for cross-cultural comparisons, although impeded by the relatively limited number of specimens. It is evident that ideas of human progress were beginning to be reflected in the museum's displays of antiquities, and this development was significant in moving the ancient Cypriot collection away from the category of antiquarian curios, and redefining them as scientific specimens. As Gosden and Larson state, 'changes in terminology reflect changing perceptions regarding the value of the different objects in the collection and the kinds of information deemed necessary or useful for talking about them.'⁶⁰¹ At some point the labelling process was extended to support this move by inscribing individual objects with 'CYPRUS' in bold black and white capitals on a visible surface (**Fig. 3.5**). The location of these labels on the objects indicates that this was not a tool for curatorial use (such labelling would usually be situated discreetly near the base of an object) but was designed to add to the object's knowledge-making potential by declaring its country of origin for visitors.⁶⁰²

⁵⁹⁹ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1874, p. 5.

⁶⁰⁰ Alberti, 2009, p. 65.

⁶⁰¹ Gosden and Larson, 2007, p. 28.

⁶⁰² Labelling an object directly was a common approach in museums of this period. See, for example, a White Painted jug in the Ashmolean Museum (AN1896-1908.C.196) donated from the British Museum's excavations at Amathus (see Chapter 4) with 'British Museum 1895' painted around its lower neck.



Fig. 3.5 Red Slip ware juglet, Cypro-Archaic period (LEEDM.D.1964.0327) labelled 'CYPRUS'. © Leeds Museums and Galleries.

The pedagogic function was also delivered through the arrangement of the objects in the space of the museum. The location of the antiquities in this period can be deduced from the 1890 Guide. Entering through the Porch, the visitor came first to the Outer Vestibule (the former Entrance Hall), where they encountered 'collections illustrative of the modes of civilisation peculiar to the different races of man. ...In the centre is a fine Egyptian Mummy'.⁶⁰³ In the Inner Vestibule, 'The wall-cases are filled with specimens of Ancient Metal-work, Ancient Stone Implements, and Pottery.'⁶⁰⁴ The discussion of stone implements refers to different geographic areas, while stone tools from 'ancient lake-dwellings... on the shores of some of the Swiss lakes' were displaced from this arrangement, being displayed separately in a table-case.⁶⁰⁵ As Bennett emphasises, Pitt Rivers' approach of establishing 'universal developmental sequences' was not widely adopted, and it was more usual for museums to have 'displays in which typological principles were deployed within differentiated regional contexts', as here.⁶⁰⁶ The Guide states that 'The collection of Pottery include some interesting pieces of Roman pottery, mostly found in Yorkshire; Greek vases and cups, Peruvian pottery, &c.'⁶⁰⁷ The ancient Cypriot objects, both those acquired in 1870 and those purchased through Ikin's Fund in 1875, presumably found their place under '&c.' in this display. This brief and rather uninformative description reflects the relative priority of the different collections; the 'history of man' was very much an afterthought after the 'life-

⁶⁰³ Miall, 1890, p. 4.

⁶⁰⁴ Miall, 1890, p. 4.

⁶⁰⁵ Miall, 1890, p. 5.

⁶⁰⁶ Bennett, 2004, p. 66.

⁶⁰⁷ Miall, 1890, pp. 4-5.

history of the earth, of its present animal and vegetable population', in Miall's formulation, which the museum's collections were much better placed to illustrate through completeness and through ordered display.⁶⁰⁸ However, the ancient Cypriot pottery was recruited to a didactic agenda, and placed and interpreted to facilitate comparison with other periods and regions. The objects' association with T.B. Sandwith as their excavator, collector and vendor, a persistent part of their identity in other settings and at the point of their acquisition for the Museum, was not transferred into the Guide. This can be contrasted with 'the Milner Collection' of British birds and the 'Clapham Collection' of birds of prey, which did retain the names of their collectors in the Guide.⁶⁰⁹ In part this may reflect the lower priority given to human history in the museum, and also the complex nature of the collection's acquisition; the prestige conveyed by the objects was distributed among those linked by their itineraries.

The relative priority of different collections was reflected in their allocation of space within the museum. **Fig. 3.6** represents the layout of the museum in 1890, and following Tzortzi, its 'space syntax', the relationships between its spaces.⁶¹⁰ This analysis foregrounds two important considerations: the museum's configuration, i.e. the connections between the various display areas (spaces not open to the visiting public are omitted); and the relative 'depth' of each space, i.e. the number of spaces a visitor would have to travel through before reaching it. These can be used to assess how integrated or segregated the spaces were, which has an effect on the ways in which information was presented to the visitor.⁶¹¹ As can be seen from **Fig. 3.6b**, most spaces had a fairly high degree of interconnection, a structure which 'minimizes the control that the layout places on the visitor' and therefore offers considerable freedom of choice for the visitor regarding the order in which they encounter the displays.⁶¹² This interconnected structure, with a number of choices of route, implies that each space is self-sufficient, and that there is no strong overarching narrative in the arrangement of the collections.⁶¹³ The 1890 Guide supports this interpretation, presenting each subset of the collection discretely and in turn; the taxonomic arrangement within each of the natural science display spaces appears to have been more important than the links between them. However, this approach of a cohesive narrative within each space was undermined by over-crowding, resulting in divisions in collections which were perceived as

⁶⁰⁸ Miall, 1890, p. 3.

⁶⁰⁹ Miall, 1890, p. 8.

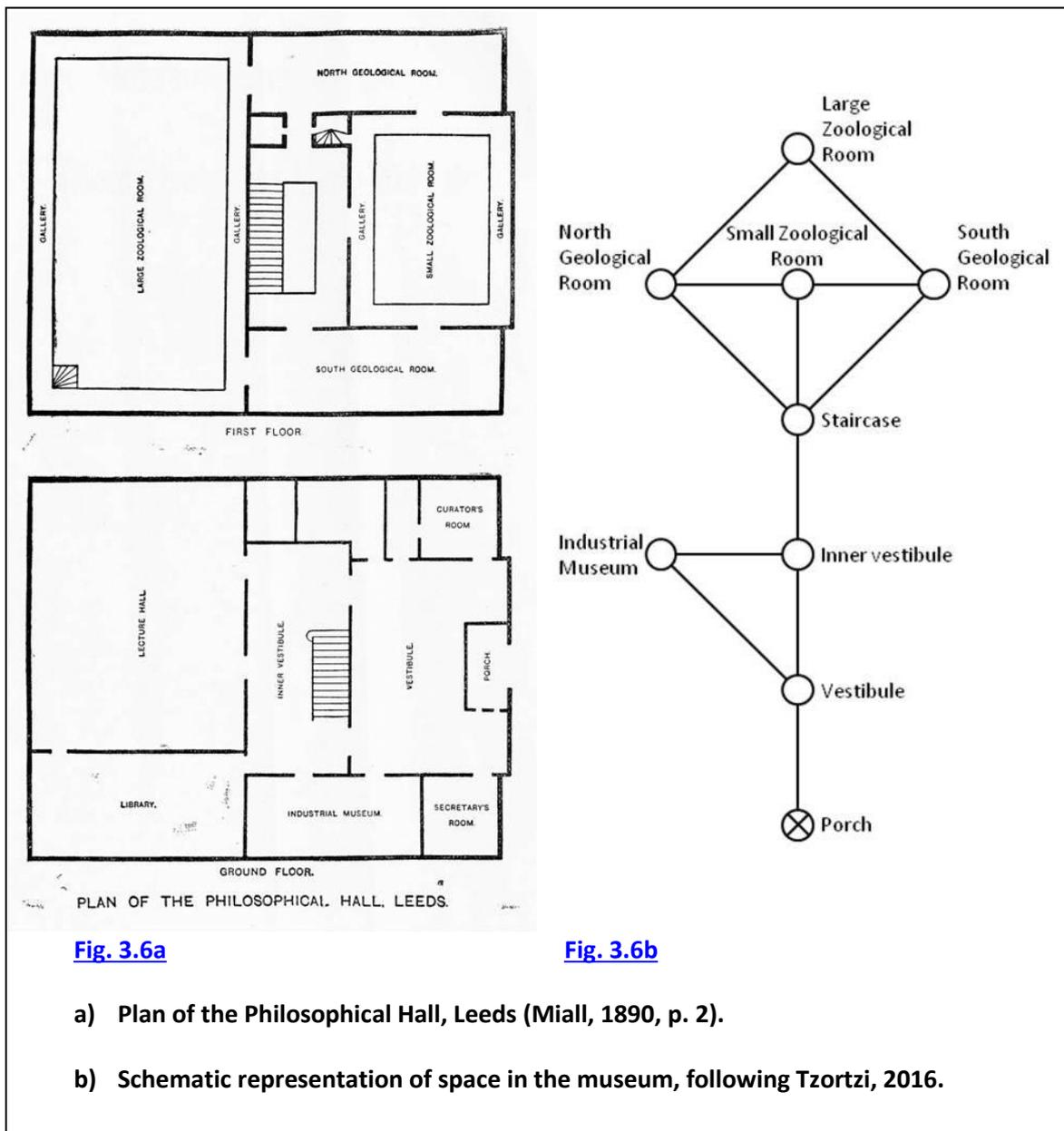
⁶¹⁰ Tzortzi, 2016.

⁶¹¹ Tzortzi, 2016, pp. 103-108.

⁶¹² Tzortzi, 2016, p. 105. For comparison of the layouts of 19th century municipal museums, see Hill, 2005, pp. 93-104.

⁶¹³ Forgan, 1994, p. 144.

imposing unwanted breaks in the narrative structure, and which were not in line with the desired didactic approach. For example, the Guide states that ‘It has unfortunately been found necessary to place in the North Geological Room the collection of plans from the Coal Measures’; ‘The crowded state of the Museum has compelled us to disperse other remains of extinct animals’; and ‘Difficulties arising from limited space have compelled us to break up the collection of birds’.⁶¹⁴ As Bennett emphasises, it was considered important in 19th century museum theory ‘that a museum’s message should be capable of being realized or recapitulated in and through the physical activity of the visitor’, but this proved challenging in the restricted space available to the Society’s museum.⁶¹⁵



[Fig. 3.6a](#)

a) Plan of the Philosophical Hall, Leeds (Miall, 1890, p. 2).

[Fig. 3.6b](#)

b) Schematic representation of space in the museum, following Tzortzi, 2016.

⁶¹⁴ Miall, 1890, pp. 6-7.

⁶¹⁵ Bennett, 1995, p. 183.

Analysis of the depth of each space (**Fig. 3.6b**) demonstrates that those reserved for the natural sciences were quite segregated, i.e. the visitor had to pass through a relatively high number of other spaces before accessing them (a minimum of four to reach the Large Zoological Room), while the vestibules used for antiquities were more integrated, therefore having 'a higher probability of being used by visitors'.⁶¹⁶ However, as **Fig. 3.6a** shows, this is offset by relative size of these spaces, with the large size of the first floor spaces, and their high degree of interconnection, indicating the high priority of the collections they contain. As Forgan notes, 'the power and prestige of a subject, the extent and richness of its collections, is reflected in the size of the building chosen to house it', an observation which equally applies to the distribution of collections between the available spaces.⁶¹⁷ Although the vestibule was the first space that visitors encountered, this does not seem to have reflected the relative importance of the objects placed there, which were rather displaced to this liminal space in order to leave the main galleries free for the more systematic arrangement of the geological and zoological collections. This can be compared to the more successful layout of the Manchester museum in 1890, where the 'crucial' first space that visitors encountered was used to house 'the foundation of the collection, spatially and intellectually'.⁶¹⁸ Nevertheless, the placement of antiquities in the vestibule areas meant that they would have been passed by most visitors, if not necessarily drawing their attention.

Audience responses

As is common for museums in this period, evidence is lacking for the responses of visitors to the museum, as opposed to the intentions of the Society's members and curator.⁶¹⁹ Letters to the Editor in the local press occasionally give some insight into visitor experiences; 'One in a Dilemma' wrote to the *Leeds Mercury* in 1860 to ask for information from 'any of your scientific readers' about the prehistoric hippopotamus remains displayed, although evidently not sufficiently explained, in the museum.⁶²⁰ Another visitor in 1868 requested English translations of Latin names such as "'Lipidedendrom"... This language may be

⁶¹⁶ Tzortzi, 2016, p. 107.

⁶¹⁷ Forgan, 1994, p. 143.

⁶¹⁸ Despite this, 'numerous concessions' were also required in the layout of the Manchester Museum, a common experience in rapidly expanding regional museums at this period (Alberti, 2009, pp. 37, 34). See also Nikolaou, 2013, p. 256 for similar tensions in the display of the ancient Cypriot collection at the British Museum.

⁶¹⁹ See Hill, 2005, Chapter 7.

⁶²⁰ 'One in a Dilemma'. 1860. Leeds Philosophical Hall Museum. *Leeds Mercury*. 9 August, p. 1.

understandable to many, but it sorely puzzles your friend, who hails from Dewsbury.⁶²¹

These highlight the perceived inadequacy of the museum's interpretation, even for an educated general audience, but it was a rare visitor who took the time and trouble to record their experiences in this way.

One source which provides more detail about the impact on the museum of its visitors is a satirical novel in Yorkshire dialect by F.M. Fetherston, titled *Oops an' Doons, an' Sayin's an' Doin's o' Timothy Goorkrodger, his Aud Deeame, an' Darter Meary, a' Whoame an' Abroad*.⁶²² This work presents the adventures of the eponymous Goorkrodger, a Yorkshire farmer, and his family as they visit local attractions, including the 'Royaal Feelosoffical Museem' in Leeds. As the title makes clear, it is a comic work, with contrived episodes and slapstick humour, interspersed with direct social commentary, for example on the industrial pollution of Leeds.⁶²³ Fetherston's creation is a quasi-Dickensian archetype, a plain-spoken, unsophisticated farmer prone to comical misapprehensions, whose blunt appraisal of his experiences satirises middle-class activities and pretensions. The work is undated, but was sent to the local papers for review in December 1870.⁶²⁴ The fictional visit to the museum is set after 1863 at the earliest, since this is when the turnstiles – in which the portly Goorkrodger becomes stuck – were fitted in the museum.⁶²⁵ He describes his visit as follows:

we toorned to glaass caases. Thur's a' soarts o' things fra a' soarts o' pleeaces, wi' tikkets on 'em a'. ...thur's a caase wi' a loomp o' summat wi' baanes, staanes, charcoal, fleent, an' ithir things a' mixed oop tegither; thur's writ on a caard, "Prehistorick mon Beccia o' Calcarious cintur."⁶²⁶ A treed t' mak' it oot, an' cudna; ah'll leave it t'woiser yeds than moine. ... Thur's bottels an' jogs wi' haardly onny mooth, an' odd inds o' bricks an' brokken crockenly artickles: ah cud pick oop bettir o' onny doost heeap! an' heeare they air poot i' foine caases an' kipt loike gowd an' silver!

... Thur's lots o'ithir things ah canna disremember jist noo; skeuls, skeletons, caases fool o' aud baanes, loomps o' staane big as yoor yed... Bud thur's mony woonderfool things we niver dreeampt ov afoor, an ah think yoong foaks wi' plinty o' toime mud spind mony an hoor i'sike pleeaces, an' poot summat i' thur' yeds t'mak' 'em laarned chaps soom deay!⁶²⁷

⁶²¹ 'H.C.'. 1868. The Leeds Museum. *Leeds Mercury*. 15 February, p. 10.

⁶²² Fetherstone, n.d.

⁶²³ Fetherstone, n.d., pp. 76-78.

⁶²⁴ Anon. 1870. Literature. *Leeds Mercury*. 20 December, p. 3.

⁶²⁵ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1863, p. 16.

⁶²⁶ This is presumably 'Prehistoric man: Breccia of Calcareous Sinter', exhibited by the Society at the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures. Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, 1875, p. 114.

⁶²⁷ Fetherstone, n.d., pp. 78-81.

Through the account given by Goorkrodger, the pretensions of the Society's Museum towards intelligibility, and the value placed on the objects in its collections, are satirised. The Society's concern over the limited interpretation and intellectual accessibility of its collections appears well justified. The description of 'all sorts of things from all sorts of places' closely correlates with the 1854 Guide's account of miscellaneous objects grouped according to the facilities afforded for display, rather than by theme. Even where interpretation is available, it is of little help to Goorkrodger; the scientific labelling of the geological collection, designed to name rather than to explain, does not allow him to make sense of what he sees. Goorkrodger's disbelief that broken pottery is kept in 'fine cases' makes it clear that the interpretation does not provide any helpful steer on alternative ways of valuing these objects, among which the 1870 ancient Cypriot donations would have been placed. Fetherston/Goorkrodger recognise the educative potential of the museum, although they conclude this is accessible to 'young folk with plenty of time' rather than the casual visitor.⁶²⁸

Goorkrodger's reaction to what he sees is one of wonder, but in the absence of accessible interpretation this sense of wonder did not lead on to a search for resonance, in Greenblatt's formulation.⁶²⁹ In this context, Aldam's amphora might be appreciated for its striking size and decoration, but its other meanings would not be apparent. As Hill states, 'Audiences participated in the project of making meaning from objects, however didactic the displays presented to them', and in this period the eclecticism and minimal interpretation of the museum's displays left the visitor free – and unsupported – to make of them what they could.⁶³⁰ Bennett discusses how museums in the later 19th century sought to differentiate themselves from a culture of wonder and spectacle, through their attempts to impose order on the objects they contained.⁶³¹ As the example above demonstrates, in the absence of sufficient interpretative support in this period, there was little to prevent members of the public from experiencing the museum's objects as curiosities rather than scientific specimens capable of producing relational knowledge.⁶³²

⁶²⁸ Fetherstone, n.d., p. 81.

⁶²⁹ Greenblatt, 1991.

⁶³⁰ Hill, 2016, p. 6.

⁶³¹ Bennett, 1995, p. 3.

⁶³² Hooper-Greenhill, 1992, pp. 161-162.

It remains difficult to find evidence for what visitors made of the new methods of display and interpretation introduced by Miall. His 1890 Guide set out the audience response he was aiming to achieve:

a useful purpose is served if the visitor be encouraged to read in order to gain information about objects which catch his eye in the museum, or if the things which he has noted in his reading are set before him as natural facts.⁶³³

This posits an ideal visitor as an intelligent, educated and well-read layman, whose curiosity might be sparked by the objects, leading him to further study, or who might find factual proof in the objects of information previously encountered through reading. The extent to which visitors conformed to this ideal cannot be confirmed, but it seems unlikely that this was the only, or indeed the primary, response to the museum's displays. A report on 'Science in Leeds' in *Nature* in 1876 states that 'The casual visitor cannot fail to be instructed as well as interested', but this account is unlikely to have been written by such a 'casual visitor', and there is no evidence as to whether this intention to convey knowledge and excite interest was achieved in practice.⁶³⁴ A proxy for the general level of interest in the museum can be found in the records of its numbers of visitors. As Kitson Clark's chart of 'Visitors to the Museum 1869-70 to 1921-2' shows (**Fig. 3.7**), numbers were generally buoyant in the 1870s, until a steady decline set in at the beginning of the 1880s.⁶³⁵ The total of 42,221 in 1871/72 was the highest in the Society's history (leaving aside the exceptional year 1868/69 when an Art Exhibition brought large numbers of people to Leeds), and this was exceeded again the following year with 44,467 visitors.⁶³⁶ Visitor numbers then reached a peak of 51,112 in 1875/76, attributed to people attracted to Leeds by the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures.⁶³⁷ Despite some fluctuations in attendance, the museum was attracting more people than ever before. As Hooper-Greenhill discusses, more detailed analysis of visitors did not become current until later in the 20th century; the museum's figures are crude totals, with no indication of socio-economic group, but give an overview of changing levels of interest in the museum.⁶³⁸

⁶³³ Miall, 1890, p. 4.

⁶³⁴ Anon., 1876, p. 527.

⁶³⁵ Kitson Clark, 1924, p. 236 facing.

⁶³⁶ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1872, p. 7; Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1873, p. 6.

⁶³⁷ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1877, pp. 13-14.

⁶³⁸ Hooper-Greenhill, 2006, pp. 363-364.

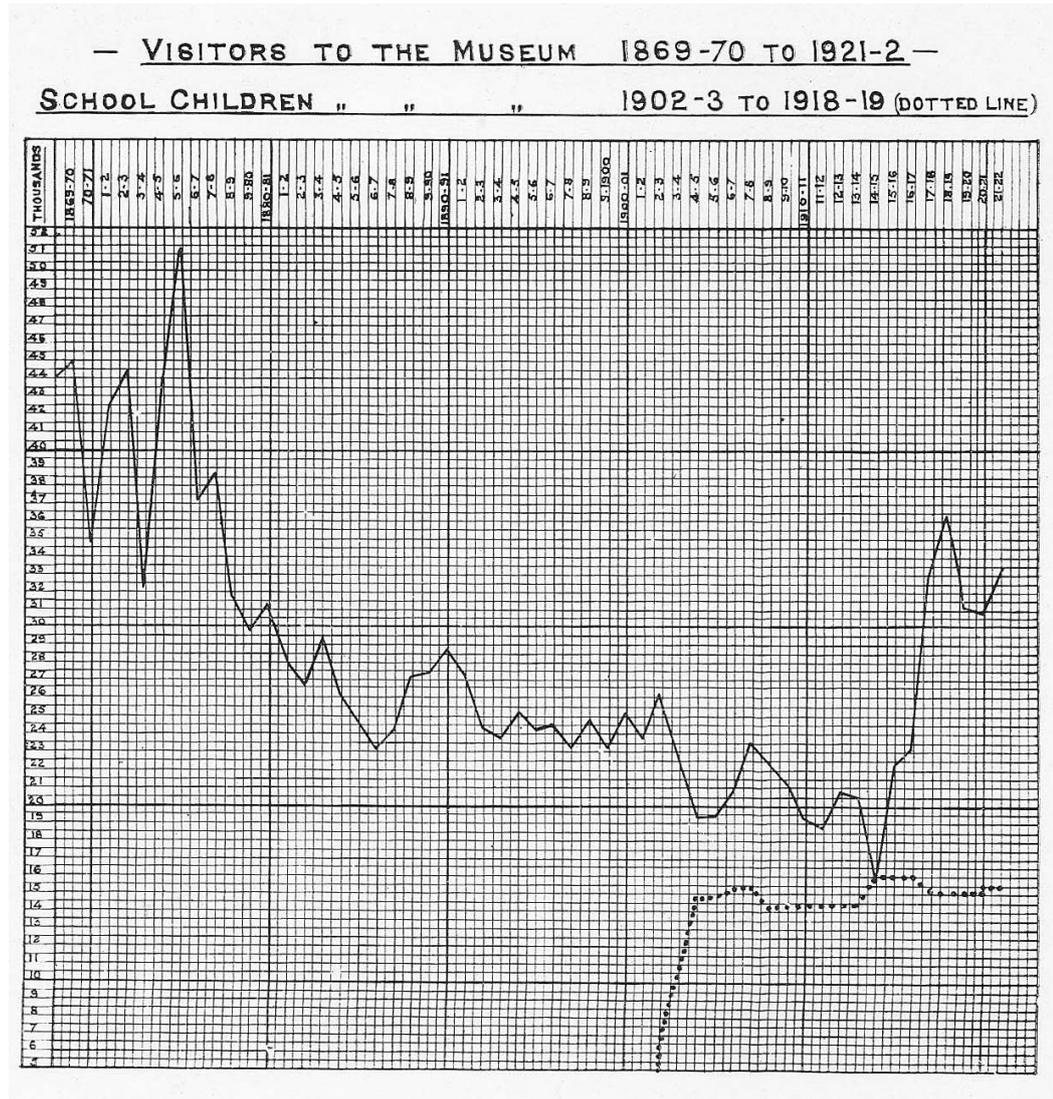


Fig. 3.7 Visitors to the Museum 1869-70 to 1921-22 (Kitson Clark, 1924, opposite p. 236).

The steady sales of Miall's subject-specific Guides indicate that these were finding an audience, although only around 1-2% of visitor numbers.⁶³⁹ These Guides were well received by the *Yorkshire Post*, which stated that Miall 'has sought to convey to [the inhabitants of Leeds] information... which cannot fail to broaden their knowledge, and to give them a deeper interest in what to many is an absorbing study', but again there is little evidence as to whether these aims were achieved in practice.⁶⁴⁰ While the Guides offered the means to self-improvement through education, their specialist nature required a reader equipped both

⁶³⁹ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1873, p. 6; Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1874, p. 6; Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1875, p. 7.

⁶⁴⁰ Anon. 1873. The Leeds Museum. *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*. 27 May, p. 3.

with a good foundation of knowledge and with the ability to conduct self-directed learning. As noted above, no Guide was published for the collections of antiquities, which limited the extent to which they could participate in this didactic programme.

Analysis of the acquisition of ancient Cypriot objects, and their display and interpretation within the museum, demonstrates a shift in curatorial approach from framing them as eclectic curiosities towards an attempt to incorporate them in a narrative of human progress as demonstrated by material remains. It is debateable to what extent this narrative was clearly conveyed to visitors in practice; there is a lack of evidence for audience responses, and that which is available suggests that the approach to interpretation underestimated the amount of support required by visitors to derive knowledge from what they saw. The prioritisation of museum space for the natural sciences collections, and the compromises to the layout of collections enforced by the limitations of the available space, also undermined the logic of the displays. Despite this, the reinterpretation of the ancient Cypriot objects as specimens from which knowledge could be derived, rather than curiosities, created a defined place for them in the museum's wider collections and started a sequence to which further examples could readily be added.

The Leeds Free Public Museum

The same societal pressures and goals which prompted the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society to improve physical and intellectual access to its collections also drove the development of new civic amenities in Leeds. The programme of civic development, begun with the opening of Leeds Town Hall in 1858, was continued with the Free Public Library in 1871-1872. An architectural competition for new Municipal Buildings, to include additional space for this Library, was announced by the Council in 1876. These were opened in April 1884, and extended in 1888 to provide a public Art Gallery (see map at Annex C).⁶⁴¹ These developments were mirrored in cities across the country, as discussed by Beaven, prompted by the wish to promote social cohesion 'through municipal works and civic culture', and a deep-rooted conviction that some of the negative effects of industrialisation could be mitigated and the working classes moulded into fully-functioning citizens through

⁶⁴¹ Wrathmell, 2008, pp. 74-79.

exposure to art and culture in civic spaces, effecting ‘social change through aesthetic experience’.⁶⁴² Bennett discusses how

culture was increasingly thought of as a resource to be used in programmes which aimed at bringing about changes in acceptable norms and forms of behaviour and consolidating those norms as self-acting imperatives.⁶⁴³

The new Leeds institutions conformed to this model, and had some success in asserting the standards which were to be maintained in these public spaces. To take one example, the First Report of the Leeds Public Library, for 1870-72, noted that

Sometimes we have come in contact with the “great unwashed,” when they have been directed to the lavatory, and duly cautioned that the privilege of borrowing would be cancelled upon a repetition of this offence against the rules of the Library.⁶⁴⁴

However, the development of a museum to contribute to this programme of public improvement proved more problematic. In order to promote the development of public amenities, the Act for Encouraging the Establishment of Museums in Large Towns was passed in 1845, allowing Councils to raise money through a half-penny rate for the development of such institutions. This led to a huge increase in the number of museums over the 19th century, many under municipal control.⁶⁴⁵ In some areas, this prompted an immediate transfer of museums belonging to local Philosophical and Literary Societies to public ownership; in Leicester, for example, this took place in 1849.⁶⁴⁶ Many Northern industrial towns followed a similar path in the 19th century, with museums passed over to public ownership in Sheffield in 1875, Halifax in 1896, and Hull around 1897.⁶⁴⁷ By contrast, the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society maintained a distinct role until the 1920s. The presence in Leeds of this large, long-established and relatively well-equipped museum made the development of a parallel public institution a lower priority, and progress towards this was slower and less purposeful. However, in 1881 the Leeds Town Council was required to make a decision on whether to found a free museum, as a result of an offer from John Holmes to sell his collection, including his ancient Cypriot objects, for half its value as a

⁶⁴² Beaven, 2012, p. 23. Woodson-Boulton, 2012, p. 15. MacLeod, 2013 examines similar discussions and developments in Liverpool during this period.

⁶⁴³ Bennett, 1995, p. 23. See also Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, p. 11.

⁶⁴⁴ Yates, 1872, p. 7.

⁶⁴⁵ MacGregor, 1997, p. 21.

⁶⁴⁶ Brown, 2002, p. 4.

⁶⁴⁷ Brears and Davies, 1989, p. 31.

‘nucleus of a museum’ for the public.⁶⁴⁸ This was prompted by the death of his wife and financial losses, as a result of which he was planning to emigrate to New Zealand.⁶⁴⁹ It appears that Holmes had long intended his collection to benefit the public: he regretted that he was not ‘in a position to give this collection to the borough, as he had hoped to do’, and it is probably for this reason that he did not offer his collection to the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society.⁶⁵⁰ The Leeds Free Library Committee considered Holmes’ offer and its Chairman, Mr Beckworth, brought it to a Council meeting for debate in January 1882, in recognition that ‘the question was a much wider one than the mere purchase of this collection, that it involved the establishment of a public museum in Leeds’.⁶⁵¹

In her discussion of the development of municipal art museums, Woodson-Boulton describes them as

sites of vibrant cultural debate – over the role of government (should taxes support public art?), over the meaning and role of art (is it a necessity or a luxury?) ... public art remained a fraught and hotly contested issue, as interested parties sparred over the museums’ founding, financial support, institutional structure, collecting policies, educational programmes, and opening hours.⁶⁵²

The debate over the desirability of a Free Public Museum for Leeds, as reported in the local press, can be situated within these wider cultural discussions. It was largely framed in terms of cost and benefit. The committee’s view was that some of the 1d. rate levied under the Public Libraries Act could be used to support a museum, and it was generally agreed that the proposed purchase price of £250 for Holmes’ collection was reasonable, but there were concerns about public liability for ongoing expenditure.⁶⁵³ In terms of space, ‘In the new Corporation Buildings ample room had been provided for library purposes, and... some part of that space could be appropriated for a purpose of this kind’.⁶⁵⁴ This location would firmly situate the new museum within the new amenities designed to serve the people of Leeds, and also to project a positive image of the city and its benevolent, cultured middle classes whose work for public institutions delivered these assets for the community. As Hill emphasises, as well as the goal of providing culture for the working class, public museums

⁶⁴⁸ Anon. 1882. Proposed Formation of a Museum. *Leeds Mercury*. 3 January, p. 3.

⁶⁴⁹ In the event, he remarried and remained in the area, starting a new family (Smith, 1882b, p. 59).

⁶⁵⁰ Anon. 1882. Proposed Formation of a Museum. *Leeds Mercury*. 3 January, p. 3. The same conclusion is drawn by Sitch, 2007, p. 45.

⁶⁵¹ Anon. 1882. Proposed Formation of a Museum. *Leeds Mercury*. 3 January, p. 3.

⁶⁵² Woodson-Boulton, 2012, p. 4.

⁶⁵³ Anon. 1882. Proposed Formation of a Museum. *Leeds Mercury*. 3 January, p. 3.

⁶⁵⁴ Anon. 1882. Proposed Formation of a Museum. *Leeds Mercury*. 3 January, p. 3.

also ‘allowed the middle class to demonstrate authority, stamp their own values onto culture, and provide suitable leisure for themselves.’⁶⁵⁵

The proposed museum was broadly conceived as being of benefit to the public, although the nature of the collection, and how it might be employed to deliver this benefit, were not explored in any detail. At one point it was described hyperbolically as ‘the most unique collection of curiosities in the world’, entirely in contradiction to Holmes’ conception of its knowledge value as representative rather than unique, and consisting of specimens rather than mere curiosities.⁶⁵⁶ It was praised in more informed terms by the Rev. Dr. Gott, who emphasised the knowledge that could be produced from it, echoing his comments at the 1881 conversazione of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society: ‘every specimen receives and gives light to and from the adjoining specimens, and the whole is in sequence’.⁶⁵⁷

Eustace Conder, a fellow member of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, Mr. Bell, president of the Leeds Co-operative Society (in which Holmes was active), and James Pearson, president of the Leeds Trade Council, similarly wrote in support, demonstrating Holmes’ mobilisation of his intellectual and social networks.⁶⁵⁸ Holmes’ earlier introduction of his collection into local ‘networks of appraisal and acclaim’, in Balm’s term, provided vital in creating a shared assessment of the value of his collection and translating this into other spheres.⁶⁵⁹

Despite these encomia, Mr Beckworth’s speech suggests no very clear concept of the civic benefit which might accrue from these objects, described as ‘almost entirely archaeological, consisting of implements and weapons of stone, bone, bronze, and iron; and also a pretty considerable collection of pottery’:

As to whether it was desirable to form a museum, he ventured to say that museums, generally speaking, were popular. There was a museum in connection with the Leeds Philosophical Society. He did not think that society catered for the support of the public; they did not make it a popular place or resort; they charged a penny for admission, and yet 30,000 visits were paid to that museum during the year.⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁵⁵ Hill, 2005, pp. 36-37.

⁶⁵⁶ Anon. 1882. The Formation of a Public Museum. *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*. 3 January, p. 8.

⁶⁵⁷ Anon. 1882. Proposed Formation of a Museum. *Leeds Mercury*. 3 January, p. 3.

⁶⁵⁸ Anon. 1882. Proposed Formation of a Museum. *Leeds Mercury*. 3 January, p. 3.

⁶⁵⁹ Balm, 2016, p. 192.

⁶⁶⁰ Anon. 1882. The Formation of a Public Museum. *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*. 3 January, p. 8. Anon. 1882. Proposed Formation of a Museum. *Leeds Mercury*. 3 January, p. 3.

This speech demonstrates that it was generally taken as read that provision of civic amenities would bring benefits to those exposed to them, without this assumption being closely interrogated. The Mayor, Edwin Woodhouse, a mill owner, corroborated this view, reporting that he himself had ‘some time since gave a number of men employed in mills an opportunity of visiting the collection at the Philosophical Hall, and they greatly appreciated the privilege.’⁶⁶¹ The main opposition to the proposed museum came from Alderman Scarr, a member of the Council who had worked his way up from humble origins through trade, and therefore represented the class whom the museum was intended to benefit.⁶⁶² He objected that

something was being forced on the Council to gratify the tastes of a very few individuals. The people who supported that kind of thing formed a very limited class, and it was well that they were limited. (Laughter).⁶⁶³

Although just one opinion, this demonstrates the gap between the middle classes’ conception of what would benefit working people, and their own views.⁶⁶⁴ Despite this objection, the opportunity to acquire Holmes’ collection proved tempting. There was an expectation that, once begun, the museum would benefit from further donations, and concern was expressed that the Council could lose future valuable bequests because of a reluctance to incur relatively minor expenditure. Alderman Boothroyd pointed to a previous occasion when the Council had declined the gift of the Sheepshanks collection of paintings ‘because, as it were, they grudged the cost of paper and string to cover it’ and warned that ‘if the Corporation did not make proper provision for the nucleus of a free public museum, they could not expect that public-spirited gentlemen would leave art or scientific collections to the town.’⁶⁶⁵ The editorial opinion of the *Leeds Mercury* was in favour of the purchase, assuming that gifts of ‘costly paintings, or rare works of art or *vertu*’ might be forthcoming if accommodation were provided.⁶⁶⁶ Here, the value of a museum was framed in terms of its effectiveness in bringing in further donations.

The vote was passed in favour of purchasing Holmes’ collection, at 35 to 13, but this was only the start of ongoing wrangles about the location, display, and interpretation of the objects.

⁶⁶¹ Anon. 1882. Purchase of Mr. J.Holmes’s Collection. *The Leeds Times*. 7 January, p. 2.

⁶⁶² See the biographical note of Scarr by Bradford, 2012.

⁶⁶³ Anon. 1882. Purchase of Mr. J.Holmes’s Collection. *The Leeds Times*. 7 January, p. 2.

⁶⁶⁴ MacLeod, 2013 describes similar resistance to the proposed Art Gallery in Liverpool in the 1870s (p. 44).

⁶⁶⁵ Anon. 1882. Proposed Formation of a Museum. *Leeds Mercury*. 3 January, p. 3. Refused by Leeds, the Sheepshanks collection formed the basis of the V&A’s paintings collection.

⁶⁶⁶ Anon. 1882. Editorial. *Leeds Mercury*. 4 January, p. 4.

The terms of the debate demonstrate that exposure to culture was seen as desirable, without any clear conception of what benefits would be produced or how, and little attention was given to the resources that might be needed to make a museum successful. In terms of the objectives of the initiative, a comparison can be drawn with John Ruskin's 1875 establishment of The St George's Museum in Sheffield, for the benefit of 'workers in iron'.⁶⁶⁷ However, without a local supporter with Ruskin's resources, vision and drive, and with the decision largely hinging on financial cost versus benefit, the conditions for the Leeds Free Public Museum's establishment were less favourable.

Ancient Cypriot objects in the Leeds Free Public Museum

The *Leeds Mercury* praised the purchase as a 'step which compels of necessity a further advance'.⁶⁶⁸ This advance, however, was slow in coming. The proposed museum was long delayed and poorly resourced. Hill argues that the success of new municipal museums was often dependent on the expertise and enthusiasm of members of local Philosophical and Literary Societies being redirected towards them.⁶⁶⁹ This did not happen in Leeds, as the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society was still fully functioning, so that the public museum was dependent on already overstretched public resources. There was a marked contrast between the reception for objects offered by the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, and by the Free Public Museum. The former had suitable space at its disposal, despite the constant pressure on its capacity, and a curator who took responsibility for displaying and interpreting the objects. By contrast, the Leeds Free Public Library, which eventually added the museum to its remit, was served by a combined librarian and curator, with one assistant, reporting to a committee of Council members. This disparity of resources inevitably had an impact on the time and attention given to the museum's collections, and the reservations over cost and utility which had been aired in the debate over the purchase were evident in the lack of resources and attention given to its eventual display. In 1887 the British Association for the Advancement of Science published a Report 'upon the Provincial Museums of the United Kingdom' which found that combining the roles of librarian and museum curator was 'rarely satisfactory':

The library is usually regarded as the more important institution; the officer is chosen as a librarian chiefly, the larger proportion of space and funds are devoted to the

⁶⁶⁷ Ruskin, 1871-1873, p. 395.

⁶⁶⁸ Anon. 1882. Editorial. *Leeds Mercury*. 4 January, p. 4.

⁶⁶⁹ Hill, 2005, p. 44.

library, and the museum is not conducted with the necessary vigour, and often falls into disrepute.⁶⁷⁰

This observation is borne out by the example of the Free Public Museum in Leeds, which was evidently an afterthought for the committee which held responsibility for it. Since the new museum was in its earliest stages, there was no precedent for negotiating the relationship between the organisation and its donors. There was some pay-off of prestige for Holmes through the record of the purchase in the annual Report of the Free Library Committee, and through press coverage, with the *Leeds Mercury* commenting that it had ‘drawn attention to [Holmes’] researches in archaeology’.⁶⁷¹ However, the ongoing relationship was more problematic.

As we have seen, Holmes’ collection of ancient Cypriot objects had afforded him access to intellectually and socially advanced circles in West Yorkshire. In the light of increased public interest in Cyprus after its annexation in 1878, his prior knowledge of Cypriot antiquities gained him status and the ability to command an audience as a popular lecturer. The objects themselves also exerted a powerful fascination over him; from his initial response of wonder on viewing them in a shop window in Sheffield in the early 1870s, his study of ‘Cyprian pottery’ became a ‘craze’, in his own term.⁶⁷² In a Maussian sense, the objects were inalienable from him, ‘never completely detached’, and he could not fully relinquish them because of their centrality in fashioning his identity as an antiquarian and collector.⁶⁷³ Holmes associated himself closely with his Cypriot antiquities, to the point that they can be interpreted as ‘biographical objects’, in Hoskins’ term, used ‘as a vehicle for a sense of selfhood’ and relied upon for his construction of his own identity and life story.⁶⁷⁴ Unlike any other collector discussed in this thesis, he marked his objects with his initial to ensure that their association with him became an indivisible part of their materiality. While Holmes’ collection was systematic, in Pearce’s formulation, with a clear overarching structure and rationale, it was also a collection of souvenirs intrinsically linked to his personal experience, used ‘to create an essential personal and social self centred in its own unique life story’.⁶⁷⁵ By contrast, the Council’s purchase of Holmes’ collection, framed primarily in monetary terms, was seen by them as a one-off transaction which gave him no further control over its location

⁶⁷⁰ Committee of the BAAS, 1888, p. 119.

⁶⁷¹ Anon. 1882. Mr John Holmes’ Collection of Antiquities. *Leeds Mercury*. 6 February, p. 5.

⁶⁷² Holmes, J. 1885. A Hero and an Antiquary: A Reminiscence. *Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement*. 3 January, p. 5.

⁶⁷³ Mauss, 2001, p. 42.

⁶⁷⁴ Hoskins, 1998, p. 3.

⁶⁷⁵ Pearce, 1994, p. 196.

or display, beyond an agreement that he would 'arrange' the objects when space became available. The negotiated price, half the collection's worth as assessed by Holmes, perhaps further blurred the boundaries between purchase and inalienable gift, from his point of view if not from the Council's. This led to conflict as Holmes sought to enact his agency via his objects, refusing to co-operate in providing interpretation until display facilities which he considered adequate were provided. The result was years of friction between him and the Council, with Holmes constantly objecting to the delay in providing accommodation, its unsuitability, and the lack of investment in displays. The Council's ambivalence over the museum's utility, and reluctance to incur further costs, stymied its development.

Display, interpretation, and audiences

Holmes' sale was poorly timed in that the new Municipal Buildings, which were to include space for the museum, were under development in 1882 and were not opened until 1884. He later objected bitterly that the collection had been 'removed, boarded up, and nailed down in an empty room in the Municipal Buildings for two years' after its purchase.⁶⁷⁶ When the new Municipal Buildings were nearing completion, Holmes was consulted on the proposed new location of his collection, and asked what he would charge to arrange and label it. He expressed dissatisfaction with both the location and the display cases available, which led to a protracted stand-off, with the Council insisting that the resources provided were adequate, and Holmes refusing to compromise.⁶⁷⁷

In April 1884 the Leeds Municipal Buildings were opened with great ceremony, encompassing new Municipal Offices and the Free Public Library, which included a small museum. The space provided for the Library was described as 'sumptuous'; although the News Reading Room (today's Tiled Hall Café) matched this description, the reference library was less elaborate and situated on the second floor, and it appears that the museum was tucked away in one of the bays in its gallery.⁶⁷⁸ Holmes objected in the local press that

a fitting home for its display and use might have been arranged for in the new building, but the collection was removed to a cock-loft, 106 steps to get up to, where

⁶⁷⁶ Holmes, J. 1886. Leeds Public Museum. *Leeds Mercury*. 3 April, p. 2.

⁶⁷⁷ Minute Books 2 and 3 of the Leeds Public Library Committee, 1881-1889. Leeds Local History Library, shelfmark Q Strong room 352.9/LEE.

⁶⁷⁸ Anon. 1884. Opening of the Leeds Municipal Buildings. *Illustrated London News*. 27 April, p. 399.

dust soon coats thick over the objects ... and where the foetid deteriorated atmosphere and dirt of all the entrances focuses.⁶⁷⁹

As in the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, spatial arrangement reflected relative priorities, and this inaccessible, marginal space reflected the low importance of the museum and its contents.⁶⁸⁰ In this year the Annual Report of the Leeds Free Public Library added the museum to its responsibilities for the first time, noting 'This is a new Department'.⁶⁸¹ This Report concentrated on the loan of fine and decorative art from local people and the South Kensington Museum to stage a temporary Fine Art exhibition. Holmes' collection is dealt with in one sentence: 'The Ethnological Collection purchased by the Committee some time ago has been placed in a separate room.'⁶⁸² It is clear that Fine Art was the committee's priority, and there was little expertise or enthusiasm to do much with Holmes' collection.

One perceived strength of the collection when the Council were debating its purchase was that 'It was exceedingly well arranged, and it was most interesting to listen to Mr Holmes's very delightful exposition of the various objects.'⁶⁸³ Holmes' expertise was evidently seen as essential for making sense of the objects and creating knowledge from them for visitors, and his refusal to provide it, in order to strengthen his negotiating position for a better location and displays for 'his' collection, severely limited the use which could be made of the collection. In Bourdieu's terms, the economic capital represented by the objects was not accompanied by the embodied cultural capital required for their full appropriation or use.⁶⁸⁴ The stand-off continued; in April 1885 the committee resolved 'That Mr John Holmes be required to arrange, catalogue and label (in accordance with previous contract) the collection of antiquities purchased from him in the cases now at his disposal', which he refused to comply with. In October the committee offered an extra £5 and the services of a porter, but this still fell short of Holmes' requirements, with the committee's responses showing increasing exasperation.⁶⁸⁵ As a result, Holmes' collection of ancient objects was unable to function effectively as the 'nucleus' of a museum. The hoped-for effect whereby this 'nucleus' would attract further valuable donations to its orbit, did not occur; while there was

⁶⁷⁹ Holmes, J. 1886. Leeds Public Museum. *Leeds Mercury*. 3 April, p. 2.

⁶⁸⁰ Forgan, 1994, p. 143.

⁶⁸¹ Yates, 1884, p. 5.

⁶⁸² Yates, 1884, pp. 5-6.

⁶⁸³ Anon. 1882. Proposed Formation of a Museum. *Leeds Mercury*. 3 January, p. 3.

⁶⁸⁴ Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 246-247.

⁶⁸⁵ Minute Books 2 and 3 of the Leeds Public Library Committee, 1881-1889. Leeds Local History Library, shelfmark Q Strong room 352.9/LEE.

a continued steady stream of donations to the Philosophical and Literary Society's museum during the 1880s, there is no evidence that the Free Library Committee took any steps to encourage or solicit further donations of museum objects. Indeed, the committee turned down an offer of further ancient Cypriot objects from Sandwith's collection arranged by Holmes.⁶⁸⁶ The low priority placed on making the museum operational and useful for visitors, and Holmes' unwillingness to compromise, precluded the objects from having the attention he felt they deserved.

Despite Holmes' deep misgivings about the location and display of his collection, it was not wholly inaccessible to visitors. A report of the temporary Fine Art exhibition in October 1884 mentions

the Holmes collection (purchased by the Corporation as the nucleus of a museum) of prehistoric implements, tools, pottery, weapons of warfare, and other articles which show a gradual change from ancient to modern manufactures.⁶⁸⁷

The knowledge which Holmes sought to convey through his collection about human development appears to have been translated to some extent into this sphere. The visitors to the art and museum collections totalled 6,855 for the year; while low in comparison to those attracted to the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, these figures indicate that the objects were reaching at least a small audience.⁶⁸⁸ Holmes repeatedly wrote to the local press to complain about the slow progress on the museum (rather disingenuously given his lack of co-operation), and to encourage others to protest to the Council. In 1887 the *Leeds Mercury* did indeed publish a letter of complaint from a 'Bradfordian', and a further anonymous account of a visiting antiquarian brought to tears by the neglected, dusty condition of the collection.⁶⁸⁹ However, there is no evidence of a public outcry demanding increased access to the collection, and it appears that Holmes' complaints went largely unregarded.

⁶⁸⁶ Holmes, J. 1885. A Hero and an Antiquary: A Reminiscence. *Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement*. 3 January, p. 5.

⁶⁸⁷ Anon. 1884. The Fine Art Exhibition in Leeds. *Leeds Mercury*. 23 October, p. 7.

⁶⁸⁸ Yates, 1884, p. 6.

⁶⁸⁹ Anon. 1887. Leeds Museums. *Leeds Mercury*. 22 September, p. 3. Anon. 1887. Notes by The Owl. *The Leeds Times*. 17 December, p. 4.

An art gallery for Leeds

As we have seen, at the time Holmes first brought Cypriot antiquities to Leeds, the agenda of educating and uplifting workers through exposure to art, in order to improve their morals and provide inspiration for their manufactures, was being taken forward through temporary exhibitions, most notably the 1875 Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures. The new Art Gallery, opened in 1888, represented a major step forward in achieving the aim of making art permanently accessible to people of all classes. This development was largely driven by Colonel T. Walter Harding (1843-1927), an industrialist by background. A subscription fund was set up to celebrate Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1887, which raised sufficient capital to build a new gallery adjacent to the Municipal Buildings and Town Hall. The intention was for the gallery to incorporate a museum, building on the 'nucleus' purchased in 1884, but now with the specific aim of showcasing design:

[Harding] never thought that they should emulate the museum in Park-row [i.e. the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society], but that they should have a museum of articles of art manufactures and others from South Kensington.⁶⁹⁰

Harding assiduously sought loans of art work to add to the Council's own holdings, and an inaugural exhibition was held in October 1888.⁶⁹¹ Holmes' collection participated in this exhibition, in the museum section of the Central Court (perhaps in one of the glass cases depicted in **Fig. 3.8**), and was recorded in the accompanying Catalogue as 'The Holmes Collection (Purchased) of Ethnological, Archaeological, and other objects.'⁶⁹² In the words of the Bishop of Ripon at the opening ceremony, the intention of the organisers was 'to put before the people the highest ideas – ideas that would lift them out of their ordinary level.'⁶⁹³ Within this framework, it was considered that Holmes' objects had a contribution to make:

We want examples of all beautiful things which the hand of man has contrived to fashion – cups and daggers, and shawls and bowls, of every country and every age which has delighted in rich colour and noble form. Would that Leeds, which earns much honest bread by making cloth and pottery, might learn, by the daily sight of beautiful textiles and beautiful dishes, what is the worth of that art which can breathe thought and feeling into wool and clay!⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁹⁰ Anon. 1886. The Proposed Art Gallery. *Leeds Mercury*. 5 August, p. 3.

⁶⁹¹ Brears and Davies, 1989, p. 49.

⁶⁹² Committee of the Leeds City Art Gallery, 1888, p. 95.

⁶⁹³ Anon. 1888. The Leeds Art Gallery. *The Leeds Times*. 6 October, p. 3.

⁶⁹⁴ Anon. 1888. Our New Gallery. *Leeds Mercury*. 3 October, p. 8.



Fig. 3.8 Central Hall of the Leeds Art Gallery. 'Our New Gallery', *Leeds Mercury*, 3 October 1888, p. 8. © The British Library Board.

The display of Holmes' collection in this context was not designed to illustrate technical and cultural progression, as in Holmes' conception of its knowledge value, but as part of a programme to educate visitors in aesthetics through exposure to good art and design. The collection was now placed in a setting which allowed its participation in the education and delight of visitors. This also allowed it to take part in a broader agenda of educating the populace in the standards of middle-class behaviour. As **Fig. 3.8** shows, the new Art Gallery provided a pleasurable experience both visually and aurally, with a 'pretty fountain' and 'charming plants'.⁶⁹⁵ Its design closely conformed to Bennett's 'exemplary space', with multiple lines of sight so visitors could both perform and be seen performing appropriate engagement with culture in civilised society.⁶⁹⁶ This is depicted as contemplation of the museum display cases in a calm, uncrowded space. As Hill comments,

Museums... should not just be seen as places where citizenship and the civic were defined; they were also sociable and fashionable spaces, spaces of intense subjective

⁶⁹⁵ Anon. 1888. Our New Gallery. *Leeds Mercury*. 3 October, p. 8.

⁶⁹⁶ Bennett, 1995, pp. 28, 52.

and aesthetic experiences, and spaces where practical educational goals could be achieved.⁶⁹⁷

The use of the ancient Cypriot objects had almost come full circle. Holmes had initially placed them in temporary art exhibitions, as a way to bring them to public notice and in anticipation of the more intellectually informed interpretation he was to develop, in which they provided evidence for human development. In the Leeds Art Gallery they were classified again as ‘art’ with a role in educating workers to improve design (**Fig. 3.9**).



Fig. 3.9 Bichrome oenochoe, Cypro-Geometric period (LEEDM.D.1964.0367)

From the Holmes Collection, sold to the Leeds Free Public Museum in 1882, and perhaps displayed in the new Art Gallery in 1888. Transferred to Leeds Museum after 1921. © Leeds Museums and Galleries.

Despite its inclusion in the gallery’s inaugural display, the future of Holmes’ collection was not secure. In August 1889 the Library Committee resolved ‘That Mr Holmes be asked the terms on which he would be prepared to re-purchase the Collection from the Corporation’.⁶⁹⁸ Presumably their patience with Holmes’ intractability had been exhausted, and they recognised that the collection, intended as ‘the nucleus of a museum’, was not fulfilling this function without the necessary correlative of Holmes’ expert interpretation. When these minutes came before the Council, there was strong objection to this proposal, on the grounds that ‘To ask Mr Holmes to repurchase his collection would be to stultify themselves and insult Mr. Holmes’.⁶⁹⁹ It was recognised that to return a purchase would stymie future gifts of museum objects and, more importantly in the Council’s view, fine art. The proposal

⁶⁹⁷ Hill, 2016, p. 106.

⁶⁹⁸ Minute Books 2 and 3 of the Leeds Public Library Committee, 1881-1889. Leeds Local History Library, shelfmark Q Strong room 352.9/LEE.

⁶⁹⁹ Anon. 1889. Leeds Borough County Council. *The Leeds Times*. 7 September, p. 3.

was dropped, and instead a sub-committee was appointed in September that year, under the leadership of Colonel Harding, to consider how best to deal with the collection.⁷⁰⁰

Harding played an important role in saving the collection from rejection, and incorporating it into a public context in which it could create knowledge. A newspaper report on the 1889 Fine Art exhibition sheds some light on how contemporaries saw the collection:

The Holmes collection of antiquities – “t’owd stoanes,” as the irreverent term them – which have excited no little discussion lately, find at last a resting place here, having been arranged by Colonel Harding.⁷⁰¹

The ‘irreverent’ dialect term ‘t’owd stoanes’ is indicative of the contested value of the objects in the context of the Art Gallery, and their uneasy fit with the other exhibits. Their reframing as ‘art’ was adopted by some middle-class visitors; a letter by ‘B.B.’ to the *Leeds Mercury* in January 1890 praised the Art Gallery Committee for

the excellent arrangement of the “Holmes Collection” of prehistoric and early art. This small but very valuable collection may now be studied with advantage, and side by side with modern art.⁷⁰²

This move between categories was permanent. By 1892 the Library Committee had given up responsibility for the museum, and it had moved under the jurisdiction of the Art Gallery Committee. In the first report of this committee the Holmes Collection was itemised alongside other historic gifts and purchases. The objects were listed as follows:

Case 1	Dutch Pottery
Case 2	Various Pottery
Case 3	Gourds, &c.
Case 4	Roman Pottery
Case 5	Egyptian Pottery
Case 6	Leeds, Wedgwood, and other Pottery
Case 7	Etruscan Pottery
Case 8	Flints, Arrow Heads, &c.
Case 9	Stone Implements, &c.
Case 10	Bronze Implements, &c.
Case 11	Keys, &c.
Case 12	Egyptian and other Ornaments
	Various Ethnological Objects. ⁷⁰³

⁷⁰⁰ Minute Books 2 and 3 of the Leeds Public Library Committee, 1881-1889. Leeds Local History Library, shelfmark Q Strong room 352.9/LEE.

⁷⁰¹ Anon. 1889. Autumn Exhibition at the Leeds Art Gallery. *The Leeds Times*. 5 October, p. 3.

⁷⁰² Anon. 1890. The Leeds Art Gallery. *Leeds Mercury*. 2 January, p. 7.

⁷⁰³ Committee of the Leeds Municipal Art Gallery, 1892.

The ancient Cypriot objects may have been dispersed between different cases, as ‘various pottery’ and among the stone and bronze implements. The arrangement is governed by geography and chronology in the case of ceramics, and by typology for the other objects; it is not clear what kinds of knowledge were expected to be generated from this arrangement, beyond aesthetic appreciation of different types of pottery. By 1903 it was reported that

The “Holmes Collection” of archaeological and ethnological objects has now been got into something like order. The prehistoric cinerary urns, the Cyprian, Greek, Roman, and Anglo-Roman pottery and art objects have been classified, and for the most part labelled.⁷⁰⁴

This represents an advance on the previous arrangement of the objects, and, crucially, offers some help for the visitor in the form of labels. However, the detail of Holmes’ construction of human development as evidenced by pottery does not seem to have translated into the setting of the Art Gallery, where the nature and purpose of the displays constrained the types of knowledge which could be produced and consumed. In 1905, negotiations opened between Leeds Corporation and the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society to bring the latter’s museum into public ownership.⁷⁰⁵ This overtook the issue of the handling of the Holmes’ collection, and when the transfer finally came to fruition in 1921, Holmes’ ancient Cypriot objects were reunited with those which had joined the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society fifty years earlier.

This analysis of the debate over the costs and benefits of a new museum for Leeds, and its early development, has demonstrated that, in keeping with the findings of Hill’s broader study of the development of municipal museums in this period, it was an initiative led by the middle classes with the aim of delivering cultural benefit to the working classes, while also providing the former with the means to assert their dominance over the cultural sphere.⁷⁰⁶ However, archival investigation indicates that the ways in which this benefit was to be realised in practice were not thought through, and the museum’s ongoing management was a low priority for the Library Committee. The microhistorical examination of this false start in the development of a public museum in Leeds provides a useful counter-example to other regional municipalities, in which public museums, formed from the museums of Literary and

⁷⁰⁴ Anon. 1903. Leeds City Art Gallery. *Leeds Mercury*. 6 June, p. 3.

⁷⁰⁵ Kitson Clark, 1924, pp. 116-117.

⁷⁰⁶ Hill, 2005, p. 47.

Philosophical Societies, continued to benefit from the energy and enthusiasm of their members after their collections had transferred to public ownership.⁷⁰⁷

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the enrolment of Cypriot antiquities in the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, and the ways in which they were understood and presented to visitors in this context. It has examined the curatorial regimes of Denny and Miall, and their implications for the collection, display and interpretation of Cypriot antiquities. Curatorial ambitions to convey knowledge through the collections, as indicated by museum guides and the Reports of the Society, have also been contrasted with the available evidence for the reactions of visitors, revealing a gap between intended and actual responses.

This chapter has also discussed the purchase by Leeds Council of Holmes' collection, including his Cypriot antiquities, as the nucleus for a public museum in Leeds – a plan which never came fully to fruition, due to a lack of funding and political will – and explored the ambiguity thus created for this collection, uneasily situated between art and science. Theory on collecting and 'biographical' objects have proved useful in analysing Holmes' self-identification with his collection, and its implications for the transfer of the knowledge he derived from the objects into their new setting.⁷⁰⁸ These were eventually incorporated into the Art Gallery's agenda of showcasing design for the benefit of workers, although analysis of their display and interpretation, and the responses of visitors, indicate that this was an uneasy and not altogether successful compromise.

The itineraries of the Cypriot antiquities within the intellectual and physical structures of the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, and the Leeds Free Public Museum and art gallery, and their shifting interpretations in these settings, demonstrate that, as Hooper-Greenhill states, 'Things mean differently in different contextual settings'.⁷⁰⁹ As a result, these settings can be seen as sites within which knowledge was constructed in historically contingent ways, constantly subject to change and renegotiation.⁷¹⁰

⁷⁰⁷ Hill, 2005, p. 44.

⁷⁰⁸ Pearce, 1993, p. 72; Hoskins, 1998.

⁷⁰⁹ Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, p. 15.

⁷¹⁰ Gosden and Marshall, 1999, p. 170.

CHAPTER 4 THE DONATION FROM THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLLECTION, 1890-1910

Introduction

The discussion in this chapter is centred on the acquisition event in 1902 of finds donated by the British Museum from its excavations at Enkomi and Klavdia-*Tremithos* in Cyprus. It investigates the objects' itineraries and reception from their excavation to their display and interpretation in the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, and what this reveals about the knowledge, attitudes and priorities of the people with whom they came into contact and between whom they made connections, in the context of wider intellectual and societal developments. As before, the relational nature of the museum is demonstrated by the extensive networks along which objects travelled, and which shaped their reception when they reached the museum. Gosden and Larson's study of the interactions between people and objects underpinning the collections in the Pitt Rivers museum provides a useful model for exploring the complex processes and motivations which set these objects in motion and led them to the museum in Leeds.⁷¹¹ In Chapter 3, the exploration of the enrolment of Cypriot antiquities in the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society and the Leeds Free Public Museum brought a number of themes to the fore, including: the polysemic nature of ancient Cypriot objects, considered in some contexts primarily as art or objects of wonder, and in others primarily as evidence for the ancient past and human development; the extent to which collecting and display practices in the Philosophical and Literary Society's museum were driven by the sometimes oppositional priorities of members and of the presiding curator; and the ways in which identities assigned to the objects recurred or were lost in different contexts. These themes will also be important in this and the following two chapters, which explore the growth of the museum's ancient Cypriot collection between 1890 and 1947.

Drawing on studies of the history of archaeology, in particular recent scholarship which has critically re-evaluated primary sources for historic excavations, this chapter starts by reviewing the context, approach and findings of the British Museum's excavations in Cyprus. It then examines the networks along which the objects travelled from the British Museum to Leeds, and how they were received there, based on contemporary documentation. Through investigation of museum archives, and building on the discussion in Chapter 3, it explores

⁷¹¹ Gosden and Larson, 2007.

how they were incorporated in its changing physical and intellectual structures, again analysing its 'space syntax' (after Tzortzi) and how this shaped the presentation of the collections and their interpretation for contemporary audiences, as well as investigating the evidence for audience responses.⁷¹² It also explores how conflicting visions of the museum's future, in the context of broader societal developments in Leeds, had an impact on its collections of antiquities.

Through this analysis it demonstrates that, at the British Museum and hence in Leeds, the material culture of ancient Cyprus was valued primarily for its contribution to questions of Greek prehistory, and was not seen as a topic deserving of study in its own right, in contrast with the singular focus on ancient Cypriot objects demonstrated by T.B. Sandwith in his *Archaeologia* paper.⁷¹³ This preoccupation skewed the interpretation of the objects and determined their knowledge value within the hierarchy of the Leeds collections. It demonstrates that the information provided by the British Museum had authority in Leeds and was not challenged, due to a lack of curatorial knowledge and attention, and that this led to inconsistencies in the objects' interpretation. This chapter demonstrates that despite these limitations, the objects were incorporated during this period into a wider progressive and innovative approach to reach new audiences in Leeds, driven by the museum's curator, Henry Crowther (1848-1937), at the vanguard of new developments in museum practice in the UK.

The British Museum's excavations at Enkomi and Klavdia-Tremithos

The first excavations led by the British Museum in Cyprus have an important place in the intellectual history of Cypriot archaeology.⁷¹⁴ Their conduct, and the collection and interpretation of the finds, are revealing of contemporary approaches to archaeology and understanding of the ancient past. They have been extensively studied and 're-excavated' in recent years in this context through archival research, in order both to reinterpret the archaeological data they produced, and to assess the contribution of this episode to the history of Cypriot archaeology.⁷¹⁵ This context is important for an understanding of the

⁷¹² Tzortzi, 2016.

⁷¹³ Sandwith, 1877.

⁷¹⁴ Steel, 2001, p. 161.

⁷¹⁵ See, for example, Fitton, 2001; Steel, 2001; Tatton-Brown, 2001; Tatton-Brown, 2003; Crewe, 2009b; Crewe, 2011; Kiely and Ulbrich, 2012; Pilides, 2016; Nikolaou, 2017; Kiely, 2019a; and Kiely, 2019b. Malmgren revisits the British Museum's excavations at Klavdia-

frameworks of interpretation through which the objects now in the Leeds collection moved. The discussion in Chapter 1 of objects from these excavations can be understood as the latest in a succession of archaeological interpretations, which are inevitably products of their time and subject to change.⁷¹⁶

As discussed in Chapter 2, public interest in Cyprus reached a high point after it became a British Protectorate in 1878, a trend drawn on by John Holmes in Yorkshire to promote his views on Cypriot antiquity through public lectures. At a national level, the Cyprus Exploration Fund was set up in 1887 to undertake archaeological exploration in Cyprus, and attracted a wide range of private and public subscribers.⁷¹⁷ Public auctions, such as the series of sales at Sothebys in London of the Lawrence-Cesnola Cypriot collection between 1883 and 1892, kept Cypriot antiquities in the public eye and provided opportunities for collectors. The British Museum had long been unable to invest in excavations in Cyprus due to a lack of Treasury funding, so that Charles Newton, Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities, had to rely on his extensive network of contacts, including T.B. Sandwith, for information and objects.⁷¹⁸ This changed in 1892, when a broadly-framed bequest from a Miss Emma Tourneur Turner finally enabled the British Museum to begin its own excavations.⁷¹⁹ These were managed between British Museum staff and associates, and the British expatriates and businessmen John William Williamson (1856-1932) and brothers Charles (c. 1856-?) and Percy Christian (1871-c. 1950), who were contracted as agents by the Museum and put in place many of the practical arrangements, while the actual digging was conducted by local workers.⁷²⁰ Excavations began at Amathus in 1893-1894, followed by Kourion (January-February 1895) and Enkomi (March-September 1896). At Amathus, excavations were led by A.H. Smith (1860-1941), curator in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities; at Kourion, by H.B. Walters (1867-1944), curator in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities; while those at Enkomi were led by Alexander Stuart Murray (1841-1904), Charles Newton's successor in 1886 as Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, until early May when Percy Christian took over, then Smith took the lead in July until the excavations finished in September.⁷²¹ The success of these excavations, in terms of the quantity and perceived quality of finds,

Tremithos through archives and surviving finds, but does not cover the material from this site sent by the British Museum to other institutions, including Leeds (Malmgren, 2003).

⁷¹⁶ Walker Tubb, 2006.

⁷¹⁷ Kiely and Ulbrich, 2012, p. 335.

⁷¹⁸ Tatton-Brown, 2001, p. 183.

⁷¹⁹ Kiely and Ulbrich, 2012, p. 341.

⁷²⁰ Kiely, 2019b.

⁷²¹ Crewe, 2011.

prompted the British Museum to fund further seasons when the original Turner Bequest was exhausted, at Maroni (1897), Hala Sultan Tekke (1897-1898), Kouklia (March 1899) and Klavdia-*Tremithos* (April 1899).⁷²² The excavations at Klavdia-*Tremithos* were led by F.B. Welch (1876-1950), a Classics graduate based at the British School at Athens, with Percy Christian also briefly involved.⁷²³ In 1900 the excavations at Enkomi, Kourion and Amathus were published by the British Museum as *Excavations in Cyprus*.⁷²⁴

The agents hired by the British Museum had considerable field experience in Cyprus and were practiced dealers in its antiquities, while the British Museum employees, including affiliates such as Welch from the British School at Athens, brought classical training and collections-based knowledge of typologies, and the local workers brought their familiarity with the topography of the island and its material culture (**Fig. 4.1**).⁷²⁵ Expertise was therefore distributed among these actors, who each brought different skills, experience and knowledge to their work, but it was the perceptions of the British Museum staff which were recorded and disseminated in the eventual publication of the excavations. As Çelik discusses, excavation sites in this period had a ‘complex human landscape’, and the contributions of local workers were scantily recorded and often overlooked.⁷²⁶ Despite the various contributions made by different actors in the course of the excavations, the scientific knowledge produced was associated with the authoritative public institution of the Museum.⁷²⁷

⁷²² Kiely, 2019b, p. 39.

⁷²³ Malmgren, 2003, pp. 11-19. Welch is recorded in Gill’s history of the British School at Athens (Gill, 2011, pp. 402-403).

⁷²⁴ Murray et al., 1900.

⁷²⁵ Kiely, 2019b, p. 6.

⁷²⁶ Çelik, 2016, p. 137. See also Nikolaou, 2013, pp. 160-162, and Kiely, 2019a.

⁷²⁷ Nikolaou, 2017, p. 97.



Fig. 4.1 Women workers (names unknown) at the British Museum excavations at Amathus, 1893 or 1894. Photo: John L. Myres. Used with the permission of the School of Archaeology, University of Oxford.

The conduct of the excavations reflects the emergent nature of archaeological practice in this period.⁷²⁸ The leaders of each excavation determined their approach based on their individual knowledge and experience. The development of the Cyprus Exploration Fund, coupled with the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies (founded 1879) and the British School at Athens (founded 1886) would, over time, help to bring about more systematic methods of excavating, recording and publishing finds, but at this point methodologies varied according to individual practitioners.⁷²⁹ Even within the excavations carried out in Cyprus in a short space of time under the auspices of the British Museum, there is considerable variation, for example between the approach of J.L. Myres (1869-1954) at Amathus in 1894, who made methodical tomb-lists and plans, and the more scanty recording by Murray, Christian and Smith at Enkomi in 1896, and Welch at Klavdia-*Tremithos* in 1899.⁷³⁰

Intellectual approaches to recording and preserving finds

The coastal site of Enkomi is highly significant to our understanding of the Late Cypriot Bronze Age (c. 1650 – 1050 BC).⁷³¹ During the British Museum's excavations, one hundred

⁷²⁸ Levine, 2003, p. 92.

⁷²⁹ Challis, 2008, p. 173.

⁷³⁰ Kiely and Ulbrich, 2012, p. 343; Nikolaou, 2017, p. 88.

⁷³¹ Crewe, 2011, p. 57. See the discussion in Chapter 1.

Late Cypriot tombs were explored, with exceptionally rich contents of pottery, precious metals and materials including gold and ivory.⁷³² These mixed local Cypriot productions with imported objects from the Aegean, the Levant and Egypt.⁷³³ The approach to the excavations, and the recording and retention of the finds, were governed by the interests and priorities of the British Museum staff, which were concentrated on Greek prehistory. Heinrich Schliemann's excavations in the 1870s at Hissarlik – identified as the site of ancient Troy – and Mycenae had revealed a pre-Classical Bronze Age Greek civilisation which remained a key priority for archaeology.⁷³⁴ Evidence was sought that would extend knowledge of Greek prehistory by elucidating the 'Mycenaean Question', the extent in time and space of Mycenaean culture and its relation to the broader sequence of cultures in antiquity.⁷³⁵

The excavations in Cyprus were therefore object-focused, aimed at enhancing the British Museum's collections with objects suitable for display, and specifically at finding Mycenaean objects in order to increase knowledge of Greek prehistory and add to the evolutionary model of Greek art.⁷³⁶ In this period 'Mycenaean pottery on Cyprus was seen to equal Mycenaean pottery on the mainland'; objects of local Cypriot production could not contribute to this 'Mycenaean question', and so were of less interest and value.⁷³⁷ They were also still judged against the aesthetic benchmark of classical Greek art and found wanting. The British Museum aimed to acquire representative collections, with one example of each kind of object, to illustrate progression through the construction of typologies. Objects which were not paralleled in the Museum's existing collections were therefore prioritised, and 'duplicates' or commonly found objects were less valued and less often retained.⁷³⁸ This methodology was a deliberate choice, and arguably not in line with emergent archaeological practice, as articulated by D.G. Hogarth, Director of the British School of Athens, in 1899:

All explorers can be thorough, careful, unprejudiced, systematic... To treat no item of evidence as not worth observation and record, and to leave as little as may be for the man who may come after —in these things is all the law of scientific search for the material documents of antiquity.⁷³⁹

⁷³² Steel, 2001, p. 161.

⁷³³ Kiely and Ulbrich, 2012, p. 345.

⁷³⁴ Steel, 2001, p. 160; Steel, 2004a, pp. 8-9.

⁷³⁵ See Fitton, 2001 for a critique of the impact of this approach on the British Museum's excavation practices and interpretation of the finds.

⁷³⁶ Steel, 2001, p. 163; Kiely, 2009, p. 65. Leriou, 2015, p. 222.

⁷³⁷ Knapp, 2008, p. 252.

⁷³⁸ Crewe, 2011, pp. 63-64.

⁷³⁹ Hogarth, 1899, xi.

Far from this 'unprejudiced' ideal, the British Museum's excavation and retention practices were skewed towards Mycenaean objects which could help to establish the presence of this culture in Cyprus, and its place within the broader history of the Aegean and Mediterranean. Judgments on objects were made after excavation, using these criteria of scientific and aesthetic value, and also their monetary worth due to their materials, with gold, for example, being highly valued.⁷⁴⁰ Many of the finds were not retained, including locally-produced plain pottery or fragmented objects.⁷⁴¹ Two-thirds of the objects considered worth keeping were allocated to the British Museum and the remaining third to the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia, according to the antiquities law in operation at the time under the British administration.⁷⁴² The lack of standardisation of archaeological techniques is reflected in the variable approaches to recording.⁷⁴³ At Enkomi, the surviving field records reflect the changing leadership of the excavation, being kept by Murray, Christian, and Smith, with different levels of detail and illustration.⁷⁴⁴ Information on tomb architecture and human remains were only intermittently recorded.⁷⁴⁵ Analysis of the finds has also shown a considerable mismatch between the excavation notebooks, the British Museum's accession records, and the eventual publication *Excavations in Cyprus*, partly due to common objects not being recorded, and locally produced or damaged objects being discarded after excavation.⁷⁴⁶ This slippage demonstrates that neither excavators nor curators prioritised the recording of the totality of finds from the excavations. This reflects the British Museum's lack of interest in wider questions of ancient Cypriot society and culture at this point, instead prioritising visually striking objects, especially from the Greek world.

The British Museum's excavations at *Klavdia-Tremithos*, taking place over two weeks in April 1899, were similarly motivated by the search for Bronze Age objects, particularly Mycenaean, for its collections and displays.⁷⁴⁷ As at Enkomi, the focus of the excavators was on decorative pottery and rare and/or valuable objects, and broken and plain pottery, which would have been abundant, was not preserved or recorded. Little record was kept of the excavation, and little context given to the finds, which were not published.⁷⁴⁸ The surviving documentation consists of a letter to Murray from Percy Christian of April 1899, and a short report from

⁷⁴⁰ Crewe, 2011, p. 64; Nikolaou, 2017, p. 93.

⁷⁴¹ Steel, 2001, p. 163; Fitton, 2001, p. 151.

⁷⁴² Pilides, 2016; Crewe, 2009a; Crewe, 2009b, p. 27.

⁷⁴³ Nikolaou, 2017.

⁷⁴⁴ Kiely, 2019b, p. 37.

⁷⁴⁵ Crewe, 2009b, p. 27; Crewe, 2011, p. 63.

⁷⁴⁶ Crewe, 2009b, p. 29; Crewe, 2011, p. 61.

⁷⁴⁷ Kiely, 2011b.

⁷⁴⁸ Kiely, 2019b, pp. 47-48; Kiely and Ulbrich, 2012, p. 346.

Welch to Murray of June 1899.⁷⁴⁹ Despite their brevity, these give an insight into Welch's approach to excavating and collecting; he provides details of the Mycenaean finds, while dismissing other wares as 'the usual common pottery'.⁷⁵⁰ As at Enkomi, the information on tomb groups is patchy, with only 54 objects attributable to a specific tomb, by Malmgren's calculation.⁷⁵¹

A clear picture emerges of excavation approaches and collection policies which took a hierarchical approach to finds, valuing them according to their aesthetic properties and their cultural origin, with decorative Mycenaean objects considered valuable, and plain Cypriot ware considered of little worth.⁷⁵² It reflects the extent to which the science of archaeology was in an early stage of its development in this period, with no defined training programme or agreed standards of approach or recording. The approach taken in these excavations can be contrasted with that of J.L. Myres at Amathus, who meticulously recorded tomb groups, using the data to work towards relative dating.⁷⁵³ Developments in archaeological methodologies in Cyprus were not linear, but emerged gradually through the practice of different individuals and organisations.⁷⁵⁴

Interpretation of chronology

This approach to excavation, recording and retention at Enkomi and Klavdia-*Tremithos* affected the interpretation of the finds sent to the British Museum. The Museum's publication *Excavations in Cyprus* is important for understanding the ways in which the objects were used to produce and disseminate knowledge. It aimed to situate the excavated sites within the context of the 'Mycenaean Age'.⁷⁵⁵ It was structured to set out the finds according to tomb group and type of material, but was selective in its choice of material with a bias towards decorative and Mycenaean objects (for example, it published only around one third of the material from Enkomi).⁷⁵⁶ Those objects chosen for publication were

⁷⁴⁹ Reproduced in Malmgren, 2003.

⁷⁵⁰ Malmgren, 2003, pp. 13-15.

⁷⁵¹ Malmgren, 2003, p. 17.

⁷⁵² Fitton, 2001, p. 151.

⁷⁵³ Kiely and Ulbrich, 2012, p. 343.

⁷⁵⁴ Goring, 1988, p. 29. Leriou, 2015, p. 224.

⁷⁵⁵ Crewe, 2009b, p. 27.

⁷⁵⁶ Steel, 2001, p. 163; Crewe, 2011, p. 61.

contextualised in terms of art-historical parallels, and the information on tomb groups and their relationship to their archaeological context was sketchy and incomplete.⁷⁵⁷

Charles Newton had earlier made progress towards the relative and absolute dating of Mycenaean material culture, dating it to around the 11th century BC, before the period of artistic productions described by Homer (considered to be around 850 BC) and the 'Graeco-Phoenician' period to which much previously discovered Cypriot material was assigned, ending around 560 BC.⁷⁵⁸ Murray identified the tombs at Enkomi as belonging to the 'Mycenaean Age' but dated this to the 7th century BC, due to his firm belief that 'Mycenaean art was the immediate predecessor of the Ionian Greek art of the seventh century BC, as seen in the vase paintings of Cameiros now in the British Museum'.⁷⁵⁹ This led him to explain the Eastern influences apparent in aspects of the material culture in terms of the 7th century 'Orientalising' period of Greek art, leading to a greatly compressed chronology.⁷⁶⁰ Murray placed little aesthetic or intellectual value on 'common' and 'rudely painted' local wares, characteristics which in his view 'point[ed] back to an origin in primitive times'.⁷⁶¹ As such, Late Cypriot wares, in fact produced later than the Mycenaean imports, were assumed by Murray to pre-date them due to their 'primitive' qualities.⁷⁶² Murray's determination to interpret all the finds in relation to Mycenaean objects led him to assign relative dates based on a subjective assessment of style and quality.

The question of cultural chronology was unresolved at this period and was the topic of much discussion, and Murray was not especially an outlier in his late dating of the Mycenaean period.⁷⁶³ However, his views as set out in *Excavations in Cyprus* were met with scepticism at the time, and were ultimately overtaken by additional evidence for the high dating of the Greek Bronze Age.⁷⁶⁴ As early as 1900, Arthur Evans (1851-1941), the excavator of Knossos, comprehensively rebutted Murray's arguments on relative dating, rebuking the British Museum for allowing such 'archaeological insinuations' to be 'set forth under official auspices', recognising the status given to knowledge claims by the authority of the

⁷⁵⁷ Steel, 2001, p. 163; Crewe, 2009b, p. 27.

⁷⁵⁸ Fitton, 2001, p. 149.

⁷⁵⁹ Murray et al., 1900, pp. 23, 27-29. Steel, 2001, p. 162; Fitton, 2001, p. 149.

⁷⁶⁰ Fitton, 2001, p. 150.

⁷⁶¹ Murray et al., 1900, p. 7.

⁷⁶² Crewe, 2011, p. 64.

⁷⁶³ Fitton, 2001, p. 150.

⁷⁶⁴ Fitton, 2001, p. 152; Kiely, 2019b, pp. 2-3.

Museum.⁷⁶⁵ However, Murray's views formed the intellectual context for the donation to the museum in Leeds, and proved persistent in this setting, as discussed below.

Social and intellectual networks

One of the British Museum's objectives for the excavations was to obtain objects which were not already represented in its collection, to contribute to the establishment of typologies. When the finds had been sent to the Museum and assessed, a number of objects were identified which had met the criteria for retention at the point of excavation, but which were now redefined as 'duplicates' and therefore surplus to the Museum's requirements. The developing municipal museums were increasingly lobbying for a share of duplicates from national collections, a need which the British Museum was well placed to fulfil.⁷⁶⁶ This complemented the South Kensington's support for regional museums through donations and the circulation of loan collections, including ancient Cypriot material.⁷⁶⁷

The ancient Cypriot duplicates sent to Leeds in 1902 travelled along a pre-existing network, following the pathway of an earlier donation from the British Museum. The instigator was Nathan Bodington (1948-1911), Principal of the Yorkshire College and first Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds from 1904. He was a Classicist, and took a central role in the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. In late 1894 or early 1895 the Trustees of the British Museum offered the Yorkshire College material from the excavations at Amathus, accepted by Bodington with thanks.⁷⁶⁸ The University of Leeds has its own ancient Cypriot collection, which the present author has identified with this donation by the British Museum from Amathus, on the basis of the types of objects and its otherwise unknown provenance; it came to light in storage at the University in 1913, two years after Bodington's death, by which point its origins had become obscured.⁷⁶⁹ Following this donation Bodington developed a correspondence with Murray, requesting images of Greek antiquities for teaching purposes, soliciting Murray's opinion on a presumed Roman road over Blackstone Edge (between Rochdale and Halifax), and donating a photograph of Budrum

⁷⁶⁵ Evans, 1900.

⁷⁶⁶ Lewis, 1989, p. 2. Cornish et al., 2020, pp. 125-126. This policy of distributing duplicates would continue for some years, leading to widespread dispersal of Enkomi and Klavdia material (Crewe, 2009a).

⁷⁶⁷ Kiely and Ulbrich, 2012, pp. 323-325. Anon. 1883. Cypriote Antiquities. *The Homeward Mail*. 10 April, p. 16.

⁷⁶⁸ British Museum GR archives, *Original Letters*, Bodington to Murray 25 January 1894.

⁷⁶⁹ Reeve, 2015.

Castle in Turkey for the British Museum's collections.⁷⁷⁰ Information and objects flowed in both directions, strengthening the links between national and local museums in 'a system of obligation and patronage that locked institutions together', and this connection was instrumental in guiding the itinerary of the ancient Cypriot objects.⁷⁷¹ In a minute to the Trustees of the British Museum of July 1902, Murray informed them that applications for duplicates had been received from Birmingham and from 'the Principal of the Yorkshire College on behalf of the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, which is used by students of the Yorkshire College.'⁷⁷² Bodington's request for material for the Philosophical and Literary Society's museum on behalf of the College's students reveals the extent to which the two institutions worked closely together in this period, and demonstrates that the museum was considered as a resource for the College's purposes. Like Miall before him, the curator of the Society's museum, Henry Crowther, was relatively powerless to prevent acquisitions which resulted from members' interests. Bodington may have consulted him before soliciting the donation, or he may not. In Wingfield's terms, 'Locating agency in museum collections' depends upon 'tracing a network of... mediators, through which collections are made to do things', and the networks along which the objects travelled from the British Museum to Leeds were a blend of intellectual, organisational, and social.⁷⁷³ In terms of Alberti's typology of acquisition, encompassing 'gift, purchase, fieldwork, transfer or loan', the donation falls between a gift and a transfer, with the effect of strengthening mutual organisational bonds of obligation.⁷⁷⁴

This donation provides a further example of the changing valuation of ancient Cypriot objects in different contexts. Upon excavation in Cyprus, the objects were judged to be worth keeping due to a combination of their cultural identities, their aesthetic qualities, and the scarcity of their types in the British Museum's collections. In London they were reassessed by the British Museum in the context of its whole Cypriot collection, at which point they were judged to be duplicates.⁷⁷⁵ The definition of a 'duplicate' was subjective and dependent on an object's relation to others in the collection. As Cornish comments, if the concept of a 'duplicate' natural history specimen was not entirely clear-cut, 'its extension to other

⁷⁷⁰ British Museum GR archives, *Original Letters*, Bodington to Murray 28 November 1900; 21 July 1907; 28 July 1907.

⁷⁷¹ Alberti, 2009, p. 108.

⁷⁷² British Museum GR Reports April 1902–June 1903, fol. 17–20 (Report of Murray to Trustees, 4 July 1902).

⁷⁷³ Wingfield, 2011, p. 120.

⁷⁷⁴ Alberti, 2009, p. 5.

⁷⁷⁵ British Museum GR Reports April 1902–June 1903, fol. 17–20 (Report of Murray to Trustees, 4 July 1902).

domains – in relation to objects in art, archaeology, technology, trade and culture – added new dimensions of complexity’, and in practice ‘the term “duplicate” was often used as a shorthand for an object to be exchanged (as surplus to requirements) rather than a description of a literally identical object.’⁷⁷⁶ An object’s duplication in the British Museum’s collections could be trumped by the intrinsic worth of its materials; no gold jewellery was distributed to Leeds, despite its frequency among the finds. However, the British Museum did not require a great degree of redundancy in the less decorative objects. The donation to Leeds included four disc-shaped spindle whorls and one stone pestle from Enkomi, of which the British Museum only retained 27 and six respectively (**Fig. 4.2**).⁷⁷⁷



Fig. 4.2 Comparison of disc-shaped spindle whorls from Enkomi in the British Museum’s collections, and in Leeds. Photos: © The Trustees of the British Museum, and © Leeds Museums and Galleries. Composite image by the present author.

The objects took on a different kind of value in becoming a gift for the museum in Leeds, cementing social and intellectual relationships; reinforcing the British Museum’s status as a national leader whose success benefited institutions across the country; and contributing in various ways to the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society’s objectives, as discussed below.⁷⁷⁸

⁷⁷⁶ Cornish and Driver, 2020, p. 333.

⁷⁷⁷ Crewe, 2011, pp. 33, 66.

⁷⁷⁸ Challis, 2008, p. 172. Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1903.

The development of the museum in Leeds

This group of ancient Cypriot objects joined the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society in 1902, in a context very different to that discussed in Chapter 3. As outlined there, the establishment of the Yorkshire College of Science in 1874 shifted the centre of gravity for scientific investigation in Leeds. As time went on, the staff of the College became more and more embedded in the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, taking on key positions including membership of the Council and the Presidency.⁷⁷⁹ This was an inevitable consequence of the coincidence of interests between staff of the College and members of the Society, and was part of the expansion of scientific investigation in Leeds that the Society had welcomed at the College's inception. However, it began to be unclear whether the College's staff were serving the interests of the Society, or were increasingly shaping its activities – and in particular, its museum – to further the interests of the College alone. Key to this question was Miall, whose dual roles at the museum and College gave him considerable influence over the museum's structure and a strong say in determining its purpose. In 1891 Miall left his curatorship to take up the Chair in Biology at the College, but retained an honorary curatorship in zoology, and continued to lobby regarding the priority given to scientific activities by the Society and its museum.⁷⁸⁰

In 1894 the report of a committee appointed by the Society's Council 'to consider means of extending the usefulness of this Society' was heavily weighted towards optimising the museum for the College's purposes.⁷⁸¹ This committee, including Miall and two other members of College staff, made damning criticisms of the present state of the museum: although 'extensive and valuable, and on the whole in fair condition', it was 'not even moderately well housed', dusty and dark, and 'so overcrowded as to defy arrangement on any tolerable plan.' The committee were also pessimistic about the museum's educative role, stating that 'very few' people applied to study the collections, and that its visitors 'gain[ed] little real knowledge.' They proposed to achieve a museum suitable for the needs of scholars and the public by selling the Philosophical Hall, and dividing the collections, so that 'The more popular portion, such as the pictures, coins, local antiquarian and ethnological collections, should be given or lent to the Corporation... as the foundation of a popular City Museum',

⁷⁷⁹ Steadman, 2019, p. 231.

⁷⁸⁰ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1892, pp. 6, 20.

⁷⁸¹ 'Report of... a Committee appointed by the Council on the 28th November 1893, "to consider means of extending the usefulness of this Society"' (1894). Leeds University Library Special Collections, classmark SC/LPLS/03/3/1.

while the 'more scientific portions of the collections, such as the fossils, bones, minerals, entomological collections, and Greek marbles, should be given or lent to the Yorkshire College... accompanied by a very substantial grant of money' to enable sufficient curatorial attention.⁷⁸²

Miall's influence can be traced behind these criticisms and proposals, which amount to a proposed takeover by the Yorkshire College of the collections of scientific interest, accompanied by the bulk of the Society's resources. The proposal was perhaps prompted by the example of the Manchester Natural History Society, which in 1868 transferred its scientific collections to Owens College (the forerunner of Manchester University) and disposed of its 'curiosities' by auction.⁷⁸³ Miall's typological classification of ancient objects and pottery would presumably have led to the Society's ancient Cypriot collection being considered 'scientific' and passed to the College, rather than grouped under the 'local antiquarian and ethnological collections' and floated off to the Council, whose lack of interest and investment in Holmes' collection indicate that there was little official appetite for investing in a public museum of the type proposed.

In 1895 a further committee was appointed to examine whether any of the Society's collections could be disposed of 'without injury to the interests of the Society', and whether through the space thus created, or rearrangement, room could be found to better display the remaining collections.⁷⁸⁴ Their Report, delivered in April of that year, amounted to a point-by-point rebuttal of the 1893 committee's conclusions, and a firm defence of the museum's collections.⁷⁸⁵ They found the collections 'comparatively free from dust', commenting that 'more use is made of the Museum for the purpose of study than is sometimes supposed', and made numerous recommendations to improve the lighting and make better use of the available space for display. Referring to an 1825 speech by one of the Society's founding members, they defined the museum as 'the depository of whatever is curious, where single specimens, or collections can be deposited for the public use', and as such declined to consider any of the collections as surplus to requirements. Throughout its development, the

⁷⁸² All quotations from 'Report of... a Committee appointed by the Council on the 28th November 1893' (1894). Leeds University Library Special Collections, classmark SC/LPLS/03/3/1.

⁷⁸³ Alberti, 2009, pp. 21-23.

⁷⁸⁴ 'Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society: Arrangement and Disposal of Collections' (1895). Leeds University Library Special Collections, classmark SC/LPLS/02/2/3/1.

⁷⁸⁵ 'Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society: Arrangement and Disposal of Collections' (1895). Leeds University Library Special Collections, classmark SC/LPLS/02/2/3/1. The quotations which follow are from this report.

natural history collections of the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society were prioritised in terms of space and curatorial attention. Relatively little attention was paid to the other collections, and they were not the object of expert study by the museum's curators, although some, such as the Greek marbles, were singled out by external scholars for attention and publication.⁷⁸⁶ Nevertheless, this report demonstrates that, in the 1890s, many members of the Society still valued their broadly based collections, and held true to the principles of their founders in welcoming 'whatever is curious' to the museum, despite the attempts of other factions to impose a division between scientific and popular collections.

Wider societal factors were also calling the future of the Society and its museum into question. The industrialisation of the city had meant that for some years members had tended to live in the suburbs rather than the centre, therefore requiring a journey to attend meetings, so that attendance at lectures was steadily falling, and visitor numbers at the museum remained low (**Fig. 3.7**).⁷⁸⁷ There was increasing pressure for Leeds to have a public museum, without admission charges. A call in 1907 for space in the Municipal Buildings for a museum was met with the response that neither finances nor space would permit it, but that there were 'various museum exhibits' (the Holmes Collection) in the City Art Gallery.⁷⁸⁸ Leeds was an outlier among industrial cities in the North in that its principal museum remained in the ownership of a learned society. The 1887 Report on Provincial Museums, under the auspices of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, found that half of museums extant at this date had begun as local society museums but had since been transferred for public benefit.⁷⁸⁹ The debate continued on through the early years of the 20th century, with little positive action towards deciding the Society's future. A further Report of a committee appointed in 1904 to advise on reconstructing the Society in order to extend and develop its work, delivered in 1905, largely repeated the findings of the Report ten years earlier, that the museum should be enlarged with collections more useful to students of the College, now the University of Leeds, funded by selling the Philosophical Hall.⁷⁹⁰ In 1905 the University made proposals towards moving the museum to a site on Woodhouse Lane, which prompted an intervention from the Leeds Town Clerk to moot the possibility of a joint

⁷⁸⁶ Hicks, 1890.

⁷⁸⁷ Morgan, 1980 gives an overview of demographic change in Leeds from the late 18th to the early 20th centuries.

⁷⁸⁸ Anon. 1907. New Museum for Leeds. *Yorkshire Evening Post*. 22 August, p. 4.

⁷⁸⁹ Lewis, 1989, pp. 6-10.

⁷⁹⁰ 'Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society: Report of the Committee appointed on April 26th, 1904'. Leeds University Library Special Collections, classmark SC/LPLS/03/5/2.

arrangement to meet the needs of the public, the Society, and the University alike.⁷⁹¹

Although matters thereby seemed to come to a head, it would in fact be another fifteen years before the future of the museum was finally determined.

At the same time as these contests for the future of the Society and its museum, another key development, taking place in parallel, had an arguably greater and more immediate impact on the museum. After Miall left the curatorship, it was taken up in 1893 by Henry Crowther, who remained in post until 1928.⁷⁹² His actions and priorities throughout his long tenure played a major role in shaping the presentation and uses of the museum's collections, including its Cypriot antiquities. Crowther had previously been assistant curator at the museum from 1876 until 1881, when he left for a full curator post in Truro.⁷⁹³ Like Miall, his main interest and expertise were in the natural sciences, which remained the priority for the museum under his leadership. However, by inclination and conviction, he was deeply committed to using the museum's collections to generate interest and knowledge in broad popular audiences, especially schoolchildren, and was a talented communicator with this age group. This development accorded with the aims of the newly formed (1889) Museums Association, which argued that museums, especially provincial museums, should play a much greater role in education of the general public as well as supporting specialist research.⁷⁹⁴ At the vanguard of wider developments in the museum sector's approach to education, Crowther gradually but decisively changed the ethos of the museum to provide education through a more accessible and entertaining style of interpretation, and to invest time and attention in schoolchildren as a key audience in their own right. As earlier in the museum's history, the praxis of the curator took precedence over theoretical debates about the museum's approach and ethos.

Defining the ancient Cypriot objects

In order to assess the uses made of the British Museum's donation, the objects must first be identified, which is not a straightforward task. Murray produced a list of objects proposed for donation to accompany his request to the Trustees of the British Museum, with thumbnail

⁷⁹¹ Kitson Clark, 1924, pp. 116-117.

⁷⁹² Anon. 1937. Mr H. Crowther. *Yorkshire Post*. 30 November, p. 5.

⁷⁹³ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1881, p. 7.

⁷⁹⁴ Lewis, 1989, p. 6. Hooper-Greenhill, 1991, pp. 25-30.

sketches.⁷⁹⁵ These sketches formed part of emergent archaeological practice, in which visual representation of ceramic forms was an important means of generating comparable data, developed through the excavation notebooks and providing a means of rapidly identifying and comparing finds.⁷⁹⁶ However, no itemised list of objects appears to have been produced in Leeds, reflecting the Society's less developed knowledge of ancient Cypriot typologies and the relatively low priority given to antiquities in the museum's collections. The donation was welcomed in the next Report of the Council with a general descriptive overview, whereas natural history or geological collections were usually itemised.⁷⁹⁷ The discussion below and Annex F aim to identify the donated objects by comparing four different sources: the list of objects with thumbnail sketches produced by Murray; the Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society for 1902/03; lantern slides produced by Henry Crowther (Annex G); and the objects remaining in the LMG collection today. This analysis defines the donation and thus enables its reception to be examined, in particular Crowther's and the Society's understanding of the knowledge conveyed by the objects.

The Report of the Council described the donation as 'about twenty Mycenaean objects, chiefly pottery', which consisted of 'vases, jugs, bowls, &c'.⁷⁹⁸ Murray's handwritten list consists of 34 objects, of which 25 were illustrated with thumbnail sketches.⁷⁹⁹ 21 are depicted in Crowther's lantern slides, and 20 survive today. 13 objects appear in both the lantern slides and today's collection, and a further 15 objects appear in one or the other but not both, and so there are six for which the only evidence is Murray's list, of which four have no illustration (see Annex F). The surviving collection consists of 13 objects from Enkomi and five from Klavdia-*Tremithos*, with a further two fragments of Mycenaean ware from Cyprus whose site was not specified by Murray. They comprise pottery, both of local Cypriot production and Mycenaean imports; spindle whorls of bone and stone; stone pestles; and a bronze sheath for a spear.

The variations in terminology used in Murray's *Excavations in Cyprus*, Murray's list, and the Society's Report reflect the contemporary state of knowledge in Cypriot archaeology, in which there was as yet no widely shared standard terms for wares or decorative techniques.

⁷⁹⁵ British Museum GR Reports April 1902–June 1903, fol. 17–20 (Report of Murray to Trustees, 4 July 1902).

⁷⁹⁶ Nikolaou, 2017, p. 94.

⁷⁹⁷ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1903, pp. 7-8.

⁷⁹⁸ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1903, pp. 7-8.

⁷⁹⁹ British Museum GR Reports April 1902–June 1903, fol. 17–20 (Report of Murray to Trustees, 4 July 1902).

This also led to some slippage in the identification of objects. For example, for the disc-shaped spindle whorls (**Fig. 4.2**), Murray's list records '4 disks', a simplification of the descriptions in *Excavations in Cyprus* which describes ivory 'incised discs' and 'stone whorls'.⁸⁰⁰ The Society's Report records 'spinning whorls in stone and terra-cotta, and disk-shaped ornaments of bone and stone', a description more closely aligned with *Excavations in Cyprus* than Murray's list.⁸⁰¹ It is not clear who was responsible for the reinterpretation of these objects from 'disks' to 'whorls'. Similarly, Murray's list includes two 'stone weights', while the objects sent appear to be pestles used for grinding, and these are described in the Report of the Council as 'two pounders of basalt'.⁸⁰² These examples demonstrate the emergent state of knowledge concerning ancient Cypriot objects, in which identifications were fluid and subject to change.

The British Museum's prioritisation of Mycenaean material culture had a strong influence on the objects' reception in Leeds. The whole collection was described in the Annual Report as 'Mycenaean objects' representing 'probably three periods of Mycenaean art', although it included both Greek imports and local Cypriot productions, recognised by Murray as such.⁸⁰³ In *Excavations in Cyprus* Murray recorded Cypriot 'white slip' and 'base ring' ware as well as Mycenaean fabrics, but this terminology was not passed on to Leeds and not incorporated in the objects' interpretation there.⁸⁰⁴ The fact that 'Murray made no real distinction between "a cemetery of Mycenaean date" and "a Mycenaean cemetery"' translated in Leeds into all the objects assuming a Mycenaean identity.⁸⁰⁵ This can be seen in the case of one object which had a Mycenaean identity imposed upon it. The Report mentions 'A portion of a two-horned Hera idol... perforated with small holes for hanging.'⁸⁰⁶ The only object close to this description in Murray's list is the 'Fragment of vessel in form of ox, tail serves as spout' (**Fig. 4.3a**). The concept of a 'Hera idol' is taken from Schliemann's publication of the excavations at Tiryns, in which he associated small bovine figures with pointed horns with the worship of Hera (**Fig. 4.3b**).⁸⁰⁷ It is not clear whether this identification originated from Murray or at the museum in Leeds. The latter is perhaps more likely, as there is no such suggestion in *Excavations in Cyprus*, in which Murray describes a figure similar to those from Tiryns as a

⁸⁰⁰ British Museum GR Reports April 1902–June 1903, fol. 17–20 (Report of Murray to Trustees, 4 July 1902); Murray et al., 1900, pp. 15, 25.

⁸⁰¹ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1903, p. 8.

⁸⁰² Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1903, p. 8.

⁸⁰³ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1903, pp. 7-8.

⁸⁰⁴ Murray et al., 1900, p. 73.

⁸⁰⁵ Fitton, 2001, p. 151.

⁸⁰⁶ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1903, p. 8.

⁸⁰⁷ Schliemann, 1886.

'rude terracotta bull', and describes Base Ring ox askoi as 'Figures of bulls... of a primitive character', with no mention of Hera.⁸⁰⁸ The preoccupation with Mycenaean material culture, begun by the British Museum and transferred with the objects to Leeds, therefore imposed an inaccurate identity upon this object, and connotations not relevant to its Cypriot cultural origin.



[Fig. 4.3a](#)



[Fig. 4.3b](#)

a) 'Hera idol' / 'Fragment of vessel in form of ox' (left, Slide C, Annex G).

© Leeds Museums and Galleries.

b) 'Hera Idols in the shape of Cows', Plate XXIV (detail), Schliemann, 1886.

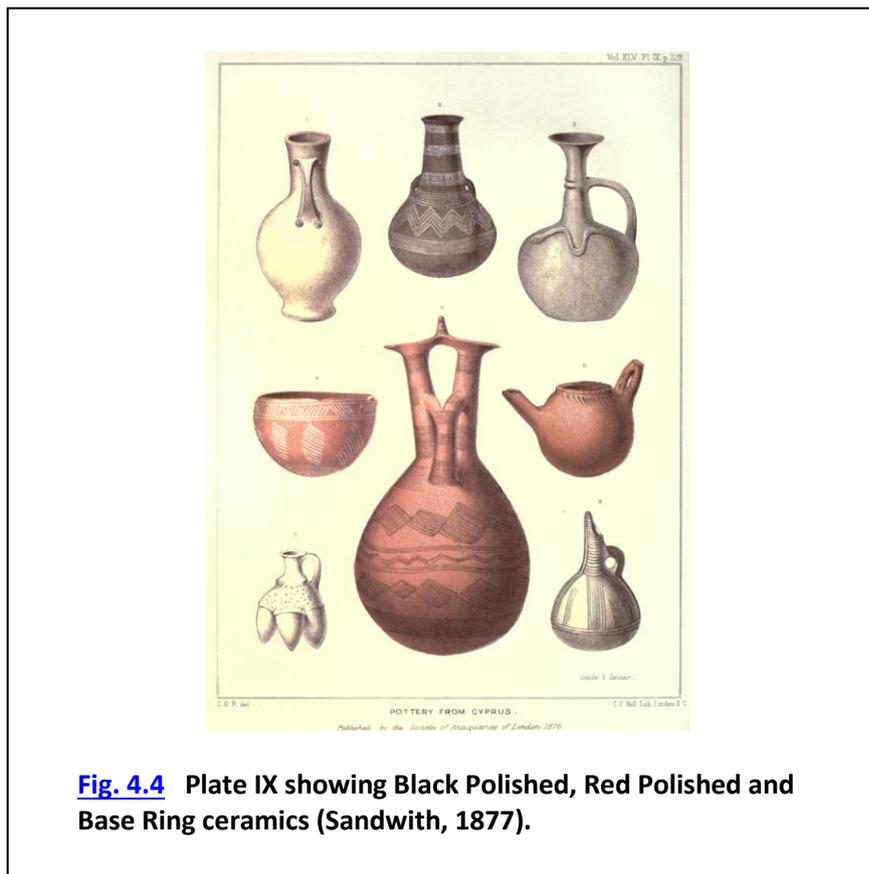
Murray's choice of objects for donation also promoted his views on dating the Mycenaean period. In *Excavations in Cyprus* he claimed that vase painting from Kamiros (Crete) supported his view that Mycenaean art was the 'immediate predecessor' of 7th century Ionian Greek art.⁸⁰⁹ His decision to include a vessel from Kamiros in the donation to Leeds can therefore be understood as an attempt to provide support for his theory regarding the close association in date between Mycenaean and Ionian cultures.

It is perhaps surprising that no effort seems to have been made by anyone at the museum in Leeds to establish a common intellectual framework for these objects and those in the existing ancient Cypriot collection. These included at least two other askoi (shown on Slide N, Annex G), labelled correctly as such on the slide, which might have raised questions concerning the identification of the Enkomi askos as a 'Hera idol'. Given the origins of the museum's collections in Sandwith's work, his *Archaeologia* paper (**Fig. 4.4**), with its careful grouping of pottery types found in different classes of cemeteries, might have been

⁸⁰⁸ Murray et al., 1900, pp. 44, 71.

⁸⁰⁹ Murray et al., 1900, p. 23.

consulted in the Society's library and have led to consideration of the relationship between the British Museum donation, and the objects already in the museum in Leeds.⁸¹⁰ There is no indication that this kind of analysis took place, probably reflecting both the authority of the British Museum in determining the frame of interpretation for the objects, and also the lack of curatorial attention paid to the antiquities collections. The honorary curator post covering antiquities, since 1874 titled 'Honorary Curator in Ethnology and Works of Art', was held from 1870 until 1905 by John Edwin Eddison except for brief periods when he held the office of president or vice-president. Eddison was a medical doctor and latterly Emeritus Professor at the University of Leeds, and does not appear to have paid any close attention to the ancient collections throughout his long tenure.⁸¹¹ Like Miall, Crowther's expertise and interest lay in natural history, and while he and the Society were glad to accept other donations to the museum, they did not make them the focus of their scholarly attention.



⁸¹⁰ Sandwith, 1877.

⁸¹¹ 'T.W.G.', 1929.

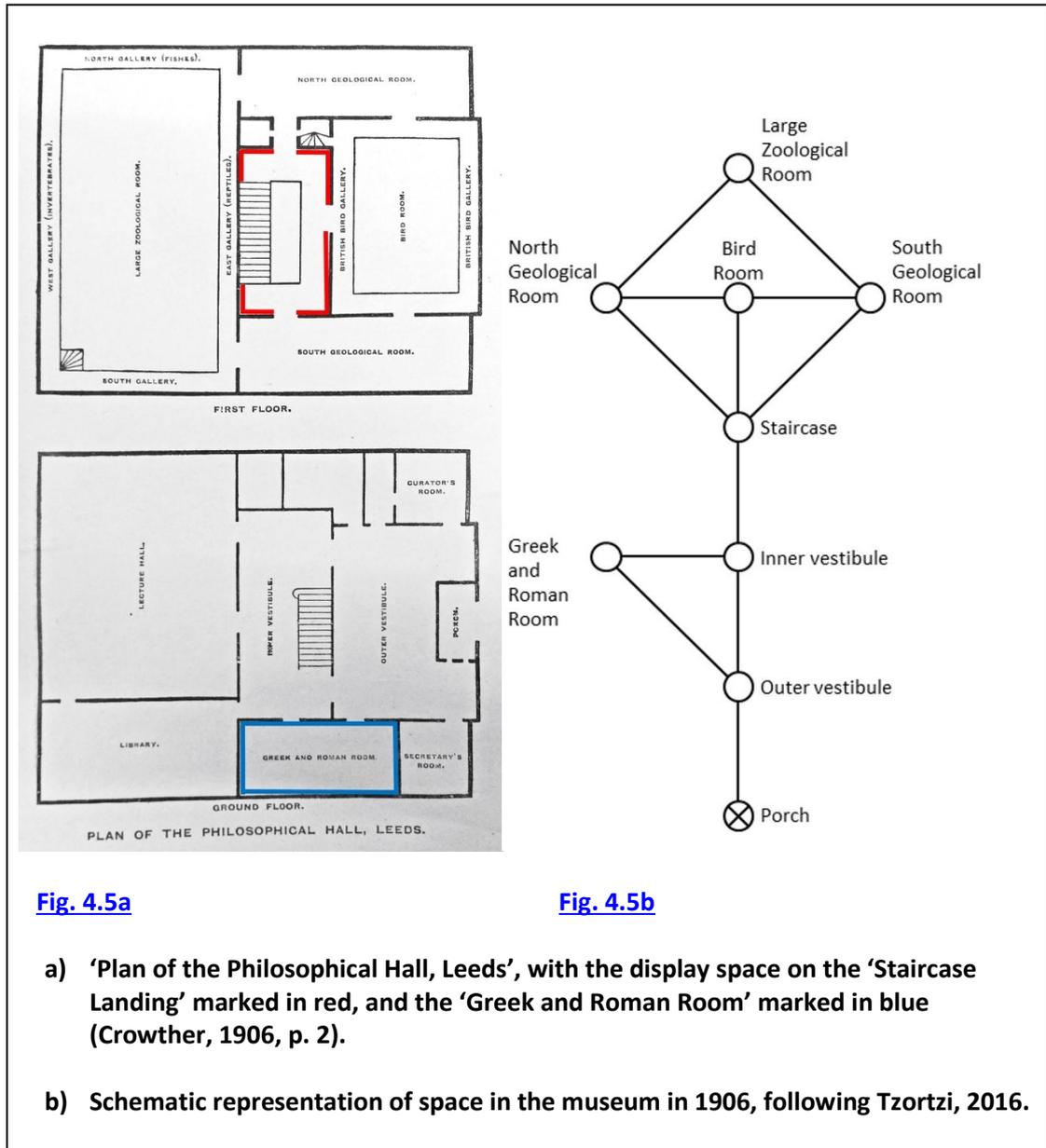
Display

As in Chapter 3, the following discussion draws on the methodology developed by Moser in her study of ancient Egyptian material in the British Museum, in which she examines ‘how the arrangement of the collections contributed to knowledge construction’.⁸¹² While restricted by the available evidence – for example, the limited photographic records of the display during this period (see Fig. 4.6) – it has nevertheless been possible to follow Moser’s approach in analysing the distribution of the museum’s collections within its physical spaces, the location of the British Museum donation within this broader system, and the display cases themselves, in order to gauge their relative priorities and understand the ways in which they were used to create knowledge. In order to maximise the space available for display, and take advantage of better light, in 1895/96 the typological displays of pottery, metalwork, and stone objects, in which the existing ancient Cypriot collections were presumably included, were moved to the staircase landing (**Fig. 4.5a**).⁸¹³ In terms of the ‘space syntax’, again following Tzortzi, this change had little impact (**Fig. 4.5b**); the space was slightly more interconnected than the vestibules, where the antiquities had previously been located, but was slightly deeper within the museum’s overall layout.⁸¹⁴ However, as it connected the upper rooms, all visitors to the first floor would have passed through it, increasing the proportion of visitors who experienced the collection. The liminal nature of this space - labelled ‘Staircase Landing’ in the 1897 and subsequent Guides, rather than after the collections it housed, as in the case of the Geological and Zoological rooms – reflected the continued marginal status of these collections relative to natural history.

⁸¹² Moser, 2006, p. 3.

⁸¹³ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1896, p. 57.

⁸¹⁴ Tzortzi, 2016, p. 104.



The layout of collections within the space of the museum was affected by a major donation in 1897 which led to a new distinction between art-historical and archaeological approaches to producing knowledge from ancient objects. This donation was made by Lord John Savile (1818-1896), British Ambassador to Italy from 1883 to 1888. While in Rome he had carried out excavations at the site of ancient Lanuvium to the south of Rome, and had made a large collection of objects, including marble statuary, some of which he donated to the Society. Nathan Bodington played a key role in arranging for this donation to take place, and in interpreting it through display and lectures, a further example of the close relationship between College and Society.⁸¹⁵ It was a valuable and prestigious donation, met 'with the utmost gratification', which altered the centre of gravity of the museum's collections, albeit

⁸¹⁵ Crowther, 1906, p. 3; Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1897, p. 4.

marginally, towards antiquities, while creating a distinction between the more highly prized ‘classical’ objects and the merely ancient.⁸¹⁶ The Society decided to create a new ‘Greek and Roman Room’ in the space formerly occupied by the Industrial Museum (**Fig. 4.5a**), dedicated to the ‘Savile Collection’, alongside a pre-existing collection of Greek marbles and ‘such other valuable objects possessed by the Society as are appropriate to a Museum of Greek and Roman Archaeology’ including coins, pottery, bronze and glass, and a local Roman mosaic and altars.⁸¹⁷

The typological collections of ancient ceramics, including the ancient Cypriot collection, were not incorporated into this ‘Greek and Roman Room’, apart from some complete and therefore aesthetically pleasing objects as listed above. This development therefore set up an opposition in the museum’s structures of knowledge between ‘Greek and Roman Archaeology’, a more art-historical approach focused on the Classical period in line with the study of Classics at the Yorkshire College, with a strong emphasis on the visual impact of the objects; and the typologies of ceramics, metal and stone including the ancient Cypriot material, which were aimed at facilitating cross-cultural comparisons and now more firmly defined as ‘scientific’. These two displays were widely separated in the museum’s spatial arrangement as well as in intellectual approach (**Fig. 4.5**). The dedicated space of the ‘Greek and Roman Room’ honoured the collector and donor of this significant collection by giving it his name, and housing his bust, as well as setting Classical archaeology apart from the broader history of human development.

The shape of the space in which the Cypriot antiquities were located (**Fig. 4.5a**) and its function as a corridor along which visitors walked made it suitable for a typological display, in which an ‘evolutionary itinerary’, in Bennett’s term, could be achieved by the visitor.⁸¹⁸ Through their physical progress past successive displays, and their scanning of the objects they contained, visitors enacted the progression illustrated by the arrangement of the objects in chronological sequence, sub-divided by geographical area, although the limitations of the collections and the space to some extent impeded this arrangement. **Fig. 4.6** shows a display case on the staircase landing, including Greek pottery and some of the ancient Cypriot collection, probably dating from between 1895 and 1902 (and therefore showing objects from Sandwith’s collection) and the first known image of these objects in a museum

⁸¹⁶ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1897, p. 4.

⁸¹⁷ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1897, pp. 5-6.

⁸¹⁸ Bennett, 1995, pp. 179-186.

display.⁸¹⁹ Adapting Moser's approach to analysing displays, this can be read as evidence for practices of knowledge creation through the collections.⁸²⁰ The display furniture is typical of the period, an unornate upright cabinet with large glass doors and neutral-coloured shelves allowing an unimpeded view of the objects. The profusion of labels is also characteristic of contemporary museum practice; here the labels predominate, almost obscuring some of the smaller objects.⁸²¹



Fig. 4.6 Display case including Cypriot antiquities on the Staircase Landing of the Philosophical Hall.

© Leeds Museums and Galleries.

The ancient Cypriot objects can be seen mainly on the top four shelves from the top of the right hand side, although geographical origin is not an overriding principle of arrangement; the object on the far right of the fourth shelf down on the left appears to be a Black on Red juglet ([LEEDM.D.1964.0363](#)), grouped with other, possibly Greek, small containers. The objects are arranged to some extent in typological groups, for example the small Greek lekythoi on the third shelf of the left hand side, the lamps at the bottom of this case, and the Greek bowls on the lower shelves on the right. Some grouping is also detectable among the Cypriot antiquities, such as the two askoi on the second shelf, but the collection is evidently too small, and the objects too diverse, for a fully representative typological display. This

⁸¹⁹ The collection was first displayed on the landing in late 1895 or early 1896, and the display shown does not include any of the 1902 British Museum donation.

⁸²⁰ Moser, 2006, pp. 3-4.

⁸²¹ Miall, 1877; Forgan, 1994, p. 150. By the early years of the 20th century, the approach to labelling had become more discreet; see **Fig. 5.5b**.

situation was improved by the British Museum's donation, and the 1906 Guide to the museum, the first produced after the donation, indicates that the objects from Enkomi and Klavdia-*Tremithos* were incorporated into these typological displays. In this Guide the pottery collection was divided into 'British, Roman, Greek, Delft, Elers [17th century Staffordshire], and Leeds ware', with the ancient Cypriot collection included under 'Greek':

The Greek case contains some fine example of cups and vases, together with a valuable series of Cyprian ware. Also a number of Mycenaean [sic] objects presented by the Trustees of the British Museum, which were found during the recent British excavations in Cyprus. These comprise spinning-wheels, stone ornaments, and pottery; the latter are vases, jugs, and bowls, of probably three periods of Mycenaean art.⁸²²

The ancient Cypriot material was therefore assimilated into Greek culture. The perceived Mycenaean Greek nature of objects, conveyed by the British Museum, proved persistent and took precedence over its Cypriot identity; the collection was divided into 'Cyprian ware' and 'Mycenaean objects... found... in Cyprus', even though these two groups included comparable objects. It is notable that the identity of the spindle whorls slipped again, to 'spinning-wheels [and] stone ornaments', demonstrating that the identification of ancient Cypriot objects was as yet no more stable.⁸²³

Interpretation and audience responses

In place of the aim of providing 'rational recreation' of the early-mid 19th century, according to which it was felt that exposure of any kind to museum collections could not fail to improve the knowledge and therefore the character of the working classes, a new movement in museum practice towards the end of the century began to differentiate audiences and design programmes to meet their needs, from University Extension lectures to training for teachers.⁸²⁴ In keeping with this broader trend, Crowther took active steps to engage new audiences, above all schoolchildren, with the collections.⁸²⁵ While this was not universally agreed as a priority, with some curators maintaining that museums should instead aim to be at the cutting edge of science, Crowther never wavered in his enthusiasm for and commitment to opening up the museum's collections.⁸²⁶ In a 1905 article for the *Museums Journal*, 'The Museum as Teacher of Nature-Study', an elegy for the loss of close public

⁸²² Crowther, 1906, p. 7.

⁸²³ Crowther, 1906, p. 7.

⁸²⁴ Hooper-Greenhill, 1991, Chapters 1, 4.

⁸²⁵ Lewis, 1989, p. 24; Alberti, 2009, p. 162.

⁸²⁶ The debate over the role of museums in teaching is set out by Teather, 1990, pp. 31-32.

engagement with nature and a justification of the museum as a site for learning, he gave an unambiguous summary of his approach: 'Curators love their museums with zealous tenacity, and are enthusiastic as regards their every influence.'⁸²⁷ Byrne argues that museum curators' agency, vital to the shaping and interpretation of collections, is influenced by their personal experiences and opinions as much as by the system within which they work.⁸²⁸ This is borne out by investigation of the impact of Crowther, whose approach, influenced by his personal characteristics and beliefs, shifted the museum's didactic focus from the ideal visitor of a highly educated adult male, as conceived by Miall, to a younger audience, with a broader remit of promoting enjoyment and inspiration as well as contributing to their education.⁸²⁹

Crowther's efforts to engage a wider audience with the museum's collections are apparent in the successive editions of the printed *General Guide to the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, which show a marked change in tone and approach between Miall's and Crowther's curatorships. Crowther's first Guide was published in 1897, running to 16 pages to Miall's eight, and replaces the formal, terse descriptions of Miall's version with simpler text and a more discursive and engaging tone. The difference can be illustrated by comparing one passage:

An attempt has been made to interest visitors who possess no special zoological knowledge in a skeleton collection of insects, in which the more familiar and striking forms are described by printed labels.

vs.

Considerable attention has been given to the insects, which are so displayed that their transformation, mimicry, their injurious or helpful nature may be understood.⁸³⁰

While Miall made few concessions to his readers, gesturing with an 'attempt' towards those lacking 'special zoological knowledge', Crowther actively sought to educate, inform and entertain, providing the reader with guidance about what they could expect to notice in the display. This is most noticeable in his presentation of the natural history collections, his greatest interest, which abounds with facts likely to catch the attention of a general audience:

⁸²⁷ Crowther, 1905, p. 6.

⁸²⁸ Byrne, 2011, pp. 309-310.

⁸²⁹ Miall, 1890.

⁸³⁰ Miall, 1890, p. 8; Crowther, 1897, p. 12.

The jaws of some fishes are dreadful weapons of attack (Sword-fishes), in others the snout is armed (Saw-fishes) ... The Moloch is perfectly harmless, its horrid-looking appearance is merely protective.⁸³¹

The prior knowledge and specialist vocabulary required by Crowther's guide of its reader is considerably less than under Miall's curatorship, signalling a change of approach in museum interpretation towards inclusivity and enjoyment as well as education. This is also evident in the approach to the ancient Cypriot collection. For example, while Miall passed briefly over the contents of the museum's Outer Vestibule with the comment 'Here will be found collections illustrative of the modes of civilisation peculiar to the different races of man', Crowther directed the visitor's attention towards striking objects including Aldam's amphora ([LEEDM.D. 1964.0350](#), **Fig. 3.1**): 'In one corner of the room is a fine Graeco-Phoenician vase, from Cyprus, date about B.C. 700', the first time that the Cypriot identity of this object was shared with visitors.⁸³² Similarly, Miall's guide to the 'Ancient Metal-work, Ancient Stone Implements, and Pottery' then placed in the Inner Vestibule dealt very briefly with the pottery, described as 'some interesting pieces of Roman pottery, mostly found in Yorkshire; Greek vases and cups, Peruvian pottery, &c.'. ⁸³³ In the 1897 Guide Crowther devoted half a page to the pottery collection, including mention of 'a valuable series of Cyprian ware', again the first time that visitors to the museum were informed of the Cypriot identity of the objects and their function as a 'series' which could illustrate development.⁸³⁴ While Miall spent little time and attention on the collections of antiquities, Crowther made efforts to make all the collections intelligible and interesting to visitors.

One important new audience was the primary school aged population of Leeds. The Government's Education Department increasingly promoted object lessons, issuing detailed guidance on how they should be conducted, and the Day School Code of 1894 encouraged museum visits by allowing them to be counted as school attendance, initiatives which had a transformative approach in bringing schools and museums together towards the turn of the century.⁸³⁵ In 1901 Crowther instituted a new scheme with the local branch of the National Union of Teachers, through which teachers and their pupils from elementary schools were invited to the museum to listen to a lecture illustrated with lantern slides, and then visit each

⁸³¹ Crowther, 1897, pp. 13, 14.

⁸³² Miall, 1890, p. 4; Crowther, 1897, p. 2.

⁸³³ Miall, 1890, p. 4.

⁸³⁴ Crowther, 1897, p. 6.

⁸³⁵ Kekewich, 1895; Lewis, 1989, p. 24.

room of the museum in turn to see the collections.⁸³⁶ The children were required to write an essay on what they had learned, translating the experience of the visit into the skills of recall and communication. Exhibits directly relevant to the lecture were laid out in each room of the museum, and a collection of essays written in 1905-1906 in response to a lecture on 'The wonders of the sea and its shore' demonstrates that some children were also struck by other exhibits, including the Egyptian, Greek and Roman antiquities.⁸³⁷ A review after four years of operation emphasised the high uptake of the scheme, and the extent to which it was appreciated by pupils and teachers, and its impact can be seen in the chart of visitor numbers (**Fig. 3.7**), which records schoolchildren as a separate category from the early 1900s.⁸³⁸

Crowther explicitly interpreted the donation of ancient Cypriot material from the British Museum as a contribution to this educative programme. He wrote to Murray in July 1902 to thank him:

We are always thankful for these recognitions by the Brit. Mus. & we, I may fearlessly say, do our best to teach the people their value. For eight years I have given Christmas Museum Lectures, our average attendance being 250; last year I gave 20 lectures to 7,000 children & 250 Teachers; we are to begin in October with another series to 10,000 School Children; your kind gift is, therefore, an appreciable one to us.⁸³⁹

Although the donation had been requested by Bodington as a teaching collection for the Yorkshire College and its students, and had been made on that basis, on arrival in Leeds it was co-opted by Crowther for other purposes: to augment the typological displays for general as well as specialist audiences, and to benefit elementary school pupils. Most of these school visits concentrated on the natural history collections, but the collections of antiquities were also used, although the responses of the audiences are difficult to discover. In March 1902 an eleven-year-old schoolgirl wrote to 'The Children's Corner' of the *Leeds Mercury* to give an account of her visit to the museum, including 'a very interesting lecture' on 'Early Man':

Man long ago used to make implements of bronze, stone, and iron. Man, when quite a savage, invented the weaving of cloth, and the making of pots, and the growth of cereals. Then he began to build houses and temples, and to contrive many objects

⁸³⁶ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1902, pp. 5-6.

⁸³⁷ 'Accounts from Leeds school children of their visit to the Museum to attend a lecture given by the Curator, Henry Crowther, on "The wonders of the sea and its shore"'. 1905-1906. Leeds University Library Special Collections, classmark SC/LPLS/13/3/4.

⁸³⁸ Lang and Jacob, 1905.

⁸³⁹ British Museum GR archives, *Original Letters*, Crowther to Murray, 25 July 1902.

for household use. ...In another room is some British pottery, some Roman and Greek pottery, some metal work, and some stone implements.⁸⁴⁰

This rather flat description gives some insight into the way in which Crowther used ancient objects to illustrate a narrative of human progression, and the extent to which this aided children's recall.

As we have seen, the Cypriot antiquities travelled from the British Museum to Leeds due to the agency and networks of Nathan Bodington in his role as Principal of the Yorkshire College. The justification for his request to the British Museum was that the Cypriot antiquities would form teaching collections for the College's students; there is no indication that it was intended as a resource for research, or that it was ever used for this purpose. The Society's Annual Reports indicate that students continued to make use of the collections, no doubt including the Classical material from the Savile donation.⁸⁴¹ The University of Leeds' undergraduate Classics degree was based on Classical texts, comprising history, philosophy, literature, translation and composition.⁸⁴² There is no obvious place in this programme for pre-Classical material culture, although it may have formed part of students' broader introduction to the ancient world. As well as undergraduate students, the collections were also used by University Extension students, part of a growing movement to offer degree-level education to those who could not commit to a full degree, or to those who required continuing education, including teachers.⁸⁴³ The 1895/96 Report of the Council gives an indication of how the collections were used:

The Museum continues to be well used by students ...Mr. Kendall, as in previous years, has brought classes of University Extension and Geological students, and other undergraduates of the Victoria University have been allowed to handle specimens. ...There have been eight visits from Board Schools... Permission, too, has been given to an increasing number of students to sketch antiquarian and natural history objects.⁸⁴⁴

The museum's collections therefore provided students with the opportunity for experiential learning, through handling and drawing the objects. Although direct evidence is lacking, it

⁸⁴⁰ Thornburrow, Jessie. 1902. In the Leeds Museum. *Leeds Mercury*. 29 March, p. 16.

⁸⁴¹ See, for example, Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1901, p. 8; Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1904, p. 5.

⁸⁴² University of Leeds, 1907, p. 147.

⁸⁴³ See Marriott, 1981 on the University extension movement.

⁸⁴⁴ P.F. Kendall was later Lecturer then Professor in Geology at Yorkshire College (Fearnside, 1936). Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1896, p. 6.

can be assumed that the Cypriot antiquities played their part in providing these learning experiences, as envisaged by Bodington in requesting the donation from the British Museum.

Public access to the Society's museum was still limited by its entry charges, and visitor numbers were steadily low (**Fig. 3.7**), especially in comparison with public museums such as Sheffield.⁸⁴⁵ The 1905 *Museums Journal* made sharp criticism of the state of museum provision in Leeds:

Leeds is behind all the large towns of the kingdom in its museum accommodation... the limited funds [of the Philosophical Society] do not enable them to meet public requirements in a satisfactory manner. How very little the museum enters into the general life of the community is shown by the smallness of the number of visitors,

which the author attributes primarily to the charge made for admission, proposing that the best solution would be to sell the building and hand the proceeds and the collections to the Council.⁸⁴⁶ There is little doubt that the museum's collections were not reaching a large public audience in this period. Crowther took measures to address this through lectures, both under the Society's auspices, and for other groups.⁸⁴⁷ In this he participated in a wider movement to make museums entertaining as well as educational, in which museum lecturers employed lantern slides to bring objects vividly before their audience's eyes.⁸⁴⁸ He delivered a set of three lectures in January each year, partly as a means of honouring donors to the museum through the system of recognition outlined in Chapter 3; for example in 1899 he lectured on Lanuvium, with the audience taking the opportunity to study the exhibits in the Savile Room afterwards.⁸⁴⁹ In addition, Crowther advertised his lecturing services for hire by local clubs and societies. His promotional material described the lectures as 'illustrated by an excellent series of original Lantern Slides... described by the Press as the finest ever shewn'.⁸⁵⁰ Crowther was a keen photographer and made a huge collection of around 15,000 lantern slides, many of which he bequeathed to the museum.⁸⁵¹ These included many objects featured in his lectures, including much of the ancient Cypriot collection (Annex G and **Fig. 4.7**). The lectures offered included 'Earliest Man, how he lived and what he did', which covered 'the earliest... potters', and this may have made use of his slides of the Cypriot

⁸⁴⁵ Alberti, 2002, p. 15.

⁸⁴⁶ Howarth, 1905.

⁸⁴⁷ Crowther, n.d.

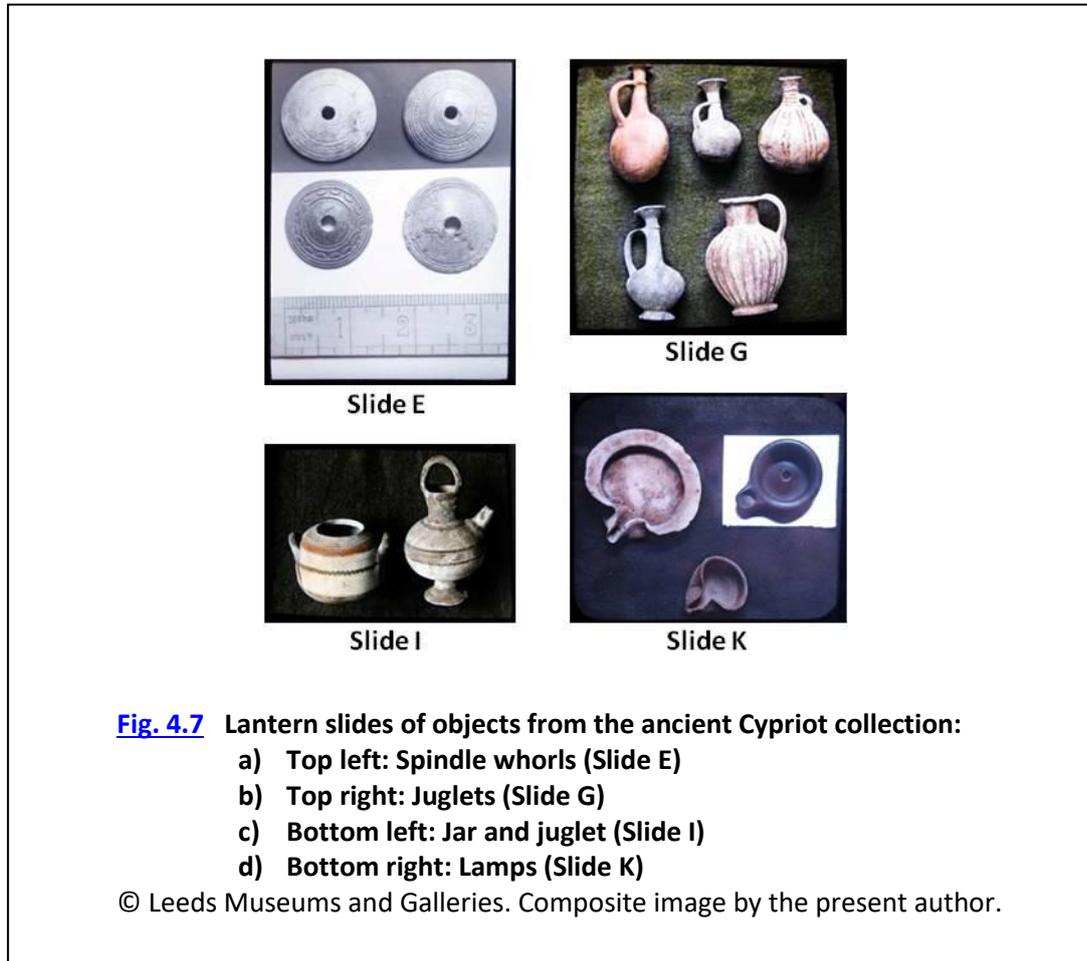
⁸⁴⁸ See the history of 'immersive' technology in museums by Griffiths, 2008, p. 166.

⁸⁴⁹ Crowther, 1905, p. 11; Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1900, pp. 4-5.

⁸⁵⁰ Crowther, n.d.

⁸⁵¹ Steadman, 2019, p. 151.

antiquities.⁸⁵² Crowther's use of this technology was in keeping with his enthusiasm for finding new ways to connect audiences with the museum collections, through attention-capturing and innovative presentation of the material.



As with the physical displays, these representations can be read to deduce the knowledge they were designed to convey, and the ways in which this was achieved. Colour was evidently felt to be important in making the images vivid and engaging for viewers. The images were taken in black and white, then most were hand-coloured by Crowther's daughter Violet.⁸⁵³ As well as enhancing the visual spectacle, this was important in conveying the appearance of different wares, although misleading in giving objects such as the Base Ring juglets a marbled appearance (**Fig. 4.7**, bottom left of Slide G). The objects are laid out in grid formation on a neutral, uniform background, and carefully mounted to give a clear view of the top or side.

⁸⁵² Anon. 1906. The Life of Primitive Man. *Leeds Mercury*. 11 October, p. 5.

⁸⁵³ Violet Crowther (1884-1969) and her sisters supported Crowther's museum work in many ways, developing their own expertise in natural history. Violet Crowther was an important contributor to the Leeds Schools Museum Scheme, and was later curator of the 'bygones' (social history) collections at Abbey House Museum. Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1913, p. 7; Ross, 2010.

This gives them the appearance of specimens, in an approach analogous to natural history, rather than arranging them more naturalistically to represent their cultural functions, for example as grave goods or equipment for feasting. The groupings are broadly typological, with the British Museum donations kept together, arranged in subsets by ware and by type of object (such as spindle whorls, **Fig. 4.7** Slide E). This approach is continued in the non-British Museum objects, for example with lamps grouped together (**Fig. 4.7** Slide K) including non-Cypriot examples as cross-cultural comparators. These representational choices necessarily exclude others. For example, the basket-handled jug shown in Slide I could have been included in the assortment of other jugs in Slide G. The persisting identity of the British Museum objects as ‘Mycenaean’ and therefore distinct from the broader ancient Cypriot collection may have influenced these decisions. The knowledge that the slides were designed to convey, therefore, was aligned with the representational strategies of the museum’s displays: focused on typological sequences, with a distinction between ‘Mycenaean’ and other Cypriot objects, and forming part of a broader presentation of human development. As Joyce and Gillespie discuss, this representation in virtual form extended the itineraries of the objects, presenting them in new combinations and enabling them to make further connections with larger groups of people.⁸⁵⁴ While the objects themselves remained stationary in their displays, to be perceived or overlooked by visitors as each person’s interests or inclinations prompted, their images were brought to the attention of broader audiences in an illuminated, captivating form.

Conclusion

Following the itineraries of this group of objects from their excavation in Cyprus to their interpretation within the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, via the British Museum, has demonstrated the extent and complexity of the networks along which they moved. The excavation, identification, transport to London and later dispersal of the objects were all the product of judgments made by the staff of the British Museum, here situated in their historical context. As in the earlier phase of the Museum’s history discussed in Chapter 3, the agency of key individuals – in this case, A.S. Murray and Nathan Bodington – proved decisive in shaping the museum’s collections. However, the interpretation and use of Cypriot antiquities in the physical and intellectual environment of the museum owed more to

⁸⁵⁴ Joyce and Gillespie, 2015a, p. 13.

Henry Crowther, who as the museum curator was the ‘pivotal agent’, in Byrne’s term, in shaping their reception.⁸⁵⁵

The collection donated by the British Museum has been re-identified by combining investigation of archival texts and images with inspection of the objects themselves. Similarly, analysis of archival images and records, drawing on the techniques of Moser and Tzortzi, has been employed to examine changing approaches to display and interpretation.⁸⁵⁶ A donation of a large quantity of Classical material from Lanuvium led to a demarcation in the museum’s collections between ‘Classical’ artefacts, with a bias in the displays of the new Greek and Roman room towards more aesthetically valued objects, and the typological pottery displays which incorporated ancient Cypriot objects. These new uses did not wholly erase earlier display and interpretation practices; the impressively large amphora ([LEEDM.D.1964.0350](#)), the first ancient Cypriot acquisition of the museum, remained in the Outer Vestibule alongside ethnological material and an Egyptian mummy as an object of wonder and aesthetic appreciation rather than being incorporated alongside other Cypriot antiquities into the typological displays.⁸⁵⁷

This chapter has set out how Crowther as curator made use of the museum’s ancient Cypriot collections to create knowledge. He accomplished this in a range of ways, from their incorporation into typological displays performing evolutionary development for visitors as they walked along the staircase landing, to their vivid representation in lantern slides to accompany lectures. While the ancient Cypriot objects were largely classified in terms of ancient Greek material culture, an identity persisting from their excavation by the British Museum, Crowther found new ways of presenting and interpreting them, in line with the broader shift in priorities of museums towards informing and educating diverse audiences, particularly schoolchildren.⁸⁵⁸ The identification, interpretations and uses of the objects are shown to be contingent, determined by the nature of their acquisition, and by prevailing curatorial knowledge and practices.⁸⁵⁹

⁸⁵⁵ Byrne, 2011, p. 307.

⁸⁵⁶ Moser, 2006; Tzortzi, 2016.

⁸⁵⁷ Crowther, 1897, p. 2.

⁸⁵⁸ Hooper-Greenhill, 1991, pp. 25-30.

⁸⁵⁹ Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, p. 10.

CHAPTER 5 WOMEN DONORS OF CYPRIOT ANTIQUITIES, 1913-1921

Introduction

This chapter examines the development of the ancient Cypriot collection in the period 1913 to 1921, and focuses on two acquisition events, in 1913 and 1920, of ancient Cypriot material donated by two women, Eliza Bodington (1853-1941) and Frances Louisa Stott (1847-1919). The role of women in placing these objects within the museum contrasts with the gendered pattern of acquisition observable from the beginnings of the collection, and is the focus of specific attention here. This chapter situates these two donations in the context of all donations by women to the museum over the period 1870 to 1921, presenting the results of analysis based on the Reports of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society which enables trends to be identified. It also discusses these donations in relation to broader scholarship on the relations between women and museums in this period, exploring the extent to which these two women were able to use the machinery of the museum for their personal purposes. Following Bourdieu, it explores whether the relative success of their strategies can be linked to their respective cultural, social and economic capital.⁸⁶⁰ In addition, drawing on Crane's conception of the museum as a site of collective memory, it looks at the ways in which personal memories and associations were preserved or lost when the objects moved into the museum.⁸⁶¹ This approach 'offers a way of understanding the relationships between people and between people and things', and of exploring the ways in which practices of collecting and donating ancient Cypriot objects were inflected by gender.⁸⁶² As part of this thesis' aim to recover the multiplicity of histories behind the ancient Cypriot collection, this makes a contribution towards rebalancing the historiography of museums, collecting and display away from the "'important" men and "significant" collections' which have tended historically to be the primary focus of research.⁸⁶³

The discussion then examines evidence for the display and interpretation of Cypriot antiquities in the museum during this period, and for audience responses, comparing these to the preceding period discussed in Chapter 4, and exploring the development of museum practices under Henry Crowther's curatorship. The methodology is again one of microhistory, supported by archival investigation, following the itineraries of these Cypriot objects in order

⁸⁶⁰ Bourdieu, 1986.

⁸⁶¹ Crane, 2000.

⁸⁶² Hill, 2012, p. 3.

⁸⁶³ Pearce, 1993, p. 7.

to understand their specific circumstances and also to illuminate broader themes and developments in the final years before the museum passed over to public ownership.

Women donors to the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society

Gender has become an increasingly prominent and significant theme in studies of collecting and museums over recent decades. To take just a few examples, Hill's comprehensive study of women and museums from 1850 to 1914 offers insights into the ways in which women interacted with and influenced museums in this period, and their distinctive approaches and concerns.⁸⁶⁴ Macleod has explored the liberation achieved through active involvement in collecting by wealthy American women from the 19th to early 20th centuries, paving the way for their increased involvement in the public sphere, while Emery has not only restored the contributions of women in the field of *japonisme*, but investigated how and why they were marginalized by the male writers of its 'origin narrative'.⁸⁶⁵ While gender is not a primary focus of this thesis, this chapter demonstrates that these two donations of Cypriot antiquities by women were different from those discussed above, in that they formed part of commemorative strategies through which these women attempted to employ material culture to achieve a lasting memorial to men with whom they had a close personal relationship. Although this analysis does not detect purposeful marginalization of the type discussed by Emery, the employment of these strategies represents the first occasion on which women were able to make a definitive contribution to the museum's ancient Cypriot collection.

The Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society was an organisation run by men for a mostly, although not exclusively, male membership. The ways in which women participated in the Society and its museum – as members, lecturers, attendees at events, visitors, fundraisers, assistants, educators, administrators and cleaners – and how these changed over time, is an underexplored topic, and further investigation would enable a fuller understanding of how women participated in the networks of people and objects which constituted the museum and its collections. For present purposes, examining women's roles as donors to the museum provides an overview of women's participation in the museum's networks of collecting, and allows the donations by Bodington and Stott to be interpreted in context. As discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, curators had limited control over incoming donations, and this therefore

⁸⁶⁴ Hill, 2016.

⁸⁶⁵ Macleod, 2008. Emery, 2020, p. 4.

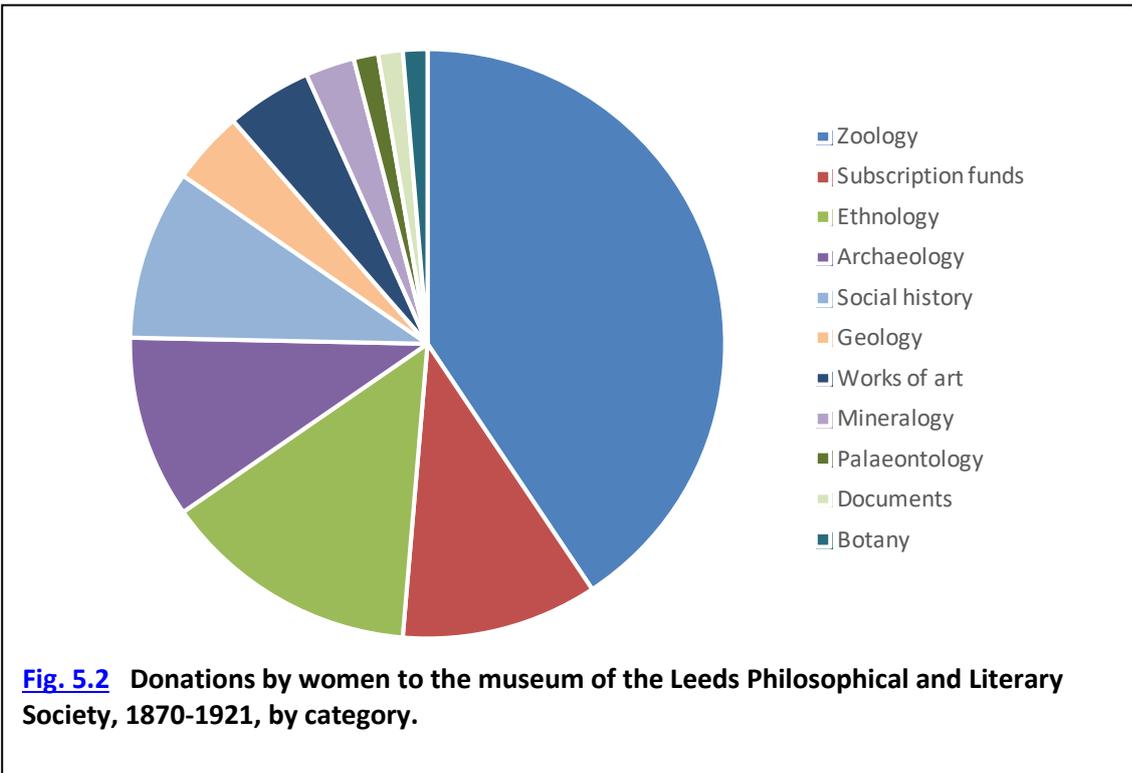
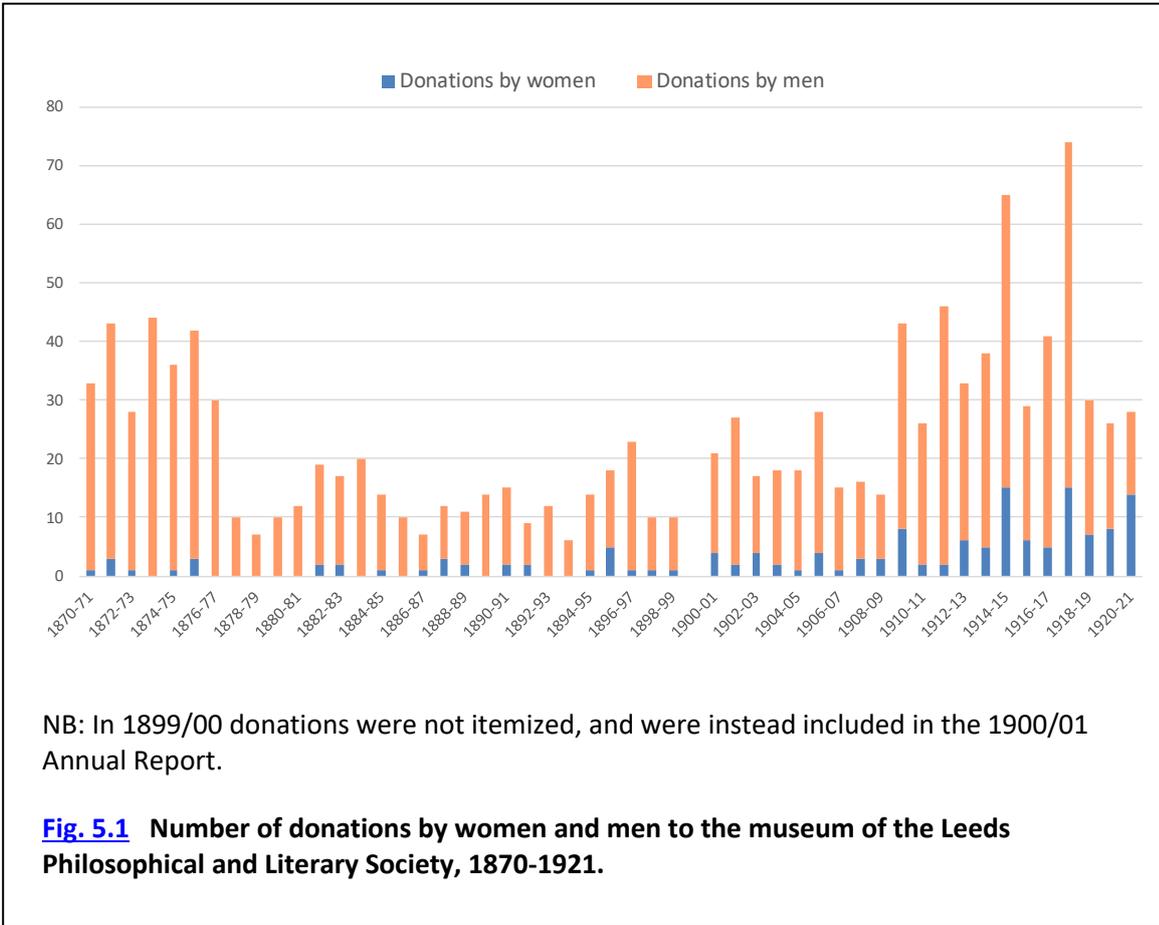
represents one important way in which women exercised agency and influenced the shape of museum collections.

In the Reports of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, women's first names are rarely used, and married women are generally referred to by their spouses' initials and surnames. A very few women are referred to by their given name and surname with no honorific. It is not known whether these naming conventions were imposed by the authors of the Report, or whether they were chosen by the women themselves. The analysis below replicates the names used in the Report, but adds given names where they are known.

Fig. 5.1 compares donations by women and men over the period 1870 – 1921, from the earliest acquisition of an ancient Cypriot object through to the Museum's transfer to public ownership. This analysis draws on the Society's Annual Reports, and excludes corporate donations and gifts of publications. It is based on acquisition events, as a better measure than the number of objects donated for assessing the strength of an individual's relationship to the museum. A donation of a single object, and of a large collection, are each counted once. Similarly, two donations made by a single person in one year, in different classificatory categories, are both counted. Since a one-off donation of a large number of objects suggests a weaker relationship than a sustained pattern of donations of individual objects over several years, structuring the data this way allows those donors whose relationship with the museum was more enduring to be identified.⁸⁶⁶ By focusing on the act of placing objects with the museum, rather than the number of objects placed, it also allows a clearer comparison of the frequency with which this was achieved by women and by men.

Fig. 5.2 groups donations from women by category, providing information on the types of material culture that women donated to the museum. This largely follows the classification adopted in the Annual Report, with some modifications to improve consistency over time, and to accurately reflect the nature of the donations.

⁸⁶⁶ Wingfield, 2011.



The pattern of donation is largely consistent with that identified by Hill in her broader analysis of women donors to a range of museums during this period.⁸⁶⁷ It can be seen that donations from women were outstripped by donations from men until 1920/21, when numbers were equal for the first time. Overall numbers of donations were relatively low during the later part of Miall's curatorship (1871-1891), during which he made efforts to stem the tide of objects flowing into the museum. There are several years in which there were no donations from women at all, but even from the earliest years some women were successful in placing objects in the museum. The combined donation figures rise dramatically towards the end of the period, perhaps indicative of a move away from the broadly-based private collections which had characterised 19th century collecting. While the rise in donations from women was accompanied by a rise in donations from men, the ratio between donations from women and men also gradually became less uneven.

150 donations by women are recorded over the period, from 109 donors; most women donated only once or twice. This suggests that they did not engage with the museum's collections in a sustained way, in contrast to many of the Society's male members who made successive donations over a number of years. There are a few exceptions, including Mrs J.E. Eddison (Elizabeth Eddison), whose husband held the post of honorary curator in Ethnology and Works of Art over a long period. She made a total of thirteen donations between 1890 and 1917, eight in her own name, and five jointly with her husband; since Dr Eddison also donated in his own name, these can be considered as truly joint donations.⁸⁶⁸ They are mainly individual zoology specimens, of a type that might be found in the local area (e.g. a wasps' nest, a hedgehog and a wood mouse), suggesting a sustained interest in natural history that was pursued partly through the museum and its collections. Similarly, between 1908 and 1919 Mrs Annie Scott Stanley made eight donations, four of zoology specimens, one of social history, one ethnology, and two donations towards subscription funds, indicating more than passing engagement with the museum.

As can be seen from **Fig. 5.2**, over a third of the donations fall under the heading of zoology, and many of these are local natural history specimens. This was a subject area which became increasingly associated with women over the 19th century, largely in domestic rather than professional settings.⁸⁶⁹ These donations indicate that some women, in particular Mrs Eddison, were successful in claiming a place for their natural history objects, and therefore

⁸⁶⁷ Hill, 2016, Chapters 2 and 3.

⁸⁶⁸ All information on donations is drawn from the Reports of the Council from 1870 to 1921.

⁸⁶⁹ Hill, 2016, p. 19.

recognition of their expertise, in the museum. Donations by women are singled out for mention in the main body of the Report, a mark of especial appreciation, in proportion to their numbers and significance, with no identifiable difference in this regard between those made by female and male donors.

Women also donated a relatively large proportion of the objects designated as ‘social history’ in **Fig. 5.2**, although these were classified as ‘archaeology’ or ‘ethnology’, and later as ‘bygones’, by the museum. These included ‘old spectacles’ in 1887/88, and a ‘Lady’s Pellion’ (presumably a pillion saddle) in 1900/01.⁸⁷⁰ When the museum began to concentrate its collecting efforts on ‘bygones’ in the early 1910s it attracted a relatively large number of donations from women, suggesting strong support from them for the museum’s recognition of the feminine domestic sphere as worthy of study and collection.⁸⁷¹ As Hill shows, this is representative of a broader trend in which women donated things ‘whose resonant, age-related qualities were prominent’.⁸⁷² Some donations are suggestive of different kinds of engagement with the Society and its museum. When J.I. Ikin raised his President’s Special Fund in 1875 (discussed in Chapter 3), three women were subscribers in their own right, providing financial support which was used to buy ancient Cypriot ceramics from the Sandwith collection, among other things.⁸⁷³ Similarly, the initiative in 1917/18 to raise funds for the installation of a kineograph attracted numerous contributions from women donors.⁸⁷⁴ These demonstrate that women expressed their support for the museum’s objectives through financial donations, as well as by passing on objects. They were also able, on occasion, to apply their expertise to the museum’s collections. In 1902/03 Miss Sikes (name unknown) made copies of old drawings of the Dodo to contribute to a new display. While these were recorded as a donation, under ‘Drawings and Photographs’ rather than ‘Zoology’, they were recognised in the Annual Report as ‘valuable help’ and indicate direct involvement with the museum’s practices of display and interpretation, although this appears to have been an exception rather than a frequent occurrence.⁸⁷⁵

Hill sets out how in this period women museum donors developed the practice of commemorating their relatives through donations, as part of a broader ‘feminine strategy of

⁸⁷⁰ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1888; Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1901.

⁸⁷¹ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1915, pp. 14-15.

⁸⁷² Hill, 2016, p. 93.

⁸⁷³ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1876, p. 15.

⁸⁷⁴ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1918, p. 20.

⁸⁷⁵ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1902, p. 8.

using objects to mark or create intimate relationships.⁸⁷⁶ As Crane discusses, 'it is through [the] realm of preservation that memories interact with museums', as objects call to mind the person who is absent, seeming to make the memory 'static' or permanent, and to make it collective rather than purely personal.⁸⁷⁷ In Leeds, some donations are explicit in their function as memorials to relatives. These include a group of Polynesian objects in 1881/82 'collected by the late Mr H. W. Eyres during a voyage round the world, and presented by his widow, Mrs Eyres... by express stipulation, kept as a distinct collection' and described in the Annual Report in typical fashion as 'large and valuable'.⁸⁷⁸ Through this donation by his widow, Caroline Eyres, Henry Eyres' reputation was posthumously enhanced. This kind of commemoration could extend through many years and successive generations; in 1910/11 Mr Bolton Eyres-Monsell and Mrs Caroline Eyres-Monsell presented 'an exceedingly valuable collection of birds' obtained by Mr Charles Eyres, explicitly linked to the earlier donation in the Annual Report, and cementing a longstanding relationship between the family and the museum.⁸⁷⁹ Similarly, in 1914/15 Mrs Frances Woods donated shells and plants formerly belonging to 'her late husband, the Rev. F. H. Woods'.⁸⁸⁰ This was accompanied in the Annual Report by a short account of Francis Woods' work, and thus leveraged more extensive posthumous recognition of his achievements. Most such donations honoured male relatives, but in 1902/03 Mrs Anna Braithwaite donated a 'large and valuable' collection of shells 'made by her mother, Mrs John Wade' (Anna Wade), demonstrating that the practices of the museum could be utilised to commemorate female as well as male collectors.⁸⁸¹

While functioning for their donors as a means of publicly commemorating their family relationships and the achievements of their relatives, these objects also found their place in the museum because of their fit with the existing collections and their potential knowledge value. However, the museum was also prepared to collaborate in acts of commemoration which linked to its own history. In 1891/92 Miss Robson (name unknown) contributed 'a valuable portrait... of the Rev. Richard Winter Hamilton', a former president and longstanding member of the Society.⁸⁸² Although classified under 'Ethnography', this could have little knowledge value for the scientific purposes of the Society, and functioned more to commemorate an individual who had contributed to its development. Similarly, in 1909/10

⁸⁷⁶ Hill, 2016, p. 58.

⁸⁷⁷ Crane, 2000, p. 1.

⁸⁷⁸ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1882.

⁸⁷⁹ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1911, pp. 12-13.

⁸⁸⁰ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1915, p. 15.

⁸⁸¹ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1903, pp. 10, 15.

⁸⁸² Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1892, p. 5.

Mrs Allbutt (name unknown) and Mrs Emma McCheane contributed photographs of their relatives to a collection of portraits of presidents, and in 1914/15 Mrs Caroline Oates donated a framed portrait of another former president.⁸⁸³ In 1918/19 Mrs Ann Elland Ward and Miss Ward (name unknown) donated scientific instruments which had formerly belonged to Mr W. Sykes Ward, Honorary Secretary of the Society from 1840 to 1868.⁸⁸⁴ These donations both honoured the Society by drawing attention to illustrious figures from its history, and served to commemorate the named individual and, through their relationship, the donors.

To summarise, it is evident that, while women were minority donors to the museum, they were able to make donations throughout the period under discussion. These generally did not constitute sustained patronage but were mostly one-off donations of collections or individual objects, although sometimes they point to more intensive engagement with specific collections and their display. They consisted mainly of zoology specimens, but spanned the breadth of the museum's collections. Some donations were made for the purpose of commemorating their former owner; these were either objects which fitted well with the museum's collections, or which celebrated individuals who had played an important role in the museum's history. This analysis sets the context for the two donations of ancient Cypriot objects discussed below.

Eliza Bodington's donation, 1913

As set out in Chapter 4, Nathan Bodington (1848-1911) was Principal of the Yorkshire College then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds, and was closely involved with the leadership of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. The first donation discussed in this chapter formed part of a co-ordinated series of acts aimed at commemorating his life, work and achievements, carried out by his widow. As Whitelaw has pointed out, 'much current writing on women and museums... privileges those women whose class, economic status and cultural affiliations ensure that their lives are known and well-recorded'.⁸⁸⁵ However, despite her wealth and status, Eliza Bodington left few records behind. She was born Eliza Barran, the daughter of Ann (née Hirst) and Sir John Barran, a highly successful Leeds businessman who revolutionized wholesale clothing manufacture in the area. He was a central figure in Leeds

⁸⁸³ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1910; Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1915.

⁸⁸⁴ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1919, p. 16.

⁸⁸⁵ Whitelaw, 2012, p. 79.

civic life as a major employer, sometime MP, and mayor, and he was closely involved in the development of the Yorkshire College into the University of Leeds, working with Nathan Bodington.⁸⁸⁶ Despite this connection, it appears that Eliza and Nathan did not become closely acquainted until they happened to meet while both on holiday in Spain in 1907.⁸⁸⁷ They were married later that year, when Eliza was 52 and Nathan 59. Very little information survives about Eliza in her own right, either before or after her marriage. While Nathan Bodington was often in the public eye in his role as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds, she does not seem to have sought a higher profile, but was content to support him in his various spheres of activity, in particular at the University.⁸⁸⁸

Nathan Bodington combined Classical scholarship with archaeological interests and practice, and he was active across the whole of this field. He was a founding member of the Classical Association.⁸⁸⁹ He was active in the Thoresby Society, the Leeds historical society founded in 1889, publishing on Roman remains in the Society's Proceedings.⁸⁹⁰ He was the first Chairman of the Roman Antiquities Committee for Yorkshire, founded in 1906, and in this capacity led excavations at a villa at Middleham, and at the Roman camps at Cawthorn near Pickering, North Yorkshire in 1908.⁸⁹¹ Eliza joined him on these archaeological excavations, and they thoroughly enjoyed the experience; according to Bodington's biographer 'they were disappointed in not making any important discoveries, but he was intensely happy living this simple life'.⁸⁹² Bodington's interest in the ancient world also took him overseas to ancient sites. He went to Pompeii five times, and twice visited Sir Arthur Evans' excavations at Knossos in Crete.⁸⁹³ He also made a number of visits to the Greek islands, at times accompanied by Percy Gardner (1846-1937), former assistant at the British Museum and Professor of Archaeology at Cambridge and then Oxford; Gardner paid tribute to 'the eager freshness of his interest in every site which we visited, his untiring enterprise, his alertness of intellect'.⁸⁹⁴ Bodington used these visits to acquire knowledge of the ancient world, which he shared through lecturing, but found little time for sustained writing. However, in 1890 he

⁸⁸⁶ See the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry by Jenkins, 2012.

⁸⁸⁷ As recorded by Nathan Bodington's biographer (Draper, 1912, pp. 195-196).

⁸⁸⁸ Anon. 1941. Lady Bodington. *Yorkshire Post*. 22 January, p. 6.

⁸⁸⁹ Classical Association of England and Wales, 1904, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁹⁰ Bodington, 1895a; Bodington, 1895b. See Chapter 4 for Bodington's correspondence with A.S. Murray at the British Museum about Roman remains in Yorkshire.

⁸⁹¹ Anon., 1906; Simpson, 1926.

⁸⁹² Draper, 1912, p. 214.

⁸⁹³ Anon. 1901. Lecture on Pompeii. *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*. 9 March, p. 8; Anon. 1901. Civilisation in the Bronze Age. *Yorkshire Post*. 20 November, p. 9.

⁸⁹⁴ Council of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, 1911.

contributed an article on 'Roman Ventimiglia' to *Macmillan's Magazine*, which demonstrates how his approach to Classics combined literary and material culture sources; he described the history of excavation at the site and the finds, and provided an eye-witness account of casual digging to find objects for sale.⁸⁹⁵

After their marriage, the couple visited Greece and Italy as well as exploring the remains of Roman cities in North Africa. On the way back from this last tour, in May 1911, Nathan Bodington grew ill, and died a few days later at the age of 62.⁸⁹⁶ His early death, and the brevity of his marriage, set the context for the acts of memorialisation undertaken by Eliza Bodington. Nathan Bodington's biographer emphasises the regret felt by his colleagues and friends that he died so soon after his marriage, before retirement, and after many years of hard work in driving the development of the Yorkshire College.⁸⁹⁷ Although he had been rewarded with a knighthood in 1908, he had had little time to enjoy a greater degree of leisure, or the rewards of his successful career, and was prevented from shaping his own legacy in retirement through further charitable work, honorary roles and donations.⁸⁹⁸ It is perhaps for this reason that Eliza Bodington invested significant time, money and effort in a range of commemorative acts to safeguard and perpetuate his memory in settings which had been important to him.

Her first donation drew attention to Nathan Bodington's family history and Christianity. She paid for a brass tablet to be mounted on the wall of the Parish Church at Kenilworth, next to his family pew. The text refers to Bodington as 'First Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds', emphasising his professional achievements, and names his father and grandfather, concluding 'In the church where his family worshipped this tablet is placed by his wife'.⁸⁹⁹ In this way Eliza Bodington wrote herself into this family history, ensuring that their relationship was also memorialised, and that future church-goers would know of Nathan Bodington's connection to the community. She also took part in higher-profile commemorations led by the University of Leeds, donating a portrait of her husband in his role as Vice-Chancellor to the University.⁹⁰⁰ This gift can be interpreted as an attempt to ensure that Nathan

⁸⁹⁵ Bodington, 1891.

⁸⁹⁶ Draper, 1912, pp. 215-219.

⁸⁹⁷ Draper, 1912, p. 230.

⁸⁹⁸ Draper, 1912, p. 202.

⁸⁹⁹ I am grateful to Rosie Dalby, Parish Administrator of the Parish of St Nicholas with St Barnabas, Kenilworth, for this information.

⁹⁰⁰ 'Sir Nathan Bodington MA, DLitt (Vice-Chancellor 1904-11)' (1912 or 1913). Leeds University Art Collection, accession number LEEUA 1913.001.

Bodington's pivotal role in founding the University would be permanently remembered. In October 1913 Eliza Bodington donated to the University a group of antiquities from Cyprus which had been discovered among Nathan Bodington's stored possessions in the University's cellar.⁹⁰¹ She made the gift to the Classical Department in the hope that 'it might encourage a taste for archaeology in which my husband was so interested', thereby ensuring that his name would remain associated with the objects.⁹⁰²

Eliza further commemorated her husband and his expertise in archaeology in a donation of ancient Cypriot material from Nathan Bodington's personal collection to the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. This was recorded in the 94th Annual Report as follows:

By Lady Bodington, an interesting selection of objects collected by the late Sir Nathan Bodington in Cyprus. It includes glass vessels, terra-cotta figures, an amphora, unguentaria, red earthenware bowl, bronze mirrors and knuckle bones. The objects are displayed on the Grand Staircase.⁹⁰³

Due to gaps in museum records, this donation is difficult to identify securely in today's collection. No glass objects survive, probably as a consequence of bomb damage in the Second World War (see Chapter 6). The mirror, the only one in the collection ([LEEDM.D.1964.0388](#), **Fig. 5.3**), a Bichrome amphora ([LEEDM.D.1964.0359](#)) and a single knucklebone ([LEEDM.D.1964.0387](#)) have retained their association with the Bodingtons, as has a Black on Red flask ([LEEDM.D.1964.0362](#)) which may be one of the 'unguentaria'. It is not clear how many and which of the surviving figurines should be attributed to the Bodington collection. As discussed in Chapter 4, the lack of itemisation and specific descriptive vocabulary demonstrate the relative lack of attention paid to ancient objects by the museum and its curator in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This is reflected in the Annual Report's notice of Nathan Bodington's death, which credited him with the donation by the British Museum of 'some examples of Mycenaean Pottery from Crete', misrepresenting the 1902 donation.⁹⁰⁴ Beyond Leeds, material culture from Cyprus was becoming increasingly well understood. For example, John Linton Myres' *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*, published in 1914, was a watershed in classifying, describing and dating different classes of object and providing a firm foundation

⁹⁰¹ These objects form the University of Leeds ancient Cypriot collection today. They were thought to have been ordered by Bodington for sale at a fundraising event but had arrived too late; in the present author's opinion they are the 1895 British Museum donation from Amathus, as discussed in Chapter 4. See also Reeve, 2015.

⁹⁰² Reeve, 2015, p. 7.

⁹⁰³ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1914, p. 10.

⁹⁰⁴ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1912, p. 5.

for future archaeological research.⁹⁰⁵ Specialist knowledge was becoming available to those who wanted to acquire it; but in Leeds there was only one curatorial role spread across the breadth of the museum's collections, and Crowther evidently lacked the time or inclination to pursue these specialist studies.



Fig. 5.3 Bronze mirror (LEEDM.D.1964.0388). Said to have been acquired by Nathan Bodington in Cyprus, and donated by Eliza Bodington after his death.
© Leeds Museums and Galleries.

Although the date and circumstances of Nathan Bodington's visit to Cyprus are not known, his ownership of this collection accords with his interest in archaeology, and his approach of using material culture as evidence for the ancient world. Antiquities were readily available in Cyprus for purchase by tourists in this period and although there were beginning to be increasing controls on excavation, the sale of ancient objects in Cyprus was barely restricted, a situation which would continue for some time.⁹⁰⁶ The objects themselves offer no further information on their sites of origin. Nathan Bodington himself may have had more information, but Eliza Bodington had only been closely acquainted with him for four years, and may not have known the full history of his collection.

The collection can be characterised as more archaeological than aesthetic, with objects of different types seemingly selected more for their use as evidence for ancient customs and practices than for their display value, with the possible exception of the amphora. The figurines are tactile and engaging, and universally appealing in their representation of the human form in miniature.⁹⁰⁷ Complete figurines could be displayed effectively, but many are

⁹⁰⁵ Myres, 1914; Kiely and Ulbrich, 2012, p. 152.

⁹⁰⁶ See, for example, the thriving trade in antiquities from the Cyprus Museum in 1930 described in Green and Henry, 2021, p. 139.

⁹⁰⁷ Yon and Caubet, 1988.

fragmentary, and objects such as knucklebones (used for gambling games) are less visually attractive. It can perhaps be identified as standing between a souvenir and a systematic collection, in Pearce's classification, providing evidence of a wide range of ancient practices while perhaps also bringing to mind past travels.⁹⁰⁸ In their move from the domestic to the museum sphere, the objects acted as public witnesses to Nathan Bodington's interest in the ancient past. As shown above, this formed part of an established pattern of commemorative donations by women to mark their personal relationships, a form of 'reputation management' in Hill's term.⁹⁰⁹ In Bodington's case it also served the purpose of memorialising an important figure in the museum's own history, another key factor in making the donation acceptable.

Frances Stott's donation, 1920

The second donor discussed in this chapter also sought to memorialise a deceased individual, although she went to great lengths to conceal, rather than commemorate, the relationship between them, which has been uncovered through archival investigation. Frances Louisa Stott was born in Haslingden in Lancashire. Her family were textile manufacturers, and her brother was an engineer who grew to be wealthy; there was sufficient family wealth for her not to need to work.⁹¹⁰ She never married, but conducted a relationship spanning many years with Charles Louis Hoelen, a married man. Hoelen lived in London, and is recorded as working in many different occupations including bombardier in the Royal Artillery, silversmith's commercial clerk, stationer, and interpreter.⁹¹¹ Hoelen's wife Emily Vernall Hoelen filed for divorce in 1888, stating in her petition that

since the year 1875 ... Charles Hoelen has habitually committed adultery with F. L. Stott... whilst they have been travelling together to and from the Continent of

⁹⁰⁸ Pearce, 1993, pp. 68-88.

⁹⁰⁹ Hill, 2016, p. 56.

⁹¹⁰ See the brief mention of the Stott family in Ashmore, 1982, pp. 206-207.

⁹¹¹ 'Charles Hoelen'. 1859. Church of England *Marriages and Banns, 1754-1932*. London Metropolitan Archives, London. Reference Number: *P91/LEN/A/01/Ms 7498/71* (bombardier in the Royal Artillery); 'Charles L. Hoelen'. 1871. *Census return for Haggerston East, Shoreditch, London*. The National Archives of the UK; Kew, Surrey, England; *1871 England Census*; Class: *RG10*; Piece: *472*; Folio: *39*; Page: *8*; GSU roll: *823367* (silversmith's commercial clerk); 'Charles L. Hoelen'. 1891. *Census return for Hornsey, Middlesex*. The National Archives of the UK; Kew, Surrey, England; *Census Returns of England and Wales, 1891*; Class: *RG12*; Piece: *1063*; Folio: *13*; Page: *22*; GSU roll: *6096173* (album manufacturer/stationer); 'Charles Hoelin'. 1881. *Census return for South Hackney, Hackney, London*. The National Archives of the UK; Kew, Surrey, England; *Census Returns of England and Wales, 1881*; Class: *RG11*; Piece: *318*; Folio: *24*; Page: *41*; GSU roll: *1341068* (interpreter).

Europe and on the said Continent and at the Grosvenor Hotel Victoria Station Pimlico... and in the year 1879 during a tour in Palestine and... at divers places in America and in the year 1880 at Biarritz... and in September 1887 in the Kingdom of Belgium and ... at divers places in England.⁹¹²

According to this, Frances Stott and Charles Hoelen conducted an affair that spanned many years and many countries. It is of course possible that their relationship may have been a platonic one; no evidence survives of any public scandal associated with Stott, and even after Hoelen's divorce, they did not choose to marry. In either case, their liaison was evidently long-lasting and of great significance to them both. It was presumably over the course of their travels together that Frances Stott's collection was assembled. An overview of this is given in her Will, which details 'the curios, old pottery, scaraboes, the old Egyptian hieroglyphic stone set as a brooch and the cylinder seal'.⁹¹³ Further information is given by the Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society for 1921, which records her donation:

By the late Miss F.L. Stott, per Mrs M. Smith, Headingley: several Greek polychrome Lekythi, two-handled Vase, two-handled Cup, one-handled Skyphos, an Aryballos from Cyprus and several Egyptian bronze Figures.⁹¹⁴

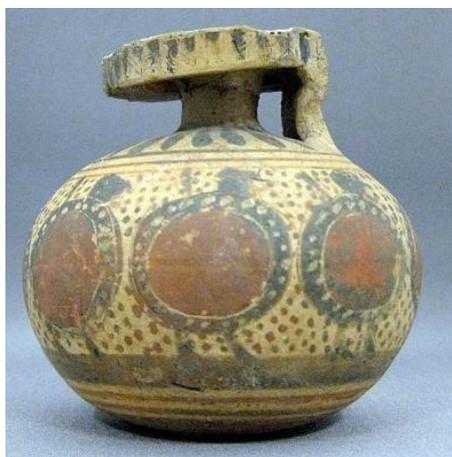


Fig. 5.4 Corinthian aryballos, Archaic period (LEEDM.D.1967.1272).

Said to be from Cyprus, belonging to Frances Stott, and donated by Mrs M. Smith after her death. © Leeds Museums and Galleries.

⁹¹² 'Charles Lewis Hoelen'. 1887. The National Archives; Kew, Surrey, England; *Court for Divorce and Matrimonial Causes, later Supreme Court of Judicature: Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Files, J 77*; Reference Number: J 77/393/1930.

⁹¹³ 'Frances Louisa Stott' 1913. Last will and testament of Frances Louisa Stott, 18 August 1913. National Probate Office.

⁹¹⁴ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1921, p. 7.

As with Eliza Bodington's donation, these objects are not readily identifiable in the surviving collection. Two Greek lekythoi have survived, and the 'Aryballos from Cyprus' is said to be a Corinthian aryballos ([LEEDM.D.1967.1272](#), **Fig. 5.4**); however, as Barr emphasises, such attributions can persist over long periods with little supporting evidence.⁹¹⁵ These would all have been used in antiquity for perfumed oil, and are small, tactile objects designed to be held in the hand. They are all decorative, with scenes from mythology on the Greek juglets and a frieze of warriors on the Cypriot vessel, whose round shields echo the shape of the pot. This can readily be identified as a souvenir collection, according to Pearce's classification.⁹¹⁶ There is no indication that Stott had any particular interest in these objects as evidence of the ancient past. This is highlighted by the mention of an 'old Egyptian hieroglyphic stone set as a brooch' in her Will; an ancient object repurposed as a feminine adornment, something to be kept close to the body and enjoyed on an aesthetic and sensual level.⁹¹⁷ As Hill notes, 'men's and women's ways of collecting and living with objects produced quite different meanings for those objects'.⁹¹⁸ Macleod has discussed the 'tactile engagement' of women collectors of this period with their objects, how the process of handling and rearranging them was a form of play which 'console[d] the psyche and contribute[d] to the articulation of the self'.⁹¹⁹ Stott may well have used her collection of objects in this way, to construct an identity for herself as a traveler and collector, and to remind her of time spent with Charles Hoelen when it was not possible for them to be together.

On one level, Stott's collection shed their associations with antiquity and functioned as souvenirs, in Stewart's formulation 'not an object arising out of need or use value [but]... out of the necessarily insatiable demands of nostalgia'.⁹²⁰ Both Bodington's and Stott's objects functioned as metonyms, each signifying more than the object itself; for example, a knucklebone could represent a game of chance, and therefore provide evidence of ancient pastimes. However, Stott's primarily signified her personal experiences, giving rise to 'a narrative [not] of the object [but]... of the possessor'.⁹²¹ The objects also played another role, as public-facing evidence for her travel and experience of different countries. Far from keeping this collection secret, Stott was well known in her local area for her travels and

⁹¹⁵ Barr, 2018, p. 195.

⁹¹⁶ Pearce, 1993, p. 72.

⁹¹⁷ 'Frances Louisa Stott' 1913. Last will and testament of Frances Louisa Stott, 18 August 1913. National Probate Office.

⁹¹⁸ Hill, 2016, p. 89.

⁹¹⁹ Macleod, 2008, pp. 15-16.

⁹²⁰ Stewart, 1992, p. 135.

⁹²¹ Stewart, 1992, p. 136.

collection. A visitor to Haslingden in 1882 was urged by a local clergyman to call on the Stotts, a family of 'influence and position', using the pretext that 'the young lady of the family had recently returned from Palestine, and had brought home with her many interesting mementoes of her trip.'⁹²² This episode indicates that Stott's travels were not only known locally, but brought her social capital, in Bourdieu's term.⁹²³ The objects she had collected played an important part as public testimony to her travels as well as personal souvenirs. They facilitated the social ritual among the middle classes of paying and receiving calls and spending time together in conversation in a domestic space; they would have been passed from hand to hand and used as illustrations of Stott's experiences, arousing curiosity and providing a stepping off point for anecdotes. The objects thus had a dual function, both signifying an unspoken emotional history as testaments to a relationship which could not openly be acknowledged, and acting as guarantors of the authenticity of her travels and experiences.

It was presumably this emotional significance that prompted Stott, after Hoelen's death in 1892, to seek to memorialise him through strategic museum donations, while it was the objects' value as material evidence of antiquity which enabled her to do so. In this she had a more difficult task than Eliza Bodington, whose cultural, social and economic capital, derived from her social class, title, married status, links through her husband to learned institutions, and wealth gave her leverage to work with different organisations to put her memorials in place.⁹²⁴ After the deaths of their partners, both women sought to move their collections of ancient objects from the private sphere to a public institution, in order to gain a kind of immortality for their partners through the permanent association of their names with these institutions. As Pearce comments, the 'urge for long-term recognition on the part of the collector is, of course, the motive for the donation of many collections to museums'.⁹²⁵ Following such donations 'mechanisms of... obligation through things... are called into play', in Mauss' terms, and ways of fulfilling this obligation by providing recognition were built into the practices of the museum, for example through Annual Reports, the naming of collections, and highlighting objects in lectures.⁹²⁶ The key difference between the donations discussed here, and those explored in previous chapters, is that these women donors sought to achieve posthumous memorials to their partners rather than recognition for themselves.

⁹²² Kimball, 1894, p. 230.

⁹²³ Bourdieu, 1986.

⁹²⁴ Bourdieu, 1986.

⁹²⁵ Pearce, 1993, p. 65.

⁹²⁶ Mauss, 2001, p. 29. See the discussion in Chapter 3.

The resources at their disposal, in terms of cultural, social and economic capital, affected the way they went about achieving these objectives and also affected their degree of success. For example, Eliza Bodington drew attention to her relationship with her late husband, while Stott actively tried to suppress her liaison with Hoelen. The fact this relationship could not be openly acknowledged limited her scope to build his reputation. Nevertheless, she was resourceful and determined in using the objects they had collected together to form a lasting memorial to him. Her first target was the Victoria and Albert Museum, to which she donated two pieces of ancient glass. These are recorded in the V&A Archives as '2 small glass bottles, iridescent, ancient Egypto-Roman, from Abydos, as a gift from the late C.L. Hoelen, Esq.'⁹²⁷ These archives make it clear that although Stott arranged the donation, she was careful to associate it with Hoelen and not with her own name. Her aim of public commemoration of Hoelen was achieved; his name was included in the V&A's 'Review of the Principal Acquisitions during the year 1915'.⁹²⁸ Like the Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, this was a museum publication designed to reward its benefactors with recognition, and could be used to commemorate personal relationships through donation, for example the 'sixty-six pieces... given by Mrs Fox in memory of her husband and son' in the same volume.⁹²⁹ However, Stott could only commemorate Hoelen in his own right through the donation, and not the connection between them. Hoelen was estranged from his family and had not made a mark in any professional capacity, but through this donation Stott associated him with the elite world of art collectors and donors, drawing attention to his interests in this area and creating a form of public memorial to him in this role.

In her analysis of women's relationships with museums, Hill discusses 'the domestic material strategies... whereby women used exchanges of objects to mark relationships, assert their position within the family, and pursue emotional goals'. The use of these strategies can be detected in Stott's Will, which repeatedly draws attention to the personal connections signified by each object.⁹³⁰ For example, she bequeathed to her sister household objects 'that belonged to our late mother', and left jewelry to her niece that was 'given to me by my brother'. Her nephew received books from the former family home, and 'the gold albert chain and seal which belonged to my late father'.⁹³¹ In Stewart's terms, 'The function of the

⁹²⁷ V&A Acquisition file MA/1/S3672 'Stott, F. L. Miss'.

⁹²⁸ Victoria and Albert Museum, 1916, xiv, p. 18.

⁹²⁹ Victoria and Albert Museum, 1916, p. 36.

⁹³⁰ 'Frances Louisa Stott' 1913. Last will and testament of Frances Louisa Stott, 18 August 1913. National Probate Office.

⁹³¹ 'Frances Louisa Stott' 1913. Last will and testament of Frances Louisa Stott, 18 August 1913. National Probate Office.

heirloom is to weave, quite literally by means of narrative, a significance of blood relation at the expense of a large view of history and causality.⁹³² By recording the itineraries of her possessions, where they came from and who gave them to her, Stott invested them with significance beyond their material properties, and attributed them with agency as the bearers of her own history to their new owners.⁹³³ Her approach to these family objects forms a sharp contrast with her efforts in her Will to dissociate herself from her collection of ancient objects. It states:

I give and bequeath all the curios, old pottery, scaraboes, the old Egyptian hieroglyphic stone set as a brooch and the cylinder seal (given to me by my late friend Charles Louis Hollen) to the trustees of the British Museum as a gift to the English Nation and I desire and request that the same may be accepted by the said trustees as if the same had been directly given to them by my said late friend and that his name and not my name may in all records whatsoever appear and be attached to such gifts as the donor thereof.⁹³⁴

While the language appropriate for a Will requires a certain degree of redundancy and formality, Stott's insistence on distancing herself from this collection is striking. Elsewhere in the Will she emphasised the personal associations of her objects, and her place in the networks of relationships along which they travelled, but here she sought to erase herself from the objects' itineraries. As numerous critics have discussed, women collectors have historically tended to be effaced from the official records of museums and galleries, and their collections undervalued, in contrast to the treatment of male collectors and their donations.⁹³⁵ In this instance, Stott sought to take advantage of this tendency in order to shift the focus onto her partner, and away from the liaison between them, which could not publicly be acknowledged or commemorated.

In seeking to place these objects in the British Museum 'as a gift to the English Nation', Stott was evidently continuing her efforts to place Charles Hoelen posthumously in a circle of nationally significant collectors and donors.⁹³⁶ However, in this instance her strategy failed; the British Museum has no record of any such proposed donation.⁹³⁷ The donation was

⁹³² Stewart, 1992, p. 137.

⁹³³ Hill, 2016, p. 48.

⁹³⁴ 'Frances Louisa Stott' 1913. Last will and testament of Frances Louisa Stott, 18 August 1913. National Probate Office.

⁹³⁵ See, for example, Hill, 2016, p. 12, and Emery, 2020.

⁹³⁶ 'Frances Louisa Stott' 1913. Last will and testament of Frances Louisa Stott, 18 August 1913. National Probate Office.

⁹³⁷ I am grateful to Dr Patricia Usick, Honorary Archivist, Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan at the British Museum, for this information.

instead made to the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, by Mrs M. Smith (probably Martha Smith, Stott's niece).⁹³⁸ Without further information it is difficult to deduce the reason for this, but it appears that Stott had insufficient social or cultural capital to ensure the fulfilment of her wishes after her death. Bourdieu discusses how a 'plenipotentiary' in a social group may act on behalf of the group and overrule the wishes or actions of any one member.⁹³⁹ If the strategy of donating the collection of a relative to a museum was aimed at raising the profile of a woman's family, of '[bringing] women's domestic and familial networks... into public view', then it is understandable that a decision-maker in her family may have been concerned about making this particular connection public.⁹⁴⁰ In any case, it is Stott, and not Hoelen, who is recorded in this public document through the donation of these objects. Their ability to complement the museum's collections and therefore improve its ability to produce knowledge ensured that they were accepted.

Reception in the museum

As soon as the objects were accessioned into museums and art galleries, their previous owners' control over them ended, and they became part of new systems of value and open to new interpretations. In 1913/14 Reginald A. Smith (1873-1940), latterly Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities at the British Museum, advised the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society on the classification of the typological collections of 'prehistoric implements and pottery, and of classical pottery, glass and bronze objects' which continued to be displayed on what was now known as the Grand Staircase Landing.⁹⁴¹ Whether this help was proactively offered by the British Museum, or requested by Crowther, it demonstrates the continued close connections between the local and national museums, and the continuing influence exerted by the British Museum over the knowledge value of the collections. Smith's work involved a consolidation of the collections; 'stone age' objects were added to the display, and medieval metalwork removed. The objects were arranged in ten sections, from 'Stone Age of Egypt' to 'Anglo-Saxon'. The ancient Cypriot objects found a place in the section 'Pottery of the Classical Period':

Mycenaean style about 1500-1100 B.C., which lingered on in Cyprus to about 900 B.C. Geometric or Dipylon style about 1000-800 B.C. Greek Vases with black figures

⁹³⁸ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1921, p. 7.

⁹³⁹ Bourdieu, 1986, p. 251.

⁹⁴⁰ Hill, 2016, p. 49.

⁹⁴¹ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1914, pp. 13-14.

on a red ground about 600-500 B.C., and red figures on a black ground 500-400 B.C. Samian Ware, a Gaulish imitation of the products of Arretium, Italy.⁹⁴²

The overarching term ‘the Classical Period’ appears to be used rather loosely to extend back in time beyond Geometric Greek art. The dating of the ‘Mycenaean style’ suggests that the British Museum curators were retreating slightly from Murray’s very low dating of the Mycenaean age, while still asserting that it persisted in Cyprus to around 900 BC. Crowther and the ‘Honorary Curator in Ethnology and Works of Art’ – at this point Sydney D. Kitson, whose primary interest was modern British art – were evidently content to accept the authority of the British Museum in identifying and dating their collections.

As part of his efforts to increase the accessibility of the museums’ collections, Crowther prioritized producing a lively General Guide and regularly updating it. While Miall produced only one overarching Guide, in 1890, Crowther produced his first Guide in 1897 and successive editions in 1906, 1909, 1912, 1915, and 1925.⁹⁴³ The 1915 Guide to the museum, the first produced after Bodington’s donation, commented:

The Greek case contains some fine examples of cups and vases, together with a valuable series of Cyprian ware. A number of Mycenæan objects presented by the Trustees of the British Museum, which were found during the recent British excavations in Cyprus. These comprise spinning-wheels, stone ornaments, and pottery; the latter are vases, jugs, and bowls, of probably three periods of Mycenæan art. Also an interesting series of Cyprian objects in bronze, glass, and terra-cotta, presented by Lady Bodington.⁹⁴⁴

This description is revealing of the attitudes of the museum’s curatorial staff to these collections. Rather than re-evaluating and seriating the whole collection in terms of its Cypriot cultural origin, it preserves the successive layers of acquisition: ‘Cyprian ware’ from Sandwith’s collection; the British Museum donation, from excavations in the 1890s still described as ‘recent’; and subsequently Eliza Bodington’s donation. Crowther took seriously his responsibility to discharge the debt of recognition incurred by the acceptance of donations, stating that ‘The mission of a curator... is to keep evergreen the names of donors to his museum.’⁹⁴⁵ The division of the ancient Cypriot collection into distinct groups in the 1915 Guide allowed this recognition to be achieved. The mention of ‘Lady Bodington’

⁹⁴² Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1914, p. 14.

⁹⁴³ Miall, 1890; Crowther, 1897; Crowther, 1906; Crowther, 1909; Crowther, 1912; Crowther, 1915; Crowther, 1925. The entire print run (5,000 copies) of the 1906 *Guide* sold out within two years (Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1909, p. 10).

⁹⁴⁴ Crowther, 1915, p. 8.

⁹⁴⁵ Crowther, 1905, p. 11.

preserves the familial significance which the objects had acquired in their domestic setting, and recalls Nathan Bodington himself, additionally commemorated in the Guide as having contributed the description of the Lanuvium objects in the Greek and Roman Room.⁹⁴⁶

Through the meaning-making structures of the museum, the memory of Nathan Bodington became collective, in the minds of all visitors, rather than individual, and was reified in these objects within the museum's collections.⁹⁴⁷

Ten years passed before the next edition of the Guide in 1925, after the museum had passed into public ownership. No change was made to the description of the 'Pottery of the Classical Period'; the British Museum's excavations were still described as 'recent', reflecting a lack of curatorial attention to this collection and no perceived need to ensure that the description was kept up to date.⁹⁴⁸ No mention was made of Frances Stott's donation, so that the personal significance of the objects in their previous domestic setting was entirely erased. This may have been due to a combination of factors: the small size of the donation (not every donor could be recognised, for reasons of space); the complex acquisition history, via Mrs Smith, which made it difficult to determine who should be acknowledged; and possibly Stott's relatively low social and cultural capital, compared to that of Lady Bodington, whose association with the museum conferred prestige, and who was already fully linked into the social networks in which the museum was a key nexus.⁹⁴⁹ In Crane's terms, 'Meanings, embedded in narrative, rely on repetition, context, and memory for their posterity.'⁹⁵⁰ While the use of their name preserved the Bodingtons' association with their objects, Stott's objects were completely separated from their previous context and their association with her personal history was lost.

Display and interpretation

Historic photographs of the staircase landing from the museum's archives can be analysed to deduce the impact of Smith's reorganisation, although unfortunately these do not show the Cypriot collection. These photographs are undated, but some inferences can be drawn from internal evidence; **Fig. 5.5a** is assumed to be contemporaneous with **Fig. 4.6**, i.e. between

⁹⁴⁶ Crowther, 1915, p. 3.

⁹⁴⁷ Crane, 2000, p. 2.

⁹⁴⁸ Crowther, 1925, p. 8.

⁹⁴⁹ Bourdieu states that 'The title of nobility is the form *par excellence* of ... institutionalized social capital' (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 251).

⁹⁵⁰ Crane, 2006, p. 107.

1895 and 1902, and to be earlier than **Fig. 5.5b**, which is assumed to be around 1915.⁹⁵¹ Although the images do not show the displays on either side of the doorway very clearly, it can be seen that their density has increased, which further supports dating **Fig. 5.5b** later than 1913 when Smith commenced his work. The objects are more tightly packed, some of them in trays within the cases, and a riser has been fitted to add an extra shelf to the case on the left. The typological displays were evidently a focus of Smith's curatorial attention, and the objects donated by Eliza Bodington were presumably incorporated into the display, adding to the representativeness of the collections, as part of which they were classified and interpreted in line with contemporary scientific understanding.



Fig. 5.5a



Fig. 5.5b

a) View into the North Geological Room from the Staircase Landing, c. 1895-1902.

b) View into the North Geological Room from the Staircase Landing, c. 1915.

© Leeds Museums and Galleries.

⁹⁵¹ In **Fig. 5.5b**, the Museum's skeleton of a Moa can be seen through the doorway of the North Geological Room, and it is not visible in **Fig. 5.5a**. The 1909 Museum Guide records this skeleton as situated in the Bird Room, and it is first mentioned in the North Geological Room in the 1915 Guide. **Fig. 5.5a** is therefore earlier than **Fig. 5.5b**, which can be securely dated later than 1909. See Steadman, 2019, pp. 169-170.

The 1915 Guide states that the collections

have been classified by Mr Reginald A. Smith, of the British Museum, and arranged according to periods. Over the cases are printed descriptions of the periods the objects represent, and within the cases are printed cards describing modes of burial at these times.⁹⁵²

This, coupled with **Fig. 5.5b**, indicates that individual object labels had now become less prominent, and visitors were instead given more support in interpreting the material culture through detailed information in each case, in keeping with Crowther's objective to make the museum's displays more generally accessible. It is possible that the ancient Cypriot objects were given some kind of context describing their use in funerary practices, although given the considerable time span covered by 'the Classical Period' this can only have been quite general. In due course Stott's aryballos would probably also have been added to this case. As an object produced in Greece but found in Cyprus, it had the potential to illustrate themes such as cross-cultural contacts, trade routes, and divergent artistic development, but it is unlikely that any of these were brought out in the display or interpretation. The donations were therefore recruited to the intellectual and educational work of the museum, and their display behind glass moved them away from the tactile engagement that had been possible in a domestic setting towards a purely visual presentation.

Audience responses

This period saw a consolidation of Crowther's effort at outreach and popular accessibility introduced in Chapter 4, including illustrated lectures for different audiences and a more accessible Guide to the museum. The impact of these initiatives can be seen in **Fig. 3.7**; except for low numbers coinciding with the outbreak of the First World War, visitor numbers saw some recovery in this period. Crowther's work continued to be warmly appreciated by the museum's different audiences, which by this point extended far beyond the Society's members. Indeed, the Society's Annual Report for 1911/12 declared that 'Few members can have an idea of the part the Museum plays in the life of the City', citing its use by medical students, undergraduates at the University of Leeds, art students, teachers, schoolchildren, and 'over one thousand citizens [who] seek yearly its help by enquiries', especially those wanting help in identifying harmful insects.⁹⁵³ Antiquities, including those from Cyprus, played a part in this popularity. The museum's ancient collections proved attractive to

⁹⁵² Crowther, 1915, p. 6.

⁹⁵³ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1912, pp. 12-13.

students of the City Art School, who frequently visited to draw 'the Greek, Roman and Egyptian Pottery.'⁹⁵⁴ The antiquities were also the subject of research by University staff, indicating that the rich and varied collections gathered by the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society had research potential which could be mined by those with relevant interests. In 1914 A.M. Woodward (1883-1973), Lecturer in Classics and Ancient History and alumnus of the British School at Athens, published a paper on 'The Antiquities from Lanuvium in the Museum at Leeds and Elsewhere'.⁹⁵⁵ Woodward also catalogued the Cypriot antiquities donated by Eliza Bodington to the University in 1913.⁹⁵⁶ However, despite his involvement with these collections, Woodward did not publish on the University's or the museum's ancient Cypriot collections. These had first come to the Museum as part of its remit of gathering 'whatever is curious', while the British Museum donation of 1902 had been requested by Nathan Bodington for teaching purposes.⁹⁵⁷ As such, they were never explicitly envisaged as a research collection for the University, and do not appear to have been used for this purpose.

By this point the School Museums Scheme was a well-established part of educational practice in Leeds, and continued to be highly popular. It was recognised that Crowther's personal qualities and abilities were largely responsible for this, as recorded in 1920:

The Council feel that the remarkable success of this scheme is due to the wonderful enthusiasm of Mr Crowther, to his special attractions as a lecturer, and to the skilful use of the Collections. It has been a remarkable product of the unselfish devotion of our Curator which has worthily earned the gratitude of the Council and the thanks of successive relays of the children and the instructors.⁹⁵⁸

Although they are not explicitly mentioned in the reports of the school programme, the ancient Cypriot collections, alongside the museum's other exhibits, can be assumed to have played a part in these popular lectures and visits. As had proved the case throughout the museum's history, the interests and priorities of the curator determined the ways in which the objects were presented and used to create knowledge for visitors. However, while the public were making good use of the museum, the Society's own lecture series was poorly attended by its membership, which continued a steady decline.⁹⁵⁹ It had by now been

⁹⁵⁴ Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1913, p. 11.

⁹⁵⁵ Woodward, 1914.

⁹⁵⁶ Reeve, 2015.

⁹⁵⁷ 'Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society: Arrangement and Disposal of Collections' (1895). Leeds University Library Special Collections, classmark SC/LPLS/02/2/3/1.

⁹⁵⁸ Kitson Clark, 1924, pp. 114-115.

⁹⁵⁹ Kitson Clark, 1924, pp. 121, 235.

generally accepted that the Society's structure needed radical change, and the only remaining question was whether the Council or the University would ultimately take over the collections.

Conclusion

The analysis of acquisition events relating to the ancient Cypriot collections at LMG has explored the complex networks along which objects travelled, and the motivations which prompted their move from private hands into a museum setting. Both Bodington and Stott were prompted by the death of a partner to find a fitting home for their ancient Cypriot objects, and both attempted to ensure that this functioned as a lasting memorial by associating their partners' names with the donation. This approach of 'using objects to mark out... family relationships in public institutions', identified and discussed by Hill, can be seen as gendered in the Leeds context in that it is associated only with these two women donors; none of the male donors of Cypriot antiquities attempted to memorialise another person in this way, although the museum system of recognition and reward benefited them in their own right.⁹⁶⁰ Bourdieu's analysis of capital has here been employed to help unpack the reasons behind the differing success of these strategies for each woman.⁹⁶¹

In order to be accepted by the museum, the objects had to participate in new systems of meaning-making. In Hill's terms, 'souvenirs in museums combined intimate and individual significance with public value and display.'⁹⁶² By carrying multiple meanings, as evidence for human cultural development as well as personal souvenirs, these objects were able to justify their place in the museum's structures. Stewart claims that 'The souvenir is destined to be forgotten; its tragedy lies in the death of memory', and this is the case with Stott's objects, whose personal significance was lost until they were researched for this thesis, although Bodington had more success in permanently inscribing part of her personal history into the collective memory of the museum.⁹⁶³ This exploration of these objects' itineraries has allowed their broader range of significances, beyond those prioritised by the museum, to be recovered and provides an alternative way of understanding their presence in today's museum collection.

⁹⁶⁰ Hill, 2016, p. 59; Knell, 2007, pp. 268-269.

⁹⁶¹ Bourdieu, 1986.

⁹⁶² Hill, 2016, p. 89.

⁹⁶³ Stewart, 1992, p. 150.

CHAPTER 6 The final phase of acquisition, 1921-1947

Introduction

This chapter explores the final major phase of acquisition of ancient Cypriot objects by the Leeds Museum, from 1921 no longer the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. The analysis demonstrates that this was a period of great change for the museum, as it was finally transferred into public ownership; saw the end of Crowther's long tenure as curator; and suffered catastrophic damage in the Second World War. The impact of this latter event on the archaeology collections in particular was long-lasting and slow to be repaired. Even eighty years later, this thesis can be seen as a further step towards restoring lost knowledge about the collections.

Three acquisition events are examined: the transfer of John Holmes' collection from the unsuccessful Leeds Free Public Museum; the purchase of a substantial collection from the British Empire Exhibition of 1924-1925; and the donation of the collection of Thomas Hollings (1860-1946), a Yorkshire businessman and collector of fine china, acquired by the Leeds Art Gallery in 1946-1947 and transferred to the museum many years later. Pursuing the methodology employed thus far, the itineraries of these objects, and their display and interpretation in the museum, are explored in order to further demonstrate the diverse routes of objects to the collection, and the changing ways in which ancient Cypriot material culture was understood and valued. The transfer of Holmes' collection marked the end of the failed experiment of the Leeds Free Public Museum, and the uneasy accommodation of these objects within an art-focused Gallery. In analysing the acquisition from the British Empire Exhibition this chapter explores a little-known episode in the history of Cypriot archaeology and collecting, and the multiplicity of factors setting objects in motion from Cyprus to Leeds, far beyond private collecting or shares in excavation. It demonstrates that the acquisition of Holling's collection can be seen as marking the decline of the period of private antiquarian collecting of ancient Cypriot objects whose growth was charted in Chapter 2. To conclude the chapter, a short coda briefly maps the itineraries of the LMG ancient Cypriot collection from 1947 to the present day.

From private to public museum

By 1921, the long debate over the future of the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society was resolved, and the museum was transferred to the ownership of the Council. As reported in the local papers, the management of the museum was taken over by a new sub-committee of the Corporation's Library and Art Committee, consisting of seven members nominated by the Corporation and seven by the Society.⁹⁶⁴ The Philosophical and Literary Society were granted £500 per year for 25 years, with a further £1,000 per year in a 'special fund' administered by this sub-committee for the maintenance and expansion of the collections. For the first time the museum had a formal budget for acquisitions, a major change from the previous approach which had relied heavily on the benevolence of members in providing funds and objects. The staff of the museum were put on salaries comparable to those in similar roles elsewhere in the Corporation, including Violet Crowther, Henry Crowther's daughter and his helper for many years, who had the formal title of Assistant.⁹⁶⁵ The services of Henry Crowther as curator were retained, although he was now in his seventies, and special arrangements had to be made to extend his employment year on year.⁹⁶⁶ This made the early period of Corporation ownership one of continuity rather than change in terms of the management of the collections. The Corporation was keen to sustain and extend the educational role of the museum, and Crowther continued his long-established role of lecturing to schoolchildren from the local area. Leeds was relatively late compared to other northern municipalities in developing a publicly owned museum, in part due to the strength of the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, and Crowther's success and dedication in working with schools. However, this groundwork put the Corporation in a strong position when the museum eventually passed to public ownership. New efforts were made to bring the collections to public attention and to attract visitors, including Sunday opening and Saturday lectures designed to provide an overview of the collections.⁹⁶⁷ The penny admission fee was retained until 1934, but numbers of visitors held up well, especially during the weekends and winter months.⁹⁶⁸

⁹⁶⁴ Anon. 1921. Leeds Philosophical Hall and Museum. *Yorkshire Post*. 10 August, p. 7.

⁹⁶⁵ Anon. 1921. Leeds Philosophical Hall and Museum. *Yorkshire Post*. 10 August, p. 7. Violet Crowther's role as assistant is recognised in Crowther, 1929, p. 224.

⁹⁶⁶ Minutes of Sub-Libraries and Arts (Museum) Committee, 21 August 1924. Leeds Local History Library, shelfmark SR Q 352.9 LEE.

⁹⁶⁷ Anon. 1922. Leeds Corporation Museum Lectures. *Yorkshire Post*. 10 October, p. 10.

⁹⁶⁸ Leeds City Museums, 1953, p. 1. Anon. 1929. A Leeds Museum Record. *Yorkshire Evening Post*. 2 December, p. 11.

More broadly, this was a period of professionalisation of public museums in the UK. A key catalyst was the publication in 1928 of Henry Miers' *Report on the Public Museums of the British Isles (Other than the National Museums)*, the result of a two-year survey project undertaken by the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust.⁹⁶⁹ This gave an overview of museum provision in the UK, and unsurprisingly presented a very mixed picture, given the range of local circumstances which had shaped museum development in each area. Museums were distributed unevenly across the country, and varied hugely in their roles in primary education, their staffing and remuneration, and their collections policies, especially generalist museums which had grown out of amateur collecting. A greater degree of co-ordination locally and nationally was recommended, with a larger leadership role for the Museums Association.⁹⁷⁰ The Miers Report was discussed at the Museums Association conference in July 1928, including a contribution from Crowther later published in the *Museums Journal*.⁹⁷¹ Crowther turned 80 and retired in this same year, and his response defends his practices throughout his tenure as curator. He evinced some discomfort with 'those suggestions which would restrict the freedom of the majority of curators, and tend to stereotype their methods, to fit an official block'.⁹⁷² As we have seen, he had had considerable professional freedom to shape museum practices in Leeds, although this era of curatorial autonomy was now coming to a close. He mounted a strong defence of Leeds' approach to adult and child education, on which subject he was on firmer ground, as Leeds had been progressive in its achievements in this area. Most pertinently to the ancient Cypriot collections, he took exception to the Report's criticism of museums' 'heterogeneous jumbles of "curios"':⁹⁷³

No object, however familiar or rare, which records animal, plant, or human progress is to be stigmatised as a "curio", not even an eolith, nor a faked axe by Flint Jack, a counterfeit coin, or medal, nor a snail-shell with two mouths.⁹⁷⁴

It was this all-embracing approach to collections which had ensured that successive groups of ancient Cypriot objects had found their place in the museum, contributing to narratives of human progress. While the initiative regarding 'bygones' or social history collections had opened up a new area of museum development and a new way of looking at objects which

⁹⁶⁹ Miers, 1928.

⁹⁷⁰ Miers, 1928, pp. 55-62; Lewis, 1989, pp. 43-47; Hooper-Greenhill, 1991, pp. 36-39; MacLeod, 2013, p. 84.

⁹⁷¹ Crowther, 1929.

⁹⁷² Crowther, 1929, p. 221.

⁹⁷³ Miers, 1928, p. 38.

⁹⁷⁴ Crowther, 1929, p. 222.

could be otherwise classed as ‘curios’, in general the museum’s approach as the 20th century progressed was to narrow its collecting activities, in line with wider developments in museum practices spearheaded by the Museums Association, bringing the era of almost unchecked expansion to an end.

At the time of the transfer it was envisaged that the Corporation would sell the Philosophical Hall and provide better accommodation for the museum, but this was slow in coming to fruition.⁹⁷⁵ In 1930, the *Yorkshire Post* was still reporting plans that the Philosophical Hall would be sold and new premises built by the Corporation.⁹⁷⁶ An ambitious design for a combined art gallery, museum, library and office accommodation was drawn up in the mid 1930s, but deferred due to economic constraints.⁹⁷⁷ The issue was eventually overtaken by the events of the Second World War.

Transfer of John Holmes’ collection

After the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society had been taken over by Leeds Council, its collections were augmented by the transfer of the group of objects sold by John Holmes as the founding collection of a publicly owned museum in 1882. Chapters 2 and 3 discuss the formation and sale of this collection, and its changing knowledge value under each ownership. The nascent public museum run by the Council had consistently been underfunded and lacked curatorial attention, and the intended nucleus of Holmes’ collection had failed to attract other objects into its orbit. Holmes’ objects had eventually been placed on display, but with only limited interpretation to assist visitors in making meaning from them.⁹⁷⁸ In 1923 the Director and Secretary of the V&A wrote to the curator of Leeds Art Gallery to complain about the ‘serious deficiency of labels... [which are] of the first importance (especially in the case of objects in collections of wares of different origins which are kept together, for instance, the Holmes Bequest).’⁹⁷⁹ This indicates that the knowledge value of the Holmes objects was still limited in this setting. By transferring the objects, both ancient Cypriot and from other cultures, to the museum, the Art Gallery solved this problem

⁹⁷⁵ Anon. 1921. Leeds Philosophical Society: The Problem of its Future. *Yorkshire Post*. 19 May, p. 8.

⁹⁷⁶ Anon. 1930. An Old Leeds Landmark. *Yorkshire Post*. 25 January, p. 8.

⁹⁷⁷ Brears, 1989, pp. 19-21. Thorp, 2012, p. 94.

⁹⁷⁸ See discussion in Chapter 3.

⁹⁷⁹ Letter from the Director and Secretary of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, to the Curator of the Leeds Art Gallery, 2 February 1923 (Temple Newsam House), quoted in Walton, 1976, p. 1 n. 1.

and placed them in the context of a much more comprehensive museum collection, where they could make a contribution to its knowledge-making project.

A list of Holmes' collection accompanied the transfer, the exact date of which is unknown.⁹⁸⁰ This list exists in two versions; one authored by Holmes himself, probably at the time of the original purchase by the Corporation in 1882, and another in a different hand which attempts to reproduce and add to it. The descriptions seem designed more as an aide memoire to Holmes than an attempt to convey information to others, and are difficult to assign to specific objects; some may well relate to unprovenanced objects in the LMG collection. While the description 'Bright red handled Black circles' could refer to [LEEDM.D.1964.0364](#) and 'Children's feeding bottles' could include [LEEDM.D.1964.0347](#), objects such as 'Painted jar shaped 2 handles' and 'Oil vessels painted' are too imprecise to identify which objects are intended.⁹⁸¹ The trace of a blue and white label, also found on other Holmes objects, on the askos [LEEDM.D.1964.0326](#) could possibly associate this object with his collection. Most, although not all, of Holmes' objects are marked 'Hs', a sign of his close personal identification with them as 'biographical' objects in Hoskins' term.⁹⁸² The objects surviving from his collection are mainly vessels, with one axe head (**Fig. 2.5**). This manuscript list indicates that the collection was considerably larger than the 14 objects which can be assigned to it with some confidence today (itemised in Annex E), and included jewellery and glass which have been lost.

Acquisition from the British Empire Exhibition

In 1926 the museum made its largest ever acquisition of ancient Cypriot objects, a total of 103 from the Cyprus pavilion at the British Empire Exhibition.⁹⁸³ This acquisition further demonstrates the diversity of object itineraries underpinning the Leeds collection, and the importance of microhistorical investigation to complement overarching narratives of archaeological exploration and consequent museum deposition in describing the formation of such municipal collections.⁹⁸⁴ As before, Alberti's 'typology of acquisition: by gift, purchase, fieldwork, transfer or loan' here needs to be expanded to give a full account of the

⁹⁸⁰ List of Holmes' collection. 'Holmes' constituent file, Leeds Museums and Galleries.

⁹⁸¹ List of Holmes' collection. 'Holmes' constituent file, Leeds Museums and Galleries.

⁹⁸² Hoskins, 1998.

⁹⁸³ Minutes of the Sub-Libraries and Arts (Museum) Committee, 23 June 1926, p. 16.

⁹⁸⁴ Magnússon and Szijártó, 2013, p. 11.

complex networks along which the objects moved.⁹⁸⁵ They were brought from Cyprus not by an archaeologist but by the Colonial Commissioner for Cyprus, were placed on public display in London not in a museum or auction house but in a colonial exhibition, and were eventually sold to the museum in Leeds. The ways in which these itineraries were accomplished, and the multiple and changing ways in which the objects were used and understood along the way, are discussed below.

The British Empire Exhibition was staged in 1924 and 1925 at Wembley to the west of London on a specially constructed site covering 88 hectares (216 acres).⁹⁸⁶ It formed part of a tradition of international exhibitions begun with the Great Exhibition at Crystal Palace in 1851, and expanded and developed all over the world, until the phenomenon faded with the outbreak of the Second World War.⁹⁸⁷ Unlike earlier World Exhibitions, it did not attempt to encompass the globe in a single setting, but to bring together only British dominions, colonies, and protectorates. Greenhalgh charts how the presentation of empire in British exhibitions developed from 'complacent pride' in the mid-19th century to a more urgent justification and defence in the early 20th century, as Britain's position on the world stage came into question.⁹⁸⁸ As a result, the presentation of Britain's imperial possessions in 1924 and 1925, emphasising their unity as a single Empire, was a matter of propaganda as much as description. The Exhibition had a number of overlapping aims: to shore up the cohesion and stability of the Empire after the upheaval of the First World War, and promote inter-Empire trade and commerce; to provide employment in the wake of mass demobilization; and to raise the status of London as the capital of Britain and of its empire.⁹⁸⁹ Cyprus had become increasingly embedded in the Empire through its annexation by Britain in the early months of the First World War, and new status as a British Crown Colony from 1925. Its ongoing need for investment and economic development, held back by high levels of taxation, provided strong motivation for its participation in the 'Empire's shop window'.⁹⁹⁰

The special attraction of the Exhibition was that visitors could 'travel the length and breadth of the British Empire... within the space of a single day', taking a fantasy trip from Australia to

⁹⁸⁵ Alberti, 2009, p. 5.

⁹⁸⁶ Geppert, 2010, p. 148.

⁹⁸⁷ Greenhalgh, 1988, p. 2.

⁹⁸⁸ Greenhalgh, 1988, p. 58.

⁹⁸⁹ See Geppert's analysis of the British Empire Exhibition (Geppert, 2010, p. 143).

⁹⁹⁰ As described in promotional material by Betts and Campbell-Gray, 1925. For Cyprus' economic difficulties, see Markides, 2019, Chapter 4.

Hong Kong, India to Africa while never leaving Wembley.⁹⁹¹ This make-believe voyage was made possible by reducing each territory to key signifiers which metonymically represented its culture, people, and products. Every territory, and every object relating to it, was given a defined place in relation to each other and to the machinery of Government, in an act of order-making and control.⁹⁹² Within this framework, Cyprus' exhibit was shaped by a committee led by Government officials, with some limited input from Cypriot merchants.⁹⁹³ Its presentation therefore illuminates how it was perceived by the colonial Government, and what aspects were felt by them to be important in 'staging authenticity' for tourists, potential investors, and consumers.⁹⁹⁴

Display at Wembley

Cyprus' participation in both years was coordinated by William Bevan (dates unknown), formerly Director of Agriculture in the British administration, and from 1926 the Colonial Commissioner for Cyprus.⁹⁹⁵ In 1924 Cyprus shared a pavilion with Palestine, in a fairly central location near the Wembley Stadium (**Fig. 6.1**). This pavilion was designed by British architect Austen St Barbe Harrison and was characterised by Eastern signifiers including twin domes and a white exterior set off with horizontal burnt orange stripes.⁹⁹⁶



Fig. 6.1 The Palestine and Cyprus pavilion at the British Empire Exhibition, 1924. Postcard published by Raphael Tuck & Sons, from the present author's collection.

⁹⁹¹ Betts and Campbell-Gray, 1925.

⁹⁹² Geppert, 2010, p. 7.

⁹⁹³ Hadjiathanasiou, 2019, p. 282.

⁹⁹⁴ Geppert, 2010, p. 177.

⁹⁹⁵ See Reeve, forthcoming-a for further discussion of Cyprus' participation in the British Empire Exhibition.

⁹⁹⁶ Fuchs and Herbert, 2000, p. 307.

In 1925, Cyprus inherited the pavilion formerly occupied by Fiji. ‘Appropriate architectural alterations’ were made to the building, which can be seen in **Fig. 6.2**.⁹⁹⁷ These alterations recreated motifs from the Palestine pavilion including the addition of a dome, a more elaborately arched doorway, and the horizontal stripes. This choice of architectural features indicates that this ‘oriental’ presentation was a deliberate strategy on the part of the Cyprus Government organisers.



Fig. 6.2 The Cyprus pavilion at the British Empire Exhibition, 1925.
Photo by Campbell Gray, from the present author’s collection.

As Kiely discusses, the architectural representation of Palestine and Cyprus in 1924, sustained and extended in the following year, suggests an ambiguous position in British perceptions.⁹⁹⁸ In 1925 they were catalogued in a tourist guide to the Exhibition under ‘The Gorgeous East’, indicating some flexibility in their classification within the Empire.⁹⁹⁹ Fuchs and Herbert conclude that ‘Aspiring to progress, but quaintly exotic and oriental, that is how Palestine must have appeared to the visitors’, and the same is true of Cyprus.¹⁰⁰⁰ As can be seen from **Fig. 6.2**, the signage on the pavilion was in Greek, Turkish and English. This mixed presentation can be seen as a manifestation of the Colonial Government’s concern to avoid representing Cyprus as wholly Hellenic in character, in view of rising tensions in Cyprus resulting from the Government’s attitude towards the *Enosis* movement which sought political unification with Greece.¹⁰⁰¹

⁹⁹⁷ Colonial Colonial Office, 1925, p. 10.

⁹⁹⁸ Kiely, 2017, pp. 255-257.

⁹⁹⁹ Betts and Campbell-Gray, 1925.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Fuchs and Herbert, 2000, p. 308.

¹⁰⁰¹ Hatzopoulos, 2005, p. 188.

The Colonial Office report for 1924 stated that the objectives of participating in the Exhibition were

to make known the resources and products of the Island by means of sale of popular commodities across the counter to the general public, to arouse the interest of business men in the potential riches and commercial possibilities of the Island, and, where practicable, to book orders with wholesale firms.¹⁰⁰²

In addition to this emphasis on commerce, tourism was also promoted, and efforts were made to educate the visiting public, whose ‘ignorance of the past and present history of Cyprus [was found to be] lamentably profound and widespread’.¹⁰⁰³ The method used to achieve these aims involved creating a diffuse atmosphere of exoticism and antiquity, coupled with promotion of the island’s commercial potential in the era of colonial modernity. In Hadjiathanasiou’s term, the pavilion ‘narrated a visual fable’, strengthened by accompanying written material in the official guide book, which segued from ancient history to modern products via the island’s long history of copper production.¹⁰⁰⁴ Many of the objects on display had the dual purpose of creating visual appeal and highlighting their potential value as commodities, including Lefkara lace and other textiles, furs and fruit, contributed by the Government and private firms or individuals.¹⁰⁰⁵ These were complemented by ‘pictures, maps and photographs of some of the most notable local centres of archaeological, historical and general interest’. In addition, ‘Pottery, ancient and modern, minor statuary and diverse *objets d’art* of Cypriot origin assisted the decorative scheme’.¹⁰⁰⁶ These ancient objects were supplied by the colonial Government; it does not appear that they were for sale, but used as window-dressing to emphasise Cyprus’ antiquity.¹⁰⁰⁷

In 1925 the more spacious pavilion’s main exhibit was grouped under the headings of Agriculture, Textiles, Minerals, Crafts, and Forestry, complemented by 31 private exhibitors, selling food, wine and spirits, minerals and textiles, photographs, silver and tobacco. Among these is listed ‘E.M. Jelajian – Ancient Pottery’.¹⁰⁰⁸ Jelajian was an Armenian Cypriot and a

¹⁰⁰² Colonial Colonial Office, 1925, p. 8.

¹⁰⁰³ Colonial Colonial Office, 1925, p. 9.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Hadjiathanasiou, 2019, p. 275; Cook and Fox, 1924, p. 66.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Anon., 1924, pp. 63-64. Colonial Colonial Office, 1925, p. 8.

¹⁰⁰⁶ As well as these visual aides, ‘a brief survey of the history and development of the Island was compiled and suitably illustrated for the purpose and put on sale’ (Colonial Colonial Office, 1925, pp. 8-9).

¹⁰⁰⁷ Hadjiathanasiou, 2019, pp. 284-285.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Lawrence, 1925, pp. 90-91.

longstanding employee of the British Administration in Cyprus. He had family ties to the UK, and after his retirement in 1919 he moved to London, bringing some of his collection with him after negotiation with the Cyprus Museum.¹⁰⁰⁹ Its inclusion in this list leaves little doubt that his pottery was available for sale to visitors. How Jelajian's collection came to be included in the Exhibition is not known; it might have come about through his connections with the Cyprus Museum, or with Bevan, a fellow longstanding employee of the administration.¹⁰¹⁰ No details of his sales have been traced, but it is highly probable that some of his objects are now in private and public collections in the UK.¹⁰¹¹

Further information on how these exhibits were presented to and received by the public can be gleaned from contemporary newspaper reports, although these are rather sparse, due in Bevan's view to the very limited resources made available by the Government for advertising.¹⁰¹² Articles promoting the Exhibition, which would today be called advertorials, emphasised Cyprus' 'world-known legends and history', and also its Greek cultural character:

In the Cyprus section you will hear the Cypriote dialect of modern Greek spoken by the fair lips of Grecian island women, and on bottles of gum-mastic – a favourite Cypriote drink – you will be amused to see that the purveyor's Christian name is Herodotus... the Father of History.¹⁰¹³

An extended newspaper account of the Cyprus exhibit skilfully blends reports of the headline trade deals with evocation of its ancient, particularly Biblical, past:

...[the] romance of yesterday and the achievement of today are so finely intermingled. Cyprus – the softness of the word itself makes the mind leap back to the days when... those bearded saints in their scarlet coats, which are the first heroes of every properly brought up child, were actually living and walking the earth. ...Among the interesting displays in the pavilion are exquisitely shaped glass bowls and vases 3,500 years old, dug up from the Cyprus earth, some of which still clings affectionately to their sides. ...We cannot all go to Cyprus, but all can see Cyprus at Wembley, and seeing it can dream dreams of blue days and green days at sea.¹⁰¹⁴

¹⁰⁰⁹ Cyprus State Archives. Cyprus Museum, file number CM1/58, 'M.E. Jelajian's collection'.

¹⁰¹⁰ Colonial Office, 1904.

¹⁰¹¹ He is known to have sold some objects to the British Museum, including an askos (BM 1924,0515.5) and Hellenistic figurines (BM 1924,0515.1-2).

¹⁰¹² Hadjiathanasiou, 2019, p. 283.

¹⁰¹³ Anon. 1924. Wembley Exhibition: The Great Magnet. *Birmingham Daily Gazette*. 18 July, p. 10. *Illustrated London News: Wembley Empire Exhibition Number*, 24 May 1924, p. 41.

¹⁰¹⁴ Anon. 1925. Cyprus Boots. *Northampton Mercury*. 24 July, p. 1 (seemingly a repeat of a piece from the preceding year).

This nostalgic, romanticised picture demonstrates how Cyprus' ancient past was used to lend charm to its marketable products, and increase its attraction as a destination for tourism and emigration. Cyprus' role in early Biblical history was invoked to appeal to British audiences, an aspect which had long formed a major part of its perceived identity, as discussed in Chapter 2. Ancient objects, for display and for sale, had an important role in forming this attraction. Some were sourced from Jelajian, a private collector, and sold on his initiative and for his benefit, while others were provided by the Colonial government, presumably 'duplicates' from the collections of the Cyprus Museum.¹⁰¹⁵ Each of these objects would have had its own itinerary from its findspot to Jelajian's collection or to the Museum, and may have come from authorised excavations or have been bought from a private collection or a dealer.¹⁰¹⁶ In a similar way to the 1902 donation from the British Museum, objects considered of little value for the Cyprus Museum's collections were put to other uses; here, as cultural ambassadors to promote the suitability of Cyprus for tourism and investment.

Sale to Leeds

After the Exhibition closed in 1925, the multitude of objects it had brought together had to be returned, sold, or otherwise disposed of. The Government exhibits in the Cyprus Pavilion were dealt with by Bevan, whose approach included placing objects with museums, either as a gift or through purchase, perhaps to continue the didactic aims of the Exhibition.¹⁰¹⁷ As part of this process, 103 Cypriot antiquities were sold to the museum in Leeds. Cost was probably a major factor, and selling the objects was a much cheaper way of dealing with them than incurring the expense of further transportation. There are few records concerning this sale. It was reported in the *Yorkshire Evening Post* in February 1927:

Mr H. Crowther, the curator, is extremely proud of this collection. It was got together by the people of Cyprus for the exhibition at Wembley, and carrying the Government guarantee, it was, naturally enough, keenly sought after when the Exhibition was broken up. Leeds had the opportunity to purchase, and readily accepted.¹⁰¹⁸

¹⁰¹⁵ On the longstanding policy of selling duplicates from the Museum's collections, see Nikolaou, 2013, pp. 135-136, and Green and Henry, 2021, p. 139.

¹⁰¹⁶ Further research in the archives of the Cyprus Museum may in future help to elucidate the earlier stages of the objects' itineraries.

¹⁰¹⁷ For example, Bristol Museum and Art Gallery received 'cereals, roots, and barks' from Cyprus (Anon. 1925. Bristol Museum and Art Gallery. *Western Daily Press*. 23 November, p. 7).

¹⁰¹⁸ Anon. 1927. Pottery from Tombs of Long Ago. *Yorkshire Evening Post*. 18 February, p. 8.

The claim that the objects came from ‘the people of Cyprus’ creates a narrative of eager popular participation in the Exhibition, obscuring the fact that it was the colonial Government which designed and staged Cyprus’ contribution. There is also an eloquent distance between this report of the museum’s enthusiasm for the acquisition, and the narrative revealed by the minutes of the Council’s Sub-Libraries and Arts (Museum) Committee. These record that an offer was made in December 1925 by the Colonial Commissioner for Cyprus to sell ‘Cyprus ancient pottery and other objects’.¹⁰¹⁹ A decision on this offer was deferred in February 1926, and in March it was turned down.¹⁰²⁰ By June this had been reversed, and the purchase was reported of ‘a Collection of Cyprian Ancient Pottery, from the Colonial Commissioner for Cyprus at the British Empire Exhibition, at a cost of £200’ consisting of ‘one hundred and three examples of Cypriot pottery and bronzes’.¹⁰²¹ Unlike the Cyprus Museum and the British Museum, which were able to discriminate between objects they required and those they did not need, the museum in Leeds lacked the curatorial expertise to pick and choose from this preselected ‘collection’ or group of objects.

In the absence of further records, the reasons for this change of heart are unclear. The sum of £200 (around £8,200 today), representing 20% of the museum’s annual collections budget, was a significant investment.¹⁰²² The key to the ultimate acceptance of the offer is likely to have been Henry Crowther. Approaching the end of his long career, the attraction of a major acquisition to complement the museum’s existing collections may have secured his support for this purchase. This interpretation is supported by the *Yorkshire Evening Post* article, which suggests that ‘the magnificent specimens from Wembley [...] complete a collection of which the citizens have a right to be proud.’¹⁰²³ This acquisition suggests that even at this relatively late point, when the museum’s management had been placed on a newly professional basis and it was overseen by a joint committee, its collecting policies continued to be shaped primarily by the personal views of its presiding curator, as had been the case throughout its history.¹⁰²⁴

¹⁰¹⁹ Minutes of the Sub-Libraries and Arts (Museum) Committee, 16 December 1925.

¹⁰²⁰ Minutes of the Sub-Libraries and Arts (Museum) Committee, 24 February 1926 and 24 March 1926.

¹⁰²¹ Minutes of the Sub-Libraries and Arts (Museum) Committee, 23 June 1926, p. 16. Simpson, 1927.

¹⁰²² *National Archives currency converter*, accessed 11 November 2020.

¹⁰²³ Anon. 1927. Pottery from Tombs of Long Ago. *Yorkshire Evening Post*. 18 February, p. 8.

¹⁰²⁴ Byrne, 2011, p. 307.

Identifying the objects

Despite its size, the acquisition from the British Empire Exhibition is one of the most difficult to identify in today's collection. The objects were not marked, and no itemised list was produced (or has not survived). The last edition of the Guide to the museum before the major disruption resulting from the Second World War was produced in 1925, before the purchase, so there are few sources to help identify the objects. Around half of the objects in the collection today do not have any provenance information, and it is likely that many of these come from this acquisition.



Fig. 6.3 Composite vessel of Red Polished ware, Early-Middle Cypriot period (LEEDM.D.1964.0298). Possibly one of the 'polished and decorated' pieces of 'red ware' purchased in 1926 from the British Empire Exhibition. © Leeds Museums and Galleries.

The *Yorkshire Post* article discussed above provides some evidence towards identification. This states that 'The exhibit from Wembley stands in a case on the ground floor', suggesting that, at least initially, the objects were displayed separately and not integrated into the existing displays.¹⁰²⁵ It specifies that the pottery covers the Bronze Age to the Roman periods, and that 'The red ware is dull and plain at first, then it becomes polished and decorated'. This puts objects such as the Red Slip jug ([LEEDM.D.1964.0330](#)) and Red Polished composite vessel ([LEEDM.D.1964.0298](#), **Fig. 6.3**) and jug ([LEEDM.D.1964.0303.001](#)) into the frame. The

¹⁰²⁵ Anon. 1927. Pottery from Tombs of Long Ago. *Yorkshire Evening Post*. 18 February, p. 8. References in this paragraph are taken from this article.

journalist reports that ‘Later on the pottery was white-coloured, and there is slip-ware... there are grave circles and curves’. The White Slip bowl ([LEEDM.D.1964.0313](#)) and the White Painted juglet ([LEEDM.D.1964.0317](#)) may be indicated here, and some of the otherwise unprovenanced Bichrome jugs in the series [LEEDM.D.1964.0365-.0372](#), especially the richly decorated barrel jug ([LEEDM.D.1964.0368](#)). A further reference to ‘animals, such as the sacred bull... [and] children’s toys, weirdly shaped monsters... strangely coloured and spotted’ suggest the ox askos ([LEEDM.D.1964.0403](#)) and the animal figurine ([LEEDM.D.1964.0397](#)). Beyond this the article mentions glass, which has not survived, and ‘knives and other metal implements... a pair of tweezers and a needle with an eye’. The pair of corroded bronze strips ([LEEDM.D.1964.0391.001](#) and [.002](#)) can perhaps be identified as the tweezers, and the spatula ([LEEDM.D.1964.0393](#)) may well be another ‘bronze implement’.

Display, interpretation and audience responses

Although the 1925 Guide to the museum predates the British Empire Exhibition acquisition, it gives some indication of the display structures adopted at the time. The displays in which the ancient Cypriot objects were included remained on the staircase landing, so the syntax of the space within the museum – its relation to the other physical spaces in the museum, and the ways in which visitors accessed it – had not changed since the reorganisation discussed in Chapter 5.¹⁰²⁶ As **Fig. 6.4** shows, the printed plan of the museum reproduced in earlier editions of the Guide was replaced for the 1925 version with a hand-drawn plan containing considerably more collections information.¹⁰²⁷ This can be interpreted as a further move by Crowther towards increasing accessibility for a broad cross-section of the public. Although at first glance the plans are somewhat busy and confusing, in practice they would allow a visitor to make their way around the museum, and to have a fair idea of what they were seeing, without further reference to the contents of the Guide. The orientation of the text largely mirrors the physical orientation of the visitor in viewing the display cases to which the text refers, thus supporting visitors in making meaning by moving around the collections. This plan states for the ‘Staircase Landing’, ‘In wall cases are Flint Implements, British, Roman & Greek objects’, and this, together with the ‘printed cards’ in the cases, provide an accessible overview for the casual visitor.¹⁰²⁸

¹⁰²⁶ Tzortzi, 2016.

¹⁰²⁷ Crowther, 1925, inside front cover.

¹⁰²⁸ Crowther, 1925, p. 7.

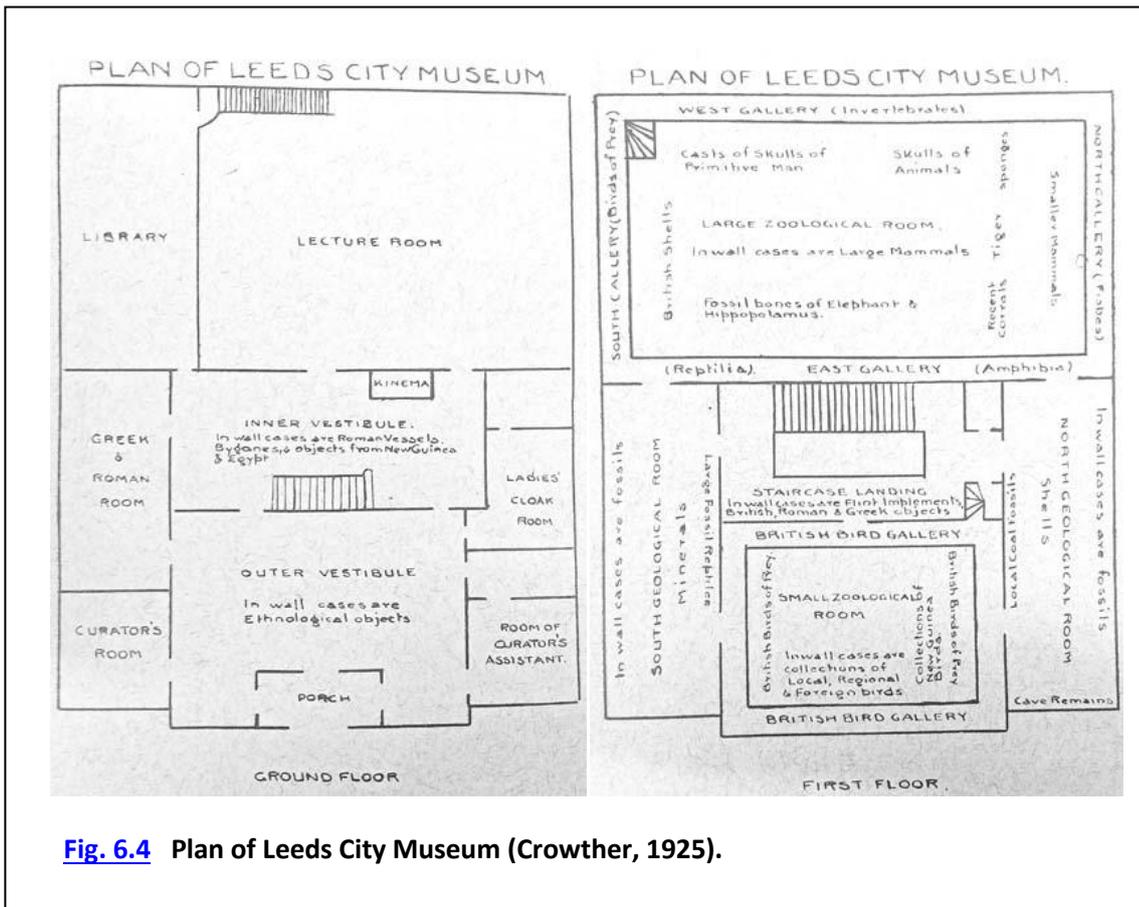


Fig. 6.4 Plan of Leeds City Museum (Crowther, 1925).

Apart from this development in presenting an overview of the collections, the text of the Guide represents continuity with the museum's approach to interpretation under the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. As signalled by its efforts to retain Crowther as curator, the Corporation evidently had no desire to make radical changes to the museum's approach at this early stage. The text referring to the ancient collections was not updated, and the late 19th century British Museum excavations were still described as 'recent'.¹⁰²⁹

At least part of the collection of John Holmes is visible in this Guide, which records, in the Inner Vestibule, 'a case containing the Holmes Collection of Roman, Samian, British, Early English and Jutland Pottery'. The plan (**Fig. 6.4**) gives the contents of the Inner Vestibule as 'Roman Vessels, Bygonese, & objects from New Guinea and Egypt', which does not fully reflect the miscellaneous contents of this space which include 'examples of early printing' and 'specimens of daggers, swords, and pistols.'¹⁰³⁰ This appears to represent a further example of the museum's collections outrunning the space available, and disrupting attempts to classify and order the collections. There was perhaps a motive of honouring the collector by

¹⁰²⁹ Crowther, 1925, p. 8.

¹⁰³⁰ Crowther, 1925, p. 5.

displaying their objects in a named group, although Holmes had died in 1894. It is not known whether his Cypriot antiquities had been incorporated into the displays on the staircase landing, but it is likely that the snapshot presented by this Guide reflects a collection in motion, and that the longer-term intention would have been to assimilate all of Holmes' objects within the broader typological collections of antiquities.

The display of the acquisition from the British Empire Exhibition, deduced from the report in the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, represented continuity with the curatorial practices of the museum throughout Crowther's tenure, although with more emphasis on the objects as art than had previously been the case.¹⁰³¹ This undermined the distinction between ancient art, as displayed in the Greek and Roman Room, and ceramics used as evidence for human cultural development, displayed on the staircase landing, which had hitherto been maintained. The Cypriot display was structured to demonstrate the 'development of art' from the Bronze Age to the first century AD, through changes in decorative techniques.¹⁰³²

The collection was arranged in a freestanding case so that the visitor could follow progression through time by moving around the case, mirroring the approach adopted on the staircase landing of reflecting evolutionary development through spatial arrangement.¹⁰³³

The narrative was of continual artistic and technical progress; after early patterns of 'circles and curves', there was a perceived breakthrough when 'the decorations take definite shape – the artist has arrived', and it was claimed that 'the quality of the pottery and the workmanship improves as the years go by', an observation not necessarily borne out by the Leeds collection. The association with Biblical history, foregrounded in some of the coverage of the Wembley display, was not transferred into this setting, and their former associations with excavators, dealers and collectors were entirely lost. Overall, the display was designed to convey information on the representative pottery of different periods to the visitor, but with little attempt to give much socio-historical context, apart from the truism that 'they were used by the people of Cyprus long before Leeds and its museum was thought of.' The article states that the objects 'have been recovered from the tombs of Cyprus' and were 'found in the entrance to the tombs, a few feet below the surface'. This may indicate that some sketchy information on provenience accompanied the objects, but no further details have survived.

¹⁰³¹ Anon. 1927. Pottery from Tombs of Long Ago. *Yorkshire Evening Post*. 18 February, p. 8.

¹⁰³² Anon. 1927. Pottery from Tombs of Long Ago. *Yorkshire Evening Post*. 18 February, p. 8. Further references in this paragraph are taken from this article.

¹⁰³³ Simpson, 1927, p. 16. Bennett, 1995, p. 186.

If the tentative identifications made above are correct, the collection included some visually striking objects with elaborate decoration, from the Early/Middle Bronze Age through to the Roman period. As such, they would have greatly augmented the existing collection, improving its representativeness and therefore the coverage of the typological display, as well as its visual impact. Beyond the *Yorkshire Post* article, evidence for visitor responses is lacking. The objects would have formed an impressive display in their own right, and have gained added interest for visitors from their association with the British Empire Exhibition, a huge cultural event covered extensively in the print media which many in Leeds would have visited. In this context they would have drawn attention to Cyprus as a new colonial possession for Britain, and to the extent and diversity of the British Empire.

Developments of the 1930s and 1940s

Changes in museum personnel and practice, as well as the impact of the Second World War, in the following period affected the itineraries of the ancient Cypriot collections, although this is often not directly attested and has to be deduced by reading the surviving records against the grain. In 1928 Crowther finally retired, and the role of curator was taken over by Herbert Ricketts (1879-1956), who had built his career as a deputy curator at Sunderland and West Hartlepool.¹⁰³⁴ An insight into museum policies and practices under Ricketts's tenure is given by an unpublished autobiographical memoir written in retirement by John Manwaring Baines (1910-2002).¹⁰³⁵ Baines, a junior member of the prominent Baines family who had played important roles in Leeds civic life for several generations, was appointed as assistant curator to Ricketts in 1931, at the age of 21, and left after four years to take up a full curator post in Hastings.¹⁰³⁶ He was primarily interested in the natural history collections and his account of the museum does not directly address the antiquities, but gives some sense of their display and uses in this period.

Ricketts brought new ideas and approaches based on his previous experience, such as a plan to give blind people tactile access to the collections.¹⁰³⁷ However, as Baines notes, 'Ricketts had not an easy task in following Henry Crowther, a man well known in the city for his yearly

¹⁰³⁴ Brears, 1989, p. 19.

¹⁰³⁵ Baines, J.M.W., n.d. *Curator unmasked: an autobiography of J. M. Baines*. Unpublished. Leeds University Library Special Collections, classmark MS 713/10.

¹⁰³⁶ Papers of John Manwaring Baines (c.1837-1985). Unpublished. Leeds University Library Special Collections, classmark MS 1516.

¹⁰³⁷ Anon. 1929. Blind to "see" exhibits. *Leeds Mercury*. 13 July, p. 7.

lectures to generations of school children'.¹⁰³⁸ Ricketts is said to have made clear his opposition to Crowther retaining an advisory role after his retirement, and Baines states that

the first thing Ricketts had done on succeeding him was to set his office chimney on fire burning all Crowther's notes and lists. That explained the mystery why we had so little documentation in a museum that had had a life of over a hundred years.¹⁰³⁹

There is no independent verification for this claim. If true, it represents a purposeful act of archival destruction, resulting in a loss of institutional memory detectable in the gaps in the surviving museum archives, which further demonstrates the impact of the motivations and priorities of successive curators, even when running counter to broader museum agendas. Baines' initial impressions of the museum and its collections were unfavourable: 'miserably small' for a city of Leeds' size and invariably dusty, with old, dirty cases crowded with inadequately labelled specimens, and insufficient storage.¹⁰⁴⁰ Some of these comments can be attributed to youthful enthusiasm for modernisation, but they indicate that by this point the fittings and displays produced by Crowther, while periodically reorganised and updated, had come to seem tired and outmoded. Baines' innovations reflect the increasing professionalisation of museum services in this period, led by the Museums Association. He and Ricketts introduced new cases of the type 'illustrated in our professional publication, the *Museums Journal*', as well as living exhibits of insects and a street-facing Museum Window, reflecting the new priority placed on identifying, sharing and adopting best practice.¹⁰⁴¹

Baines' memoir makes clear that the primary audience for the museum was now the general public, rather than scholars or scientists, reflecting how far the museum's purposes had changed since Miall's tenure as curator. Rather than simply providing knowledge for those who wished it, the aim was for the museum to actively attract visitors, along the lines of a department store, and in competition with the growing popularity of cinema and, later, television as leisure-time pursuits.¹⁰⁴² The weekend lectures proved a good draw, and the museum's curators were constantly looking for the next innovation; for example, they introduced a diorama, 'a very new-fangled notion', as part of their efforts to run a "go

¹⁰³⁸ Baines, J.M.W., n.d. *Curator unmasked: an autobiography of J. M. Baines*, p. 148.

¹⁰³⁹ Baines, J.M.W., n.d. *Curator unmasked: an autobiography of J. M. Baines*, pp. 148-149.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Baines, J.M.W., n.d. *Curator unmasked: an autobiography of J. M. Baines*, pp. 147-154.

¹⁰⁴¹ Baines, J.M.W., n.d. *Curator unmasked: an autobiography of J. M. Baines*, pp. 154-158.

See MacLeod, 2013, pp. 80-81.

¹⁰⁴² MacLeod, 2013, p. 204 n. 54 discusses the perceived threat of cinema to museums.

ahead" institution'.¹⁰⁴³ Baines portrays himself as the driver of these innovations, and it seems that the pace of progress slowed after his departure. The typological displays of ancient objects were not an obvious candidate for updating into newly eye-catching exhibits, and it does not appear that they had any sustained curatorial attention in this period. The perpetually promised and perpetually delayed new civic arts centre may have acted as a brake on any sense of urgency to fully modernise the displays, including the ancient Cypriot collection, and directed curatorial effort towards quicker and easier improvements.

Baines' account is also helpful in highlighting some of the ways in which the museum space was used in practice. The social unrest of the 1930s affected the museum, with the Bird Gallery being used for 'reserve bodies of police... held in readiness but out of sight for any emergency' during mass demonstrations against unemployment. Baines describes the annual *conversazione* of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society as 'a purely social occasion to keep the old Society alive', noting the lack of interest of attendees in the museum collections. He also comments that the gallery of the Main Zoological Room 'had to be closed on Sunday afternoons, as all the girls promenaded overhead and the local lads gathered below to look up their skirts and make comments thereon.'¹⁰⁴⁴ As discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, the ways in which the museum was experienced and the 'social meanings' thus created by its visitors often bore little relation to curatorial intentions.¹⁰⁴⁵

In March 1941 the Philosophical Hall was hit by a bomb, causing widespread damage and some injuries, but no fatalities. The front of the building was destroyed, and three floors of the building came down. The *Yorkshire Post* reported that 'The interior of the Museum looks at present like a quarry in which blasting operations have just loosened thousands of tons of rubble.'¹⁰⁴⁶ The rescue operation was likened by Ricketts to an archaeological dig, a fitting analogy for the collections of antiquities, which were badly affected: 'at the foot of the staircase... the floor is strewn with broken glass, pottery, and other debris'.¹⁰⁴⁷

¹⁰⁴³ Baines, J.M.W., n.d. *Curator unmasked: an autobiography of J. M. Baines*, p. 160. Woodson-Boulton, 2012, p. 13.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Baines, J.M.W., n.d. *Curator unmasked: an autobiography of J. M. Baines*, pp. 151, 159, 152.

¹⁰⁴⁵ See MacLeod, 2013, pp. 176-181.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Anon. 1941. Leeds Buildings Damaged. *Yorkshire Post*. 24 March, p. 1.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Anon. 1941. Havoc at a Museum. *Yorkshire Evening Post*. 17 March, p. 6.



Fig. 6.5 Bomb damage to the ancient Cypriot collections at the Philosophical Hall, 1941. © Leeds Museums and Galleries.

Fig. 6.5 graphically conveys the impact on the Cypriot antiquities. It also reveals something of the display practices at this time; figurines were displayed alongside the pottery, and, insofar as individual objects can be recognised, it appears that the ancient Cypriot collection had at this point gained sufficient critical mass to be displayed together as a cultural grouping, rather than interspersed with Greek and other pottery as shown in **Fig. 4.6**. This was probably a consequence of the large British Empire Exhibition purchase. While a few objects can be seen to be relatively unscathed – such as the Roman period vessels [LEEDM.D.1964.0329](#) and [LEEDM.D.1964.0310](#) or [.0311](#) and the askos [LEEDM.D.1964.0354](#) on the right hand side – there is considerable evidence of fragmentation, with piles of sherds at the bottom of the cases. Much of the damage in the collection today is likely to have been sustained at this time. Although glass objects are mentioned at various points in the collection's history, none survives today, almost certainly as a result of this event; by contrast, glass objects remain in the University of Leeds' ancient Cypriot collection, which suffered no such bomb damage. Not only the objects themselves, but the information which accompanied them, was disrupted and partly destroyed by this event. It brought to an end the itineraries of some objects in the collection, presumably including the Mycenaean dish donated by the British Museum and shown on Slide F (Annex G). It also had an irrevocable effect on the materiality of others. Some still show obvious signs of damage, while others

were repaired in order to restore their former aesthetic qualities as much as possible. They therefore provide evidence of changing curatorial practices and priorities. There is no record of when the restorations shown in **Figs. 6.6a** and **6.6b** were carried out, but it is likely to be in the post-war period, after the collection had suffered damage. Modern standards of conservation require careful ethical consideration of interventions, based on the principle that they should be minimal and reversible.¹⁰⁴⁸ Those presented in **Figs. 6.6a** and **6.6b** display different priorities, and were evidently aimed at achieving an effect of completeness and bright, distinct decoration, to make the objects eye-catching for display. The incidence on the objects' itineraries of the damage caused by the bomb-blast, and the conservation approaches of this postwar period, therefore had a long-term impact both on the objects themselves, and on the kinds of knowledge they can now convey.



Fig. 6.6a



Fig. 6.6b

- a) Base Ring juglet, Late Cypriot period (LEEDM.D.1964.0322).** Extensively damaged and restored: the base (important for typological identification) and most of the rim have been replaced with plaster, painted to blend with the original fabric.
- b) Bichrome shallow dish, Cypro-Achaic period (LEEDM.D.1964.0343).** Broken and readhered. Painted decoration augmented with bright modern paint, probably overpainting the original decorative scheme.

© Leeds Museums and Galleries.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Caple, 2000, Chapter 5.

Acquisition of objects from the Hollings Collection, 1946-1947

It was in this postwar context, in 1946-1947, that Thomas E. Hollings made a major and prestigious donation and bequest.¹⁰⁴⁹ The itineraries of some ancient Cypriot objects in this donation can be traced back the period of consular collecting in Cyprus discussed in Chapter 2, and contribute to the history of collecting in the intervening period. Hollings (1860-1946) was a wealthy woollen manufacturer who lived in Calverley between Leeds and Bradford. He collected English ceramics on a large scale, mainly Leeds pottery, but also Staffordshire and English delftware.¹⁰⁵⁰ In 1946, shortly before his death, he gave part of his collection to Temple Newsam House and bequeathed the remainder in his Will, carried out in 1947.¹⁰⁵¹ Accompanying the huge collection of English ceramics was a small group of 20 antiquities, of which six were from Cyprus. Given the fragmentary state of the museum collections after the Second World War, the enormous task of conserving, identifying and re-accessioning them, and the very limited display space now available in the Philosophical Hall, it is not surprising that no immediate move was made to transfer these antiquities to the museum; it was not until 1988 that this finally took place.¹⁰⁵²

In relation to his main collection of English ceramics, in particular Leeds ware, Hollings can be identified as a 'systematic' collector in Pearce's formulation.¹⁰⁵³ He devoted considerable energy as well as money to attending sales and frequenting dealerships. Descriptions of his collecting practices emphasise his completist tendencies, and his attempts to secure full sets of objects.¹⁰⁵⁴ His handful of ancient ceramics were outside this primary collecting drive. While he kept a meticulous register of his main collection, with descriptions and purchase prices, no such register has been found for the antiquities. It is likely that Hollings acquired them incidentally in the course of his regular collecting activity at dealers' sales rooms and auctions, perhaps because they caught his attention, or perhaps as a favour to the seller.

The objects from Cyprus are a Middle Cypriot White Painted juglet ([LEEDM.D.1988.0001](#)); a Middle Cypriot Red- or Black-slip juglet ([LEEDM.D.1988.0002](#)); two Cypro-Geometric White

¹⁰⁴⁹ Anon. 1946. Gift to the City of Leeds. *Yorkshire Post*. 22 October, pp. 2, 6.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Walton suggests that the display of creamware from the John Holmes Collection in the Art Gallery around 1892 may have 'added fresh impetus to the craze' of collecting Leeds ware in Yorkshire. Walton, 1973, p. 21.

¹⁰⁵¹ Anon. 1926. Late Mr. T.E. Hollings of Calverley. *Shipley Times and Express*. 20 November, p. 19. Walton, 1970, p. 4.

¹⁰⁵² Art Gallery register for 1946-57, Leeds Art Gallery.

¹⁰⁵³ Pearce, 1993, pp. 68-88.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Walton, 1970.

Painted juglets ([LEEDM.D.1988.0003](#) and [.0004](#), the latter shown in **Fig. 6.7a** and **Fig. 6.7b**); a Cypro-Archaic Bichrome amphora ([LEEDM.D.1988.0006](#)); and a Cypro-Archaic Black on Red two-handled flask ([LEEDM.D.1988.0007](#)). The itineraries of these objects have left traces in archives and on the objects themselves, the meanings of which have become obscured over the years but can to some extent be deciphered. **Fig. 6.7b** demonstrates the importance of close examination of objects in tracing their itineraries. Working backwards, the number in blue was added by LMG; the green painted number by the Leeds Art Gallery; and the paper label by Hollings, providing evidence of the object's successive identities in museums and collections. The strip of paper labelled 'Cyprian' may obscure a still earlier identity.



Fig. 6.7a



Fig. 6.7b

- a) White Painted juglet, Cypro-Geometric period (LEEDM.D.1988.0004).**
Donated by Thomas Hollings, said to be from the Lawrence-Cesnola collection.
- b) Base of LEEDM.D.1988.0004 showing successive markings and labels.**
© Leeds Museums and Galleries.

Records first appear for this collection at the point when the major gift was made (1946-1947), as part of the complex process of recording and transferring Hollings' large collection. Two of the juglets are included in a broader group of objects bracketed together in the Leeds Art Gallery register and described as 'All from the Sandwith collection', while others, including the Middle Cypriot White Painted juglet, are described as 'Sandwich collection'.¹⁰⁵⁵ These can be assumed to have come to Leeds as part of T.B. Sandwith's collection exhibited at the 1875 Yorkshire Exhibition, discussed in Chapter 2. The brief descriptions which

¹⁰⁵⁵ This misspelling frequently occurs in discussion of T.B. Sandwith, including McFadden, 1971 *passim*.

accompany the objects likewise suggest they were first acquired and recorded around the time of the 1875 Exhibition. The Black Slip juglet is described as ‘early Phoenician’, and the Black on Red juglet and Bichrome amphora as ‘Graeco-Phoenician’, reflecting the terminology in general usage at this time. The inclusion of Greek and Egyptian objects in these ‘Sandwith’ groups is likely to be inaccurate, and this slippage may have taken place as a result of the process of transferring the large collection, since objects of these periods and cultures may well have been outside the expertise of the staff involved. The two Cypro-Geometric White Painted jugs carry within them handwritten slips of paper which testify to their provenance. The paper within .0003 reads ‘Greco-Phoenician (Cyprus). From the Cesnola Collection. Oenochoe.’ The paper in .0004 is largely indecipherable, but includes ‘Greco-Phoenician oenochoe ... Lawrence-Cesnola’. According to these papers, these jugs come from the extensive Lawrence-Cesnola collections auctioned at Sothebys between 1883 and 1892, through which collectors of Cypriot antiquities in the UK were able to grow their collections in the late 19th century.¹⁰⁵⁶

Through his participation in local social and intellectual networks, Hollings was connected to an older generation of antiquarian collectors, who had put together varied collections of ancient objects and shared their knowledge through local learned societies. Some of these networks in the Yorkshire area have been traced by the present author.¹⁰⁵⁷ A letter from Hollings in the Temple Newsam archives mentions his ‘collection of old Roman glass which formerly belonged to Samuel Margerison’.¹⁰⁵⁸ Margerison (?1858-1917) was a botanist and antiquarian, also from Calverley.¹⁰⁵⁹ Through the Bradford Antiquarian Society he in turn was connected to William Cudworth (1830-1906) and hence John Emmanuel Preston (1856-1933). Cudworth was a local historian and collector who owned objects formerly belonging to T.B. Sandwith, presumably via the 1875 Yorkshire Exhibition, and liaised with London dealers to promote collecting, including of ancient Cypriot objects, among a group of interested locals.¹⁰⁶⁰ Preston was an antiquities collector and dealer who is known to have bought from the Cesnola sales in London.¹⁰⁶¹ It is probably through these networks that Hollings acquired these objects, initially collected years earlier in Yorkshire in the context of the enthusiasm for ancient Cypriot objects sparked by the 1875 Yorkshire Exhibition, and

¹⁰⁵⁶ Hetherington, 2000.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Reeve and Waite, 2020. Reeve, 2020b.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Letter, T.E. Hollings to Mr E. Musgrave (Director of Temple Newsam), 1 March 1946. Temple Newsam archives.

¹⁰⁵⁹ See the brief biographical note of Margerison by 'H.E.W.', 1917.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Cudworth, 1895; Cudworth, 1893. Reeve, 2020b.

¹⁰⁶¹ Reeve and Waite, 2020.

Cyprus' new status as a British protectorate in 1878. Their entangled itineraries can therefore be traced back to the early archaeological exploration in Cyprus of T.B. Sandwith and the Cesnola brothers. It is very likely that they formed part of local antiquarian collecting, with details of their collection histories accompanying them, before being carried along in the wake of Hollings' main collection of English ceramics to the Art Gallery and, eventually, to the museum.

By the time Hollings made his bequest, the *floruit* of object-based antiquarianism had come to an end. As Boast discusses, by the 1920s 'the general programme of the study of the past had been absorbed into the term "archaeology"', although 'antiquarianism' had not yet acquired consistently pejorative connotations.¹⁰⁶² The earlier generation of 'armchair' collectors of ancient Cypriot objects – of which John Holmes was one of the earliest – were dying out, and their objects, often having circulated in private collections for some years, were increasingly being routed towards museums.¹⁰⁶³ Here, the microhistorical analysis illustrates a broader trend; the itineraries of these objects can be seen as representative of wider shifts in the collection and interpretation of Cypriot antiquities.

Coda: the later 20th century history of the collection

This thesis is structured around the key acquisition events which formed the Leeds ancient Cypriot collection. The later history of the collection's display and interpretation, up to and including the present day, is beyond its analytical scope. However, this coda briefly sets out some key events in the post-1947 development of the museum and its collections, in order to establish a framework for the discussion of further avenues for research in the Conclusion.

Before the Second World War, plans were being made to provide the museum with spacious new premises to further its role in the education and entertainment of the people of Leeds. After the damage sustained in the war, in the postwar context of austerity, developments were planned, and at some points begun, but not seen through to conclusion.¹⁰⁶⁴ Part of the collection was put in storage, with the remainder on display in the remnant of the Philosophical Hall. In 1948, this consisted of a 'collection of large mammals; evolutionary series of invertebrates; osteological collection arranged for dental and medical students;

¹⁰⁶² Boast, 2009, p. 54.

¹⁰⁶³ A comparable itinerary was followed by the jug LEEDM.D.1964.0371, discussed in Chapter 2.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Brears, 1989, pp. 21, 29.

[and] small exhibits of Roman and Anglo-Saxon material.¹⁰⁶⁵ In the 1950s, partly in response to the damage to the collections and to the Philosophical Hall, new display policies were adopted in Leeds. Abbey House Museum at Kirkstall, previously used to house the 'bygones' collections, now covered 'the whole of local history and antiquities'. The surviving space in the Philosophical Hall was used for natural history and geology, with some space given to 'The Story of Man', and a strong focus on the Yorkshire area, mainly presented through dioramas.¹⁰⁶⁶ Around this time large parts of the ethnological collections were dispersed on the market.¹⁰⁶⁷ Both of these policies mark a decisive break with the ethos and practices of the museum under the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, which in the 1890s reaffirmed its commitment to diversity and to the value of all its collections, restated by Crowther in 1928 as discussed above. The ancient Cypriot collection does not appear to have met the new criteria for display, but its categorisation as archaeological rather than ethnological meant that it was preserved in the collections and not sold.

The wartime damage to the archaeological collections was long-lasting in its effects and slow to be resolved. As late as 1960/61, the Annual Report for Leeds City Museums stated that

The task of restoring the archaeological material has proved more difficult than was originally estimated. The reason for this is mainly due to the fact that the records of hundreds of specimens were lost during the war and it is only by careful comparative and research methods that they can be re-identified and catalogued.¹⁰⁶⁸

Given the extent of the damage (**Fig. 6.5**) it is testament to the professionalism and hard work of the museum staff in the wartime and post-war periods that so much of the ancient Cypriot collection was identified, restored and reaccessioned. However, the curatorial staff were hampered by limited resources and the loss of records. It is therefore not surprising that the reaccessioning of the ancient Cypriot objects introduced some confusion and misattribution as well as restoring some of the information concerning the objects. While ongoing work by successive curators has continued to improve the situation, part of the contribution of this thesis has been to revisit surviving original sources and to analyse the evidence for the itineraries of individual and groups of objects, in the process filling some gaps and correcting some errors.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Markham, 1948, p. 174.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Leeds City Museums, 1953.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Brears, 1989, pp. 28-29.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Leeds City Museums, 1961, p. 5.

The Philosophical Hall was finally declared unfit for use in the 1960s, and the collections were moved to a display area in the Municipal Buildings, the site of the Leeds Free Public Museum in the 1880s (see map at Annex C). Opened in 1969, this included displays of objects from Greece and Cyprus (**Fig. 6.8**). For the first time the amphora donated by William Aldam ([LEEDM.D.1964.0350](#)), still the largest and most striking object in the collection, was integrated into the display rather than being presented separately. While is not clear from this image what knowledge was intended to be conveyed by the ancient Cypriot collection, the display does not appear to be arranged by chronology or provenience. It is geographical in principle rather than typological, incorporating pottery, metalwork, and at least one figurine, perhaps aimed at giving an overview of the cultural productions of the ancient Mediterranean, alongside objects from Greece. In this it reflects similar developments in Manchester museum, where prehistoric archaeology and classical material came together in a 'Mediterranean' display.¹⁰⁶⁹ It is probably to this period that some of the heavy-handed, by today's standards, restoration of the painted objects can be attributed. Faced with severely limited resources in the post-war environment, and a collection in tatters, the curators presumably prioritised restoring the displays and making the objects, somewhat battered, look as visually appealing as possible.



Fig. 6.8 1960s display of the ancient Cypriot collection.
© Leeds Museums and Galleries.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Alberti, 2009, p. 82.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, around twelve ancient Cypriot objects were loaned by the museum to the School Museum Service, through which sets of objects, secured in wooden and Perspex cases, were circulated around schools to support children's learning.¹⁰⁷⁰ Many of the objects selected appear to have been 'duplicates', similar to others represented in the collection.¹⁰⁷¹ The decision to spare these from the core collection can be related to the new display strategy outlined above, which appears to give an overview of the range of material culture from ancient Cyprus, and does not require multiple examples of single types of object to illustrate progressive development. The loan had a lasting impact on the collection; some objects were lost, including one of the Mycenaean sherds from the British Museum donation, and others were irretrievably glued into their housing. This again is reflective of changing curatorial approaches and attitudes to ancient material culture.

In 1999 the museum moved out of Municipal Buildings and the collections were put in storage.¹⁰⁷² Funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund, in 2007 the Leeds Museums Discovery Centre was opened. An open storage facility with access for researchers and the public on the outskirts of Leeds city centre, this provided a solution to the problems of storage, access and display which had been felt by the museum almost since its inception. In 2008 the new Leeds City Museum opened in the building originally constructed as the Leeds Mechanics Institute (see map at Annex C), with displays reflecting the breadth of the collections as well as maintaining a focus on Leeds and its history. Ancient Cypriot objects form part of the displays in the Ancient Worlds gallery, which presents the three civilisations of Egypt, Greece, and Rome through cross-cutting themes such as eating and drinking, trade, and writing.¹⁰⁷³ In this context their Cypriot identity is largely elided, although acknowledged in object labels, and they contribute to a broad-based project of conveying knowledge about ancient lives (**Fig. 6.9**). In 2004 the ancient Cypriot collection was augmented by a single Black on Red flask ([LEEDM.D.2004.0001.017](#)) formerly from the collection of Aquila Dodgson (1829-1919), an Egyptologist who was the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society's Librarian and catalogued its numismatic collections. He had a wide-ranging antiquarian and ethnographic collection, in part acquired on his extensive travels and through purchases from other collectors.¹⁰⁷⁴ A large bequest from his collection was made to the museum in 1927, but this flask formed

¹⁰⁷⁰ Brears, 1989, pp. 80-81.

¹⁰⁷¹ They included one of two White Painted juglets (LEEDM.D.1964.0317); one of two near-identical Cypriot Sigillata ware juglets (LEEDM.D.1964.0311); and one of three Base Ring juglets (LEEDM.D.1964.0321).

¹⁰⁷² See the review of the new Leeds City Museum by Heal, 2009.

¹⁰⁷³ See the guidebook to the new museum (Bliss, 2008, pp. 12-17).

¹⁰⁷⁴ Anon. 1927. A Collector's Curios for Leeds. *Yorkshire Evening Post*. 16 May, p. 4.

part of a private collection and so travelled separately until it was purchased by the museum as part of a large Egyptological collection with financial support from the Heritage Lottery Fund and the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society.¹⁰⁷⁵ In 2018 Leeds City Council decided to close Learning Improvement Artemis (formerly the School Museum Service) and the objects loaned in the 1960s and 1970s were returned to LMG.¹⁰⁷⁶ These were accompanied by seven further ancient Cypriot objects – a lamp, two loom weights, two vessels, and two figurines – which had been obtained by the School Museum Service for its collections, mostly from local dealers in antiquities.



Fig. 6.9 Display in the Ancient Worlds Gallery featuring ancient Cypriot ceramics, Leeds City Museum, 2015. Photo by the present author.

Conclusion

The period 1921-1947 saw an abrupt change in trajectory for the museum, and hence for its ancient Cypriot collection. The museum can be said to have experienced a long 19th century, resulting from a protracted period of uncertainty and decline for the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, and the extended tenure of Henry Crowther as curator. After the public takeover in 1921, a new era of consolidation and renewal began. No longer in private ownership, a position which had inevitably hampered the Society's efforts to make the museum genuinely accessible, its collections belonged to the citizens of Leeds, and its

¹⁰⁷⁵ Anon., 2004.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Paynes, 2017.

management was established on a more professional basis. Building on the foundations laid by Henry Crowther, new ways were found to bring people to the museum, the schools service continued to develop, and new curators were brought in with fresh approaches. The Art Gallery's unsuccessful experiment with antiquarian collections was brought to an end with the transfer of the Holmes Collection to the museum. A major acquisition from the British Empire Exhibition in 1926 greatly increased the size of the ancient Cypriot collection and offered increased scope for its employment in narratives of the development of technology and art history. Plans were being developed to build new premises with more space to modernise the layout and interpretation of the collections. Ancient Cypriot collections were increasingly moving out of private hands and into newly professionalised museums. The creation of knowledge through such collections, initially pursued through exhibition and discussion both inside and outside the museum, was now being undertaken primarily in a museum setting, drawing on professional knowledge networks concerning techniques of display and interpretation.

The destruction resulting from the Second World War marked a sharp point of inflection in this trajectory. The damage was profound and long-lasting, with consequences for the collections and their histories which could not fully be repaired. The plans for expansion were put on indefinite hold, and the display space and the collections within it took a huge retrograde step. Efforts in the 1950s and 1960s to reopen galleries made the best of the spaces and collections available, and in the early years of the new millennium, thanks to substantial public investment, cutting-edge display, storage and study facilities became available. These facilities brought about a point of intersection between the itinerary of the present author and that of the ancient Cypriot collection. As Bauer puts it, 'Taking object itineraries seriously means examining what has brought us (objects and people alike) to intersect at this place and considering where we might be heading next.'¹⁰⁷⁷ Increasing scholarly recognition of the multiple histories of archaeology and museums, the perceived need to recover overlooked and seldom heard voices, and a responsibility to understand the nature of collections formed during the imperial and colonial eras, drove the development of this study, which has aimed to restore the histories underpinning the collection and provide a methodology for understanding a decontextualised collection of archaeological material.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Bauer, 2019, p. 346.

CONCLUSION

Research aims and approach

This thesis examines the formation of the LMG ancient Cypriot collection in the period 1870 to 1947, through a microhistorical investigation of the itineraries of objects from Cyprus to the museum. To provide context for the range of interpretations placed on the objects throughout their recorded histories, it opens with formal analysis of each object, with the aim of assimilating them to current archaeological classifications. This work draws on archaeological studies of ancient Cypriot material culture, while recognising the limitations of such analysis in the absence of provenience data.

It explores the motivations and intentions of individuals and organisations in setting objects in motion, and the different ways in which they were interpreted, valued and used. Within the organisational context of the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, it uses the lens of this ancient Cypriot collection to investigate changes in museum theory and practices, and the changing ways in which the objects were displayed, interpreted, and used to convey knowledge to museum audiences, as well as the responses of these audiences. By taking a diachronic approach, and focusing on acquisition events through which individual objects or groups passed into museum ownership, it examines the collection by its constituent parts, in order to understand how these disparate objects came to form the collection within the museum today.

Research findings

This thesis has demonstrated the significant gains to knowledge that can be made through detailed examination of historic museum collections in municipal museums. By providing a thorough account of the formation of a little-known collection which has not to date been published, and charting the history of this collection, this thesis has added nuance and detail to the history of Cypriot archaeology, collecting and museums, complementing histories based on archaeological sites, high-profile individuals, and larger long-standing collections. Tracing object itineraries has enabled the recovery of overlooked and seldom-heard voices in the history of Cypriot archaeology, shifting the focus away from major figures whose contribution, for better or worse, has already been extensively explored, and centring the

objects themselves and those who came into contact with them.¹⁰⁷⁸ While catalogues of smaller UK ancient Cypriot collections are often accompanied by a brief overview of their collection history, this extended study is innovative and demonstrates the scope for similar investigations to be undertaken elsewhere.¹⁰⁷⁹

The collections-based research that underpins this thesis demonstrates that the histories of collections of Cypriot antiquities in regional museums are complex, entangled and contingent upon the agency of a wide range of individuals. While larger museums such as the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum and the Fitzwilliam Museum had relevant curatorial expertise and developed their collections more purposefully and strategically, e.g. through participation in archaeological expeditions, those which grew up in local museums such as Leeds resulted less from strategic decisions, and more from the intersection of the availability of objects and the concerns, priorities and interests of their communities. No curator at the Leeds Museum ever made space, intellectual or physical, for Cypriot antiquities in the collection and sought them from Cyprus to fill the gap. Rather, the objects were brought from Cyprus to the UK by very different circumstances, including Sandwith's aim to relieve the hardship of the Cypriot people among whom he lived as Consul; the British Museum's programme of excavations in Cyprus made possible by the Turner Bequest; personal mementos of travel and exploration; and the aim of the British colonial administration to create an image of Cyprus for audiences at the British Empire Exhibition that would encourage trade and tourism. Their initial reception in Leeds was influenced by a range of factors: a desire to support the charitable objective of relieving famine in Cyprus; a new focus on art and design to improve the work of artisans and morally uplift the working classes; and a belief that antiquities offered the key to proving the truth of Biblical history, and understanding ancient societies and cultural progression. As such, they participated in many different frameworks of value and interpretation.

Similarly, the reasons which brought the antiquities into the museum were hugely varied. Following Holmes' efforts to draw attention to Sandwith's collection, Aldam and Ikin donated individual pieces, and Ikin raised funds for a larger purchase by the museum from the collection; Holmes' collection formed the basis of a half-hearted, under-funded early Council

¹⁰⁷⁸ See, for example, the extensive bibliography on the life and works of Luigi Palma di Cesnola, some of which is mentioned in Chapter 2.

¹⁰⁷⁹ See, for example, summaries of collection histories in *Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities* publications and in catalogues supported by the Leventis Foundation such as de Alarcón and Coote, 2009.

initiative to create a public museum for Leeds; Nathan Bodington sought objects from the British Museum for the benefit of Yorkshire College students; Eliza Bodington and Stott placed objects in the museum as part of their broader commemorative strategies; and Bevan persuaded the Council's Library and Museum Committee to purchase the collection from the British Empire Exhibition. This analysis strongly supports the concept of the relational museum, embedded in networks which extend far beyond its institutional boundaries, physical or organisational.¹⁰⁸⁰ The collection history is multi-layered and complex, the combined result of the actions and intentions of many different people and organisations.

This collections-based approach also offers a lens through which to examine the history of museum development in Leeds. Following John Holmes' collection (Chapters 2, 3, and 6) provides a focus for a thorough examination of the social and historical context of the Leeds Free Public Museum, and an analysis of why it was established, and why it was unsuccessful. This recovers an often-overlooked part of the history of museums in Leeds. Examining the objects' roles in the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, and later the Leeds City Museum, also provides the means to enrich the previously known histories of these organisations. This thesis complements existing research into the natural history collections by providing an in-depth study of the use of antiquities to create knowledge and convey it to museum visitors.¹⁰⁸¹ It examines the changing roles of ancient Cypriot objects in this context, from objects of wonder and curiosity, to their incorporation as specimens in meaning-making systems of classification designed to demonstrate human progress, and the divergence of their itineraries from those antiquities designated by the museum as 'classical' in the 1890s. It explores the extent to which the meanings and values assigned to them by the previous owners were preserved and translated into the museum context, and their interpretation for audiences of museum visitors, participants at *conversaciones*, and schoolchildren.

It is evident from this study that the museum has been, and continues to be, anything but a stable environment for ancient objects. Subject to intellectual and physical rearrangement, objects in the ancient Cypriot collection have moved between categories of classification and physically through the museum space, and have meant different things to different audiences. The contexts in which they have been displayed have informed the knowledge value of individual objects, and of the collection as a whole. This analysis reinforces the view

¹⁰⁸⁰ Gosden and Larson, 2007, pp. 11-13.

¹⁰⁸¹ Steadman, 2019.

that a museum is a dynamic entity, constantly in the process of becoming, and never fixed or stable. This thesis has demonstrated that by enduring, these objects have the scope to be witnesses to changing social, intellectual and organisational approaches to ancient Cyprus. By unpacking the collection, considering it not as a homogenous entity but unpicking the itineraries of individual and groups of objects, this thesis has opened up a rich seam of evidence for the history of the archaeology of ancient Cyprus, the collection of its material culture, and the development of municipal museums.

Implications and applications

The formal analysis summarised in Chapter 1 provides the basis for the production of a catalogue of this Leeds collection to current archaeological standards, making a contribution to the sum of knowledge of ancient Cypriot material culture, and providing data for future studies, e.g. on types of artefact, which have not formerly been able to draw on this material. For example, Malmgren's re-examination of the British Museum's excavations at Klavdia-*Tremithos*, and Alexandrou's study of female Base Ring figurines, do not discuss relevant material at Leeds, although it has the potential to make a contribution to such studies of relatively small corpora.¹⁰⁸² Such omissions are inevitable when material is not published or made discoverable online, and emphasises the importance of putting even small, unproveniented collections into the public domain. Linked to this, the knowledge produced on the objects is being added to the Leeds Museum collections management system (TMS), enhancing and at times correcting the identification and description of each object and feeding into improved museum recording and interpretation.

The objects have an existence and an importance beyond their physical form. As Alberti states, 'The collection... includes not only things in their material form, but also the legacy of their acquisition route, and of the people involved.'¹⁰⁸³ Research into the objects' identities and collection histories has expanded existing collections-based knowledge, and opened up new possibilities for knowledge creation with museum audiences. In Joyce's terms,

A most useful aspect of thinking of objects as having itineraries is that it allows and even encourages considering the contemporary engagements of things with researchers and publics as part of things' lives, rather than as a somewhat hazy

¹⁰⁸² Alexandrou, 2016; Malmgren, 2003.

¹⁰⁸³ Alberti, 2009, p. 91.

afterlife following a sharp break between an absolutely distant past and a completely divorced present.¹⁰⁸⁴

These ongoing engagements are still adding to the objects' itineraries, and have the potential to inflect them in new directions. As has been the case throughout the institution's history, the possibilities for display in the Leeds City Museum are constrained by the available space, and any decisions on interpretation necessarily exclude other options. However, the extensive information on the objects and their histories provided by this thesis gives greater curatorial scope to choose from a range of potential narratives. This in turn offers the potential to enhance museum visitors' experiences. As Byrne et al. state, 'the processes and networks of agency which sit behind the material and social assemblages' in museums are 'not only of relevance to understanding the formation of museum collections in the past but, because they are ongoing, are also of relevance to contemporary museum practices and the engagement of the public with museums today.'¹⁰⁸⁵ Multiple histories give rise to multiple potential points of connection between people and objects, and offer scope for individuals not only to learn about an object's past, but to co-create its present meanings.¹⁰⁸⁶

More broadly, the approach taken by this thesis offers a model for the investigation of historic archaeological museum collections which lack provenience. Local Authority museums are often faced with the challenge of making meaning for modern visitors out of 'legacy' collections dating back to the 19th century, with little contextual data associated with them. This thesis has demonstrated how much can be achieved by close study of objects themselves, and by following up the scanty leads that survive, undertaking research in museum, local authority and institutional archives and contemporary periodicals and publications, and making full use of digital finding tools. While it may appear that little of a collection's history survives, in fact much can be recovered, in a way that would not have been possible before the mass digitisation of historical records and publications.

This study was not intended to be a representative case or a microcosm of the formation of ancient Cypriot collections by public museums, whose findings could be generalised to give an accurate overview of all such collections. Indeed, the highly diverse and contingent ways in which the objects came together clearly demonstrate that each local situation will vary considerably, and it is unlikely that the formation of this collection could be described as

¹⁰⁸⁴ Joyce, 2015, p. 31.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Byrne et al., 2011, p. 5.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Zhao et al., 2018, p. 10.

typical. This research has, however, established some key themes driving the development of such collections, including the object-based knowledge creation that grew out of antiquarian collecting in the 19th century; the importance of civic exhibitionary culture in the 19th century in providing the structures and mechanisms for raising awareness of ancient Cypriot material culture in the UK outside London; the circulation of ancient objects through intellectual and social networks; the impact of Cyprus becoming a British Protectorate in 1878 in raising public interest in its history, with consequent effects on collecting; the tension between curatorial priorities and members' wishes and interests in growing the collections of private museums; the variety of contexts in which museum objects were used to create meaning for different audiences; the impact on collections of changing museum frameworks of interpretation and display, and increasing professionalisation of museum roles in the early 20th century; the trade in 'duplicates' along museum networks, and the role of small-scale dealers; the range of personal motivations which prompted individuals to seek to place objects in museums, and the extent to which their former meanings accompanied them in this move; and the cultural shift away from private antiquarian collecting which fed museum collections from the early 20th century. The methodology used here can be applied to other areas and collections, and its findings can be compared, confirmed or corrected in building up a wider national picture from individual local circumstances.

Areas for further research

The most pressing area for further research, and one to which the present author hopes to contribute, is to explore the histories of the many ancient Cypriot collections in public ownership across the UK. Preliminary research suggests that there are at least 50 such collections in public museums in England alone, which are likely to be supplemented by small holdings of a few objects at many more institutions. This thesis shows how ancient Cypriot objects travelled to Leeds along networks of excavators, collectors, and dealers, but has not followed the other branches of these networks leading elsewhere and the objects that travelled along them. This leaves many other itineraries to be traced. To take just two examples, the British Museum donated ancient Cypriot 'duplicates' to a wide range of institutions, not all of which have been traced, and Sandwith's collection is also known to have been widely dispersed.¹⁰⁸⁷ The display and discussion of objects at conversaciones in Leeds and the surrounding area in the late 19th century, discussed in Chapter 2, is mirrored across the country, as recorded in multiple local newspaper reports. The increasing focus,

¹⁰⁸⁷ Kiely, 2011a; Reeve and Waite, 2020.

both scholarly and public, on museum collections assembled during the imperial and colonial eras adds further importance to the work of understanding the processes by which such collections were formed. Starting from present-day museum collections and working back, there is considerable scope to add to the understanding of the dissemination and reception of ancient Cypriot material culture in the UK from the mid-19th century onwards, in partnership with curators and academics working on these collections. This research provides a head start in exploring other, similar, collections.

This thesis has focused on the major period of acquisition events of ancient Cypriot objects, from 1870 to 1947. There is scope for further work to investigate the display and interpretation of ancient objects in museums Leeds during the later 20th century, discussed briefly in Chapter 6, and the 21st century. For example, the history of the School Museum Service is a rich field for further investigation. Further exploration of the aims and intentions of this Service, the acquisition of objects for it, their presentation and interpretation, and their reception by schoolchildren and teachers, would provide a fascinating angle from which to explore the later history of the schools services begun by Henry Crowther, and the uses made of material culture in primary education. In addition, the transformation of object itineraries brought about by digital reproduction and online presentation offers considerable potential for further examination.

Chapter 5 explored the donation of ancient Cypriot objects by two women donors, Eliza Bodington and Frances Louisa Stott. While it contextualised these donations in relation to the broader patterns of engagement of women with the museum through donation, there is much more to be researched in terms of the participation of women in the museum throughout its history, as donors, members, visitors, curators, educators and other staff. In particular, Henry Crowther's employment of his three daughters' labour in delivering his museum work deserves further attention, as does the substantial contribution of Violet Crowther to the museum in her own right. Hill's groundbreaking study of women in museums can be augmented by further detailed, empirical study of the histories of individual museums and the roles of women connected to them.¹⁰⁸⁸

From the Bronze Age to the Roman period, people in Cyprus made and used objects – vessels, figurines, tools and jewellery – which eventually became part of archaeological deposits. Many centuries later, they were exhumed and transported to the UK, and to the

¹⁰⁸⁸ Hill, 2016.

museum in Leeds. These objects are witnesses to ancient lives, and to practices of excavation, collection, display and interpretation from the 19th century onwards. This thesis has aimed to do justice to these rich, entangled histories, and to continue the project of making meaning through these ancient objects.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Archives

1.1 Leeds Museums and Galleries Archives

MS letter from Henry Sandwith, 10 September [n.d. - 1870?].

MS letter from Henry Sandwith, recipient unknown (H. Denny?), 8 October 1870.

MS letter from S.S. Lewis to H. Denny, 9 February 1871.

'Holmes' constituent file.

MS letter from T.E. Hollings to Mr E. Musgrave, 1 March 1946. Temple Newsam archives.

Leeds Art Gallery register, 1946/47.

'Copy of a letter on the early Greek pottery', Leeds Museums and Galleries Archive, 1957.

1.2 Local history archives

'Domestic Diary of William Aldam', Doncaster Archives DD/WA/D/1.

Minute Books 2 and 3 of the Leeds Public Library Committee, 1881-1889. Leeds Local History Library, shelfmark Q Strong room 352.9/LEE.

Minutes of Sub-Libraries and Arts (Museum) Committee. Leeds Local History Library, shelfmark Q 352.9 LEE.

1.3 Leeds University Library Special Collections

Holmes, J. 1873. A Sketch of the History of Leeds from Pre-historic Times to 1872 AD. Leeds: McCorquodale and Co. Classmark Leeds Phil. and Lit. Y/HOL.

'Report of... a Committee appointed by the Council on the 28th November 1893, "to consider means of extending the usefulness of this Society"' (1894). Classmark SC/LPLS/03/3/1.

'Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society: Arrangement and Disposal of Collections' (1895). Classmark SC/LPLS/02/2/3/1.

'Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society: Report of the Committee appointed on April 26th, 1904'. Classmark SC/LPLS/03/5/2.

'Accounts from Leeds school children of their visit to the Museum to attend a lecture given by the Curator, Henry Crowther, on "The wonders of the sea and its shore"'. 1905-1906. Classmark SC/LPLS/13/3/4.

Baines, J.M.W. n.d. *Curator unmasked: an autobiography of J. M. Baines*. Unpublished. Classmark MS 713/10.

'Papers of John Manwaring Baines' (c. 1837-1985). Classmark MS 1516.

1.4 Census, marriage, divorce and wills

'Charles L. Hoelen'. 1871. *Census return for Haggerston East, Shoreditch, London*. The National Archives of the UK; Kew, Surrey, England; *1871 England Census*; Class: *RG10*; Piece: *472*; Folio: *39*; Page: *8*; GSU roll: *823367*. Available from: <http://www.ancestry.co.uk> (accessed 27 June 2018).

'Charles L. Hoelen'. 1891. *Census return for Hornsey, Middlesex*. The National Archives of the UK; Kew, Surrey, England; *Census Returns of England and Wales, 1891*; Class: *RG12*; Piece: *1063*; Folio: *13*; Page: *22*; GSU roll: *6096173*. Available from: <http://www.ancestry.co.uk> (accessed 27 June 2018).

'Charles Hoclin'. 1881. *Census return for South Hackney, Hackney, London*. The National Archives of the UK; Kew, Surrey, England; *Census Returns of England and Wales, 1881*; Class: *RG11*; Piece: *318*; Folio: *24*; Page: *41*; GSU roll: *1341068*. Available from: <http://www.ancestry.co.uk> (accessed 27 June 2018).

'Charles Hoelen'. 1859. *Church of England Marriages and Banns, 1754-1932*. London Metropolitan Archives, London. Reference Number: *P91/LEN/A/01/Ms 7498/71* Available from: <http://www.ancestry.co.uk> (accessed 27 June 2018).

'Charles Lewis Hoelen'. 1887. The National Archives; Kew, Surrey, England; *Court for Divorce and Matrimonial Causes, later Supreme Court of Judicature: Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Files, J 77*; Reference Number: *J 77/393/1930*. Available from: <http://www.ancestry.co.uk> (accessed 27 June 2018).

'Frances Louisa Stott'. 1913. Last will and testament of Frances Louisa Stott, 18 August 1913. National Probate Office.

1.5 Other

British Museum GR Archives, *Original Letters* 1894, 1900, 1902, 1907.

British Museum GR Archives, *Reports* April 1902 - June 1903, fol. 17-20.

Cyprus State Archives. CM1/58 'M.E. Jelajian's collection'.

Cyprus State Archives. SA1 9859/1880 'Certain inhabitants of Larnaca petition to be allowed to search for antiquities'.

Minutes of Ordinary Meetings, Society of Antiquaries of London.

V&A Acquisitions file MA/1/S3672, 'Stott, F.L. Miss'.

V&A Ceramics and Glass, Board of Survey file: VA/155/1 part 2.

2. Newspapers

The Athenaeum (London)

Bradford Daily Telegraph (Bradford)

Bradford Observer (Bradford)

The City Jackdaw (London)

The Era (London)

The Graphic (London)

Huddersfield Chronicle (Huddersfield)

Illustrated London News (London)

Leeds Intelligencer (Leeds)

Leeds Mercury (Leeds)

Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement (Leeds)

The Leeds Times (Leeds)

Liverpool Daily Post (Liverpool)

Liverpool Mail (Liverpool)

Punch (London)

Sheffield Daily Telegraph (Sheffield)

Sheffield and Rotherham Independent (Sheffield)

York Herald (York)

Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer (until 1883, latterly *The Yorkshire Post*) (Leeds)

Sheffield and Rotherham Independent available from www.newspapers.com [last accessed 14 November 2019]. All other newspapers available from www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk [last accessed 26 May 2021].

3. Primary sources

Anon. 1874. 'Annual Meeting at Ripon'. *The Archaeological Journal*. **31**(1), pp. 387-417.

Anon. 1876. Science in Leeds. *Nature*. **13**.

Anon. 1905. List of Associates. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*. **XI**, p.x.

Anon. 1906. The Roman Antiquities Committee for Yorkshire. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*. **XII**, pp. 143-144.

Anon. 1922. Louis Compton Miall. *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London. Series B. Containing papers of a biological character*. **XCIII**, pp. x-xix.

Anon. 1924. *British Empire Exhibition. Official Catalogue*. London: Fleetway Press.

Anon. 2004. *Leeds City Heritage Weekend - Egyptian Artefacts Come Home*. [Online]. [Accessed 15 January 2021]. Available from: <https://www.culture24.org.uk/places-to-go/yorkshire/leeds/art21112>

Baines, T. 1877. *Yorkshire, Past and Present: A History and a Description of the Three Ridings of the Great County of York, from the earliest ages to the year 1870*. London: William MacKenzie.

Betts, J.C. and Campbell-Gray. 1925. *The New Wembley. 1925 British Empire Exhibition pictorial map*. [Leaflet]. London: Waterlow & Sons.

Bliss, A. 2008. *Leeds City Museum*. Leeds: Leeds City Council.

Bodington, N. 1891. Roman Ventimiglia. *Macmillan's Magazine*. **LXIII**, pp. 60-63.

Bodington, N. 1895a. Note on a Roman Altar dredged up near Castleford. *The Publications of the Thoresby Society: Miscellanea*. **IV**, pp. 79-80.

Bodington, N. 1895b. Pampocalia. *The Publications of the Thoresby Society: Miscellanea*. **IV**, pp. 60-64.

The British Museum. 1875. *A guide to the exhibition rooms of the Departments of Natural History and Antiquities*. London: The Trustees of the British Museum.

Brown, S. 1879. Three Months in Cyprus. *Report of the Forty-Ninth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*. London: John Murray, pp. 450-451.

di Cesnola, L.P. 1877. *Cyprus: Its Ancient Cities, Tombs, and Temples*. London: John Murray.

Classical Association of England and Wales. 1904. *Proceedings*. London: John Murray.

Colonial Office. 1925. *Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of Cyprus for 1924*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office.

Colvin, S. 1873. Introduction. *The Antiquities of Cyprus discovered principally on the sites of the ancient Golgoi and Idalium by General Luigi Palma di Cesnola*. London: Mansell and Co., pp. 1-4.

Colvin, S. 1921. *Memories and Notes of Persons and Places*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Committee of the BAAS. 1888. Report of the Committee... appointed for the purpose of preparing a Report upon the Provincial Museums of the United Kingdom. *Report of the 57th Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* London: John Murray, pp. 97-130.

Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Art. 1877. *Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum, and Gallery of Art, of the Borough of Liverpool* Liverpool: Henry Greenwood.

Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Schools. 1870. *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Schools, of the Borough of Liverpool, for the year ending August 31st, 1870*. Liverpool: The Liverpool Printing and Stationery Co.

Committee of the Leeds City Art Gallery. 1888. *The City Art Gallery, Leeds*. Leeds: Leeds Art Gallery.

Committee of the Leeds Municipal Art Gallery. 1892. *Annual Report of the Leeds Municipal Art Gallery*. Leeds: Leeds Art Gallery.

Committee of the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures. 1875. *Prospectus of the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures*. Leeds: Fred R. Spark & Co.

Cook, M.G. and Fox, F. 1924. *The British Empire Exhibition 1924 Official Guide*. London: Fleetway Press.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1838. *18th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: John Heaton.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1839. *19th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Edward Baines and Sons.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1841. *21st Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: John Heaton.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1845. *25th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Edward Baines and Sons.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1855. *35th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical & Literary Society*. Leeds: C. Kemplay.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1859. *39th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: J. Heaton and Son.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1861. *41st Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: C. Kemplay.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1863. *43rd Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Edward Baines and Sons.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1867. *47th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Edward Baines and Sons.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1868. *48th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Edward Baines and Sons.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1870. *50th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Charles Goodall.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1871. *51st Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Charles Goodall.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1872. *52nd Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: McCorquodale & Co.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1873. *53rd Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: McCorquodale & Co.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1874. *54th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: McCorquodale & Co.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1875. *55th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Office of the Yorkshire Post.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1876. *56th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: The Yorkshire Post.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1877. *57th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Office of the Yorkshire Post.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1879. *59th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Office of the Yorkshire Post.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1880. *60th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Office of the Yorkshire Post.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1881. *61st Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Office of the Yorkshire Post.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1882. *62nd Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Office of the Yorkshire Post.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1888. *68th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: McCorquodale & Co.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1892. *72nd Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Jowett and Sowry.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1896. *76th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Jowett & Sowry.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1897. *77th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Jowett & Sowry.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1900. *80th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Jowett & Sowry.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1901. *81st Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Jowett & Sowry.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1902. *82nd Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Jowett & Sowry.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1903. *83rd Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Jowett & Sowry.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1904. *84th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Jowett & Sowry.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1909. *89th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Chorley & Pickersgill.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1910. *90th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Jowett & Sowry.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1911. *91st Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Jowett & Sowry.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1912. *92nd Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Jowett & Sowry.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1913. *93rd Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Jowett & Sowry.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1914. *94th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Jowett & Sowry.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1915. *95th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Jowett & Sowry.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1918. *98th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Jowett & Sowry.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1919. *99th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Jowett & Sowry.

Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. 1921. *101st Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Jowett & Sowry.

- Council of the Philosophical and Literary Society. 1854. *Guide to the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: H.W. Walker.
- Council of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. 1911. Annual Report of the Council, Session 1910-11. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. **XXXI**, pp. xlv-lxi.
- Council of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society. 1858. *Annual Report of the Council of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society*. York: H. Sotheran.
- Council of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society. 1881. *Annual Report of the Council of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society*. York: J. Sotheran.
- Crowther, H. 1897. *General Guide to the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. 2nd ed. Leeds: Chorley & Pickersgill.
- Crowther, H. 1905. The Museum as a Teacher of Nature-Study. *The Museums Journal*. **V**, pp. 5-14.
- Crowther, H. 1906. *General Guide to the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. 3rd ed. Leeds: Chorley & Pickersgill.
- Crowther, H. 1909. *General Guide to the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. 4th ed. Leeds: Chorley and Pickersgill.
- Crowther, H. 1912. *General Guide to the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. 5th ed. Leeds: Chorley & Pickersgill.
- Crowther, H. 1915. *General Guide to the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. 6th ed. Leeds: Chorley & Pickersgill.
- Crowther, H. 1925. *General Guide to the Leeds City Museum*. 7th ed. Leeds: Jowett & Sowry.
- Crowther, H. 1929. Discussion on Sir Henry Miers' Report to the Carnegie Trustees. V. The Leeds Museum and Schools. *The Museums Journal*. **28**(7), pp. 221-225.
- Crowther, H. n.d. *Syllabus of Lectures by Henry Crowther, F.R.M.S., Curator of the Leeds Museum*. [Leaflet].
- Cudworth, W. 1893. *Antique lamps. A dissertation on antique terra-cotta lamps generally, with special reference to the author's own collection*. London: Chas. J. Clark.
- Cudworth, W. 1895. Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society. Report and Resumé of Operations since 1883. *The Bradford Antiquary*. **II**, pp. 98-101.
- Davidson, J.T. 1878. *Cyprus: England's New Possession and its Place in Bible History*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Davis, J.W. 1889. *History of the Yorkshire Geological and Polytechnic Society, 1837-1887, with biographical notices of some of its members*. Halifax: Whitley and Booth.
- Draper, W.H. 1912. *Sir Nathan Bodington, First Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds. A Memoir*. London: Macmillan and Co.
- Evans, A.J. 1900. Mycenaean Cyprus as illustrated in the British Museum excavations. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*. **XXX (n.s. III)**, pp. 199-220.
- Fearnside, W.G. 1936. Percy Fry Kendall. 1856-1936. *Obituary Notices of Fellows of the Royal Society*. **2**(5), pp. 57-65.
- Fetherstone, F.M. n.d. *Oops an' Doons, an' Sayin's an' Doin's o' Timothy Goorkrodger, his Aud Deame, an' Darter Meary, a'Whoame an' Abroad*. Knaresborough: [publisher unknown].

Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire. 1849. *Proceedings of the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire*. Leeds: Edward Baines and Sons.

Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire. 1870. *Report of the Proceedings of the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire*. Leeds: Edward Baines and Sons.

'H.E.W.'. 1917. In Memoriam: Samuel Margerison. *The Naturalist*. **726**, pp. 235-236.

Hicks, E.L. 1890. The Collection of Ancient Marbles at Leeds. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*. **11**, pp. 255-270.

Hogarth, D.G. 1899. *Authority and Archaeology: Sacred and Profane. Essays on the Relation of Monuments to Biblical and Classical Literature*. London: John Murray.

Hole, J. 1860. "Light, more Light!" *On the present state of education amongst the working classes of Leeds, and how it can best be improved*. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts.

Holmes, J. 1857. *The Economic and moral advantages of Co-operation in the provision of food instanced in the People's Flour Mill Society at Leeds and in the Rochdale Co-operative Pioneers' Store: A paper... partially read before the British Association for the Advancement of Social Science, at Birmingham, October 15th, 1857*. Leeds: printed by David Green.

Holmes, J. 1873. *A Sketch of the History of Leeds from Pre-historic Times to 1872 AD*. Leeds: McCorquodale and Co.

Holyoake, G.J. 1897. *The Jubilee History of the Leeds Industrial Co-operative Society from 1847 to 1897*. Leeds: Central Co-operative Offices.

Howarth, E. 1905. General Notes: Leeds Museum. *The Museums Journal*. **IV**, pp. 419-420.

Humphry Ward, T. 1884. *Humphry Sandwith: A Memoir*. London: Cassell.

Ikin, J.I. 1876. *Address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, May 2nd, 1876, by the President, J.I. Ikin, FRCS*. Leeds.

Kekewich, G.W. 1895. Education Department. Circular to HM Inspectors: Object Teaching. *The Practical Teacher*. **16**(2), pp. 65-66.

Kimball, A.R. 1894. *The Blue Ribbon: What Thomas Edward Murphy has done for the promotion of personal temperance*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company.

Kitson Clark, E. 1924. *The History of 100 Years of Life of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Jowett & Sowry Ltd.

Lane Fox, A. 1875a. On the Evolution of Culture. *Notices of the Proceedings at the Meetings of Members of the Royal Institution of Great Britain*. London: William Clowes and Sons, pp. 496-520.

Lane Fox, A. 1875b. On the Principles of Classification Adopted in the Arrangement of His Anthropological Collection, Now Exhibited in the Bethnal Green Museum. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*. **4**, pp. 293-308.

Lang, J. and Jacob, J.W. 1905. *The Leeds Schools' Museum Scheme: a report of four years' work*. [Leaflet]. Leeds.

Lang, R.H. 1871. On coins discovered during recent excavations in the island of Cyprus. *Numismatic Chronicle*. **XI**, pp. 1-18.

Lang, R.H. 1878. *Cyprus: Its History, Its Present Resources, and Future Prospects*. London: Macmillan.

- Lang, R.H. 1879. Cyprus - Is It Worth Keeping? *Macmillan's Magazine*. **XL**, pp. 441-448.
- Lang, R.H. 1886. *Colonial and Indian Exhibition. Handbook to Cyprus (with map of the island) and catalogue of the exhibits*. London.
- Lang, R.H. 1905. Reminiscences - archaeological research in Cyprus. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. **177**, pp. 622-639.
- Lang, R.H. and Poole, R.S. 1878. Narrative of Excavations in a Temple at Dali (Idalium) and Observations on the above Excavations. *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*. **XI**, pp. 30-79.
- Lawrence, G.C. ed. 1925. *British Empire Exhibition 1925. Official Catalogue*. London: Fleetway Press.
- Leeds City Museums. 1953. *Guide Book to the collections and display*. Leeds: Leeds Museums.
- Leeds City Museums. 1961. *Leeds City Museums Annual Report 1960-61*. Leeds: Leeds Museums.
- Lubbock, J. 1865. *Pre-historic Times as illustrated by Ancient Remains and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages*. London: Williams and Norgate.
- Luke, H.C. 1921. *Cyprus Under the Turks 1571-1878*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Markham, S.F. 1948. *Directory of Museums and Art Galleries in the British Isles*. London: The Museums Association.
- Miall, L.C. 1877. Museums. *Nature*. **16**(409), p. 360.
- Miall, L.C. 1890. *Guide to the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*. Leeds: Jowett & Sowry.
- Miers, H. 1928. *A report on the public museums of the British Isles (other than the national museums)*. Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable Ltd.
- Murray, A.S., Smith, A.H. and Walters, H.B. 1900. *Excavations in Cyprus: Bequest of Miss E.T. Turner to the British Museum*. London: The British Museum.
- Myres, J.L. 1914. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Myres, J.L. and Ohnefalsch-Richter, M. 1899. *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum with a chronicle of excavations undertaken since the British occupation and introductory notes on Cypriote archaeology*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Newton, C. 1880. On the Study of Archaeology. *Essays in Art and Archaeology*. London: Macmillan, pp. 1-38.
- Nichols, T. 1870. *A Handy-book of the British Museum for Every-day Readers*. London: Cassell, Petter and Galpin.
- Paynes, K. 2017. *Closure of Artemis Service*. [Online]. [Accessed 12 March 2021]. Available from: <https://democracy.leeds.gov.uk/ieDecisionDetails.aspx?Id=44996>
- Perrot, G. and Chipiez, C. 1885. *History of Art in Phoenicia and its Dependencies*. London: Chapman and Hall.
- Pitt Rivers, A.L.F. 1887. *Excavations in Cranbourne Chase*. No publisher: printed privately.
- Pitt Rivers, A.L.F. 1906. Primitive Warfare II. In: Myres, J.L. ed. *The Evolution of Culture and Other Essays*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 89-143.
- Poole, R.S. 1878. Cyprus: Its Present and Future. *The Contemporary Review*. **33**, pp. 137-154.

Ruskin, J. 1871-1873. *Fors Clavigera. Letters to the Workmen and Labourers of Great Britain. Letters 1-36*. London: George Allen.

Sandwith, T.B. 1877. On the different styles of Pottery found in Ancient Tombs in the Island of Cyprus. *Archaeologia*. **45**(1), pp. 127-142.

Schliemann, H. 1875. *Troy and its Remains*. London: John Murray.

Schliemann, H. 1886. *Tiryns: The Prehistoric Palace of the Kings of Tiryns*. London: John Murray.

Simpson, F.B. 1927. *City of Leeds Public Libraries, Art Gallery and Museum. Annual Report 1926-27*. Leeds: Leeds Art Gallery.

Simpson, F.G. 1926. The Roman Camps at Cawthorne. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*. **XXVIII**, pp. 23-33.

Smiles, S. 1859. *Self-help; with illustrations of character and conduct*. London: John Murray.

Smith, W. 1882a. Fairless Barber. In: Smith, W. ed. *Old Yorkshire*. London: Longmans, Green & Co., pp. 59-62.

Smith, W. 1882b. A Yorkshire Antiquary. In: Smith, W. ed. *Old Yorkshire*. London: Longmans, Green & Co., pp. 57-59.

Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne. 1892. *Archaeologia Aeliana or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquities published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne*. London and Newcastle upon Tyne: Andrew Reid, Sons & Co.

'T.W.G.'. 1929. John Edwin Eddison, M.D. *British Medical Journal*. **1**(3554), pp. 327-328.

University of Leeds. 1907. *The University of Leeds Calendar, 1907-08*. Leeds: Jowett & Sowry.

Victoria and Albert Museum. 1916. *Review of the Principal Acquisitions during the year 1915*. London: HMSO.

Woodward, A. 1914. The Antiquities from Lanuvium in the Museum at Leeds and Elsewhere. *Papers of the British School at Rome*. **7**, pp. 63-91.

Yates, J. 1872. *First Report of the Leeds Public Library*. Leeds: Charles Goodall.

Yates, J. 1884. *14th Annual Report of the Leeds Free Public Library and Museum, 1883-4*. Leeds: Goodall & Suddick.

Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures. 1875. *Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, Leeds, 1875: Official Catalogue*. Leeds: Inchbold & Beck.

4. Secondary sources

de Alarcón, M. and Coote, J. 2009. A Brief History of the Ancient Cypriote Collections. In: Karageorghis, V. ed. *Cypriote Art in the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford*. Nicosia: A.G. Leventis Foundation, pp. 15-20.

Alberti, S.J.M.M. 2002. The Bengal Tiger in Context. *Leeds Museums and Galleries Review*. **4**, pp. 13-16.

Alberti, S.J.M.M. 2003. Conversazioni and the Experience of Science in Victorian England. *Journal of Victorian Culture*. **8**(2), pp. 208-230.

Alberti, S.J.M.M. 2005. Objects and the Museum. *Isis*. **96**, pp. 559-571.

- Alberti, S.J.M.M. 2009. *Nature and Culture: Objects, Disciplines, and the Manchester Museum*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Alexandrou, C. 2016. *Following the Life-Cycle of Base-Ring Female Figurines in Late Bronze Age Cyprus*. Unpublished PhD dissertation: University of Dublin.
- Andrews, G., Barrett, J.C. and Lewis, J.S.C. 2000. Interpretation not record: the practice of archaeology. *Antiquity*. **74**, pp. 525-530.
- Anson, D. 1980. The Rude Style Late Cypriote IIC-III pottery: an analytical typology. *Opuscula Atheniensi*. **13**, pp. 1-18.
- Anthony, P.D. 1983. *John Ruskin's Labour: A Study of Ruskin's Social Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Appadurai, A. 1986. Introduction: commodities and the politics of value. In: Appadurai, A. ed. *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 3-63.
- Ashmore, O. 1982. *The Industrial Archaeology of North-west England*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Aston, D.A. 2008. A History of Tell el-Yahudiyeh Typology. In: Bietak, M. ed. *The Bronze Age in the Lebanon: Studies on the Archaeology and Chronology of Lebanon, Syria and Egypt*. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, pp. 165-194.
- Aston, D.A. and Bietak, M. 2012. *Tell El-Dab^ca VIII: The Classification and Chronology of Tell el-Yahudiya Ware*. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Åström, P. 1972. *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, Vol. 4 Part 1B: The middle Cypriote Bronze Age*. Lund: Swedish Cyprus Expedition.
- Åström, P., Åström, L., Popham, M.R. and Kenna, V.E.G. 1972. *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, Vol. 4 Part 1D: The late Cypriote Bronze Age: other arts and crafts*. Lund: Swedish Cyprus Expedition.
- Åström, P. and Popham, M.R. 1972. *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, Vol. 4 Part 1C: The late Cypriote Bronze Age: architecture and pottery*. Lund: Swedish Cyprus Expedition.
- Baker, R.A. and Bayliss, R.A. 1983. Louis Compton Miall, F.R.S.: Scientist and Educator 1842-1921. *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*. **37**(2), pp. 201-234.
- Balm, R. 2016. *Archaeology's Visual Culture: Digging and Desire*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Barlow, J.A. 1991. New Light on Red Polished Ware. In: Barlow, J.A., et al. eds. *Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania, pp. 51-58.
- Barr, J. 2018. Historic Collections and the Art Market in the 20th Century. In: Carpino, A., et al. eds. *Collecting and Collectors from Antiquity to Modernity*. Boston, MA: Archaeological Institute of America, pp. 189-196.
- Bauer, A.A. 2019. Itinerant Objects. *Annual Review of Anthropology*. **48**, pp. 335-352.
- Beaven, B. 2012. *Visions of empire: Patriotism, popular culture and the city 1870-1939*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Bennett, T. 1995. *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Bennett, T. 2004. *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism*. London: Routledge.
- Bikai, P.M. 1987. *The Phoenician Pottery of Cyprus*. Nicosia: A.G. Leventis Foundation.

- Boardman, J. 2006. Archaeologists, Collectors, and Museums. In: Robson, E., et al. eds. *Who Owns Objects? The Ethics and Politics of Collecting Cultural Artefacts*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. 33-46.
- Boast, R. 2009. The Formative Century, 1860-1960. In: Gosden, C., et al. eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 47-70.
- Bourdieu, P. 1986. The Forms of Capital. In: Richardson, J.G. ed. *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood Press, pp. 241-258.
- Bowler, P.J. 1989. *The Invention of Progress: the Victorians and the Past*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Boys Smith, S. 2020. *Thomas Sandwith. A British Consul in the Levant, 1855-1891*. Istanbul: The Isis Press.
- Bradford, E. 2012. *Archibald Witham Scarr (1827-1904): From Barrow-boy to Mayor of Leeds*. [Online]. [Accessed 13 March 2019]. Available from: <http://www.thoresby.org.uk/content/people/scarr.php>
- Brears, P. 1989. *Of Curiosities and Rare Things: The Story of Leeds City Museums*. Leeds: The Friends of Leeds City Museums.
- Brears, P. and Davies, S. 1989. *Treasures for the People: The Story of Museums and Galleries in Yorkshire and Humberside*. Leeds: Yorkshire and Humberside Museums Council.
- Brodie, N. and Luke, C. 2006. Conclusion: The Social and Cultural Contexts of Collecting. In: Brodie, N., et al. eds. *Archaeology, Cultural Heritage, and the Antiquities Trade*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, pp. 303-319.
- Brown, C. 2002. *Cherished Possessions. A History of New Walk Museum and Leicester City Museums Service*. Leicester: Leicester City Council.
- Burgess, W.G. 2021. State of the Field: The History of Collecting. *History: the Journal of the Historical Association*. **106**, pp. 108-119.
- Burn, L. and Higgins, R. 2001. *Catalogue of Greek Terracottas in the British Museum*. London: The British Museum Press.
- Bushnell, L. 2016. *Precious Commodities: The Socio-Economic Implications of the Distribution of Juglets in the Eastern Mediterranean During the Middle and Late Bronze Age*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- Byrne, S. 2011. Trials and Traces: A. C. Haddon's Agency as Museum Curator. In: Byrne, S., et al. eds. *Unpacking the Collection: Networks of Material and Social Agency in the Museum*. New York: Springer, pp. 307-325.
- Byrne, S., Clarke, A., Harrison, R. and Torrence, R. 2011. Networks, Agents and Objects: Frameworks for Unpacking Museum Collections. In: Byrne, S., et al. eds. *Unpacking the Collection: Networks of Material and Social Agency in the Museum*. New York: Springer, pp. 3-26.
- Caple, C. 2000. *Conservation Skills: Judgement, Method and Decision Making*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Caubet, A., Fourrier, S. and Queyrel, A. 1998a. *L'Art des modeleurs d'argile: Antiquités de Chypre coroplastique* Paris: Édition de la Réunion des musées.
- Caubet, A., Fourrier, S. and Queyrel, A. 1998b. *L'Art des modeleurs d'argile: Antiquités de Chypre coroplastique* Paris: Édition de la Réunion des musées
- Çelik, Z. 2016. *About Antiquities. Politics of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire*. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.

- Challis, D. 2008. *From the Harpy Tomb to the Wonders of Ephesus: British Archaeologists in the Ottoman Empire 1840-1880*. London: Duckworth.
- Chavane, M.J. 1990. *La Nécropole d'Amathonte, Tombes 110-385, IV. Les Petits Objets*. Nicosia: A.G. Leventis Foundation.
- Cohen, D. 2009. *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Cornish, C., Allan, P., Gardiner, L., Nicol, P., Pardoe, H., Sherwood, C., Webster, R., Young, D. and Nesbitt, M. 2020. Between Metropole and Province: circulating botany in British museums, 1870-1940. *Archives of Natural History*. **47**(1), pp. 124-146.
- Cornish, C. and Driver, F. 2020. 'Specimens Distributed': The circulation of objects from Kew's Museum of Economic Botany, 1847-1914. *Journal of the History of Collections*. **32**(2), pp. 327-240.
- Costello, S.K., Davis, P.R. and Hopkins, J.N. 2021. Introduction: The Long Biographies of Ancient Objects. In: Hopkins, J.N., et al. eds. *Object Biographies. Collaborative Approach to Ancient Mediterranean Art*. Houston: The Menil Collection, pp. 1-25.
- Crane, S.A. 2000. Introduction: Of Museums and Memory. In: Crane, S.A. ed. *Museums and Memory*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 1-16.
- Crane, S.A. 2006. The Conundrum of Ephemerality: Time, Memory, and Museums. In: Macdonald, S. ed. *A Companion to Museum Studies*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Crewe, L. 1998. *Spindle whorls: a study of form, function and decoration in prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus*. Jonsered: Åström Editions.
- Crewe, L. 2009a. *Enkomi*. [Online]. [Accessed 15 February 2020]. Available from: https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20190801105925/https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online_research_catalogues/ancient_cyprus_british_museum/enkomi/introduction.aspx
- Crewe, L. 2009b. Feasting with the Dead? Tomb 66 at Enkomi. In: Kiely, T. ed. *Ancient Cyprus in the British Museum: Essays in honour of Veronica Tatton-Brown*. London: British Museum, pp. 27-47.
- Crewe, L. 2011. From Lithograph to Web: The British Museum's 1896 Enkomi excavations. *Archaeologia Cypria*. **V**, pp. 57-70.
- Crewe, L., Lorentz, K., Peltenberg, E. and Spanou, S. 2005. Treatments of the Dead: Preliminary Report of Investigations at Souskiou-Laona Chalcolithic Cemetery, 2001–2004. *RDAC*. pp. 41-67.
- Das, S. and Lowe, M. 2018. Nature Read in Black and White: decolonial approaches to interpreting natural history collections. *Journal of Natural Science Collections*. **6**, pp. 4-14.
- Davies, S. 1985. *By the Gains of Industry: Birmingham's Museums and Art Gallery 1885-1985*. Birmingham: Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery.
- Demetriou, K. 1997. Victorian Cyprus: society and institutions in the aftermath of the Anglo-Turkish convention, 1878-1891. *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*. **21**, pp. 1-29.
- Descamps-Lequime, S. and Jouys-Barbelin, C. 2003. *Chronologies of the Louvre: Ancient Greece*. Paris: Paris musées.
- Díaz-Andreu, M. 2007. *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology. Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Edbury, P.W. 2001. Cyprus in the 19th century: perceptions and politics. In: Tatton-Brown, V. ed. *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD: Fact, Fancy and Fiction*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. 13-20.

- Emery, E. 2020. *Reframing Japonisme. Women and the Asian Art Market in Nineteenth-Century France, 1853-1914*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Evans, C. 2007. 'Delineating Objects': Nineteenth-Century Antiquarian Culture and the Project of Archaeology. In: Pearce, S.M. ed. *Visions of Antiquity: The Society of Antiquaries of London 1707-2007*. London: The Society of Antiquaries, pp. 267-306.
- Fitton, J.L. 2001. Excavations in Cyprus and the 'Mycenaean Question'. In: Tatton-Brown, V. ed. *Cyprus in the 19th Century: Fact, Fancy and Fiction*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. 149-152.
- Forgan, S. 1994. The Architecture of Display: Museums, Universities and Objects in Nineteenth-century Britain. *History of Science*. **32**(2), pp. 139-162.
- Foxhall, L. 2021. Materiality, methodologies and the agency of things in archaeological networks. In: Foxhall, L. ed. *Interrogating Networks: Investigating Networks of Knowledge in Antiquity*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. 1-20.
- Fuchs, R. and Herbert, G. 2000. Representing Mandatory Palestine: Austen St. Barbe Harrison and the Representational Buildings of the British Mandate in Palestine, 1922-37. *Architectural History*. **43**, pp. 281-333.
- Galanakis, Y. 2018. A survey of Late Bronze Age funerary archaeology over the last 25 years in the central and southern Aegean. *Archaeological Reports*. **64**, pp. 85-101.
- Gell, A. 1998. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Geppert, A.C.T. 2010. *Fleeting Cities. Imperial Expositions in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gill, D.W.J. 2011. *Sifting the soil of Greece: The early years of the British School at Athens (1886-1919)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gjerstad, E. 1948. *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, Vol. 4, Part 2: The Cypro-Geometric, Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical periods*. Stockholm: Swedish Cyprus Expedition.
- Gjerstad, E., Calvet, Y., Yon, M., Karageorghis, V. and Thalmann, J.P. 1977. *Greek Geometric and Archaic Pottery found in Cyprus*. Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Athens.
- Goring, E. 1988. *A Mischievous Pastime: Digging in Cyprus in the Nineteenth Century*. Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland in association with the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation.
- Gosden, C. 2009. *The Relational Museum*. [Online]. [Accessed 17 July 2016]. Available from: <http://www.materialworldblog.com/2009/01/the-relational-museum/>
- Gosden, C. and Larson, F. 2007. *Knowing Things: Exploring the Collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum 1884-1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gosden, C. and Marshall, Y. 1999. The Cultural Biography of Objects. *World Archaeology*. **31**(2), pp. 169-178.
- Graziado, G. 2017. *The earliest production of Aegean-type pottery in Cyprus*. Pisa: Pisa University Press.
- Graziado, G. and Pezzi, E. 2010. The Late Bronze Age tombs at Enkomi: shaping a methodology for analysing funerary furniture. In: Jasink, A.M. and Bombardieri, L. eds. *Researches in Cypriote History and Archaeology. Proceedings of the Meeting held in Florence April 29-20th 2009*. Firenze: Firenze University Press, pp. 19-32.
- Green, J.D.M. and Henry, R. eds. 2021. *Olga Tufnell's 'Perfect Journey'. Letters and photographs of an archaeologist in the Levant and Mediterranean*. London: UCL Press.

- Greenblatt, S. 1991. Resonance and Wonder. In: Karp, I. and Lavine, S.D. eds. *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, pp. 42-56.
- Greenhalgh, P. 1988. *Ephemeral vistas. The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Griffiths, A. 2008. Back to the (Interactive) Future: The Legacy of the Nineteenth-Century Science Museum. *Shivers Down Your Spine: Cinema, Museums, and the Immersive View*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 159-194.
- Gunn, S. 2000. *The public culture of the Victorian middle class: ritual and authority in the English industrial city 1840-1914*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Gunning, L.P. 2009. *The British Consular Service in the Aegean and the Collection of Antiquities for the British Museum*. London: Routledge.
- Göransson, K. 2012. The Swedish Cyprus Expedition. The Cyprus Collections in Stockholm and the Swedish Excavations after the SCE. *Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes*. **42**, pp. 399-421.
- Hadjithanasiou, M. 2019. 'Circling Round the Economic Sun of Britain': Cyprus and Its Participation in the British Empire Exhibitions. *The Cyprus Review*. **30**(1), pp. 275-296.
- Hadjisavvas, S. 2014. *The Phoenician Period Necropolis of Kition, Volume II*. Nicosia: Cyprus Department of Antiquities.
- Hahn, H.P. and Weiss, H. 2013. *Mobility, Meaning and the Transformations of Things*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Hatzopoulos, M. 2005. Cypriot archaeology, modern numismatics and social engineering: the iconography of the British coinage of Cyprus. *The Historical Review*. **II**, pp. 185-202.
- Hayes, J.W. 1967. Cypriot Sigillata. *RDAC*. pp. 65-77.
- Heal, S. 2009. 'Review: Leeds City Museum'. [Online]. [Accessed 4 January 2021]. Available from: <https://www.museumsassociation.org/museums-journal/reviews/2009/11/17419-2/>
- Hermay, A. 1996. Figurines en terre cuite des fouilles anglaises d'Amathonte (1893-1894). *Cahier du Centre d'Études Chypriotes*. **26**, pp. 13-22.
- Hetherington, P. 2000. The "Larnaka Tympanum" and its origins: A persisting problem from 19th century Cyprus. *RDAC*. pp. 361-379.
- Hicks, D. 2012. The Material-Cultural Turn: Event and Effect. In: Hicks, D. and Beaudry, M.C. eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 25-98.
- Hicks, D. 2020. *The British Museums. The Benin Bronzes, Colonial Violence and Cultural Restitution*. London: Pluto Press.
- Hill, K. 2005. *Culture and class in English public museums, 1850-1914*. United Kingdom: Ashgate Publishing.
- Hill, K. 2012. Introduction: Museums and Biographies - Telling Stories about People, Things and Relationships. In: Hill, K. ed. *Museums and Biographies: Stories, Objects, Identities*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, pp. 1-12.
- Hill, K. 2016. *Women and museums 1850-1914: Modernity and the gendering of knowledge*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

- Hirschfeld, N.E. 2002. Marks on pots: Patterns of use in the archaeological record at Enkomi. In: Smith, J.S. ed. *Colloquia and Conference Papers: No. 4. Script and Seal Use on Cyprus in the Bronze and Iron Ages*. Boston, MA: Archaeological Institute of America, pp. 49-109.
- Hirschfeld, N.E. 2011. The Cypriot Ceramic Cargo of the Uluburun Shipwreck. In: Gauss, W., et al. eds. *Our cups are full: Pottery and society in the Aegean Bronze Age*. Oxford: Archaeopress, pp. 114-120.
- Hodder, I. 2012. *Entangled: An Archaeology of the Relationships between Humans and Things*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Holmes, G.M. 1992. A Yorkshire Antiquary: John Holmes (1815-1894). *Sheffield Art Review*. pp. 15-21.
- Holtorf, C. 2002. Notes on the Life History of a Pot Sherd. *Journal of Material Culture*. **7**(1), pp. 49-71.
- Hook, G.D. 2014. *Protectorate Cyprus: British Imperial Power before World War I*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Hooper-Greenhill, E. 1991. *Museum and Gallery Education*. London: Leicester University Press.
- Hooper-Greenhill, E. 1992. *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Hooper-Greenhill, E. 2000. *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Hooper-Greenhill, E. 2006. Studying Visitors. In: Macdonald, S. ed. *A Companion to Museum Studies*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 362-376.
- Hoskins, J. 1998. *Biographical Objects: How Things Tell the Stories of People's Lives*. London: Routledge.
- Hoskins, J. 2006. Agency, Biography and Objects. In: Tilley, C., et al. eds. *Handbook of Material Culture*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 74-84.
- Iacovou, M. 2005. Review of *Klavdhia-Tremithos. A Middle and Late Cypriote Bronze Age Site*, by Kjell Malmgren (with an appendix by Parvine H. Merrillees). (SIMA Pocket Book 159.). *American Journal of Archaeology*. **109**(1), pp. 104-106.
- James, E. 1998. *The Victoria and Albert Museum: A Bibliography and Exhibition Chronology, 1852-1996*. London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers.
- Jenkins, D.T. 2012. *Barran family (per. c. 1842–1952), clothing manufacturers*. [Online]. [Accessed 6 January 2021]. Available from: <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-52614>
- Jenkins, I. 1992. *Archaeologists and Aesthetes in the Sculpture Galleries of the British Museum 1800-1939*. London: British Museum Press.
- Johns, C. 1982. *Sex or Symbol? Erotic Images of Greece and Rome*. London: British Museum Press.
- Joy, J. 2009. Reinvigorating object biography: reproducing the drama of object lives. *World Archaeology*. **41**(4), pp. 540-556.
- Joy, J. 2010. *Iron Age Mirrors: A biographical approach*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

- Joyce, R.A. 2012. From Place to Place: Provenience, Provenance, and Archaeology. In: Feigenbaum, G. and Reist, I. eds. *Provenance: An Alternate History of Art*. Los Angeles: Getty Publications, pp. 48-60.
- Joyce, R.A. 2015. Things in Motion: Itineraries of Ulua Marble Vases. In: Joyce, R.A. and Gillespie, S.D. eds. *Things in Motion: Object Itineraries in Anthropological Practice*. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, pp. 21-38.
- Joyce, R.A. and Gillespie, S.D. 2015a. Making Things out of Objects That Move. In: Joyce, R.A. and Gillespie, S.D. eds. *Things in Motion: Object Itineraries in Anthropological Practice*. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, pp. 3-19.
- Joyce, R.A. and Gillespie, S.D. eds. 2015b. *Things in Motion: Object Itineraries in Anthropological Practice*. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press.
- Karageorghis, V. 1965. *Nouveaux Documents pour l'Etude du Bronze Récent à Chypre*. Paris: Editions E. de Boccard.
- Karageorghis, V. 1982. *Cyprus from the Stone Age to the Romans*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Karageorghis, V. 1993. *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus. II. Late Cypriote II - Cypro-Geometric III*. Nicosia: A.G. Leventis Foundation.
- Karageorghis, V. 1995. *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus. IV. The Cypro-Archaic Period. Small Male Figurines*. Nicosia: A.G. Leventis Foundation.
- Karageorghis, V. 1998. *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus. V. The Cypro-Archaic Period. Small Female Figurines*. Nicosia: A.G. Leventis Foundation.
- Karageorghis, V. 2002. *Early Cyprus: Crossroads of the Mediterranean*. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum.
- Karageorghis, V. 2003. *Ancient Cypriote Art in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens*. Athens: A.G. Leventis Foundation.
- Karageorghis, V. 2004. *The A.G. Leventis Foundation and the collections of Cypriote antiquities in foreign museums*. Athens: The A.G. Leventis Foundation.
- Karageorghis, V. 2006. Notes on religious symbolism in Cypriot vase-painting ca. 1050-600 BC. In: Maeir, A.M. and de Miroschedji, P. eds. *I Will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times. Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Winona Lake Eisenbrauns, pp. 541-553.
- Karageorghis, V., Merker, G.S. and Mertens, J.R. 2004. *The Cesnola Collection of Cypriot Art: Terracottas*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Karageorghis, V., Mertens, J.R. and Rose, M.E. 2000. *Ancient Art from Cyprus: The Cesnola Collection*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Karageorghis, V., Vassilika, E. and Wilson, P. 1999. *The Art of Ancient Cyprus in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*. Nicosia: A.G. Leventis Foundation.
- Kassianidou, V. 2016. Metallurgy and metalwork in Enkomi – Revisiting Porphyrios Dikaios' excavations. In: Bourogiannis, G. and Muhlenbock, C. eds. *Ancient Cyprus Today: Museum Collections and New Research*. Uppsala: Åström Editions, pp. 79-90.
- Keswani, P. 2004. *Mortuary Ritual and Society in Bronze Age Cyprus*. London and Oakville, CT: Equinox.
- Kiely, T. 2009. The Kourion Notebook in the British Museum: Excavating an Old Excavation. In: Kiely, T. ed. *Ancient Cyprus in the British Museum. Essays in honour of Veronica Tatton-Brown*. pp. 63-100.

- Kiely, T. 2010. Charles Newton and the Archaeology of Cyprus. *Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes*. **40**, pp. 231-251.
- Kiely, T. 2011a. *Ancient Cyprus in the British Museum*. *Online Research Catalogue*. [Online]. [Accessed 15 March 2020]. Available from: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online_research_catalogues/ancient_cyprus_british_museum.aspx
- Kiely, T. 2011b. *Klavdia-Tremithos: a Bronze Age community in south-east Cyprus*. [Online]. [Accessed 15 March 2020]. Available from: https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20190801105759/https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online_research_catalogues/ancient_cyprus_british_museum/klavdia-tremithos/introduction.aspx
- Kiely, T. 2017. Britain and the Archaeology of Cyprus II. 1914 to the Present Day. *Cahier du Centre d'Études Chypriotes*. **47**, pp. 253-310.
- Kiely, T. 2019a. From Salamis to Bloomsbury: Transporting the Bull's Head Capital to the British Museum in 1891. In: Rogge, S., et al. eds. *Salamis of Cyprus. History and Archaeology from the Earliest Times to Late Antiquity*. Münster: Waxmann, pp. 51-73.
- Kiely, T. 2019b. Poachers turned gamekeepers? The British Museum archaeological agents on Cyprus, 1893-1899. In: Pilides, D. ed. *Proceedings of the Enkomi workshop, Nicosia, December 3rd 2008*.
- Kiely, T. and Merrillees, R.S. 2012. The Archaeological Interests of Samuel Brown, Government Engineer, and his Circle of Acquaintances in Late 19th Century Cyprus. *Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes*. **42**, pp. 245-272.
- Kiely, T. and Ulbrich, A. 2012. Britain and the Archaeology of Cyprus. I. The Long 19th Century. *Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes*. **42**, pp. 305-356.
- King's College London. 2019. *Ancient Itineraries*. [Online]. Available from: <https://www.kcl.ac.uk/research/ancient-itineraries>
- Knapp, A.B. 2008. *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus: Identity, Insularity, and Connectivity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Knapp, A.B. 2013. *The Archaeology of Cyprus: From Earliest Prehistory through the Bronze Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Knell, S.J. 2007. Consuming fossils and museums in early nineteenth-century England. In: Knell, S.J. ed. *Museums in the Material World*. London: Routledge, pp. 261-273.
- Kopytoff, I. 1986. The cultural biography of things. In: Appadurai, A. ed. *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 64-91.
- Laite, J. 2020. The Emmet's Inch: Small History in a Digital Age. *Journal of Social History*. **53**(4), pp. 1-27.
- Leriu, A. 2015. The discovery of ancient Cyprus: archaeological sponsorship from the 19th century to the present day. In: Theodoropoulou Polychroniadis, Z. and Evely, D. eds. *AEGIS. Essays in Mediterranean archaeology presented to Matti Egon by the Scholars of the Greek Archaeological Committee UK*. Oxford: Archaeopress, pp. 221-234.
- Levine, P. 2003. *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, historians and archaeologists in Victorian England 1838-1886*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lewis, G. 1989. *For Instruction and Recreation. A Centenary History of the Museums Association*. London: Quiller Press.

- Lewis, G. 2013. A Cypriot Amphora in Leeds. *Postscript: The Society of Postal Historians*. **63**(3), pp. 123-124.
- Lightfoot, C.S. 2021. *The Cesnola Collection of Cypriot Art. Terracotta Oil Lamps*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Lund, J. 2002. The Ontogenesis of Cypriot Sigillata. *Acta Hyperborea*. **9**, pp. 188-223.
- MacCarthy, F. 2009. *Morris, William (1834-1896), designer, author, and visionary socialist*. [Online]. [Accessed 5 May 2021]. Available from: <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-19322>
- MacGregor, A. 1997. Collectors, Connoisseurs and Curators in the Victorian Age. In: Caygill, M. and Cherry, J.F. eds. *A.W. Franks: nineteenth-century collecting and the British Museum*. London: British Museum Press, pp. 6-33.
- Mack, J. 1997. Antiquities and the Public: the Expanding Museum, 1851-96. In: Caygill, M. and Cherry, J.F. eds. *A.W. Franks: nineteenth-century collecting and the British Museum*. London: British Museum Press, pp. 34-50.
- Macleod, D.S. 2008. *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects: American Women Collectors and the Making of Culture 1800-1940*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- MacLeod, S. 2013. *Museum Architecture: A New Biography*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Magnússon, S.G. and Szijsártó, I.M. 2013. *What is Microhistory? Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge.
- Maillard, P. 2019. The Terracottas from the Kitian Sanctuary of Artemis Paralia: A Snapshot. In: Papantoniou, G., et al. eds. *Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 60-70.
- Malmgren, K. 2003. *Klavdhia-Tremithos. A Middle and Late Bronze Age Site*. Jonsered: Åström Editions.
- Marangou, A.G. 2000. *Life and Deeds of the Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola, 1832-1904*. Nicosia: The Popular Bank Cultural Centre.
- Markides, D. 2019. *The Cyprus Tribute and Geopolitics in the Levant, 1875-1960*. Cham: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Marlowe, E. 2013. *Shaky Ground. Context, Connoisseurship and the History of Roman Art*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Marriott, S. 1981. The University Extension Movement and the Education of Teachers 1873-1906. *History of Education*. **10**(3), pp. 163-177.
- Masson, O. 1990. Quelques épisodes de la vie des frères Palma di Cesnola. *RDAC*. **25**, pp. 285-297.
- Masson, O. 1992. Diplomates et amateurs d'antiquités à Chypre vers 1866-1878. *Journal des savants*. **1**(1), pp. 123-154.
- Masson, O. 1994. L. Palma di Cesnola, H. Schliemann et l'éditeur John Murray. *Cahier du Centre d'Études Chypriotes*. **21**, pp. 7-14.
- Masson, O. 1996. La dispersion des antiquités Chypriotes: les deux collections Cesnola. *Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes* **25**(1), pp. 3-28.
- Mauss, M. 2001. *The Gift. The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- McFadden, E. 1971. *The Glitter and the Gold*. New York: The Dial Press.

- Mentesana, R., De Benedetto, G. and Fiorentino, G. 2018. One Pot's tale: reconstructing the movement of people, materials and knowledge in Early Bronze Age Sicily through the microhistory of a vessel. *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*. **19**, pp. 261-269.
- Merrillees, R.S. 1962. Opium Trade in the Bronze Age Levant. *Antiquity*. **XXXVI**, pp. 287-292.
- Merrillees, R.S. 2001. T.B. Sandwith and the beginnings of Cypriote archaeology. In: Tatton-Brown, V. ed. *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD. Fact, Fancy and Fiction*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. 222-238.
- Meyer, C. and Petsalis-Diomidis, A. eds. forthcoming. *Drawing the Greek Vase*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Monloup, T. 1994. *Salamine de Chypre. 14. Les terres cuites classiques: un sanctuaire de la grand déesse*. Paris: Diffusion de Boccard.
- Morgan, C.J. 1980. Demographic change, 1771-1911. In: Fraser, D. ed. *A history of modern Leeds*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 46-71.
- Morris, D. 1985. *The art of ancient Cyprus*. Oxford: Phaidon.
- Morris, R.J. 1970. Leeds and the Crystal Palace: A provincial-metropolitan link bringing education to industrial society. *Victorian Studies*. **13**(3), pp. 283-300.
- Moser, S. 2006. *Wondrous Curiosities: Ancient Egypt at the British Museum*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Moser, S. 2014. Making Expert Knowledge through the Image: Connections between Antiquarian and Early Modern Scientific Illustration. *Isis*. **105**(1), pp. 58-99.
- Moser, S. n.d. *Vital Testimony: Archaeological Illustration at the Society of Antiquaries of London*. [Online]. [Accessed 22 March 2019]. Available from: <http://www.mv.crash.cam.ac.uk/moser/index.html>
- Müller, H.-P. 2018. *Terrakottakrieger von einem zyprischen Streitwagen*. Leipzig: Universität Leipzig.
- Murray, T. 2014. *From Antiquarian to Archaeologist: The History and Philosophy of Archaeology*. Barnsley: Pen & Sword Archaeology.
- National Archives currency converter*. [Online]. [Accessed 3 February 2021]. Available from: <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/>
- Negbi, O. 1978. Cypriote Imitations of Tell el-Yahudiyah Ware from Tumba tou Skourou. *American Journal of Archaeology*. **82**(2), pp. 137-149.
- Nikolaou, P. 2013. *The Diaspora of Cypriot Antiquities and the British Museum (1860-1900)*. Unpublished PhD dissertation: University of Exeter.
- Nikolaou, P. 2015. Archaeology, Empire and the Field: Exploring the Ancient Sites of Cyprus, 1865-1876. In: Finnegan, D.A. and Wright, J.J. eds. *Spaces of Global Knowledge: Exhibition, Encounter and Exchange in an Age of Empire*. London: Routledge, pp. 39-56.
- Nikolaou, P. 2017. Authoring the ancient sites of Cyprus in the late nineteenth century: the British Museum excavation notebooks, 1893–1896. *Journal of Historical Geography*. **56**, pp. 83-100.
- O'Neill, M. 2006. Repatriation and its Discontents: the Glasgow Experience. In: Robson, E., et al. eds. *Who Owns Objects? The Ethics and Politics of Collecting Cultural Artefacts*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. 105-128.
- Ogburn, J., Neatrou, A., Silverman, R. and Witkowski, A. *retroReveal*. [Online]. [Accessed 14 December 2020]. Available from: <http://retroreveal.org/>

- Olsen, B. 2010. *In Defense of Things: Archaeology and the Ontology of Objects*. Lanham, MD AltaMira Press.
- Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. 2014. *Ancient Near Eastern Cross-Cultural Time Line*. [Online]. [Accessed 6 February 2017]. Available from: <https://oi.uchicago.edu/timeline>
- Parks, D.A. 1999. *Burial Customs of Roman Cyprus: Origin and Development*. Unpublished PhD dissertation: University of Missouri.
- Parks, D.A. 2009. Engendering Hellenistic and Roman tombs: the contribution of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. *Medelhavsmuseet. Focus on the Mediterranean*. 5, pp. 207-219.
- Pearce, S.M. 1993. *Museums, Objects, and Collections: A Cultural Study*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Pearce, S.M. 1994. Collecting reconsidered. In: Pearce, S.M. ed. *Interpreting Objects and Collections*. London: Routledge, pp. 193-204.
- Petch, A. 2011. *Pitt-Rivers and Lubbock*. [Online]. [Accessed 11 February 2019]. Available from: <http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/rpr/index.php/article-index/12-articles/691-pitt-rivers-and-lubbock.html>
- Pezzi, E. 2017. The Contexts. In: Graziado, G. ed. *The earliest production of Aegean-type pottery in Cyprus*. Pisa: Pisa University Press, pp. 91-116.
- Pierson, S.J. 2017. *Private Collecting, Exhibitions, and the Shaping of Art History in London: The Burlington Fine Arts Club*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Pilides, D.D. 2016. *Enkomi Digitisation Project*. [Online]. [Accessed 9 November 2016]. Available from: www.enkomicm.org/digitisation-artefacts-enkomi-tombs
- Plunkett, J. and Sullivan, J.A. 2012. Fetes, Bazaars and Conversaciones: Science, Entertainment and Local Civic Elites. In: Kember, J., et al. eds. *Popular Exhibitions, Science and Showmanship, 1840-1910*. London: Pickering & Chatto, pp. 41-60.
- Pourgouris, M. 2019. *The Cyprus Frenzy of 1878 and the British Press*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Pritchard, J. and Yeandle, P. 2016. "Executed with remarkable care and artistic feeling": popular imperialism and the music hall ballet. In: Yeandle, P., et al. eds. *Politics, Performance and Popular Culture: Theatre and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 152-173.
- Procter, A. 2020. *The Whole Picture. The colonial story of the art in our museums and why we need to talk about it*. London: Cassell.
- Reeve, A. 2015. *The University of Leeds Ancient Cypriot Collection: A Study*. Unpublished MA dissertation: University of Leeds.
- Reeve, A. 2016. T.B. Sandwith and the Leeds City Museum's Ancient Cypriot Collection. In: Maguire, R. and Chick, J. eds. *Approaching Cyprus. Proceedings of the Post-Graduate Conference of Cypriot Archaeology (PoCA) held at the University of East Anglia, Norwich, 1st-3rd November 2013*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, pp. 277-290.
- Reeve, A. 2019. *Links to Liverpool*. [Online]. [Accessed 16 July 2020]. Available from: <https://cypriotartleeds.wordpress.com/2019/01/27/links-to-liverpool/>
- Reeve, A. 2020a. The Archaeological Activities of the Scott-Stevensons in Cyprus, 1878-1883. *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology*. 30(1).

- Reeve, A. 2020b. Following Object Itineraries: Recontextualising Antiquities from Classical Cyprus. In: Koiner, G., et al. eds. *Classical Cyprus. Proceedings of the Conference. University of Graz, 21-23 September 2017*. Graz: Verlag Holzhausen GmbH, pp. 109-123.
- Reeve, A. forthcoming-a. Exhibiting the empire: Cypriot antiquities at the British Empire Exhibition, 1924-1925. In: Kiely, T., et al. eds. *Empire and excavation: critical perspectives on archaeology in British-period Cyprus, 1878-1960*.
- Reeve, A. forthcoming-b. Figures in a landscape: the Leeds Museums and Galleries collection of ancient Cypriot figurines. In: Schmid, S.G. ed. *Proceedings of the Postgraduate Conference in Cypriot Archaeology, 2019*. Berlin.
- Reeve, A. and Waite, S. 2020. Re-collecting Cypriot antiquity: The Kent collection in Harrogate. *Journal of the History of Collections*.
- Renfrew, C. 2000. *Loot, Legitimacy and Ownership*. London: Duckworth.
- Reyes, A.T. 1994. *Archaic Cyprus. A Study of the Textual and Archaeological Evidence*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Robertson, B. 2004. The South Kensington Museum in context: an alternative history. *Museum and Society*. **2**(1), pp. 1-14.
- Ross, K. 2010. Leeds social history collections: From 'bygones' to 'community history'. *Social History in Museums*. **34**, pp. 49-52.
- Rotroff, S.I. 2006. *Hellenistic Pottery: The Plain Wares*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies.
- Salter, S. 2008. *Cypriot Antiquities at the University of Melbourne*. South Yarra: Macmillan Art.
- Schiffer, M.B. and Miller, A.R. 1999. *The Material Life of Human Beings: Artifacts, behaviour, and communication*. London: Routledge.
- Schreiber, N. 2003. *The Cypro-Phoenician Pottery of the Iron Age*. Leiden: Brill.
- Sherratt, S. 1999. E pur si muove: pots, markets and values in the second millennium Mediterranean. In: Crielaard, J.P., et al. eds. *The complex past of pottery. Production, circulation and consumption of Mycenaean and Greek pottery (sixteenth to early fifth centuries BC). Proceedings of the ARCHON international conference, held in Amsterdam, 8-9 November 1996*. Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, pp. 163-211.
- Shirley, R. 2001. *Kitchener's Survey of Cyprus 1878-1883*. Nicosia: The Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation.
- Sitch, B.J. 2007. Two 19th century Leeds antiquaries: James Wardell and John Holmes. *Medieval Yorkshire*. **36**, pp. 37-49.
- Smiles, S. 1994. *The Image of Antiquity: Ancient Britain and the Romantic Imagination*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Smith, J.S. 2002. Changes in the Workplace: Women and Textile Production on Late Bronze Age Cyprus. In: Bolger, D.R. and Serwint, N.J. eds. *Engendering Aphrodite: Women and Society in Ancient Cyprus*. Boston, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research, pp. 281-312.
- Smith, R.K., Stacey, R.J., Bergström, E. and Thomas-Oates, J. 2018. Detection of opium alkaloids in a Cypriot base-ring juglet. *Analyst*. **143**(21), pp. 5127-5136.
- Sørensen, L.W. 1991. Three Corinthian Sherds from Rhodes – A Case Study. In: Fischer-Hansen, T. ed. *Recent Danish Research in Classical Archaeology: Tradition and Renewal*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, University of Copenhagen, pp. 191-203.

- Spier, J. and Vassilika, E. 1995. S.S. Lewis: Notes on a Victorian Antiquary and on Contemporary Collecting. *Journal of the History of Collections*. **70**(1), pp. 85-102.
- Stanley-Price, N. 2001. The Ottoman Law on Antiquities (1874) and the founding of the Cyprus Museum. In: Tatton-Brown, V. ed. *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD: Fact, Fancy and Fiction*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. 267-275.
- Steadman, M. 2019. *A History of the Scientific Collections of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society's Museum in the Nineteenth Century: Acquiring, Interpreting and Presenting the Natural World in the English Industrial City*. Unpublished DPhil dissertation: University of Leeds.
- Steel, L. 2001. The British Museum and the invention of the Cypriot Late Bronze Age. In: Tatton-Brown, V. ed. *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD: Fact, Fancy and Fiction*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. 160-167.
- Steel, L. 2004a. *Cyprus before history: From the earliest settlers to the end of the bronze age*. London: Duckworth, Gerald & Company.
- Steel, L. 2004b. A reappraisal of the distribution, context and function of Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus. *Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée*. **41**(1), pp. 69-85.
- Steel, L. 2013. *Materiality and Consumption in the Bronze Age Mediterranean*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge.
- Stevenson, A. 2021. Circulation as negotiation and loss: Egyptian antiquities from British excavations, 1880-present. In: Driver, F., et al. eds. *Mobile Museums. Collections in circulation*. London: UCL Press.
- Stewart, S. 1992. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Tatton-Brown, V. 2001. Excavations in ancient Cyprus: original manuscripts and correspondence in the British Museum. In: Tatton-Brown, V. ed. *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD: Fact, Fancy and Fiction*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. 168-183.
- Tatton-Brown, V. 2003. Enkomi: The Notebook in the British Museum. *Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes*. **33**, pp. 9-66.
- Teather, J.L. 1990. The Museum Keepers. The Museums Association and the Growth of Museum Professionalism. *Museum Management and Curatorship*. **9**, pp. 25-41.
- Thornton, A. 2015. Social Networks in the History of Archaeology. In: Eberhardt, G. and Link, F. eds. *Historiographical Approaches to Past Archaeological Research*. Berlin: Editions Topoi, pp. 69-94.
- Thorp, J. 2012. *From the Tile to the City - a Journey through Civic Architecture and Design in the City of Leeds*. Leeds: Leeds City Council.
- Trigger, B.G. 2006. *A History of Archaeological Thought*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tzortzi, K. 2016. *Museum Space: Where Architecture Meets Museology*. London: Routledge.
- Ulbrich, A. 2010. Images of Cypriot Aphrodite in her sanctuaries during the age of the City-Kingdoms. In: Smith, A. and Pickup, S. eds. *Brill's Companion to Aphrodite*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 167-194.
- Vandenabeele, F. 1973. Figurines de terre cuite chypriotes aux jambes articulées. *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*. **97**(1), pp. 47-57.
- Vandenabeele, F. 1998. *Figurines on Cypriote Jugs Holding an Oinochoe*. Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag.

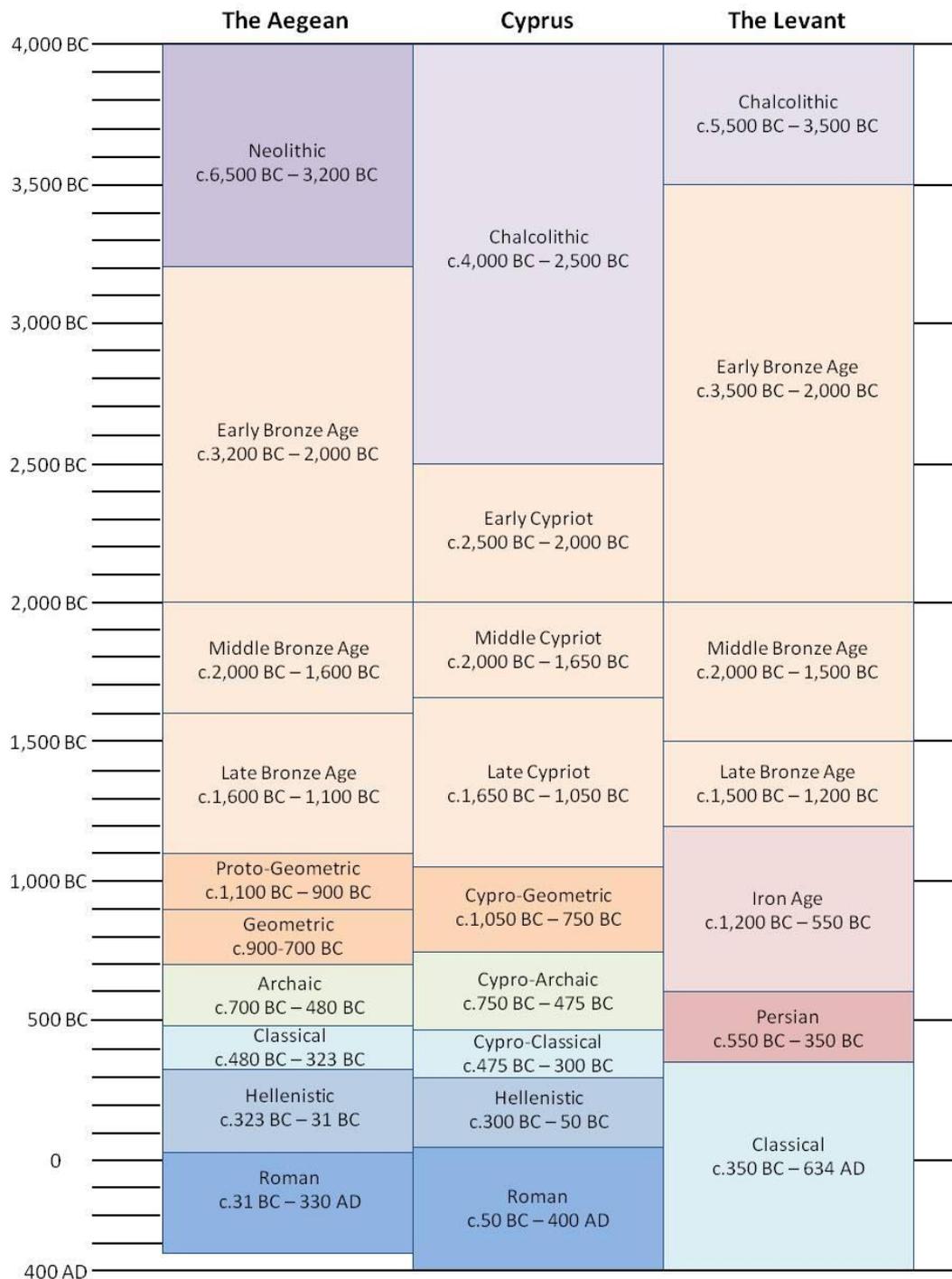
- Varnava, A. 2005. *Punch and the British occupation of Cyprus in 1878. Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*. **29**(2), pp. 167-186.
- Varnava, A. 2012. *British imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915: The inconsequential possession*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Vermeule, E. and Karageorghis, V. 1982. *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting*. Cambridge, Mass. and London, England: Harvard University Press.
- Vermeule, E. and Wolsky, F.Z. 1991. *Toumba tou Skourou. A Bronze Age potter's quarter on Morphou Bay in Cyprus*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Villing, A., Bergeron, M., Bourogiannis, G., Johnston, A., Leclère, F., Masson, A. and Thomas, R. 2015. *Naukratis: Greeks in Egypt (British Museum Online Research Catalogue)*. [Online]. [Accessed 29 January 2021]. Available from: <http://www.britishmuseum.org/naukratis>
- Walcek Averett, E. 2008. Drumming for the Divine: a Female Tympanon Player in the Museum of Art and Archaeology. *MVSE. Annual of the Museum of Art and Archaeology. University of Missouri*. **36-39**, pp. 15-28.
- Walker Tubb, K. 2006. Artifacts and Emotion. In: Brodie, N., et al. eds. *Archaeology, Cultural Heritage, and the Antiquities Trade*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, pp. 284-302.
- Wallis, N.J. 2015. The Living Past: Itineraries of Swift Creek Images through Wood, Earthenware, and Ether. In: Joyce, R. and Gillespie, S.D. eds. *Things in Motion: Object Itineraries in Anthropological Practice*. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, pp. 201-219.
- Walters, H.B. 1914. *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Lamps in the British Museum*. London: Trustees of the British Museum.
- Walton, J., Brooks, J.F. and DeCorse, C.R.N. 2008. Introduction. In: Brooks, J.F., et al. eds. *Small Worlds: Method, Meaning, and Narrative in Microhistory*. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, pp. 3-12.
- Walton, P. 1970. A Leeds Collector's Notebook. 1. Pre-Wedgwood Pottery. *Leeds Arts Calendar*. **67**, pp. 4-11.
- Walton, P. 1973. A Leeds Collector's Notebook. 2. Creamware. *Leeds Arts Calendar*. **73**, pp. 21-28.
- Walton, P. 1976. *Creamware and Other English Pottery at Temple Newsam House*. Bradford: Manningham Press.
- Ward, J.T. 1962. The Squire as Businessman: William Aldam of Frickley Hall (1813-1890). *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society*. **VII**, pp. 196-217.
- Webb, J.M. 1997. *Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities 18. Cypriote antiquities in Australian collections. Part 1*. Jonsered: Åströms förlag.
- Whitelaw, A. 2012. Women, museums, and the problem of biography. In: Hill, K. ed. *Museums and Biographies: Stories, Objects, Identities*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, pp. 75-86.
- Williams, D. 1996. T.B. Sandwith's Cretan Collection. In: Evely, D., et al. eds. *Minotaur and Centaur: Studies in the Archaeology of Crete and Euboea Presented to Mervyn Popham*. Oxford: Archaeopress, pp. 100-104.
- Wingfield, C. 2011. Donors, Loaners, Dealers and Swappers: The Relationship between the English Collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum. In: Byrne, S., et al. eds. *Unpacking the Collection: Networks of Material and Social Agency in the Museum*. New York: Springer, pp. 119-140.

- Woodson-Boulton, A. 2012. *Transformative Beauty: Art Museums in Industrial Britain*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Wrathmell, S. 2008. *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Leeds*. London: Yale University Press.
- Yon, M. 1997. Rhytons zoomorphes et vases figuratifs au Bronze Récent. In: Karageorghis, V., et al. eds. *Four Thousand Years of Images on Cypriote Pottery: Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Cypriote Studies, Nicosia, 3-4 May, 1996*. Brussels: The A.G. Leventis Foundation, pp. 49-60.
- Yon, M. and Caubet, A. 1988. Un culte populaire de la Grande Déesse à Lapithos. *RDAC*. **1988/2**, pp. 1-17.
- Yon, M. and Caubet, A. 1989. Ateliers de figurines à Kition. In: Tatton-Brown, V. ed. *Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Iron Age*. London: British Museum Publications, pp. 28-43.
- Zhao, C., Twidale, M.B. and Nichols, D.M. 2018. Acquiring metadata to support biographies of museum artefacts. In: Dobreva, M., et al., eds. *International Conference on Asia-Pacific Digital Libraries 2018, 2018-11-19 to 2018-11-22, Hamilton, NZ*. Springer, pp. 304-315.

Comparative chronology of the ancient Aegean, Cyprus and the Levant

ANNEX A

The table below compares the chronology of the Aegean, Cyprus and the Levant between 4,000 BC and 400 AD.¹⁰⁸⁹ It should be noted that the divisions between periods are approximate and vary within the regions specified, and therefore this is a simplified overview.



¹⁰⁸⁹ Sources: Kiely, 2011a; Descamps-Lequime and Jouys-Barbelin, 2003; Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2014.

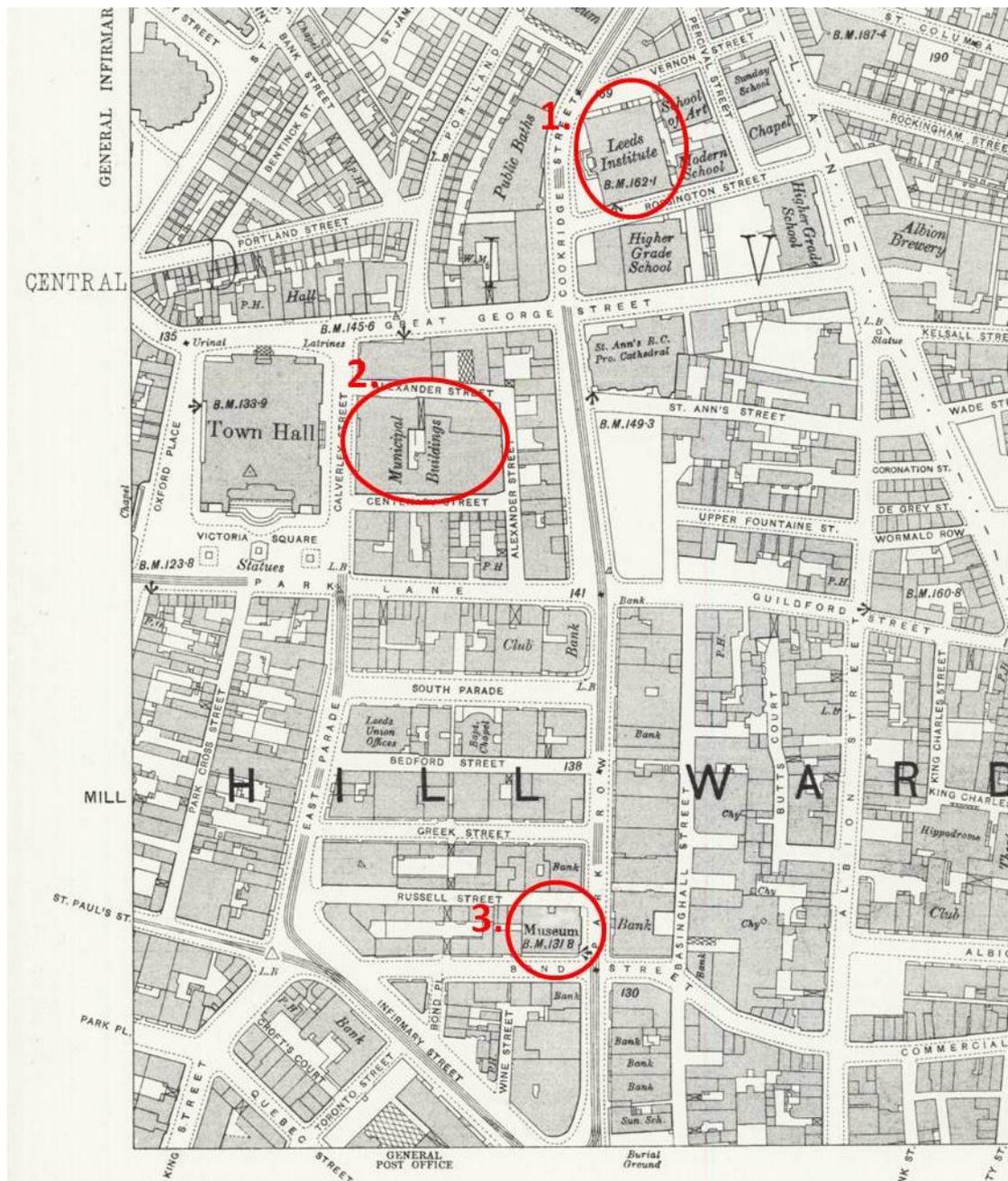
Map of Cyprus showing ancient locations mentioned in the text

ANNEX B



1908 map of Leeds city centre (detail)

ANNEX C



National Library of Scotland <https://maps.nls.uk/>. Re-use: [CC-BY-NC-SA](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/)

Ordnance Survey OS 25 inch England and Wales, 1841-1952

Yorkshire CCXVIII.2 (Leeds), 1908

1. Leeds Mechanics' Institute, now the location of Leeds City Museum.
2. Leeds Municipal Buildings, location of the Leeds Free Public Museum and the Leeds Art Gallery, and the location of Leeds City Museum in the later 20th century.
3. Philosophical Hall, location of the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society (latterly owned by Leeds Council), closed in the 1960s.

Timeline of acquisition events and key dates, 1819-1947

ANNEX D

The table below sets out the dates of acquisitions of Cypriot antiquities by the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society (LP&LS), latterly the Leeds Museum, and key dates relating to the museum and this collection.

Acquisition events	Year	Key events
	1819	Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society founded
	1820	
	1821	
	1822	
	1823	
	1824	Leeds Mechanics' Institute founded
	1825	
	1826	Henry Denny becomes curator of museum of LP&LS
	1827	
	1828	
	1829	
	1830	
	1831	Birth of Thomas Backhouse Sandwith
	1832	
	1833	
	1834	
	1835	
	1836	
	1837	
	1838	
	1839	
	1840	
	1841	
	1842	Birth of Louis Compton Miall
	1843	
	1844	
	1845	
	1846	
	1847	Birth of Frances Stott
	1848	Birth of Nathan Bodington
	1849	
	1850	
	1851	
	1852	
	1853	Birth of Eliza Barran (later Bodington)
	1854	First Guide to the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society published
	1855	
	1856	
	1857	
	1858	Leeds Town Hall completed; British Association for the Advancement of Science meeting held in Leeds
	1859	
	1860	Birth of Thomas Hollings; Charles Newton becomes Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum
	1861	
	1862	Completion of extension to museum of LP&LS
	1863	

	1864	
	1865	Sandwith appointed Vice-Consul in Cyprus
	1866	Sandwith arrives in Cyprus
	1867	
	1868	Sandwith and R.H. Lang excavate around Dali in Cyprus
	1869	
Aldam and Ikin donate Cypriot antiquities to LP&LS	1870	Sandwith sends antiquities to England for sale; leaves Cyprus; Sandwith's antiquities displayed at Leeds Mechanics' Institute
	1871	Sandwith gives paper to the Society of Antiquaries of London; Henry Denny dies; Louis Compton Miall appointed as curator of museum of LP&LS
	1872	Opening of Leeds Free Public Library
	1873	John Holmes' visit to Cyprus
	1874	Founding of Yorkshire College of Science
LP&LS purchase Sandwith's antiquities	1875	Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures
	1876	Henry Crowther becomes assistant curator of museum of LP&LS
	1877	Sandwith's publication in <i>Archaeologia</i>
	1878	Cyprus becomes British protectorate; Holmes lectures on 'Cyprus and its Antiquities'
	1879	
	1880	
	1881	British Association for the Advancement of Science meeting in York; Crowther leaves museum of LP&LS
Purchase of Holmes' collection for Leeds Free Public Museum	1882	
	1883	Nathan Bodington appointed Principal of the Yorkshire College
	1884	Leeds Municipal Buildings opened
	1885	Charles Newton retires from the British Museum
	1886	Alexander Stuart Murray succeeds Newton as Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum
	1887	
	1888	Leeds City Art Gallery opened
	1889	
	1890	Publication of revised Guide to the Museum of the LP&LS
	1891	Miall leaves curatorship of LP&LS museum
	1892	Death of Charles Louis Hoelen
	1893	British Museum excavations begin at Amathus; Crowther takes up curatorship of LP&LS museum
	1894	Death of Holmes; death of Newton; British Museum offers material from Amathus to Yorkshire College
	1895	British Museum excavations at Kourion; LP&LS moves typological displays to staircase landing
	1896	British Museum excavations at Enkomi
	1897	British Museum excavations at Maroni and Hala Sultan Tekke; revised Guide to Museum of LP&LS; museum receives Savile Bequest of antiquities from Lanuvium
	1898	
	1899	British Museum excavations at Kouklia and Klavdia- <i>Tremithos</i>
	1900	British Museum publishes <i>Excavations in Cyprus</i> ; death of Sandwith
	1901	Crowther begins new programme of school museum visits
British Museum donate material from Enkomi and Klavdia- <i>Tremithos</i> to LP&LS	1902	
	1903	

	1904	University of Leeds founded, Nathan Bodington is first Vice-Chancellor; death of A.S. Murray
	1905	
	1906	3 rd edn. of Guide to Museum of LP&LS
	1907	Nathan and Eliza Bodington marry
	1908	
	1909	4th edn. of Guide to Museum of LP&LS
	1910	Birth of John Mainwaring Baines
	1911	Death of Nathan Bodington
	1912	5th edn. of Guide to Museum of LP&LS
Eliza Bodington donates Cypriot antiquities to LP&LS	1913	Reginald Smith, assistant keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities at the British Museum, advises LP&LS on prehistoric and classical displays
	1914	Cyprus annexed by the British Empire
	1915	6th edn. of Guide to Museum of LP&LS
	1916	
	1917	
	1918	
	1919	Death of Frances Stott
Family of Frances Stott donate 'aryballos from Cyprus' to LP&LS	1920	
Holmes Collection merged with museum of LP&LS	1921	Museum of LP&LS transferred to public ownership; death of Louis Miall
	1922	
	1923	
	1924	British Empire Exhibition in London
	1925	Cyprus becomes British Crown Colony; British Empire Exhibition in London; 7th edn. of Guide to Museum of LP&LS
Leeds Museum purchases Cypriot antiquities from the British Empire Exhibition	1926	
	1927	
	1928	Crowther retires as curator of Leeds Museum; H.W.R. Ricketts takes over curatorship
	1929	
	1930	
	1931	J.M. Baines appointed as assistant curator of Leeds Museum
	1932	
	1933	
	1934	
	1935	Baines leaves Leeds Museum
	1936	
	1937	
	1938	
	1939	
	1940	
	1941	Bomb damage to Philosophical Hall and the museum collections; death of Eliza Bodington
	1942	
	1943	
	1944	
	1945	
	1946	Death of Thomas Hollings
Thomas Hollings bequeaths Cypriot antiquities to Leeds Art Gallery	1947	

Objects in the Leeds Museums and Galleries collection, by accession number **ANNEX E**

These two tables (Table 1: objects other than figurines, and Table 2: figurines) show all the objects in the LMG ancient Cypriot collection, as defined in Chapter 1. They also indicate objects' accession events where information is available. This information has varying degrees of reliability, ranging from objects labelled with their collector's names, which can be associated with that collector with a high degree of confidence, to those shown in historic photographs or tentatively identified from imprecise written descriptions. To reflect this, objects firmly associated with a collector and/or event are described as (e.g.) 'Donated by the British Museum'; those where the association is less secure are described as (e.g.) 'Probably donated by Eliza Bodington'; while those with only a tentative association are described as (e.g.) 'Possibly purchased from the British Empire Exhibition'. This classification simplifies the detailed discussion of provenance in this thesis.

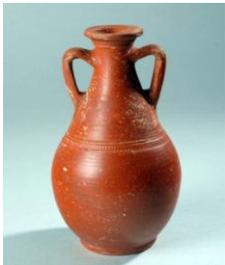
One key dimension - height (Ht), length (L) or maximum diameter (Dia) – is given for each object, to give a sense of relative size; objects are not shown to scale. Dimensions for three objects are not known, due to restrictions in museum access during 2020/21. Measurements are in millimetres. The material is terracotta unless otherwise stated. (Photos: © Leeds Museums and Galleries).

Table 1: Objects other than figurines

	LEEDM.D.1963.0012 Lamp L: 85		LEEDM.D.1963.0013 Lamp L: 87
	LEEDM.D.1963.0014 Lamp L: 88		LEEDM.D.1964.0298 Composite vessel Ht: 155 Possibly purchased from the British Empire Exhibition.

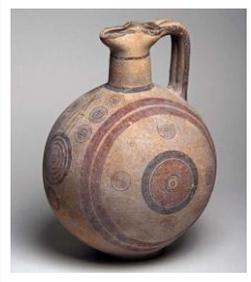
	LEEDM.D.1964.0299 Juglet Ht: 146		LEEDM.D.1964.0300 Flask Ht: 99 Donated by the British Museum.
	LEEDM.D.1964.0301 Juglet Ht: 160		LEEDM.D.1964.0302 Juglet Ht: 105
	LEEDM.D.1964.0303 Jug Ht: 163 Purchased from the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures.		LEEDM.D.1964.0303.001 Jug Ht: 310 Possibly purchased from the British Empire Exhibition.
	LEEDM.D.1964.0304 Jug Ht: 119		LEEDM.D.1964.0305 Triple juglet Ht: 95 John Holmes' collection, transferred from Leeds Art Gallery.
	LEEDM.D.1964.0306 Lentoid flask Ht: 151 Donated by the British Museum.		LEEDM.D.1964.0309 Askos Ht: 91 Probably purchased from the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures.
	LEEDM.D.1964.0310 Jug Ht: 187		LEEDM.D.1964.0311 Jug Ht: 183

	<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0312</p> <p>Bowl</p> <p>Ht: 98</p> <p>Probably purchased from the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures.</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0313</p> <p>Bowl</p> <p>Ht: 82</p> <p>Possibly purchased from the British Empire Exhibition.</p>
	<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0314</p> <p>Juglet</p> <p>Ht: 128</p> <p>Possibly purchased from the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures.</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0315</p> <p>Flask</p> <p>Ht: 110</p> <p>John Holmes' collection, transferred from Leeds Art Gallery.</p>
	<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0316</p> <p>Juglet</p> <p>Ht: 108</p> <p>Donated by the British Museum.</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0317</p> <p>Juglet</p> <p>Ht:110</p> <p>Possibly purchased from the British Empire Exhibition.</p>
	<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0318</p> <p>Juglet</p> <p>Ht: 84</p> <p>John Holmes' collection, transferred from Leeds Art Gallery.</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0319</p> <p>Jug</p> <p>Ht: 125</p> <p>Donated by the British Museum.</p>
	<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0320</p> <p>Juglet</p> <p>Ht: 129</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0321</p> <p>Juglet</p> <p>Ht: 89</p> <p>Donated by the British Museum.</p>
	<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0322</p> <p>Juglet</p> <p>Ht: 110</p> <p>John Holmes' collection, transferred from Leeds Art Gallery.</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0323</p> <p>Juglet</p> <p>Ht: 119</p> <p>Donated by the British Museum.</p>

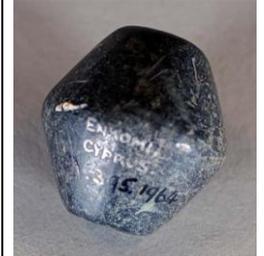
	LEEDM.D.1964.0324 Tankard Ht: 120		LEEDM.D.1964.0325 Jug Ht: 160
	LEEDM.D.1964.0326 Askos Ht: 80		LEEDM.D.1964.0327 Juglet Ht: 89 Possibly purchased from the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures.
	LEEDM.D.1964.0329 Flask Ht: Not known		LEEDM.D.1964.0330 Jug Ht: 135 Possibly purchased from the British Empire Exhibition.
	LEEDM.D.1964.0331 Pyxis Ht: 66		LEEDM.D.1964.0334 Bowl Ht: 31
	LEEDM.D.1964.0335 Krater Ht: 287 Donated by the British Museum.		LEEDM.D.1964.0336 Cup Dia: 100 Donated by the British Museum.
	LEEDM.D.1964.0337 Stirrup jar Ht: 110 Donated by the British Museum.		LEEDM.D.1964.0338 Jar Ht: 121

	<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0339</p> <p>Jar</p> <p>Ht: 116</p> <p>John Holmes' collection, transferred from Leeds Art Gallery.</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0340</p> <p>Jar</p> <p>Ht: 68</p> <p>Donated by the British Museum.</p>
	<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0341</p> <p>Sherd</p> <p>Ht: 170</p> <p>Donated by the British Museum.</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0341.003</p> <p>Sherd</p> <p>W: 180</p> <p>Donated by the British Museum.</p>
	<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0342</p> <p>Bowl</p> <p>Ht: 42</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0343</p> <p>Dish</p> <p>Dia: 182</p> <p>Possibly purchased from the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures.</p>
	<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0344</p> <p>Flask</p> <p>Ht: 106</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0345</p> <p>Dish</p> <p>Dia: 197</p>
	<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0346</p> <p>Juglet</p> <p>Ht: 101</p> <p>Purchased from the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures.</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0347</p> <p>Juglet</p> <p>Ht: 118</p>
	<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0348</p> <p>Kylix</p> <p>Ht: 116</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0349</p> <p>Juglet</p> <p>Ht: 117</p> <p>Purchased from the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures.</p>

	LEEDM.D.1964.0350 Amphora Ht: 650 Donated by W. Aldam.		LEEDM.D.1964.0351 Amphoriskos Ht: 100 John Holmes' collection, transferred from Leeds Art Gallery.
	LEEDM.D.1964.0352 Bowl Ht: 61 Donated by J.I. Ikin.		LEEDM.D.1964.0354 Askos Ht: 126 Probably purchased from the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures.
	LEEDM.D.1964.0355 Jar Ht: 77		LEEDM.D.1964.0356 Bowl Dia: 110
	LEEDM.D.1964.0358 Amphora Ht: 150 John Holmes' collection, transferred from Leeds Art Gallery.		LEEDM.D.1964.0359 Amphora Ht: 256 Donated by Eliza Bodington.
	LEEDM.D.1964.0361 Flask Ht: 193 Probably purchased from the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures.		LEEDM.D.1964.0362 Flask Ht: 136 Donated by Eliza Bodington.
	LEEDM.D.1964.0363 Juglet Ht: 92 Probably purchased from the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures.		LEEDM.D.1964.0364 Juglet Ht: 73

	<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0365</p> <p>Jug</p> <p>Ht: 330</p> <p>Possibly purchased from the British Empire Exhibition.</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0366</p> <p>Jug</p> <p>Ht: 320</p> <p>Possibly purchased from the British Empire Exhibition.</p>
	<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0367</p> <p>Jug</p> <p>Ht: 231</p> <p>John Holmes' collection, transferred from Leeds Art Gallery.</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0368</p> <p>Barrel jug</p> <p>Ht: 287</p> <p>Possibly purchased from the British Empire Exhibition.</p>
	<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0369</p> <p>Jug</p> <p>Ht: 275</p> <p>Possibly purchased from the British Empire Exhibition.</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0370</p> <p>Jug</p> <p>Ht: 176</p> <p>Possibly purchased from the British Empire Exhibition.</p>
	<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0371</p> <p>Jug</p> <p>Ht: 224</p> <p>Donated by Ethel Stott, daughter of Joseph Hall.</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0372</p> <p>Jug</p> <p>Ht: 276</p> <p>Possibly purchased from the British Empire Exhibition.</p>
	<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0373</p> <p>Jug</p> <p>Ht: 252</p> <p>Probably purchased from the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures.</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0374</p> <p>Jug</p> <p>Ht: 132</p> <p>John Holmes' collection, transferred from Leeds Art Gallery.</p>
	<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0376</p> <p>Cup</p> <p>Ht: 64</p> <p>John Holmes' collection, transferred from Leeds Art Gallery.</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0377</p> <p>Dish</p> <p>Dia: 178</p>

	LEEDM.D.1964.0380 Jar Ht: 78 Probably purchased from the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures.		LEEDM.D.1964.0381 Cup Ht: 75
	LEEDM.D.1964.0382 Alabastron Stone Ht: 98 Possibly purchased from the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures.		LEEDM.D.1964.0383 Axe Bronze L: 88 John Holmes' collection, transferred from Leeds Art Gallery.
	LEEDM.D.1964.0384 Bracelet Bronze Dia: 84		LEEDM.D.1964.0385.001 Spindle whorl Stone Dia: 35 Donated by the British Museum.
	LEEDM.D.1964.0385.002 Spindle whorl Stone Dia: 35 Donated by the British Museum.		LEEDM.D.1964.0385.003 Spindle whorl Bone/ivory Dia: 40 Donated by the British Museum.
	LEEDM.D.1964.0385.004 Spindle whorl Bone/ivory Dia: 40 Donated by the British Museum.		LEEDM.D.1964.0387 Knucklebone Bone L: 28 Donated by Eliza Bodington.
	LEEDM.D.1964.0388 Mirror Bronze L: 166 Donated by Eliza Bodington.		LEEDM.D.1964.0390 Bracelet or necklet Bronze Dia: 114

	<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0391.001</p> <p>Strip</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>L: 92</p> <p>Possibly purchased from the British Empire Exhibition.</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0391.002</p> <p>Strip</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>L: 114</p> <p>Possibly purchased from the British Empire Exhibition.</p>
	<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0393</p> <p>Spatula</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>L: 143</p> <p>Possibly purchased from the British Empire Exhibition.</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0394</p> <p>Pestle</p> <p>Stone</p> <p>Ht: 40</p> <p>Donated by the British Museum.</p>
	<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0395</p> <p>Spindle whorl</p> <p>Stone</p> <p>L: 15</p> <p>Donated by the British Museum.</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0403</p> <p>Askos</p> <p>Ht: 85</p> <p>Possibly purchased from the British Empire Exhibition.</p>
	<p>LEEDM.D.1967.1272</p> <p>Aryballos</p> <p>Ht: 70</p> <p>Donated by Frances Stott.</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1968.0035</p> <p>Unguentarium</p> <p>Ht: 160</p> <p>John Holmes' collection, transferred from Leeds Art Gallery.</p>
	<p>LEEDM.D.1988.0001</p> <p>Jug</p> <p>Ht: 150</p> <p>Donated by Thomas Hollings.</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1988.0002</p> <p>Jug</p> <p>Ht: 70</p> <p>Donated by Thomas Hollings.</p>
	<p>LEEDM.D.1988.0003</p> <p>Jug</p> <p>Ht: 131</p> <p>Donated by Thomas Hollings.</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1988.0004</p> <p>Jug</p> <p>Ht: 133</p> <p>Donated by Thomas Hollings.</p>

	LEEDM.D.1988.0005 Kylix Ht: 190 Probably from T.B. Sandwith's collection; transferred from Leeds Art Gallery.		LEEDM.D.1988.0006 Amphora Ht: 231 Donated by Thomas Hollings.
	LEEDM.D.1988.0007 Flask Ht: 142 Donated by Thomas Hollings.		LEEDM.D.1998.0055 Ferrule Bronze L: 309 Donated by the British Museum.
	LEEDM.D.1998.0056 Pestle Stone Ht: 65 Donated by the British Museum.		LEEDM.D.2004.0001.017 Flask Ht: 120 Purchased from former collection of Aquila Dodgson.
	LEEDM.D.2018.0003.062.001 Loom weight Dia: Not known Transferred from Artemis.		LEEDM.D.2018.0003.062.002 Loom weight Dia: Not known Transferred from Artemis.
	LEEDM.D.2018.0003.078 Juglet Ht: 145 Transferred from Artemis.		LEEDM.D.2018.0003.079 Juglet Ht: 91 Transferred from Artemis.
	LEEDM.D.2018.0003.086 Lamp L: 124 Transferred from Artemis.		LEEDM.D.T.2185 Bowl Dia: 160 John Holmes' collection, transferred from Leeds Art Gallery.
	LEEDM.D.T.1878 Tankard Ht: 96 John Holmes' collection, transferred from Leeds Art Gallery.		

Table 2: Figurines

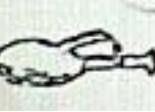
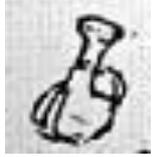
	LEEDM.D.1963.0070 Standing figurine Ht: 200		LEEDM.D.1963.0071 Standing figurine Ht: 220
	LEEDM.D.1963.0072 Head of figurine Ht: 45		LEEDM.D.1963.0073 Head of figurine Ht: 50
	LEEDM.D.1963.0074 Head of figurine Ht: 60		LEEDM.D.1963.0075 Fragmentary head of figurine Ht: 37
	LEEDM.D.1963.0076 Head of figurine Ht: 56		LEEDM.D.1963.0078 Head of figurine Ht: 41
	LEEDM.D.1963.0079 Head of figurine Ht: 41		LEEDM.D.1963.0080 Head of figurine Ht: 48
	LEEDM.D.1963.0081 Head of figurine Limestone Ht: 45		LEEDM.D.1963.0082 Head of figurine Ht: 47

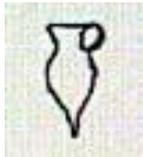
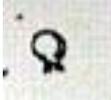
	LEEDM.D.1963.0083 Head of figurine Ht: 50		LEEDM.D.1963.0084 Head of figurine Ht: 75
	LEEDM.D.1963.0085 Head of figurine Ht: 43		LEEDM.D.1963.0086 Head of figurine Ht: 42
	LEEDM.D.1963.0087 Head of figurine Ht: 38		LEEDM.D.1963.0088 Head of figurine Ht: 28
	LEEDM.D.1963.0089 Head of figurine Ht: 30		LEEDM.D.1963.0090 Fragmentary head of figurine Ht: 51
	LEEDM.D.1964.0397 Figurine of quadruped; dog? Ht: 82 Possibly purchased from the British Empire Exhibition.		LEEDM.D.1964.0398 Standing figurine Ht: 157
	LEEDM.D.1964.0399 Standing figurine Ht: 165		LEEDM.D.1964.0399.001 Standing figurine Ht: 141

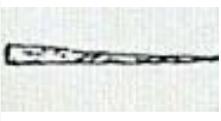
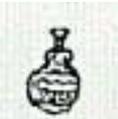
	<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0399.002</p> <p>Standing figurine</p> <p>Ht: 155</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0399.003</p> <p>Standing figurine</p> <p>Ht: 146</p>
	<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0400</p> <p>Standing figurine</p> <p>Ht: 162</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0401</p> <p>Fragmentary figurine</p> <p>Ht: 66</p> <p>Possibly purchased from the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures.</p>
	<p>LEEDM.D.1964.0402</p> <p>Fragmentary standing figurine</p> <p>Ht: 78</p> <p>Possibly purchased from the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures.</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1968.0036.001</p> <p>Standing figurine</p> <p>Ht: 122</p> <p>Possibly purchased from the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures.</p>
	<p>LEEDM.D.1968.0036.002</p> <p>Standing figurine</p> <p>Ht: 102</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.1968.0036.003</p> <p>Fragmentary standing figurine</p> <p>Ht: 95</p> <p>Possibly purchased from the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures.</p>
	<p>LEEDM.D.2001.0084</p> <p>Fragmentary standing figurine</p> <p>Ht:135</p>		<p>LEEDM.D.2018.0003.084</p> <p>Fragmentary figurine of horse</p> <p>Ht: 115</p> <p>Transferred from Artemis.</p>
	<p>LEEDM.D.2018.0003.085</p> <p>Fragmentary standing figurine</p> <p>Ht: 210</p> <p>Transferred from Artemis.</p>		

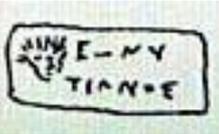
Identifying objects from Enkomi and Klavdia-Tremithos

ANNEX F

Descriptions from Murray's list	Images from Murray's list	Images from Crowther's lantern slides	Accession numbers of surviving objects	Images of surviving objects
Objects from Enkomi				
Vase with rings of brown and black			LEEDM.D.1964.0337	
Flat bellied flask of plain red ware				
Short wide bottomed vase with parallel red rings			LEEDM.D.1964.0340	
Vase of plain grey ware			LEEDM.D.1964.0323	
Cup of plain red ware				
Small vase of grey ware, ribbed front			LEEDM.D.1964.0321	
Vase with ribbed pattern over body, greyish colour			LEEDM.D.1964.0319	
Small bowl with handle; red round rim and underneath			LEEDM.D.1964.0336	

Light coloured vase with pointed bottom				
Small white bowl				
4 disks, 2 of bone, 2 stone			LEEDM.D.1964.0385.0 01	
			LEEDM.D.1964.0385.0 02	
			LEEDM.D.1964.0385.0 03	
			LEEDM.D.1964.0385.0 04	
2 stone beads			LEEDM.D.1964.0395	
				
Bone ornament in shape of pomegranate				

Stone weight			LEEDM.D.1964.0394	
Bronze sheath for bottom of spear			LEEDM.D.1998.0055	
Objects from Klavdia-Tremithos				
Vase of light ware ornamented with straight and wavy lines			LEEDM.D.1964.0316	
Flat-bellied flask, body ornamented with intersecting white lines			LEEDM.D.1964.0306	
Fragment of vessel in form of ox, tail serves as spout				
Jar of dark ware, incised patterns			LEEDM.D.1964.0300	
Large bowl of light ware, designs in red			LEEDM.D.1964.0335	
Shallow bowl with red designs inside				
Stone weight			LEEDM.D.1998.0056	

Objects from other/unknown sites				
5 fragments of Mycenaean vases from Cyprus			LEEDM.D.1964.0341	
"				
"				
"			LEEDM.D.1964.0341.0 03	
"				
Terracotta handle from Paphos stamped ΦΙΛΑΙΝΙΟΥ				
Terracotta handle from Paphos stamped ἐ(πί)/Μυτίωνος				
Oenochoe from Camiros; remains of frieze of animals and rosettes				

Henry Crowther's lantern slides

ANNEX G

SLIDE A (LEEDM.1932.0186.0372)



Top left: White Painted cup (LEEDM.D.1964.0336) from Enkomi.

Top right: No longer extant; 'Cup of plain red ware' on Murray's list.

Bottom left: Stirrup jar (LEEDM.D.1964.0337) from Enkomi.

Bottom right: Jar (LEEDM.D.1964.0340) from Enkomi.

SLIDE B (LEEDM.1932.0186.0373)



No longer extant; 'Small white bowl' and 'Light-coloured vase with pointed bottom' on Murray's list.

SLIDE C (LEEDM.1932.0186.0376)



Left: No longer extant; 'Fragment of vessel in form of ox: tail serves as spout' on Murray's list.

Right: Lentoid flask (LEEDM.D.1964.0306) from Klavdia-Tremithos.

SLIDE D (not accessioned)



Top: spindle whorls (LEEDM.D.1964.0385.001, .003 and .002) from Enkomi.

Centre: No longer extant; 'Bone ornament in shape of pomegranate' on Murray's list.

Bottom left: No longer extant; one of '2 stone beads' on Murray's list.

Bottom centre: Biconical spindle whorl (LEEDMD.1964.0395) from Enkomi.

Bottom right: spindle whorl (LEEDM.D.1964.0385.004) from Enkomi.

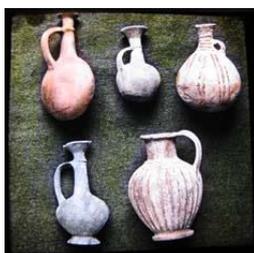
SLIDE E (not accessioned)

Top row: spindle whorls (LEEDM.D.1964.0385.003 and LEEDM.D.1964.0385.004) from Enkomi.

Bottom row: spindle whorls (LEEDM.D.1964.0385.001 and LEEDM.D.1964.0385.002) from Enkomi.

SLIDE F (LEEDM.1932.0186.0380)

No longer extant; 'Shallow bowl with red designs inside' on Murray's list.

SLIDE G (LEEDM.1932.0186.0374)

Top left: no longer extant; 'Flat bellied flask of red ware' on Murray's list.

Top centre: Base Ring juglet (LEEDM.D.1964.0321) from Enkomi.

Top right: White Painted jug (LEEDM.D.1964.0316) from Klavdia-Tremithos.

Bottom left: Base Ring juglet (LEEDM.D.1964.0323) from Enkomi.

Bottom right: Bucchero Ware jug (LEEDM.D.1964.0319) from Enkomi.

SLIDE H (LEEDM.1932.0186.0378)

Left: Red Polished jug (LEEDM.D.1964.0303).

Right: No longer extant; Red Polished cup, origin unknown.

SLIDE I (LEEDM.0186.0375)

Left: Jar (LEEDM.D.1964.0380).

Right: No longer extant; basket-handled spouted jug, origin unknown.

SLIDE J (LEEDM.1932.0186.0388)

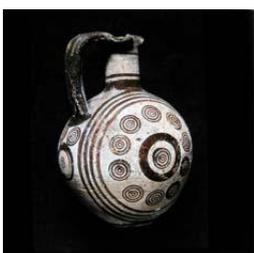
No longer extant; three Roman lamps, origins unknown.

SLIDE K (LEEDM.D.1932.0186.386)

No longer extant; three lamps, labelled 'Cyprus' and 'Jerusalem', origins unknown.

SLIDE L (LEEDM.1932.0186.0387)

No longer extant; lamp with single handle and three mouths, origin unknown.

SLIDE M (LEEDM.1932.0186.0371)

Bichrome jug (LEEDM.D.1964.0373).

SLIDE N (LEEDM.1932.0186.377)

Top: Ox-shaped askos (LEEDM.D.1964.0309).

Bottom: Duck-shaped askos (LEEDM.D. 1964.0354).