Tankerville James Chamberlayne: a singular pioneer in the revealing of Cyprus’ past

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Résumé. Tankerville James Chamberlayne était un officier de l’armée britannique, fonctionnaire colonial et érudit amateur. Il a occupé plusieurs postes administratifs à Chypre de 1886 à 1908, en dernier lieu comme commissaire du district de Kyrenia. Malgré son manque de formation universitaire, son excellente connaissance du français le disposait à s’intéresser aux vestiges de l’époque franque à Chypre et à mener des recherches approfondies et indépendantes, qui ont abouti à deux ouvrages pionniers, Lacrimae Nicossienses et Le Trésor dou Morf, tous les deux rédigés en français. C’était la première fois que de telles données étaient recueillies et publiées, et dans le traitement des questions archéologiques il a fait preuve d’une approche plus éthique que ce qui était courant à l’époque. Cela concerne autant sa collection que ses activités administratives, et il était bien connu pour partager ses connaissances avec tout le monde. Bien qu’autodidacte et résolument singulier, il s’est forgé une réputation académique largement reconnue à Chypre et il était très apprécié des savants hors de l’île, en particulier en France, et ses œuvres n’ont jamais perdu leur valeur. On ignore le sort de ses archives privées, qui pourraient contenir d’autres informations.

Abstract. Major Tankerville James Chamberlayne was a British army officer, Colonial official and amateur antiquarian and who saw service in Cyprus from 1886 to 1908 and ended his career as District Commissioner in Kyrenia. Though lacking a university education, his fluent knowledge of French inclined him to take a strong interest in the remains of the Frankish period in Cyprus and carry out detailed, independent research, resulting in two pioneering catalogues, Lacrimae Nicossienses and Le Trésor dou Morf, both of which he had published in French. It was the first time this kind of data had been assembled and made public, and he demonstrated in his handling of archaeological matters a more ethical approach than the prevailing norm. This applied as much to his collecting as to his administrative activities, and he was well known for sharing his knowledge with all-comers. While self-taught and decidedly idiosyncratic, he established for himself a widely known academic reputation in Cyprus and was highly regarded by scholars outside the island, particularly in France, and his works have never lost their value. The fate of his private papers, which might contain further information, is unknown.

Introduction

Major Tankerville James Chamberlayne (1844–1909) was a long-serving British military and colonial official who after postings in East Africa and Africa saw duty in Cyprus; firstly
between 1886 and 1889 as private secretary to the High Commissioner Sir Henry Bulwer, and then from 1892 until 1908, initially as a police commander and latterly as District Commissioner in Kyrenia from 1898 until his retirement. Typical of expatriates living on the island in this period, and indeed of military and colonial officials across the European empires, he collected numerous antiquities and disposed of them in various ways: some were acquired by museums such as the British Museum and the Louvre, while others were left in Cyprus or simply disappeared without trace.1 However, unlike most of the collectors on the island at this time, he also wrote two seminal works on the remains of the island’s Mediaeval heritage: Lacrimae Nicossienses, concerning the tombstones of medieval Nicosia, and Le Trésor dou Morf on a large hoard of Lusignan coins from Morphou.2 This was a nascent period in the emergence of the Byzantine and Mediaeval studies on Cyprus, especially from a material perspective, which also saw the publication of Camille Enlart’s equally seminal L’art gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre of 1899.3 Yet despite the passage of time Chamberlayne’s contributions have retained their scholarly value and are respected by modern scholars in the field such as Brunhilde Imhaus.4 It is a measure of his contribution and standing that she not only graciously dedicated her own magnum opus on the subject of Mediaeval tombstones in Cyprus to Chamberlayne’s memory, but also called it Lacrimae Cypriae. Chamberlayne also features extensively in the literature and archives concerning the archaeological exploration of Cyprus in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, though he maintained in a letter of 30 May 1887 that “je ne suis, par malheur, ni archéologue, ni antiquaire, ni fort en blason.”5 The fact that in this statement he distinguished between two increasingly distinct strands of scholarship, while not claiming to be a specialist in either, is telling in itself. His activities reflect the gradual shift from the amateur “chasse aux trésors” (including by diplomats and colonial officials), which characterised much archaeological activity in Cyprus in the 19th century, to a more systematic pursuit of knowledge which progressively informed historical research.6 Chamberlayne’s contribution to elucidating the cultural heritage of Cyprus must be considered exceptional by the standards of the time, which makes him and his work worthy of study in their own right.

Certainly, few colonial officials based on the island during the late 19th and early 20th centuries published monographs such as Chamberlayne’s works on historical subjects, or indeed other books typical of colonial officials’ pursuits more generally, such as scientific accounts of natural history and ethnography, or memoirs and travelogues.7 There were of course some notable exceptions. Claude Delaval Cobham (1842-1915), the long-serving District Commissioner of Larnaca, contributed numerous textual and bibliographic studies, assembled an outstanding

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1 Kiely, Merrillles 2012; for military collectors, see Lidchi, Allan 2020.
2 Chamberlayne 1894; Chamberlayne 1906.
3 Enlart 1899; see Papacostas 2006, esp. pp. 513-520; Davis, Stewart 2014; Swenson 2015, p. 38; Olympios, Parani 2019.
4 Imhaus 2004. Note however that she has scrambled his name.
5 Chamberlayne 1888, p. 294.
6 Goring 1988; Masson 1992.
7 Kirk-Greene 1999, pp. 125ff.
library on Cyprus, and formed a collection of ancient and medieval antiquities later donated to a number of museums, especially the Royal Albert Memorial Museum in Exeter, while also acting as an unofficial agent for the British Museum.\(^\text{8}\) The published work of George Jeffery (1855-1935) on the built heritage of the island remains of lasting value, while his advocacy for better legal and administrative protection of monuments eventually bore fruit.\(^\text{9}\) Other officials are known to have written papers on various historical or ethnographical subjects, such as the study of the Linobambaki community by the District Commissioner of Limassol Roland Michell (1847-1931) who also published historical works on Coptic Egypt.\(^\text{10}\) Even Col. Falkland Warren (1834-1910), Chief Secretary of the Government, wrote several papers, one in conjunction with Demetrios Pierides, on items from his collection which was assembled in various, not always reputable, ways.\(^\text{11}\) Local functionaries also compiled successive editions of official guides which included historical elements, such as those by Cobham and Joseph Turner Hutchinson (various editions between 1901 and 1909) and Harry Lukach [Luke] (1884-1969) in 1913.\(^\text{12}\) The latter's output, both on Cyprus and elsewhere, was significant, in part reflecting his far-flung career and multiple interests, but likewise underscores the comparative rarity of scholar-officials such as Chamberlayne in Cyprus itself.

At the same time, while Chamberlayne's name is familiar enough to archaeologists who work on Cyprus, and certainly to medievalists more broadly, relatively little information about his background, personality and activities has been previously reported in the history of either discipline.\(^\text{13}\) To some degree this is typical of an approach that has focussed on better known individuals – such as the Cesnola brothers, the Colonna-Ceccaldis, Robert Hamilton Lang, Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, John Linton Myres, or the staff of museums and foreign expeditions operating in the 1880s and 1890s. This neglect can also be attributed to the fault-lines separating modern academic specialities (archaeology, numismatics, Byzantine and medieval studies, etc.) which would not have existed in Chamberlayne's day. His biographical obscurity also reflects an earlier tendency to ignore the masses of lesser officials who ran the various European empires, despite their importance both as essential agents of imperial bureaucracy and in the formation of archaeological and ethnographic collections.\(^\text{14}\) Moreover, while (auto)biographies

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8 Merrillles 2005b, pp. 192-193; Kiely 2010, p. 245.
9 E.g. Jeffery 1918; full bibliography in Pilides 2009; see also Roueché 2001, Konstantinidou 2021.
10 Michell 1908. He also donated vases to the Ashmolean Museum (Chester 1881, p. 7) and fish specimens to the Natural History Museum in London in 1909 (Zogaris et al. 2015, p. 350) and also published two Coptic calendars (Michell 1877; Michell 1900).
11 Warren 1891; see Buchholz 2001; also Given 2001.
12 Hutchinson, Cobham 1909; Lukach [Luke], Jardine 1913; Luke 1921; Luke 1957.
13 See Papacostas 2006, p. 516.
14 See Brewer 1988 on the general anonymity of civil servants, due in part on lack of knowledge about their background and personality, but also an assumption that they were just functionaries carrying out orders from above. Prior 2013 discusses the neglect of lesser colonial officers and their ability to develop their own local initiatives (also Duffield 2016). The broader subject of how local officials contributed to the evolution of knowledge of imperial territories, including archaeological and historical heritage, as opposed to formal researchers (broadly defined), remains to be fully investigated, including in Cyprus.
and accounts of archaeologists are almost as old as the discipline itself, and the importance of studying individual lives in understanding the development of the discipline (especially within its imperial context) is now widely accepted, the historiography of Cypriote archaeology has until recently been largely dominated by narratives of discoveries and interpretations, with much less emphasis on the impact of national, imperial and colonial policies and ideologies. Conversely, study of the early period of British administration, itself something of a poor relation to later phases (and often read through the lens of later political developments and post-colonial scholarship), has tended to concentrate on political and imperial themes. Far less emphasis has been placed on social and economic matters, with the notable exception of Katsiaounis’ study of labour, class and identity and more recently Markides’ work on the ‘Tribute’ which had widespread domestic implications.

These points are directly relevant to archaeology, since the early British administration’s handling of the island’s material heritage was very much driven by the way in which local officials, such as Chamberlayne, interpreted and applied existing regulations or engaged with local heritage stakeholders (such as religious authorities); this was regardless of the interventions of the Colonial or Foreign Offices in London or, notably, of the British Museum which, apart from excavation and collection, successfully intervened in the politics of heritage throughout this period. However much fieldwork and collecting were facilitated by imperial power or influence across the empire, and whatever ideological spin was subsequent placed on the discoveries, archaeology did not enjoy an especially high priority among policy makers and administrators in London, especially when driven by laissez faire economic policies that discouraged central investment in cultural matters. On Cyprus itself, the history of the early British period is in fact characterised by a wide range of often inconsistent, and at times ineffective, policies and practices, albeit due in some measure to a lack of resources, an inadequate administrative or legal basis for the management of heritage and prevalent laissez faire attitudes to culture.

Nonetheless, the activities and reports of people who excavated, collected and studied archaeological remains, often driven by personal motivations as much as by official duty (though

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15 Givens 1992; Kaeser 2008; see Murray 2014, pp. 98ff.
16 The impact of colonial and imperial ideologies in archaeology has been widely critiqued for some time now (Trigger 1984; Díaz-Andreu 2007; Moro-Abadía 2006, who moreover characterises traditional archaeological histories as a form of colonial discourse; papers in Lydon, Rizvi 2010); for Cyprus, see Basu, Damodaran 2015; Swenson 2015; Konstantinidou 2021; Solomon 2021, pp. 19-20 and passim; Kiely forthcoming. Nonetheless, some authors have questioned the degree to which archaeology was necessarily a tool or even a creation of imperial and colonial ideology, rather than a broad-based discipline which emerged within the complex socio-political milieu of the 19th and 20th centuries (e.g. Moro-Abadía 2010, pp. 226-227; also Trigger 1995 on broader political ideologies). These themes were explored in a series of workshops entitled Empire and Excavation. Critical Perspectives on Archaeology in British-Period Cyprus, 1878-1960 in 2020-2021, which will be published in due course (L. Crewe, T. Kiely, A. Reeve eds.).
17 Katsiaounis 1996, especially pp. ix-x; Markides 2019 (also Markides 2014 passim). For standard surveys of this period, see Varnava 2009; Morgan 2010; Hook 2015; also comments in Kiely, Merrillees 2018.
18 See Kiely 2019; Kiely, forthcoming; Basu, Damodaran 2015; Swenson 2015.
19 Kiely, forthcoming.
the two elements no doubt overlapped in various ways), offer an at times unique perspective and leave behind a range of source material for better understanding the period. Whether by grounding the subject in its own time and place, or as a means to illuminate broader historical themes (including the academic, social and economic), approaches such as biography help to nuance historical narratives about archaeological developments within imperial contexts. This ranges from its practical or intellectual developments and potential ideological agenda to the lived realities of people on the ground at the time, and from the often nameless villagers and excavation workers to colonial officials such as Chamberlayne. Crucially, although he was regarded as an eccentric by some of his contemporaries, and can easily be parodied as an example of the absurdities of Empire, especially in backwaters such as Cyprus, he was nonetheless a public official within a powerful imperial establishment affecting the everyday lives of people under his charge. Apart from being a source of artefacts for the Cyprus Museum as well as the Louvre and the British Museum, he played a role in the evolution of British colonial practices relating to the island’s material remains and in raising awareness of its previously neglected mediaeval heritage. A sign of the changing times is that the major source of information we possess on his collection is a list submitted to the government as a requirement of clause 4 of the 1905 Antiquity Law which after a tortuous political process was introduced during his period of office in Cyprus. Chamberlayne’s life and archaeological activities represent an integral thread in the skein of intellectual enquiry that resulted in the development of a more scientific approach to the remains of the past, not only in Cyprus but elsewhere in Europe at this time, especially in mediaeval studies.

Here too it is important to reflect on the authors’ interest in this subject. Merrillees’ research on Chamberlayne and his works, both published and unpublished, was aroused by several factors. In the first place Chamberlayne’s enthusiasm for Lusignan coinage was shared by his teacher at the University of Sydney, Professor James R. Stewart, whose major study on the history of the period, based on his outstanding numismatic collection, was posthumously and generously published in Nicosia by the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation in 2002 under the title, Lusignan Cyprus and its Coinage by the late J.R. Stewart with Contributions by C.E. Blunt and C.C. Oman edited and with an introductory essay by D.M. Metcalf. Secondly Chamberlayne, like Merrillees, was a public servant with a serious archaeological pastime which he did not advertise to his political masters. And thirdly, though essentially an amateur antiquarian, Chamberlayne’s academic background and Victorian intellectual curiosity inspired him to undertake, on his own initiative, detailed and demanding investigation into the ancient remains of Cyprus that almost no other British official, with the notable exception of George Jeffery,

20 Givens 1992; Kaeser 2008; papers in Lambert, Lester 2006.
21 Quirk 2010; Çelik 2016; papers in the acts of the workshop series Empire and Excavation (see above, note 16).
22 Morgan 2010 is an especially noticeable example of this trend, though this attitude goes back to the governorships of Ronald Storrs and Richard Palmer who in various ways regarded long-established officials as an obstacle to their attempts to reform the local colonial administration (see Rappas 2014, pp. 56-87).
23 The Cyprus Gazette 1905, p. 5626. See Markides 2014, pp. 160-165; Basu, Damodaran 2015, pp. 249-251; Kiely, forthcoming.
thought worthwhile or necessary. And finally, Merrillees' study of the modern history of the first Lambousa treasure of Byzantine silverware, now in the British Museum\textsuperscript{24}, discussed below in more detail, led to the unexpected discovery that Chamberlayne was related by marriage to Charles Maurice Camille de Talleyrand-Périgord, 4th duc de Dino, who bought the treasure in Larnaca in March 1897.

**Chamberlayne's background, family and career**

Chamberlayne was a member of an Irish family with Norman roots who once owned extensive lands in Co. Meath, giving their name to the townland of Chamberlainstown in the parish of Girley near Navan.\textsuperscript{25} Born on 10 January 1844 in Dublin, Chamberlayne's father was Tankerville William Chamberlain (1812-1895), a Dublin-based barrister-at-law and the grandson of William Tankerville Chamberlain (1751-1802), a respected Judge of the King's Bench and MP in Ireland.\textsuperscript{26} Chamberlayne's mother, Margaret Irwin (1813-1883), was the daughter of an Anglican clergyman, the Reverend Crinus Irwin (1771-1859), who rose to be Archdeacon of the Diocese of Ossory and Vicar-General of the Diocese of Ferns, and of Amy Chamberlain (1786-1849), the grand-daughter of Judge Chamberlain through the latter's daughter Amy (d. 1849).\textsuperscript{27} Tankerville and Margaret were therefore first cousins, marrying in September 1841 in the Church of Ireland church at Kilfane, County Kilkenny, where the Glebe House of Archdeacon Irwin was also located. Their son was first educated in Pau, south-western France, then a very popular resort and temporary home for British expatriates.\textsuperscript{28} It was presumably in Pau that Chamberlayne must have begun to acquire his fluent knowledge of French, and perhaps his life-long interest in French history, culture and language. When his father came to live in Cheltenham, England, he was enrolled under the name of Tankerville James Chamberlain at Cheltenham College, which he attended as a day pupil from February 1858 to June 1862.\textsuperscript{29} There he received a Classical education, no

\textsuperscript{24} Merrillees 2009.
\textsuperscript{25} Scull 1879, p. 6 and note b.
\textsuperscript{26} Ball 1926, p. 227.
\textsuperscript{27} Cotton 1848, p. 307.
\textsuperscript{28} This was established by the Rev. Edward Walsh(e) around 1830 in response to a lack of educational facilities for English-speaking boys (Duloum 1970, p. 229). Advertisements from the 1850s mention Walsh's establishment, on the Rue Bernadotte: 'A Youth requiring a change in climate can combine a comfortable home with a continuance of his studies'. Given Pau's reputation as a health resort (see Thorold 2008, esp. chapter 4), it is possible that Chamberlayne or members of his family moved there temporarily for this reason, whatever the educational benefits offered by the school. Note that Montgomery-Massingberd (1976, p. 198) states that a school in Pau was run by Edward's wife Jane Butler (b. after 1808, of Urlingford, County Kilkenny). They married in 1839 (Freeman's Journal, 14 Feb. 1839) which suggests that Jane joined her husband in Pau, and either worked at the school or conducted her own establishment. We are grateful to Mary Flood and Patricia Bergin at the Kilkenny Archaeological Society and to John Kirwan of the Butler Society for help with some of these details.
\textsuperscript{29} Information courtesy of Cheltenham College.
doubt contributing to the skill in languages and broader academic interests which served him well in his future career.

However, instead of continuing on to university, Chamberlayne joined the British army in which he would rise to the rank of Major following a series of overseas postings (summarised in Appendix 1). His first position was in the Ceylon Rifle Regiment, followed by tours of duty in Labuan (Malaya), Hong Kong, and then Natal, where he served as personal secretary to Governor Sir Henry Bulwer.30 The pair may have known each other already in Labuan where Bulwer had been Assistant Governor in 1873-1875, and certainly Chamberlayne accompanied Bulwer to Cyprus in 1886, where he also acted as secretary to the Executive Council and would therefore have been familiar with Bulwer’s reforms of the island’s antiquity regulations.31 Following a period of semi-retirement, including a period of residence in Paris, he transferred to the British Colonial service in Cyprus, serving from 1892 until his forced retirement on the grounds of age in 1908 (see below, pp. 191-192). It was during his period of service on Cyprus that he wrote his two main academic works. Although Tankerville never went to university – which may explain his initial difficulties in securing a high-ranking position in Cyprus, the senior colonial service being increasingly dominated by university graduates rather than military figures32 – his considerable academic and linguistic skills place him within that celebrated tradition of amateur intellectuals that lasted in England until after the Second World War.33 His far-flung career is also typical of the mobility of many people within imperial contexts,34 including those from his native Ireland,35 and the impact these travels had on their perceptions and activities.

Based on entries in successive editions of the The Cyprus Gazette, sometime between 1886 and 1892 Tankerville changed the spelling of his surname to Chamberlayne. This was perhaps to enhance his status, given the existence of some rather more illustrious families of the same name in England, including a prominent Conservative MP of the time, descended from the De Tankervilles who were the hereditary chamberlains of the Dukes of Normandy, notwithstanding the importance of the Co. Meath branch of the family with which he was connected. Alternatively, perhaps he wished to render it in a more ‘correct’ mediaeval form in line with his antiquarian pursuits. Despite his solid Anglican background, he also embraced Roman Catholicism. This was perhaps due to his marriage on 24 July 1890 to Donna Leopoldina Francesca Ruspoli (1869-1949), second daughter of Prince Paolo Leopoldo Camillo Ruspoli, at the Catholic Parish Church

30 See Markides 2014, pp. 16-21 for a somewhat unflattering portrait of Bulwer and his associates.
31 Kiely, forthcoming.
32 Kirk-Greene 1999; Prior 2013.
33 Levine 1986. It is worth noting the distinction between individuals who conducted academic research while employed elsewhere, such as Chamberlayne and other expatriate officials, and those who could afford to dedicate themselves to study, and especially collect; post-holders at museums and universities (who need not however have had specialist jobs in the fields in which they excelled) were the few genuine ‘professionals’ at this time and they were unevenly distributed.
34 Lambert, Merriman 2020 (with refs.).
35 Kenny 2005.
of St. Pierre de Chaillot, in Paris. Their union was also solemnised at the Anglican church of St. George's, Hanover Square, London, on 12 August 1890. Just prior to his retirement, in 1907 Chamberlayne commissioned a Neo-Georgian house at Chamberlainstown. It is unclear if this was a reconstruction of an existing family home, or an attempt to establish himself there as a county gentleman. As early as 1879, his father was described as the current ‘representative’ of the Chamberlainstown branch of the family; his gravestone in Mount Jerome Cemetery, Dublin, describes him as ‘Tankerville William Chamberlain of Chamberlainstown, Co. Meath.’ How this link came about is less clear. A William Chamberlain is listed as owning substantial property in Chamberlainstown in Griffith’s valuation of the county in 1855. His relationship with Tankerville senior is unclear, though he does not appear to have been a direct relation. It is possible that Tankerville senior inherited property from a kinsman which later passed to his son, allowing him to establish an – albeit somewhat modest – family seat there on his retirement. Chamberlayne did not however live long to enjoy his new home, dying in 1909. None of the family is listed in the 1911 census, though his son Paul Richard Tankerville James Michael Isidore Camille Chamberlayne AFC (1895-1972) eventually made Chamberlainstown House his home. His son Michael Paul Irwin Ruspoldi Tankerville Chamberlayne has continued to reside there.

A perennial problem in composing these kinds of biographies and memoirs is the lack of surviving archival material, since so much has often been destroyed or otherwise disposed of by their descendants and executors. At the same time, the increasing digitisation of public records allows at least birth certificates, wills, and the like, to be more easily discovered and retrieved. Despite his important academic publications and extensive scholarly connections, Chamberlayne never wrote an account of his broader antiquarian interests, nor produced any catalogue of his own collection, other than the list he compiled in compliance with the 1905 Antiquities law (see below) while his personal papers have disappeared. As a result, we have had to piece together his activities and motivations from a wide variety of sources, some of which are little known or difficult to obtain. Fortunately for us, Chamberlayne’s protestations over an alleged shortage of money on his forced retirement have left us with a memorial of his career which is reproduced in extenso in Appendix 1 of this paper. Though it says little about his antiquarian interests, it enables them to be seen in the intellectual and social context of the period in which he was educated and employed, including the complicated and at times fractious world of colonial official administration. Chamberlayne was also, in keeping with contemporary practices and expectations, a voluminous letter writer, and much research remains to be done in the archives of his correspondents, particularly in France. This paper will therefore bring together what is already known about Chamberlayne’s extracurricular activities, and as
such must be considered more of an introduction to the subject than a definitive account, especially as certain mysteries remain to be solved.

The memorial

On 12 March 1907 Chamberlayne was officially informed in writing by the Colonial Office in London that Lord Elgin had accepted the recommendation of the High Commissioner in Cyprus, Sir Charles King-Harman, that Chamberlayne, having passed the age of 60 years – by 1 August he would have been nearly 64 – be retired, together with other officers in Cyprus, “with a view to accelerate the flow of promotion in Cyprus, which has of late years been extremely slow”. To a former diplomat like one of the present authors (Merrillees), this has a familiar ring. It was, however, the last thing Chamberlayne wanted to hear or to do. He promptly challenged the decision in his reply on 26 March 1907 to the Assistant Under Secretary in the Colonial Office, and followed this letter up with a memorial, the first of two, setting out his claims for exceptional consideration in the light of his public service and family and financial situation. The entire correspondence, including subsequent pleas, was forwarded to the office of the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, the Most Reverend Dr William J. Walsh, Primate of Ireland, with the request that it intervene with the British Government on Chamberlayne’s behalf. The file was found amongst Archbishop Walsh’s papers preserved in the Dublin Diocesan Archives.41

The first memorial of 27 April 1907, addressed to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, London, was indifferently typed, with numerous hand-written amendments as well as annotations in the side column. Rather than attempt to reproduce the narrative exactly as it appears in the extant copy, the authors have edited and shortened it in Appendix 1, without altering the spelling, font or punctuation, so as to concentrate on Chamberlayne’s curriculum vitae and extensive travels. Having spent much of his professional career in the army, and later transferring colonial service, he experienced very different corners of the globe, and took an active interest in the peoples and languages he encountered, evidently applying himself with energy and humanity to all his military and civilian responsibilities and discharging them to the satisfaction of his superiors. This was certainly in contrast with the initial heavy-handedness of the British regime in Kyrenia, as represented by his predecessor Andrew Scott-Stevenson.42

And in the course of his travels Chamberlayne picked up the habit of collecting, not to enrich himself or show off, but to satisfy his own curiosity, which was put to particularly constructive use in Cyprus. Perhaps like all wise civil servants, whose advancement depends on their supervisors’ assessment of their subordinates’ singular devotion to the cause, Chamberlayne did not trumpet his extracurricular calling, though as noted above, his administrative duties in Cyprus would have brought him into direct contact with the management of the island’s antiquity laws from 1886 onwards.

41 Inv. 1907, 381:7. These were made available by Noelle Dowling, Diocesan Archivist, for whose assistance and advice the authors are deeply grateful.
42 Catselli 1979, pp. 94, 100; Katsiaounis 1996; Reeve 2020.
Conspicuously therefore, but not surprisingly, Chamberlayne makes only one reference in his first memorial to the antiquarian interests he developed in Cyprus between March 1886 and 1907\textsuperscript{43}, but in a subsequent letter of 17 May 1907 to J. E. Clauson, Chief Secretary of the Colonial Administration, he states that “Mr E[ustathios] Constantinides tells me that some work ordered to be done here by the Museum Committee (of which I am a member until November next) has not been completed and there is a work at Marathassa for M. [Camille] Enlart & and the French Consul standing over from 1904, about a week’s work”. He continued, with a view to securing an extension of his tour of duty in Cyprus, with the question: “Could not the wish that Mr McDonald should manage the Election be attained by detailing me for duty temporarily connected with the Museum and antiquities which would just cover the period?” There are no more references to his archaeological responsibilities in the second memorial but it should be noted that following the passage of the 1905 Antiquities Law, Chamberlayne was described in the official Government newsletter, \textit{The Cyprus Gazette}, on 1 December 1905, as “the Agent of the Museum Committee, in respect of the exportation of Antiquities at the Port of Kyrenia”.\textsuperscript{44}

In the end, despite his earnest and insistent entreaties, all of Chamberlayne’s arguments and protestations to the British Government, as well as his demarche to Archbishop Walsh’s office, were unavailing, and he was obliged to retire.

Chamberlayne was, however, still at his post in Kyrenia at the end of January 1908 when Sir Harry Luke arrived in Larnaca on a visit to Cyprus and encountered him in Kyrenia where he recorded the following novel experience, clearly acknowledging his multiple talents and qualities:

In Kyrenia was Major Tankerville Chamberlayne, who when quite elderly married a young Roman Principessa straight out of an Italian convent school. He was a mediaevalist, a numismatist, an enthusiastic Roman Catholic, a most kind host, but he was definitely eccentric and wrote learned works on Lusignan epigraphy in the French of Louis XIV. He showed us over the castle of S. Hilarion, walking up the mountain from Kyrenia, a climb of nearly three thousand feet, in pumps and a torn black mackintosh, its shreds flapping in the wind; but at the top he produced an exquisite lunch of Cyprus baby lamb, wild asparagus and champagne.\textsuperscript{45}

Luke was not the only one to find Chamberlayne more than a little strange, as Rina Catselli attests in this penetrating but not unsympathetic portrait based on a range of sources:\textsuperscript{46}

On 20\textsuperscript{th} May 1898 a new District Commissioner arrived in Kyrenia. After Andrew Scott-Stevenson,\textsuperscript{47} the Commissioners in order of service were: 1883 Lieutenant Edward Kenyon; 1887 Robert Fisher and 1894 Frank G. Glossop.

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43 Appendix 1 § 28. \\
44 Cf. Pilides 2009, pp. 65, 429. \\
45 Luke 1953, p. 142. \\
46 Catselli 1979, pp. 114-115. \\
47 Scott-Stevenson 1882; Catselli 1979, pp. 94, 100; see Reeve 2020. 
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The new Commissioner was Major James Tankerville Chamberlayne [sic], but in Kyrenia he was always known as ‘Chemberlos’.... Major J. T. Chamberlayne was a remarkable man, a scholar and an admirer of both the Lusignan and Venetian eras. He published a book on the coinage of Cyprus and another under the title, ‘The Tears of Nicosia’ (*Lacrimae Nicossienses*) which refers to the capture of Nicosia by the Turks. The Archaeological Museum [sic] in Nicosia is still in possession of his personal file regarding the first archaeological findings in the Kyrenia District.48

The commissioner’s clerk Georgios Georgiou related funny incidents about him. He believed in reincarnation. One day he thought he recognized his father reincarnated in a donkey. After that he paid for the upkeep of the donkey and entreated the owner to take good care of the animal. A fact which seems to us unbelievable is that he acknowledged as his own child, a boy born by his wife thirteen months after he had visited her in England. He was a catholic and very fond of studying the Lusignan period. He built the Roman Catholic church, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, on Themistocles Street in Kyrenia in 1907. The Lusignan emblem was placed on the front door. It is still there. In the church yard there is a Shrine with the inscription ‘God save our Fatherland’ in English and Greek.

Chamberlayne’s behaviour in office was not above reproach. He was untidy, he treated the staff badly, made them work at unsuitable hours and called them names. During the summer he carried a towel round his neck to wipe away his sweat. In spite of his oddities, he was humanitarian [on which see Appendix 1, § 27].

He was the first person to make a systematic excavation at Kyrenia Castle, which at the time served a variety of purposes. It was a police barracks, with dormitories, wash-houses, cook-houses and all the usual offices. There were the prison cells, the gallows, the prisoners’ workshops, salt-store, magazine and much else. His greatest interest was in the North-east tower, the only entirely Lusignan part of the castle. He established an archaeological Museum in this tower, but it was abandoned later for reasons unknown. Using prison labour, he excavated galleries which had been filled in by the Venetians for their extensions and discovered many important objects which shed light on certain aspects of the castle’s history.

However, George Jeffery, Curator of Ancient Monuments in Cyprus, was scathing about the quality of Chamberlayne’s restorations in Kyrenia Castle which he regarded as being as damaging as the effects of time.49 Jeffery also provided by far the most unadorned assessment of Chamberlayne’s character:50

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48 This was not strictly true, since the Scott-Stevensons had previously excavated and collected antiquities in the area (discussed by Reeve 2020).
49 Pilides 2009, pp. 10, 119.
50 Pilides 2009, p. 87.
At Mr. Cobham's house I met the late Major Tankerville Chamberlayne, who at that time was acting as the Chief Collector of Customs for Cyprus. He afterwards became the Commissioner of Kyrenia. Both Cobham and Chamberlayne were great friends of M. Camille Enlart who was visiting Cyprus in 1901. Together we formed a very small but enthusiastic group of students of Cypriot medieval history, for Major Chamberlayne had just published his remarkable “Lacrimae Nicossienses”, a book of the greatest value, although incomplete. Major Tankerville Chamberlayne whom I found installed as Commissioner at Kyrenia in 1903, was a somewhat eccentric person. His enthusiasm for the Lusignan dynasty of Cyprus seemed to have no bounds. Next to the Lusignans he seemed to admire the Turks and everyone else who had ever been connected with the island was considered incapable of anything but the most atrocious sentiments and actions. The Venetians were stigmatised as a race of robbers and poisoners, and his antipathy toward everything Italian was the more remarkable as he had married a lady of the famous Ruspoli family of Rome.

Among more recent scholars, Markides has had some critical things to say about the effects Chamberlayne’s marriage had on his official responsibilities in Cyprus, which is also however a reflection of modern perceptions of members of the Cyprus colonial administration at this time discussed earlier (see above note 22):

Two new police commandants had been appointed in London [in 1893] but were to prove frustratingly inept postings: the first, Tankerville Chamberlayne, on Bulwer’s warm recommendation, and a certain Captain Power. Unwilling to ride a horse, the former was of little use as a police commandant. It quickly became clear that his intention was to take months of leave every summer to be with his Italian wife. Chamberlayne soon found that those halcyon days were over. He never forgave [Sir Walter] Sendall [Bulwer’s successor] for not being Bulwer and for not allowing such deviations.51

Markides’ account must be understood in the context of her broader assessment of Bulwer, whom she regarded as ineffective, installed by the London government in order to maintain their (‘do nothing’) policy of minimum expenditure on the island.52 She also felt that individuals such as Chamberlayne were unwelcome hangovers from his troubled Natal governorship, appointed due to loyalty rather than competence.53 At the same time, Bulwer had a reputation for being a humanitarian governor in Natal, while in Cyprus he showed considerable principle in his opposition to Colonial Office indifference to the protection of the island’s heritage, advocating policies in this area that his successor Walter Sendall would later attempt to advance,
while also allowing Chamberlayne to pursue his antiquarian interests.\textsuperscript{54} It was also thanks to Bulwer’s encouragement and support that Chamberlayne embarked on his survey of the Mediaeval tomb stones in Cyprus.\textsuperscript{55} More generally, arguably these characterisations focus on the idiosyncrasies of individuals such as Chamberlayne, in the interest of a good story or a barbed comment, while overlooking his broader activities (including the antiquarian achievements) in the context of their times.

\textbf{Antiquarian interests}

From all these accounts we can clearly see that the (sometimes negative) published sources for Chamberlayne’s official career and personality, which have tended to cloud modern assessments, are intertwined with references to his antiquarian interests, though as noted above they have never been the subject of extensive discussion or established his importance in ancient Cypriote studies. For instance, it was at Chamberlayne’s instigation that Enlart returned to Cyprus to carry out excavations in Nicosia in 1901 west of the city, near the Paphos Gate and Armenian cemetery.\textsuperscript{56} Enlart had already spent five months in the island, from February to June 1896,\textsuperscript{57} gathering material for his \textit{magnum opus, L’art gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre}, which was published in Paris in 1899.\textsuperscript{58} In this volume he thanked Chamberlayne who had made available to him “avec une égale cordialité ses services de fonctionnaire, ses relations personnelles et son érudition”.\textsuperscript{59} In a report to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres published in 1901 Enlart explained that Chamberlayne had informed him of the recent discovery of the remains of Mediaeval buildings in Nicosia and that since the High Commissioner in Cyprus, Sir William Haynes Smith,\textsuperscript{60} had put a stop to further work at Chamberlayne’s request,\textsuperscript{61} the British authorities had requested him (Enlart) to undertake further clearance of the site.\textsuperscript{62} According to Enlart the principal finding seemed to be the foundations of the monastery of

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\item \textsuperscript{54} Cf. Sabri 2013, pp. 188-192; Kiely, forthcoming on Bulwer’s reforms and his repeated clashes with the Colonial Office.
\item \textsuperscript{55} Chamberlayne 1894, pp. 3, 7.
\item \textsuperscript{56} Cf. Durand, Giovannoni 2012, p. 236.
\item \textsuperscript{57} Enlart 1899, p. xxii.
\item \textsuperscript{58} In her biographical notice on Camille Enlart in the website of the Institut national d’histoire de l’art (https://www.inha.fr/fr/ressources/publications-publications-numeriques/dictionnaire-critique-des-historiens-de-l-art/enlart-camille.html, accessed 17 May 2021), Anne-Cécile Célimon-Paul (also written Anne-Cécile Paul-Célimon) has without due care written that this volume (Enlart 1899) “a été plagié [sic] par Georges [sic] Jeffery dans \textit{Architecture in the Island of Cyprus (A Description of the historic monuments of Cyprus. Studies in the archaeology and architecture of the island, Nicosia, 1918; 2\textsuperscript{e} éd. Londres, 1983) et traduit en anglais par David Hunten [sic Hunt] en 1987 (Gothic art and the Renaissance in Cyprus, Londres, 1987).”
\item \textsuperscript{59} Enlart 1899, p. xxiii.
\item \textsuperscript{60} Pilides 2009, pp. 9-10.
\item \textsuperscript{61} \textit{Revue de l’Orient Latin} 8, 1900-1901, p. 265.
\item \textsuperscript{62} Enlart 1901; Sterling 2020, quoting a letter of July 1901 from Haynes Smith on “Cyprus: Famagusta harbour and antiquities” in the Colonial Office Collection CAOG 10/12 of the National Archives, London.
\end{thebibliography}
Saint Dominique built in 1250 and destroyed by the Venetians in 1567 but he later revised this opinion and modern studies now identify the place as Beaulieu Abbey. Enlart wrote a report on his excavations in Nicosia dated 7 July 1901, which is located in the Centre des Archives diplomatiques de La Courneuve, Paris, and Chamberlayne also wrote another, unpublished, account now in the State Archives of Cyprus, Nicosia. Finds from this fieldwork were deposited in the Lapidary Museum in Nicosia and others found their way to the Musée de Cluny in Paris. Two of the 16th century tomb stones discovered by Enlart during his excavations ended up in the Holy Cross Catholic Church in the Old City of Nicosia.

Apart from their academic qualities, Chamberlayne’s two books stand out because they were written entirely in French, though this was due as much to his personal inclinations as to the widespread use at the time of this language for international communication and scholarship of all kinds. Indeed, Jeffery dismissively commented that “with a rather absurd affectation the book [Lacrimae Nicossienses] is written in three styles of French: the text is in the modern language, the references to Du Cange and arguments thereupon in xvii century type and idiom, whilst a third section is couched in yet another form of the language.” Yet, whatever the peculiarities in his use of the language, in which he also corresponded with all his French academic colleagues, this evinces a kind of cosmopolitanism that would have been lacking among most of his contemporaries in the colonial service (apart exceptionally from his polyglot colleague, Claude Delaval Cobham). Chamberlayne was nothing if not taken with France, telling the celebrated mediaeval historian and numismatist Gustave Schlumberger in a letter of 18 November 1901 from the Hôtel des Saints-Pères in Paris that he had spent in that city two and half of the happiest years of his life, up until his marriage.

Chamberlayne’s collecting

As previously stated, Chamberlayne wrote no general account of the full range of his archaeological activities (or his underlying motivations) and we are left to piece together the story from multiple documentary and material sources. His antiquarian pursuits covered many fields and periods but broadly fell into three main categories: mediaeval tomb stones, coins and miscellaneous antiquities. They are best reflected in the lists of items in his possession in Kyrenia in 1906, which he himself submitted to the Island Administration in accordance with the requirements of the recently adopted Antiquities Law and now held by the Cyprus

63 Olympios 2012; Durand, Giovannoni 2012, p. 236.
64 Turquie Politique Intérieure NS 63 Chypre 1901-1918 ff. 30-35.
65 Cyprus State Archives SA1/C555/1901, 8-16 (see Olympios 2015, p. 321).
66 Pilides 2009, pp. 36-37, 603; Olympios 2015, p. 321.
67 Durand, Giovannoni 2012, p. 236.
68 Imhaus 2004, pp. 80-81 nos. 156-157; Durand, Giovannoni 2012, p. 236; Kapandji Morhange, vente aux enchères publiques Hôtel Drouot, Paris, jeudi 10 novembre 2016, p. 53 bottom left photo = Imhaus 2004, pp. 80-81 no. 156.
69 Pilides 2009, p. 87.
70 Institut de France MS 4296 folio 113.
Museum. This compendium does not, of course, represent the totality of the objects which came into his possession during his assignment in Cyprus but gives some idea of what attracted him to collecting. This appears to have been on a small scale, and with a concern more for description and conservation than for personal accumulation. In this record the following items can be read (though with some difficulty). References are provided to objects which can still be identified, or to the types of object described, though some parts remain obscure or illegible. The significance of the numbers following the item entries is not clear.

No. 154
1. (No. 300) a fragment RG.GOR now missing since the mediaeval stones in the eastern end of the north aisle of the church opposite Sancta Sofia were disarranged last spring.
2. (No. 301. 302. 303 & another). Fragments of a tombstone with inscription, mentioning Simoun de Sasiouns (i.e. Soissons) & Dame AALIS, & others, Arms which correspond with those of the Berkeley family.
3. An uninscribed fragment belonging to the same.
4. A fragment probably belonging to BARUTH.
5. (304) a fragment showing a [illegible]? LINART.
6. (305) a fragment LAN D MCCCLXII.
7. (306) a fragment M. O. AVOIT.
8. (307) a fragment ODIAS missing since the stones at the grain store were disturbed.
9. A slab with the inscription of BAILLI JOFRE the venetian.
10. A fragment with two crosses, no inscription.
11. A fragment with part of an inscription, probably from Monastery of LA CAVA.
12. A fragment from Famagusta inscription imperfect.

Various
1. A wooden semandron [i.e. liturgical bell] hammer deficient.
2. A small iron semandron with hammer.
3. A small statuette of a seated figure with horns? Jupiter Ammon, damaged.
4. Some small terracotta plates and vessels, purchased at a sale at Limassol of confiscated antiquities.

71 This list is found in a bound volume along with the submissions of other private collectors.
72 Imhaus 2004, pp. 125-126 F. 250.
73 Imhaus 2004, p. 122 F. 243.
74 Imhaus 2004, pp. 122-123 F. 244 (?).
75 Imhaus 2004, p. 122 F. 242.
76 Imhaus 2004, pp. 369-370 F. 703.
77 Imhaus 2004, pp. 370-371 F. 705.
78 The 1905 Antiquities Law did not apply to Ottoman material which did not therefore have to be declared. Chamberlayne's inclusive approach is therefore interesting, further reflecting his interests in neglected or undervalued periods of Cyprus' history.
79 Presumably an example of the well-known Iron Age iconographic series (see Buchholz 1991; Counts 2009). Along with the Cupid figure listed below (No. 155/1), this is one of the few antiquities whose types can be precisely determined from the written description suggesting that they were mostly unimportant.
80 This was a common means of disposing of low-value items obtained in this way which, along with duplicates from the Cyprus Museum and archaeological excavations, contributed to the running costs of the museum.
Coins.
About 60 Bronze coins of Emperor Diocletian & other Emperors circa III century
1 small silver coin of the Empress Faustina.
About 20 Bronze coins of the Ptolemies.
9 apparently Cufic or Saracenic bronze coins.
10 Cyprus Imperial coins.
20 other copper coins not identified yet.
20 bronze or other metal coins, some possibly Cypriot, some Greek.
1 Metal weight – uninscribed.
5 pieces of metal.
   2 being [illegible] of buckles [?].
   1 being a rudely shaped object something like a bird.

No. 155
1. Small statue representing a boy with wings, very probably “Cupid”.
2. A marble head of woman.
3. An earthen plate.
4. An earthen round pot.
5. An engraved ring stone representing a white carriage.
6. A stone with an engraved representation showing a serpent with the following inscription
   XNOY.MIC-ZNX.

Chamberlayne’s publications: *Lacrimae Nicossienses*

Chamberlayne’s best known production is *Lacrimae Nicossienses* (‘Tears of Nicosia’), a volume on the Mediaeval tombstones of Cyprus’ capital city, published in Paris by the Ancienne Maison Quantin in 1894. It remained for over a century the only substantial work in print on the subject.81 As previously noted, its importance is reflected by the fact that Imhaus not only dedicated her own 2004 *magnum opus* on the subject to Chamberlayne’s memory, but also called it *Lacrimae Cypriae*,82 pointing out that *Lacrimae Nicossienses* was just the first part in a series to be devoted to the Lusignan and Venetian tomb stones of Cyprus, beginning with those in the capital. Imhaus states that Chamberlayne’s intention to edit a second volume of *Lacrimae Nicossienses* devoted to the Mediaeval tomb stones from Famagusta never materialised and noted that “les recherches effectuées par W.H. Rüdt de Collenberg et E. Louizos pour retrouver le manuscrit sont restées vaines”83 though she does not make clear how these two mediaeval scholars went about their search for Chamberlayne’s papers. The authors’ own investigations have so far also proven unavailing. Chamberlayne’s descendants in Ireland have found little of relevance to this project, and A & J Robinson, the solicitors in Dublin who were responsible for preparing Chamberlayne’s estate for probate, no longer exist. They were taken over by

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81 Chamberlayne 1894.
82 Imhaus 2004. Note however that she has scrambled his name.
83 Imhaus 2004, p. 27.
Beauchamps solicitors in Dublin which, when asked, very much doubted that A & J Robinson had ever had the material in question, and in any case Beauchamps had no knowledge of it.\textsuperscript{84} Witham Weld, the estate’s solicitors in London, who kept a note of the probate given on 29 September 1910 to Chamberlayne’s will of 17 September 1909 and codicils of the same date, had no information on the disposal of the estate,\textsuperscript{85} though as discussed below they had been sent consignments of Chamberlayne’s effects, including papers, after his affairs had been wound up. The firm of Witham Weld, now Pothecary Witham Weld, was, it should be noted, founded by two Catholic lawyers and has continued its strong association with the Catholic Church. In addition, nothing about Chamberlayne was found in the remaining correspondence of the Rev. Ralph Francis Kerr of Brompton Oratory, London, who was appointed a Trustee of the estate and died in 1932. Enquiries to the Vatican were equally unavailing, apart from information about Chamberlayne’s donation of Oriental Christian and other manuscripts (see below).

The need to pursue the search for Chamberlayne’s missing documentation becomes obvious from Imhaus’ separation of the tomb stones in her catalogue into those recorded personally by her and her team, and those that have disappeared and are known only from previous publications.\textsuperscript{86} Without the drawings made by William Williams, Draughtsman in the Public Works Department, for Chamberlayne’s use in \textit{Lacrimae Nicossienses}, we would not even know what these missing memorials looked like.\textsuperscript{87} As has been previously noted, a number of the mediaeval tomb slabs in Chamberlayne’s collection in 1906 have been catalogued by Imhaus as they were built into the Catholic church of St Elizabeth of Hungary in Kyrenia, which was founded and funded by Chamberlayne himself in 1907 as a private oratory and bequeathed to the Custody of the Holy Land which opened it as a chapel in 1932.\textsuperscript{88} It is by no means certain that Chamberlayne’s archive still exists – and it is noteworthy that no-one in his family circle is known to have followed in his footsteps academically – but not all avenues have yet been exhaustively explored and a chance discovery could change the situation significantly. The scope for adding valuable new information from archival sources about Chamberlayne’s researches on the mediaeval remains in Cyprus has been recently and expertly demonstrated by Trélat in his article on the Lusignan tomb stones in the Büyük Hammam in the Old City of Nicosia.\textsuperscript{89}

**Chamberlayne’s publications: \textit{Le Trésor dou Morf}**

Chamberlayne’s second major work concerned a hoard of 2706 silver coins of the 14th century A.D. – he actually described them as “2683 gros and demi gros Lusignan” in a letter of

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\textsuperscript{84} Pers. comm.
\textsuperscript{85} Pers. comm.
\textsuperscript{86} Imhaus 2004, pp. 303-361, 389-396.
\textsuperscript{87} Chamberlayne 1894, p. 7; Schaar, Given, Theocharous 1995, pp. 27-30; Christofides 2014, pp. 99-105.
\textsuperscript{88} Delaporte 1913, p. 179; Mangoian, Mangoian 1947, p. 77; Imhaus 2004, p. 121.
\textsuperscript{89} Trélat 2020.
29 June 1905 to Schlumberger— which were found accidentally on 7 September 1904 in a blackened pot buried between the buildings of the former “casal” or “chiftlik” in Morphou and the monastery of Ayios Mamas. This, the first catalogue of the hoard, was published by St. Vincent’s Press in London in 1906 under the title *Le Trésor dou Morf*, and dedicated to Schlumberger by the author in Kyrenia on 31 May 1906. It was also to have been accompanied by plates which, it is said, were destroyed by a fire in the warehouse. Copies of this book, though scarce, are to be found in libraries around the world but the version reproduced in *Cyprus Numismatic Society. The Numismatic Report* Vol. XIII, 1982, said to have been annotated by Chamberlayne himself, is the proofs since it lacks the dedication to Schlumberger, together with its date, and bears an inscription on the title page with the name and signature of Schlumberger, to whom it had evidently been sent for his comments. Nor was this intended to be the end of Chamberlayne’s research on the hoard as he told Schlumberger in a letter dated 3 May 1908 from Port Said that: “J’ai commencé le catalogue des 2e et 3e parties du Trésor dou Morf”. He died before these volumes could be completed, and his notes are not known to have survived. The auction sale of Chamberlayne’s library by Hodgson & Co. in London on 1 December 1910 contained a number of books on Cyprus, as well as a copy of his *Lacrimae Nicossienses*, but hardly any works on coins.

After its discovery and presumably its interception by the authorities, the Morphou hoard was divided into three parts, in accordance with the law then current, with one third going to the Island Administration, the second to the Bishop of Kyrenia, and the third to the people of Morphou. The last lot was bought in 1906 by the King of Italy, Victor Emmanuel III, and is now in the Palazzo Massimo alle Terme of the Museo Nazionale Romano in Rome, comprising 898 coins. George Jeffery makes the following intriguing entry in his diary of 14 January 1905: “Sent in paper on Jar of Coins. Morphou”. Metcalf and Pitsillides report an anecdotal statement by Sir Harry Luke that in 1908 he bought through Chamberlayne “a considerable number” of coins from the Morphou hoard, and in 1911 the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum acquired a group of 21 coins from Lieutenant Commander Charles Harry Clinton Pirie-Gordon (1883-1969). Their registration numbers are CM 1911,0901.1 to 1911,0901.21. Of these, 1911,0901.1 is a denier of the counts of Tripoli. The next 17 coins are silver gros and petit gros ranging from Henry II to Peter II of Cyprus (nos. 1911,0901.2-18), and these have a reference to

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90 Institut de France MS 4296 folio 130.
91 Cyprus Numismatic Society 1982, p. 17.
92 Chamberlayne 1906.
93 Metcalf, Pitsillides 1992, p. 8.
94 Cyprus Numismatic Society 1982, p. 12.
95 Institut de France MS 4296 folio 146.
96 Hodgson & Co. 1910-1911, p. 31 Item Nos. 530-534.
97 Hodgson & Co. 1910-1911, p. 34 Item Nos. 581.
98 Lukach, Jardine 1913, p. 59; Metcalf, Pitsillides 1992, pp. 17-19.
99 Piliides 2009, p. 111.
100 Metcalf, Pitsillides 1992, p. 19.
101 Stewart 2002, p. 83 n. 262; cf. Pilides 2009, pp. 128 n. 413, 148 n. 483.
the Morphou hoard on their accompanying tickets. The final three coins (nos. 1911,0901.19-21) are base sixains of James II of a century or so later, which, like the Tripoli denier, do not form part of the Morphou lot. A copy of *Le Trésor dou Morf* was also presented to the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum by Pirie-Gordon on 1 September 1911 and is now in the British Library.

**Other archaeological pursuits**

Chamberlayne’s commitment to researching Cyprus’ past took many forms, not only the collection of artefacts and publication of mediaeval remains, but a willingness to be guide, informant and adviser to anyone who sought his services. He even promoted the idea of a new Cyprus Museum to house “the coins, pottery, beads and Graeco-Phoenician antiquities, to say nothing of Byzantine, Early Christian and even Ottoman objects of art” which “would soon, under proper management, and with only a moderate amount of benevolent sympathy on the part of the Government become one of the most important in the world”. He was also credited by Jeffery with the idea of creating an architectural museum to house the mediaeval building remains that came into the government’s possession. Jeffery had a house in the Old City of Nicosia near St. Sophia acquired for this purpose, and the Musée Lapidaire, as it became known, was completed in 1928. Up till that time the various mediaeval stone items belonging to the authorities had been kept in the church of St. Nicholas in the Old City of Nicosia, then being used as a grain store, where, according to Jeffery, writing in 1901, “Major Chamberlayne the Genealogist has collected a vast heap of medieval fragments of great beauty... and I hope it may prove the nucleus for a museum...” When in 1900 Charles Bellamy, Director of the Public Works Department, recommended the demolition of the Sarai Onou Mosque in Nicosia, Chamberlayne was invited by the Evkaf administration for an expert opinion on the historic value of the building, which was a converted Latin church from the 13th century. Following an inspection, Chamberlayne argued that as it should be preserved because of its age. According to Sabri, he took the Evkaf authorities to task for not looking after the historic aspects of the building, and emphasised the need to conserve any stones with inscriptions if the building were to be reconstructed.

Where antiquities, including Byzantine, Mediaeval and even Ottoman remains are concerned, it is impossible now to tally or even estimate the number of artefacts that came to Chamberlayne’s attention or passed through his hands during his many years of government

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102 E.g. Lewis 1894, pp. viii, 167; Enlart 1899, p. xxiii; Delaporte 1913, pp. 175-176; Masson 1990, pp. 29, 30, esp. 38 n. 20; Caubet 1993, pp. 34-35; Merrillees 2005a, pp. 19-21; see above.
103 Pilides 2009, pp. 624-625.
104 Pilides 2009, pp. 38, 674.
105 Pilides 2009, p. 674.
106 Pilides 2009, pp. 595, 672.
107 Jeffery 1918, p. 59; Sabri 2013, pp. 183-184.
108 Sabri 2013, pp. 192-193; cf. Jeffery 1918, p. 59; Imhaus 2004, p. 330 fiche no. 643.
employment in the island. The following sections deal with the highlights of his archaeological activities and do not set out to be exhaustive.

The Lambousa treasures

The most important group of antiquities with which he became initially acquainted was the first Lambousa treasure of Byzantine silverware which was accidentally discovered by Cypriote quarrymen in 1897, disposed of privately and smuggled out of Cyprus. It is now in the British Museum.\textsuperscript{109} It was Chamberlayne who informed the Chief Secretary of the Island Administration about this find in a letter of 28 December 1898, stating also that “I should wish to encourage the people to always inform the Government of any similar discoveries and to give the Government the first offer of purchase of antiquities”.\textsuperscript{110} However no decisive action was taken by the authorities to try to prevent discoveries of this kind being mishandled again until the second and even more spectacular treasure of Byzantine silverware turned up again accidentally in 1902 in Lambousa, and was also in large part smuggled out of the island. This lot now graces the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.\textsuperscript{111}

This event also happened on Chamberlayne’s watch but he seems not to have been directly involved in its inept mismanagement by the Island Administration, which hastened the enactment of the 1905 Antiquities Law.\textsuperscript{112} Chamberlayne was, nevertheless, aware of the circumstances surrounding the discovery of the hoard which the villagers in Karavas kept hidden without informing the authorities, and of the attempts being made to remove its contents illegally from the island. His knowledge of what was happening is clearly shown by a confidential hand-written letter he sent the Chief Secretary on 1 October 1903 from the Office of the Commissioner, Nicosia, of which the following is a transcription with some commentary:

“I submit a correspondence with the Commissioner of Larnaca [i.e. Claude Cobham] regarding a visit paid to me by an Armenian named Sevajian [Sivadjian] who asked to see the Museum.\textsuperscript{113} I sent him there with Mr Eftimiades whose account of his proceedings I attach also.

I had good reason to believe that the question was to be dealt with confidentially but it seems to have lost that character some months ago.

To day, the Chief Collector who still deals confidentially with the question sent me a copy of a telegram from Larnaca to the effect that ‘Sevajian purchased the Karavas antiquities for £2000. Malis\textsuperscript{114} £200 commission’.

\textsuperscript{109} Merrillees 2009; see Stylianou, Stylianou 1969.
\textsuperscript{110} Merrillees 2009, pp. 394-395.
\textsuperscript{111} See Entwistle 2003 for a comprehensive account.
\textsuperscript{112} Merrillees 2003, pp. 9-13.
\textsuperscript{113} Presumably the Sivadjian mentioned in regard to the treasure in Colonial Office files (see Entwistle 2003).
\textsuperscript{114} Larnaca chemist and antiquity dealer.
Mr Spencer was away on duty but I sent Inspector Braggiotti [?] who says that Sevajian has, he hears, already exported the plate purchased. They must have been hardly (unsuccessfully) watched for Lambris the seller was constantly here with Sevajian.

I could draw attention to the fact that the man Malis who is alleged to have received £200 commission is a nephew of Mr Mitzis of Kyrenia, Christian judge here, and was proposed by him to act in some judicial capacity (I think, for Mr Christofidis V.J. [Village Judge] Nicosia and Paleochorio) recently. I opposed the appointment on grounds which you are aware of and I believe some [one] else was nominated.

It is distinctly discreditable that the near relations of Judges should be engaged in such clandestine transactions. More than once Mr Mitzis was suspected of being engaged in trade and I apprehend that his removal to Nicosia was not unconnected with this. When I was at Kyrenia it was stated that he had at least £1,400 lent out at high interest to villagers, and it was mainly his case and that of Village Judge Monkaster that induced me to recommend two years ago that persons appointed village Judges should be required to promise not to lend money and at interest to any except their own relations”.

Entwistle has studied this affair in detail, including the somewhat disreputable role played by Hercules Read at the British Museum who seems to have tried to secure the treasure from Sivadjian when it became clear that neither Cyprus Government nor the Foreign or Colonial Offices had any legal power to retrieve it. To judge from the published sources, Chamberlayne does not appear to have played any role in the complicated sequence of events that later unfolded, though an annotation on the top of a letter to Alexander Murray, Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities, asking for an authority on Byzantine silverware, presumably relates to his own enquiries.

Further, in an after-thought at the end of the same later letter, Chamberlayne writes: “What you told me about the acquisition by the late Baron F. de Rothschild of the Duke of Devonshire’s Limoges enamels was very useful to me in deposing before the Court in the law suit about the Karavas plate”. Chamberlayne does not appear to have been in close contact with any of the leading players in London or Paris, and it may have been another Colonial official, Claude Cobham, Commissioner in Larnaca, who advised Hercules Read about the matter. Indeed, Murray was first informed about the treasure by his archaeological agent, Percy Christian, who, in a letter of 11 November 1902, said he was trying to secure the items, and again the following year on 7 May when he noted how the villagers were determined to avoid the government getting their hands on the treasure, “as several dealers have been to the Island, but they stuck out for £2000”.

115 SA1 3992/03.
116 Entwistle 2003.
117 GROL 1900-1903, fol. 193, undated but filed after fol. 192, 17 December 1903.
118 GROL 1900-1903, fol. 194, undated but filed after fol. 193.
119 GROL 1900-1903, fol. 198, 11 Nov. 1902; fol. 200, 7 May 1903. On Christian, see Kiely 2019.
The Vasilia horn

In the letter of 28 December 1898 to the Chief Secretary about the first Lambousa treasure mentioned above, Chamberlayne alluded to the discovery “some years ago” of a bronze horn from Vasilia on the north coast of Cyprus. Thanks to some diligent research by Despina Pilides we now know that this unique object, 68.0 cm long, modelled on the right horn of an adult male bezoar goat (Capra aegagrus), was found most likely in the vicinity of Vasilia, purchased by Chamberlayne in 1898 from a woman in the village, and originally kept in his office in Kyrenia. In February 1902, Chamberlayne brought the horn to London to ask the opinion of the “learned authorities” of the British Museum; in the same letter he relates how he also showed the object to his contacts in the Louvre, who in their turn showed him other metal horns, though none of the same scale. Pilides has recounted the involvement in this investigation in Paris by Antoine-Marie-Albert Héron de Villefosse, Member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, who was the first to refer to the find in print. Chamberlayne also sent Héron de Villefosse the photograph of a Byzantine basin found in Lambousa in 1909 by the inhabitants of Karavas. There was no suggestion in the correspondence about the horn that Chamberlayne intended to give or sell the object to the British Museum and, in 1903, it was acquired by the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia, where it currently resides.

Lapithos sanctuary deposit

Chamberlayne was also involved in the acquisition and subsequent dispersal of a substantial number of terracotta votive figurines of Cypro-Archaic II (7th and 6th century BC) found in the vicinity of Lapithos village. The precise details are unknown, and even the findspot was obscure until quite recently, though in part because earlier sources of information on their provenance had been overlooked. According to a letter from Chamberlayne in the archives of British Museum, which received a group of 20 in 1900 donated through the High Commissioner, Sir William Haynes Smith, they were found in 1897 near the village of Lapithos at a place called, in Chamberlayne’s terms, ἐμβρòς τεμένου. H. B. Walters, in his 1903 catalogue of Cypriot terracottas, called the place Ἐμπρός Τεμένον, adding that they were found in a cave and were “the votive offerings of some goddess, probably presiding over child-birth”. By contrast, the group

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120 Merrillees 2009, p. 394.
121 Pilides 2015.
122 GROL 1900-1903, fol. 186, 12 Feb. 1902, Chamberlayne to Murray; see also fol. 188, 9 April 1902.
123 Michon 1916, p. 121 n. 3.
124 Inv. no. Met 313 (Dikaios 1961, p. 120).
125 Walters 1903, pp. 22-26; Dikaios 1961, pp. 204-205; Yon, Caubet 1988; Fourrier, Queyrel 1998, p. 680.
126 GROL 1900-1903, fols 184-185, 3 July 1900, Chamberlayne to Murray.
127 Walters 1903, p. 22.
of 50 which were donated by Chamberlayne in 1899/1900 to the Louvre, through the agency of Salomon Reinach, were registered as simply being from Lapithos.\footnote{Yon, Caubet 1988, p. 1; Archives des musées nationaux, Département des Antiquités grecques et romaines du muse du Louvre (Série A). Répertoire numérique détaillé no. 2014044/30 (2015); see also Fourrier, Queyrel 1998, pp. 244ff.} Other examples in the Cyprus Museum are presumably from the same source, though some of these may have come from other sanctuaries in the Lapithos area, since most appear to be typical of the Lapithos regional tradition of coroplastic production.\footnote{Yon, Caubet 1988; Fourrier, Queyrel 1998, p. 243 and passim; Fourrier 2007, pp. 97-99.}

Apart from the versions of the toponym recorded above, the site has been named in sources as “embros temeno” or simply “temenon”, the minor variations presumably reflecting different renderings into standard Greek and English of the orally-transmitted Cypriot Greek names, though Walters used the same form as Peristianis in his account of 1910, that is, Προστεμένος = Ἐμπρός Τέμενος (see below). The information presented within British Museum sources was reproduced by Kiely in his 2011 catalogue of the material from the Lapithos area in the British Museum, where it was speculated that the recorded findspot could refer to an ancient shrine or even, possibly, to a modern place of worship referred to as a “temenon” in Cypriot Greek. Based on information provided by Ulbrich in her survey of shrines of the Great Goddess of Cyprus, it was further noted that what appears to have been the original shrine was recorded by the Cyprus Survey in the 1950s.\footnote{Ulbrich 2008, pp. 373-374, LA I–2.} This was located around 500m east of the then southern limits of Lapithos village and was identified by the presence on the surface of numerous remains of votive figurines near a cave cut in a rocky outcrop at the foot of a low hill which was in turn enclosed within the bend of the river Kamara. The watercourse, together with the presence of a small spring below the cave, possibly influenced the ancient worshippers’ choice of location for their shrine. Papantoniou attributes the sanctuary site at Lapithos-Prostemenos to the Cypro-Archaic, Cypro-Classical and Hellenistic periods.\footnote{Papantoniou 2013, p. 3.} A small settlement of similar date was also recorded in the vicinity, whose inhabitants no doubt worshipped at this spot along with others from the surrounding area, including another sanctuary recorded by the Cyprus Survey in 1959. Terracotta and stone figurines dating from the Cypro-Archaic to the Hellenistic period, some more than one-third life-size, were found scattered over an area of approximately 90 x 90 m, suggesting some sort of temenos or sacred space.

All of these sources, however, have overlooked a near contemporary source for these figurines. Writing in 1910, Ieronymos K. Peristianis wrote the following account which has been kindly translated by Dr George Georgallisides:

The position of Lapethos extended up to the position occupied by the present-day small town by the same name which is, indeed, partly built on the ruins of the ancient city, something testified by the surviving graves and the large number of clay idols in the north-east and south-east of the contemporary town, especially at the edge of the pari-
These idols, practically all of which were painted in vivid red and black colours, are votive offerings, showing worshippers and priests coming to offer presents consisting of coins, pigeons and lyres in the temples of the worshipped deities. We saw them in the Kyrenia District Commissioner’s office upon their discovery, now they are on exhibition at the Cyprus Museum having been received and accessioned by ourselves on 15th July 1909. Concerning these idols the former Commissioner of Kyrenia Major Chamberlayne sought and received from France expert opinion that they belong to the 9th century BC. However, the archaic character and crude art of some of these indicates rather that they belong to a much earlier period.

We visited the grave or altar in which these numerous and curious idols were discovered and we observed that above it a rock overhangs and around it there are ruins, giving us the impression that a temple must have existed there. This thought is reinforced by the fact that the surviving name of the altar or the large grave “Embros Temenos” indicates that in front of that elevation where the idols were discovered a temple must have existed.\textsuperscript{132}

A later source of information on the find, which presumably influenced the work of the Cyprus Survey, was only recently unearthed by Stella Diakou in her impressive report on \textit{The Upper Geometric Cemetery at Lapithos}. Here she states that “the name \textit{Prostemenos} (\emph{{προς τέμενος = to the sanctuary}) refers to another location to the southeast of the centre of the village of Lapithos, where the PCE [Pennsylvania Cyprus Expedition] excavated [in 1931-1932] the remains of a sanctuary of the Classical period.”\textsuperscript{133} She further notes that “at \textit{Prostemenos}, the PCE discovered the remains of walls from a 5th or 4th century BC sanctuary, statuettes in ‘the archaic manner’ and black glaze sherds. This small scale excavation was never published and is only recorded in the field notebooks of the expedition.”\textsuperscript{134} \textit{Prostemenos} is listed by Christodoulou and Konstantinidis in their gazetteer as a toponym located at WE 16 10 XI 23.\textsuperscript{135} Sheets XI 23 of the cadastral survey of Lapithos produced by the Department of Lands and Surveys in 1918 at scale 1:1250 give the names of the churches and designate schools, springs and some other features but do not contain the toponym \textit{Prostemenos}. It is however to be found above an east-west track at the top (north) of square N9 in the street map produced by the Municipality of Lapithos in 2004.

\section*{Miscellaneous items}

To judge from his admittedly rather limited correspondence with the British Museum, Chamberlayne was also a source of information on finds of antiquities and other materials, though apart from the Lapithos figurines discussed above he did not supply items or over-

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\begin{footnotes}
\item[132] Peristianis 1995, pp. 477-478.
\item[133] Diakou 2018, p. 13; Diakou 2019, pp. 248-249.
\item[134] Diakou 2018, p. 6.
\item[135] Christodoulou, Konstantinidis 1987, pp. 1059, 1500.
\end{footnotes}
see excavations, unlike his colleague, Claude Cobham, who had long served as an unofficial agent for Charles Newton and then Alexander Murray at the British Museum. On 7 May 1903 Chamberlayne wrote to Murray sending a squeeze of what he thought was a Phoenician inscription, which he said he was sending simultaneously to Clermont-Ganneau, along with fragments of a Latin service book found in a “receptacle” in “Santa Sofia” (presumably the Selimiye Mosque in Nicosia), which he bought for £2. However, in a letter dated 22 July 1903 from the office of the Commissioner, Nicosia, Chamberlayne noted that the “Phoenician” inscription was in fact a “Hebrew funeral tablet... so Mr Salomon Reinach, not you, will be rendered jocund”.

Later in the year, Chamberlayne sent a photograph of the famous marble statue of Aphrodite from Galina, accompanied by some rather strange comments on Greek art in the same letter dated 22 July 1903:

It is possible that your faithful admiration of Greek art may make you admire the disgracefully nude figure of which I send you a photograph. The original came from Soli, where I wanted you to excavate. The only nude statues I admire are the Apollo, the Dying Gaul, and the Slave, sharpening a knife, and I think the latter has a cloak. But nude female figures are to me an abomination. What Spanish or French coiffeur would tolerate such ropy hair, and the throat is out of proportion.

Then, in an undated letter, though filed directly after one of 3 December 1903, Chamberlayne supplied the dimensions of the statue, presumably in answer to a request by Murray. It is not clear if he intended giving or selling the statue to the British Museum, assuming he had – or thought he had – the opportunity to acquire it, though the case of the Vasilia horn mentioned above suggests otherwise. Moreover, since the statue was confiscated according to the terms of the antiquity law, during a period of increasing political tension over the illicit export of antiquities, it is unlikely that it would have been possible to send the Aphrodite to London with the same ease that colonial officials had done in the past.

Dr Panayiotis Panayides has kindly informed us that the discovery of the Aphrodite was made by the uncle of his great-grandmother (who kept the coffee shop in Galini, where the Swedish Cyprus Expedition took lunch). He unearthed the statue at Soli while working his fields, and then concealed it in a barn, but news reached the police and it was confiscated. Dikaios gave the date of discovery as 1901, but did not know its precise findspot. Westholm, however, added that it was found close to a shaft dug by the SCE just inside the western gate of the city wall. As such, Chamberlayne’s letter is subsequent to the find and, presumably, the

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136 GROL 1900-1903, fol. 190, date illegible, Chamberlayne to Murray. An annotation states that the MSS mentioned in the letter were returned on 16 May 1903, so it must predate this action.
137 GROL 1900-1903, fol. 192, 17 Dec. 1903, Chamberlayne to Murray. It is not clear if Chamberlayne is referring to Reinach’s interests in the “Orient hellénique”, his work on religious history, or to his Jewish heritage.
138 Basu, Damodaran 2015; Kiely, forthcoming.
139 Dikaios 1961, pl. XXII. 3, pp. 130-131.
140 Westholm 1936, pl. XXXII. 3. p. 14.
impounding by the police, so he may well have been simply informing Murray, but we cannot at present establish exactly when and how it reached the Cyprus Museum. It must have arrived before the early 1930s as it has the Old Collection registration number E.510,141 and Westholm states that: “To the marble statue of Aphrodite on pl. XXXII. 3, found in Soli, since long time in the Cyprus Museum, the author was able to add some more material”.142 This suggests to the authors that it came to the Cyprus Museum before 1915, though probably much earlier since it was in the possession of the authorities soon after its discovery. The statue is now recognised as a fine marble sculpture of the 1st century BC.143

**Further acquisitions: manuscripts**

Antiquities, ancient and mediaeval, were not the only *objets d’art* which passed through Chamberlayne’s hands. During his military and colonial career in Asia, southern Africa and Cyprus, he developed an interest in old manuscripts, a number of which he acquired but with no indication of the sources. Between 1891 and 1900 he donated to Pope Leo XIII in the Vatican a group of Arabic, Chaldean, Greek, Syriac and other manuscripts, mostly of a theological or liturgical nature,144 and amongst his other purchases were Oriental manuscripts which were included in the auction sale of his library on 1 December 1910 in London. On offer were the following: Lot 545 described as “Oriental MS, first leaf illuminated in gold and colours, folio, native morocco binding, with flap, and two others” and Lot 546 “Oriental Literature, printed and in MS. 2 parcels”.145 According to Raimy Ché-Ross,

The second largest collection of Malay manuscripts in Cambridge University Library was created in 1910. It is also a large procurement of the last Malay material by the institution. This collection was originally made by Major Tankerville James Chamberlayne (1844-1909), an Irish nobleman [sic] and former member Ceylon Rifles Regiment (CRR). The Chamberlayne Malay bundle covers 16 manuscripts and 42 stone print books (including a large number of *codex unicus*), and was collected during his time in charge of CRR in Ceylon, Singapore and Labuan. All Malay manuscripts and books from Chamberlayne were purchased wholesale by the Library from an old book seller at Cambridge, Gustave David (1860-1936). Before that, David had bought them from Chamberlayne’s deceased library sales, run by the famous book auction firm in London, Messrs. Hodgson & Co., on December 1st 1910. Among the precious copies in the Chamberlayne collection is a manuscript of the biography of Amir Hamzah (Cambridge University Library Or. 846) in a gold former hand copy.146

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141 Karageorghis 1962, pl. XXXVII, p. 23.
142 Westholm 1936, p. 206 n. 126.
143 Vermeule 1976, fig. 10, p. 51; Hermann 2009, p. 172.
144 Darrouzès 1957, pp. 157-159 nos. 122-136 Vatican 2307-2320, 2337; Constantinides 2006, pp. 246-247.
145 Hodgson & Co. 1910-1911, p. 31.
146 Ché-Ross, Ahmad, Balwi 2017, p. 60; cf. Ché-Ross 2007, p. 69.
Chamberlayne's will

Not long before he died, Chamberlayne made a will of immense complexity that said little about the disposal of his personal effects, and left his possessions in such a state of disarray that the hapless solicitors in Dublin, A & J Robinson, took two and a half years to sort out his affairs. According to their itemised statement of accounts dated 25 January 1910, they had been through “various bundles containing copper coins, medals, coins of Cyprus...” and on 30 April 1910 recorded a “letter from Chief Sec[re]t[ar]y Government of Cyprus that Deceased had in his possession certain antique gold coins the property of the Government and asking if we had any knowledge of same”. A search in the State Archives of Cyprus in Nicosia, kindly undertaken by Diana Constantinides, failed to turn up any trace of this letter. On 4 January 1910 the solicitors “wrote Messrs. Witham that we had not succeeded in getting through all the Deceased's papers handed over to us and that they were most voluminous and absolutely without order. Up to this date ... we succeeded in sorting them very generally into four lots, viz: - Private correspondence, receipts and the like, documents relating to Cyprus and documents which might be required for present purposes”. Amongst them, as noted on 14 January 1910, were “innumerable letters received from him [Mr. Carnace, Cyprus] as to Deceased's affairs in Cyprus and as to the Chapel Deceased had been building”. On 29 April 1911 the solicitors recorded a fee “to cover having six parcels of coins carefully packed and sent Messrs. Witham [in London]”, and in November of the same year a further fee was charged for “attending to have all papers, not in use, also all Deceased's boxes and effects, not handed over to the Hospital, packed in case, and subsequently attending [to] having case despatched to Messrs. Witham & Co.” No trace of any of these consignments has ever been found. What happened to Chamberlayne's papers and the Cypriot coins is still completely unknown.

Conclusions

Where does Chamberlayne fit into the evolution of Cypriote archaeology and mediaeval studies? In the first place, like many amateurs of the time he never held an academic post but was nonetheless a serious scholarly researcher whose two published catalogues were far ahead of his time in Cyprus. Few of his predecessors or contemporaries in the colonial service in the island in the 19th century AD produced anything comparable, with the exceptions mentioned above (most notably Cobham). Most scholarly work on the island published around this time was written by professional scholars such as Camille Enlart or John Linton Myres, while Ohnefalsch-Richter, despite the somewhat chaotic nature of his output, nonetheless gained a doctorate for his efforts. Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter’s Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum published in 1899 was an attempt to put order in a poorly managed and disorganised collection whose archaeological integrity was much compromised before the work even began.\(^\text{147}\) Notably,

\(^{147}\) Myres, Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899; see Merrillees 2000.
the classification system suffers from wholly inadequate illustrations which makes it vague and difficult to cross-reference with other collections cited in the text. It also excluded coins as well as Byzantine and Mediaeval remains. *Excavations in Cyprus*, the account of the British Museum Turner Bequest excavations of 1893-1896 (but not of the following seasons down to 1899), was rather better illustrated and presented the finds from Enkomi, Kourion and Amathus by context, but was still schematic and unnecessarily behind the times in respect of chronology.\textsuperscript{148} Rather more detailed and precise was Myres’ *Handbook to the Cesnola Collection* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art published in 1914. Myres’ work was a valiant attempt to put some order into this mass of largely unprovenanced and poorly documented material, drawing from the earlier *Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* and the various publications stemming from the British Museum’s excavations, but provided only a summary account of the objects and again was very inadequately illustrated.\textsuperscript{149} Indeed, no comprehensive catalogues of many major sections of this collection were published until the 21st century.\textsuperscript{150} More generally, and much to his credit, Chamberlayne does not appear to have developed the compulsive and corrosive habit of unsystematic excavating, with or without government approval, and certainly not of the kind conducted by many (but not all) archaeologists, amateur and professional, in the 19th and earlier 20th centuries AD. It was not until the late 1920s that the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (SCE) put fieldwork on a truly scientific basis, and even then, other excavations were still being conducted without definitive publication of the results. With the exception of the publications of the SCE, the archaeological community had to wait until after the end of the Second World War in 1945 for comprehensive works like those written by Chamberlayne to appear.

In dealing with and in antiquities, Chamberlayne seems to have taken a less mercantile and a more cerebral approach than many of his contemporaries in Cyprus in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, collectors and archaeologists alike, especially those for whom the portable remains of Cyprus’ past were often not much more than recreational and ornamental trophies, commercial goods or potential museum exhibits. In the last case, this became a providential means by which groups of artefacts from the same place, period or culture could be organised and studied, giving rise to rudimentary classification systems, especially when combined with the results of more or less controlled excavations (such as by the Cyprus Exploration Fund and the British Museum, or by John Myres and Max Ohnefalsch-Richter in the 1880s and 1890s).\textsuperscript{151} Though Chamberlayne certainly had his own collection and traded in items, he did so on a relatively limited scale and sought through his own initiative and actions to exercise some control over the free-for-all then the norm in the archaeological exploration of the island. Above all, along with individuals such as Cobham and Jeffery, he had a genuine and sustained academic interest in the island’s history and antiquities, when many others were involved for more pecuniary purposes, making a significant contribution which helped move research towards

\textsuperscript{148} Murray, Smith, Walters 1900; see Steel 2001; Fitton 2001.
\textsuperscript{149} Myres 1914.
\textsuperscript{150} Karageorghis 2004, p. 74.
\textsuperscript{151} Goring 1988; Kiely, Ulbrich 2012; papers in Schmid, Horacek 2018.
recognisably modern methods and goals and the formation of museum collections. In the end, it was not government regulation that led to greater respect for and knowledge of the relics and preservation of Cyprus’ heritage, as this always followed developments on the ground – like the Cesnola brothers’ depredations, Ohnefalsch-Richter’s improprieties, and the illegal export of two second Lambousa treasures – but progressive intellectual enlightenment, of which Chamberlayne was a leading if largely unsung practitioner.

Acknowledgments

In addition to Noelle Dowling, Merrillees owes a special debt of gratitude to Caroline Mullan who materially contributed to this biographical operation over and above the call of duty and not a little fortitude. He has also welcomed the opportunity to correspond with Michael Chamberlayne, Tankerville James Chamberlayne’s grandson, who was very forthcoming with information about his ancestor and family, and has him to thank for his input and encouragement, as well as Jill Barlow, Sylvain Béraud, Diana Constantinides, Barrie Cook, George Georghallides, Fr. Rupert McHardy, Panayiotis Panayides, Despina Pilides, and Paul Simpson. We are also grateful to Anna Reeve, Philippe Trélat, Patria Bergin and Mary Flood of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, and to John Kirwan of the Butler Society. Sadly, Olivier Masson, Michael D’Arcy and Michael Metcalf, all of whom greatly helped Merrillees with this research project over the years, have since passed away.

Appendix 1: Chamberlayne’s submission to the Colonial Office in 1907

The following is an edited text of Chamberlayne’s submission, omitting the paragraphs not relevant to this study, while largely preserving the original spelling and punctuation. Notes are provided on the most important individuals mentioned in the text, and to other references requiring some explanation. The account indicates the intricate and bureaucratic (and at times petty) nature of the colonial administration.

Sir

1. I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Assistant Secretary Bertram Cox’s letter of the 13th instant.
2. I am sure that the Secretary of State [Lord Elgin] would give full consideration to the matter of my “record of good service”, as presented by the High Commissioner of Cyprus, and can understand that His Lordship felt “considerable regret” in applying His Excellency’s recommendations to an officer of “long, faithful, and good service”.
3. And I most respectfully thank the Earl of Elgin for graciously consenting to consider now my representation of the matter, one after thirty-nine years’ services of vital importance to me, and – what is much more – to my young family.

152 Victor Alexander Bruce, 9th Earl of Elgin, Colonial Secretary 1905-1908.
4. Nearly forty years ago, on entering the Army, second out of more than 150 candidates, thanks mainly to a knowledge of languages (ancient and modern), I was promised “special consideration”, and was gazetted, on the anniversary of Her Majesty’s Accession, 20. June 1868, Ensign by purchase in the Prince Consort’s 13th Light Infantry, and transferred to the Ceylon Rifle Regiment.\(^{153}\)

5. In Ceylon, besides a general acquaintance with the SINHALESE, TAMUL, DUTCH and PORTUGUESE BURGHERS, and other races, etc of the Island, I acquired a considerable knowledge of the Mahomedan Malays, which was further extended to those of the Further East when I was sent on the outbreak of BERI-BERI among the Troops to LABUAN in August, 1870.

6. There, the Governor [Mr Pope Hennessy] selected me, to replace temporarily, as Police Magistrate, and a Magistrate of the Supreme Court, so experienced an officer as Mr. (afterwards Sir) HUGH LOW; and on Mr Pope Hennessy's departure, his successor maintained the appointment until the withdrawal, at the end of the 1871, of the Troops.

7. On the disbandment, against the advice of H.R.H. The Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, for purely civil reasons, of the Ceylon Rifle Regiment in August 1873, I lost five years Military Seniority (a very serious matter in the Colonies) and was transferred to the 80th (Staffordshire Volunteers) Regt. at Hongkong.

8. Knowledge of the Mahomedan Malays and their language enabled me on the voyage to China to protect some of a large body of pilgrims from Mecca against certain acts of attempted extortion, and in turn, to rescue from their rage one of their fellows whom they were about to throw into the sea for having accepted a piece of pork given to him by a sailor.

9. For three years I served in the China command, partly in my Regiment but chiefly on the Staff, having been selected by General Bassano and Sir Francis Colborne for Fort Adjutant, and what is unusual for a subaltern, Brigade Major, Assistant Military Secretary, and Deputy Judge Advocate General.

10. Next from 1877 to 1880, in Mauritius [? and], Natal, where I always was selected for Deputy Judge Advocate General, Zululand, the Transvaal, the whole of the Zulu War, 15 months active service, Medal and Clasp.

11. Then, from 1882 to 1888, as Private Secretary, A.D.C. and also Clerk Executive Council, to His Excellency Sir Henry Bulwer in Natal and Cyprus.\(^{154}\)

12. Recalled to Military Duty after seven years Colonial Staff service, having lost, by the disbandment for Colonial policy of the Ceylon Rifles, five years’ military seniority; impressed by the unvarying spirit of justice shown from Downing Street towards the humblest official in the most remote possessions of The Queen; and encouraged by the assurances of [Colonial Secretary] Lord Knutsford's Private Secretary, I joined, in March, 1889, the Army Reserve, while waiting for a Colonial appointment.

13. In the Summer of 1889, during the visit of the Cyprus Deputation under the Archbishop,\(^ {155}\) I was of use to the Colonial Office, and was honoured by a personal letter of thanks from the Secretary of State himself.

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\(^{153}\) London Gazette, 19 June 1868, p. 3432. Accessed 20 February 2022. https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/23391/page/3432.

\(^{154}\) Bulwer served in Natal from 1875 to 1885, and then in Cyprus from 1886-1892 (Markides 2014, pp. 18-19) where he played an important role in reforming the application of the antiquity laws and of the Cyprus Museum (Goring 1988; Kiely, Merrillees 2012, pp. 261-282; Kiely, forthcoming).

\(^{155}\) This was to protest against the impoverished state of the country, the lack of investment by the British authorities and the Tribute (Hill 1952, pp. 451-452; Markides 2014, pp. 23-24).
14. In 1892 I was under consideration by Sir Robert Meade and Mr Fairfield for a Cyprus Commissionership, but, apparently, the only vacancy available was that of Local Commandant of Military Police [LCMP] and Assistant Commissioner, which I was advised to accept. This was much against my interests on account of the disadvantage of so junior a position in an Island where there were already many officers expecting promotion.

15. I was commended to Sir Walter Sendall for knowledge of the language and for activity as L.C.M.P. in the disturbed district of Limassol, and His Excellency, in 1894, asked me to accept the Collectorship of Customs at Larnaca, to which he said he would specially attach the Assistant commissionership.

16. Here I had the honour of being commended by Mr. (now Sir William) Taylor, and by the Government when the late Sir Alexander Ashmore was Receiver General for
(a) detecting an attempt to smuggle into the Island, silver, plate, and other valuables under the cover of gifts to the Poor Churches in Cyprus.
(b) preventing the export of a case containing arms - including a loaded revolver – and ammunition, under the protection of the French Consul, into Turkey.

17. In 1896 Sir Walter Sendall selected me to act as Commissioner and L.C.M. Police at Kyrenia in place of another officer proposed by the commissioner Mr. Glossop. His Excellency, during a Tour in which by his desire I acted as his Private Secretary, told me that he found that several reports circulated concerning the performance of my duty were unfounded.

18. In 1897 His Excellency again selected me to replace Mr King as Commissioner of Nicosia and thanked me for undertaking also the work of Local Commandant to enable Mr Cade to go on leave.

19. In 1898 the Administrator, Captain Young, telegraphed to the Colonial Office that Mr Glossop could be spared for special service in Nigeria provided “Chamberlayne returned” which I did immediately.

20. The succeeding High Commissioner, Sir William Haynes-Smith, (to whom, as to his predecessor, I was a perfect stranger) appointed me to act as Commissioner at Larnaca, and Nicosia, and eventually gave me the permanent appointment of Commissioner & L.C.M.P. (antedated from May, 1898) at Kyrenia.

21. On Mr Ashmore’s promotion Sir William Haynes-Smith, unsolicited by me, again selected me to act as Commissioner at Nicosia. Mr Cade appealed to the Colonial Office, but the decision, as I heard, was that I had the prior claim. (This, if correct, appears to have escaped attention in 1905).

22. Later on in 1901, again unsolicited by me, Sir William Haynes-Smith strongly recommended me for the Commissionership of Nicosia, if Mr Collet was appointed Receiver General. I respectfully ask that you will kindly peruse his Despatch on the subject.

23. In December 1903, when, on Mr Collet’s return, I went back, after four years absence acting in higher appointments, to Kyrenia an attempt was made to separate the Police from the Commissionership. I pointed out that the arrangement, which was made by Sir Garnet Wolseley, worked well in a small
district, and Sir William Haynes-Smith promised me that he would not make the change while I was at Kyrenia. (He authorises me now to confirm this statement). How well it worked appears from the fact that on 22 March, 1904 two young men were executed at Kyrenia, the one, a Turk, for the murder, in the middle of December, 1903, of a police constable in a police station, and the other, a Christian, for the murder, on Christmas Eve the same year, of his ‘sigambros’ (brother-in-law of his betrothed wife). During the Elections in May for the MEJLIS IDARE [Municipal Council] the leader of the Kitium party told me that I had saved his life at the election at La Pais on 9th May, and, later on, Mr Gregorio Demetriades, the head of the Kyrenia party, volunteered the statement that only my presence at Ayios Ambrosios on 15th May had prevented bloodshed.

24. Captain Young, as Administrator, maintained Lord Wolseley’s system and so did the present High commissioner until about a week before my return from leave in February, 1905, when, by telegram, an Inspector was ordered to take over charge of the Police. No communication was, however, made to me on the subject as to why I (who had been gazetted L.C.M.P. under the instructions of the Secretary of State) was not to resume charge of the Police. (I may add that Mr Cade was acting Chief Commandant). Sir Charles King Harman listened, however, to a representation by me, and promised that as I had been gazetted L.C.M.P. he would arrange for an adjustment of the Police duties, but this was never carried out, although, after Inspectors had been allowed to exercise disciplinary powers – which was illegal – recourse had to be made to the Commissioner, who, not knowing the men personally, was sometimes at a great disadvantage.

In large districts, of course, it is impossible, or difficult, to combine the two functions, but, otherwise, Lord Wolseley’s plan seems best, as avoiding friction and keeping the Representative of the Government fully informed of all that passes in the District.

25. I do not, however, presume in this memorial to criticise the action in the respect of the present High Commissioner, but, I submit that when, later on, Mr Collet was promoted to British Honduras, the injury done to me by the reversal – the abrupt reversal one week before I landed – of the previous arrangement, notwithstanding Sir William Haynes-Smith’s promise might have been compensated for by giving me either Nicosia, for which I had been selected by Sir Walter Sendall and Sir William Haynes-Smith, or by transfer to Paphos, if Mr Wodehouse were considered senior, and by the appointment of Mr Cade, who was junior to both of us, to be Commissioner of Kyrenia.

26. Still, I did not complain when Mr Cade was gazetted Commissioner of Nicosia over our heads. I knew something of the difficulties that the High Commissioner had to contend with, and I submitted in silence to the double reversal of the action of his two immediate predecessors. I trusted in Downing Street, I believed that my name had gone forward more than once for promotion out of the Island. It was true that I was over sixty, but I had under Providence, better health, was more active, and can bear more fatigue than many far younger.

Whenever Sir Charles King Harman changed his own Policy, or that of his predecessors, I did my best loyally to carry out his views, once I knew what they were, and I respectfully take this opportunity of recognizing here, with all due deference, the support he gave me in overruling two high officials who, more than once, were in opposition.

161 Sir Charles King-Harman (1851–1939), colonial administrator and HC of Cyprus 1904–1911. He finally pushed through the reform of the antiquity law which had been initiated by Sendall, under the terms of which Chamberlayne had to submit a list of his personal collection of antiquities given above on pp. 197–198.
27. As to the people, who knew my feelings of sympathy for them, they are very friendly, the Turks – towards one who has served for 5 years in a Mahomedan Regiment – the Orthodox Christians – towards one who knows the history of their Branch of the Christian Church, and admires and supports its influence – the Latins and Maronites treat me as a Father, and, when at Nicosia, the Jews not infrequently came to me for help. Each and all know that I care for them, and that I shall never break altogether the tie, now dating back 21 years, that connects me with their island.\footnote{Chamberlayne was also politically astute (see Katsiaounis 1996, pp. 225, 228-229 – not Chamberlain).}

It is true that I do not pretend to praise them for what is foolish or bad, but they know that when I do leave the island it is with a real regret. To what I have said in paragraph 23 above I may add that in 1897 the Abbot of Kykko M.L.C. [Member of the Legislative Council] came and thanked me spontaneously for the assistance given as acting Commissioner of Nicosia to the doctors in stamping out smallpox. I never had any difficulty with any of the MEJLIS IDARE even when tax warrants had to be signed.

During my four years absence from Kyrenia acting in higher positions they had turned against the Government, but early in 1905 I changed that: When in 1905-6 the official members of the Executive Council were charged to inquire into a complaint against a newly appointed Commissioner, the Christian members specially quoted my example.

28. And, notwithstanding my supersession by my friend Mr Cade, the people of Cyprus recently showed a friendly feeling toward me by electing me, without my knowledge, one of the five members of the Museum Committee. (My unsolicited election by people of Cyprus as the only English member of the Cyprus Museum Committee 1905).\footnote{Cf. Pilides 2009, p. 64.}

29-44 [omitted].

**Appendix 2: an archaeological note on the Vasilia horn (R. S. Merrillees)**

The circumstances surrounding the discovery of the ‘Vasilia horn’ have been discussed above (p. 204). The following provides an up to date consideration of the object’s archaeological background, function and possible symbolism. The lack of a good parallel, despite representations of horns on artefacts in other materials, makes this remarkable object difficult to date. Catling did not include it in his *magnum opus* on *Cypriot Bronze Work in the Mycenaean World*\footnote{Catling 1964.} because he did not think it could be earlier than the Iron Age,\footnote{Pers. comm. 26/12/2007.} but the fact that it was made of almost pure copper could be taken as a sign that it was produced in the Philia Phase of the Early Bronze Age, between 2500 and 2300 BC, when some exceptional copper work of this period turned up in scientific fieldwork at Vasilia itself.\footnote{Hennessy, Eriksson, Kehrberg 1988, p. 42; Balthazar 1990, pp. 101-103; cf. Webb, Frankel 1999, pp. 31-33; Kassianidou 2018, p. 219.} The earliest evidence for the presence of the goat in Cyprus dates to the Aceramic Neolithic period at Parekklisha-Shillourokambos in the early 9th millennium BC and suggests that a partially domesticated species was introduced from abroad, probably Anatolia or Syria.\footnote{Guilaine, Briois, Vigne 2011, pp. 1055, 1169-1170.} It appears that this variety was allowed to go wild again and in the Chalcolithic period the goat with the scimitar horn type still prevailed until ostensibly replaced by the species with twisted horns typical of...
domestic goats in general. If so, this would tend to confirm a date in the second half of the 3rd millennium BC for the Vasilia horn.

Nevertheless Morris postulates that both species derived from the bezoar goat with scimitar horns, which are represented on vases from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age and presumably existed concurrently in real life as wild and domesticated varieties. The theory that the copper horn from Vasilia belonged to the Philia Phase may find additional support from a unique and remarkable Red Polished goat shaped askos, 25.5 cm. long, in the David Johnson Collection, once in the private collection of a Mrs Berki, who acquired it in the Middle East in the 1980s, and bought by Johnson himself from the Artemission Gallery in London in April 2015. This vase, along with the rest of Johnson’s collection of Cypriote antiquities, has recently been lent to Kykkos Monastery in Cyprus. Though unprovenanced, its incised decoration of multiple zig-zags and herring-bone patterns are typical of Red Polished (Philia) pottery, and though there are no Red Polished (Philia) zoomorphic containers recorded, there is a human figurine attributed to this Ware and period by Stewart. Model horns are also up till now missing from the Philia Phase ceramic repertory but occur in Red Polished II-III and White Painted I from Early Cypriote II to Early Cypriote III-Middle Cypriote I. They were, however, copied from the horns of a bull or cow, not goat, but also occur singly, apart from a composite Red Polished III pair, without provenance, and Stewart claimed that they were “intended either for ceremonial dress or drinking.” Though we cannot know what the copper horn from Vasilia, evidently used for cultic purposes, meant to the ancient Cypriotes, the goat itself had an emblematic role in the ancient Near East, which was adopted in Cyprus and could have given rise to a local deity in the Late Bronze Age. It became over the centuries a symbol of multiple qualities, chief amongst them virility, endurance and merriment.

Abbreviations

GROL: British Museum, Department of Greece and Rome archives, Original Letters.
SA1: Cyprus State Archives, Secretariat Papers.

168 Croft 1996, p. 218.
169 Morris 1985, pp. 218-219; cf. Webb 1988, pp. 275-276 n. 5; Karageorghis 1991, p. 215 (Goat); Karageorghis, Laffineur, Vandenabeele 1997, p. 166 (Goat).
170 https://ant.david-johnson.co.uk/catalogue/8. Accessed 7 October 2019.
171 https://ant.david-johnson.co.uk/. Accessed 10 December 2020.
172 Webb, Frankel 1999, p. 23.
173 Stewart 1962, p. 358.
174 Webb, Frankel 2012, pp. 119-120.
175 Webb, Frankel 2012, pp. 118-119.
176 Karageorghis, Amyx 1974, p. 11, no. 8.
177 Webb, Frankel 2012, p. 118.
178 Bushnell 2008.
179 Webb 1988.
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