

## THE AMERICAN CONSUL CESNOLA BROTHERS AND THE FATE OF ANTIQUITIES IN OTTOMAN CYPRUS

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### **Abstract**

*This paper aims to identify the antiquities of Ottoman Cyprus taken abroad with or without permits, focussing upon the activities of the Cesnola brothers and the efforts of the Ottoman state to obstruct them in these activities. This article employs both the wide range of research literature on this subject, including Cesnola's extensive writings and documents from the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey Directorate of State Archives, Ottoman Archives, thereby presenting the Ottoman position on the Cesnola brothers' activities.*

*General Palma di Cesnola, who served as American envoy between the years 1865-1876 and Russian envoy for part of his stay, became interested in the historical heritage of the island of Cyprus upon his arrival. The Ottoman governor of the island, who had suspicions about his removal of the artefacts from the island, tried to obstruct him. Overcoming these obstructions with his diplomatic position, Cesnola managed to avoid the Governor's efforts. Initially, he visited numerous European capitals to market these antiquities of the historical heritage of the island. Later he contacted American Museums and reached an agreement with the Metropolitan Museum, where later, his position as a trustee and the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Museum was facilitated with these antiquities from Cyprus. When he had to depart to take the antiquities out of the island, he invited his brother Alexander Cesnola to continue his work. Following the footsteps of his brother, Alexander Cesnola supervised the excavations and took artefacts abroad. In 1878 with the British taking over the governing of the island, he had problems obtaining excavation permits from the new administration. These developments led to the departure of Alexander Cesnola from the island.*

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## **AMERİKA KONSOLUSU CESNOLA KARDEŞLER VE OSMANLI KIBRISI'NDA TARİHİ ESERLERİN AKİBETİ**

### **Öz**

*Bu çalışmanın amacı Cesnola kardeşlerin faaliyetlerine odaklanarak, Osmanlı Kıbrısı'ndan izinli ve izinsiz yurt dışına götürülen eski eserleri tespit edip, Osmanlı Devleti'nin bunları engellemeye yönelik çabalarını ele almaktır. Bu makale, Cesnola'nın kapsamlı yazıları da dâhil olmak üzere konu hakkındaki literatür ile Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı bünyesinde Osmanlı Arşivlerinde mevcut belgelerden istifade edilerek, Cesnola kardeşlerin faaliyetleri konusunda Osmanlı Devleti'nin tutumunu ortaya koymaktadır.*

*1865-1876 yılları arasında Kıbrıs adasında Amerikan Konsolosu ve bir dönem de Rus konsolosu olarak görev yapan General Palma di Cesnola göreve başlar başlamaz Kıbrıs adasının tarihi mirası ile ilgilenmiştir. General Palma di Cesnola'nın tarihi eserlerini ada dışına çıkarılmasından rahatsız olan Osmanlı ada yönetimi onu engellemeye çalışmıştır. Engellemeleri diplomatik kimliğini kullanarak aşan Cesnola bu sorunun üstesinden gelmiştir. Adanın mirası olan tarihi eserleri pazarlamak için Avrupa'nın birçok ülkesinde taşıyan Cesnola elindeki tarihi eserleri pazarlamak için Avrupa'nın çeşitli başkentlerine gitmiştir. İlerleyen dönemde Amerika'daki müzelerle de irtibata geçen Cesnola Metropolitan Müzesi ile anlaşmıştır. Bu müzenin müteveli üyeliği ve başkanlığı da yapmış olan Cesnola Kıbrıs'tan getirmiş olduğu eserleri sayesinde bu göreve getirilmiştir. General Palma di Cesnola tarihi eserleri yurtdışına götürmek için adadan ayrılmak zorunda kalınca işlerini takip etmek için kardeşi Alexander Cesnola'yı Kıbrıs'a çağırmıştır. Abisinin izini takip eden Alexander Cesnola adada birçok kazı faaliyetinde bulunup bunları ada dışına çıkarmıştır. 1878 yılında adanın yönetiminin İngilizlere devri ile yeni yönetim ile kazı izinleri hususunda sorunlar yaşamıştır. Yaşanan gelişmeler üzerine Alexander Cesnola Kıbrıs'tan ayrılmıştır.*

**Anahtar kelimeler:** *Osmanlı Kıbrısı, Âsar-ı Atika, Louis Palma di Cesnola, Amerika Konsolosu, Metropolitan Müzesi.*

### **Introduction**

This paper aims to identify the antiquities of Ottoman Cyprus taken abroad with or without permits, amongst the many removed by foreign diplomats and

travellers, focusses upon the activities of the Cesnola brothers and the efforts made by the Ottoman state to obstruct them in these activities.

While the concept of “antiquities-ancient artefacts” was known as *âsar-ı atika* in the Ottoman State, the concept's scope has been broadened today.

Cultural entities are today defined as “*all movable or immovable properties belonging to pre-historical or historical periods relating to science, culture, religion and fine arts or properties that were the subject of social life in pre-historical or historical periods and carry a specific value in terms of culture and can be found on the surface of the earth, underground or under the sea*”.<sup>2</sup>

It is normal for the definition of artefacts to change depending upon the country and time. In line with this, the Ottoman State developed a sui generis definition as well as a method of evaluation. The term *âsar-ı atika* was used in order to describe all types of ancient artefacts recorded in Ottoman documents from the earliest periods of Ottoman history. However, the first conscious implementations concerning this issue are found in the period of *Tanzimat* reform (Şimşek and Dinç, 2009: 102).

In the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, the interest in antiquities increased, being a consequence of the Italian and then the Northern European Renaissance in the West and the curiosity of European intellectuals concerning ancient Greek and Roman culture (Kundakçı, 2002: 1083; Muşmal, 2009: 9).

It has been accepted that the scientific committee that accompanied Napoleon from 1798 during the French occupation of Egypt started the institutionalisation of the field of archaeology in the Middle East. France and England opposed each other for military, economic, and political reasons and the antiquities discovered in the area. Consequently, the material finds that were obtained in this area increased the interest of western researchers, mainly the French and English. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, extensive excavations were carried out in order to unearth antiquities and the archaeological finds obtained were removed to western countries (Yıldız, 1987: 136, 139, 142-143, 151; Ulbrich, 2001: 93; Aydın, 2007: 408).

Those foreigners interested in antiquities brought these to their countries without any need to obtain official permission. In some cases, they informed the

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<sup>2</sup>Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu ile Çeşitli Kanunlarda Değişiklik Yapılması Hakkında Kanun, Kanun No. 5226.  
<https://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2004/07/20040727.htm#1> (Accessed in May 02 2016).

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Sultan about this through official channels such as consuls or ambassadors, and their requests were generally granted, and they were able to succeed in bringing these antiquities to their country under this authorisation (Eldem, 2010: 53-54; Şahin, 2007: 108-109).

The Ottoman State, from both the record contained in travellers' accounts and published correspondence dating from the 17<sup>th</sup> into the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, forbade the removal of antiquities from the Ottoman territory, and this was known to travellers, diplomats and Ottoman populations (Duggan 2019, 126, 128-130), the related Ottoman evidence forms the subject of another paper. However, on the other hand, the Ottoman State undertook no efficient activity to discover these precious antiquities within their territory, and their appreciation of these artefacts as antiquities remained insignificant until the second half of the nineteenth century (Akın, 1993: 233; Şimşek and Dinç, 2009: 102). One of the most significant reasons for this situation was the political, military and economic weakness of the Ottoman State. As the Ottoman State started to lose power, European countries began to increase their influence upon the Ottoman State, in part through the European consuls<sup>3</sup>, and western researchers intensified their activities within Ottoman territory (Muşmal, 2009: 7, 9, 19-20). During this period, those antiquities-archaeological finds that foreigners discovered were taken abroad by them. In consequence, rich collections of ancient objects from Cyprus, as from elsewhere in Ottoman territory, were formed in European and American museums. It is thought historical artefacts were taken abroad in this way, mostly because the Ottoman administrators lacked knowledge concerning the significance of antiquities and museology (Cezar, 1995: 284-288). "*The man of the Tanzimat Era*" on the other hand, became interested in archaeology, ancient history, and the importance of owning the antiquities as the evidence of the past (Ortaylı, 2006: 254; Dilbaz, 2018: 9)

The first provision in Ottoman Criminal Law concerning antiquities was in article 133 of the legislation dated August 9, 1858. This article contained the following provision: "*Hayrât-ı şerîfe ve tezyînât-ı beldeden olan ebniye ve âsâr-ı mevzu'â-yı hedm ve tahrîb ve yahûd bazı mahallerini kırıp rahnedâr...*" (Mumcu, 1969: 68; Çal, 1997: 391; Dilbaz, 2018: 11). This provision was general, and at the same time, inadequate. The first regulations on the excavations to be carried out and the antiquities to be found within the boundaries of the state are dated the

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<sup>3</sup> For examples on the English consuls on Cyprus over-stepping their official remit, see: Celal Erdönmez, "Tanzimat Devrinde İngiltere Konsoloslarının Kıbrıs'taki Faaliyetleri (1839-1856)", *Bilig*, Summer 2011, 58, pp.91-118.

April 26, 1863. This regulation stipulated that if two similar antiquities were found during excavations, one of these would be taken for the State Museum (Imperial Museum), while the other would be left for those with the excavation license (Su, 1965: 51; Çal, 1997: 391; Dilbaz, 2018: 11). The inadequacy of the existing legal provisions concerning the state of the antiquities obtained due to excavations is shown with the authorities' inability to prevent antiquities from being transported by foreigners to western countries.

The fact that antiquities were being taken abroad made the Ottoman regime uncomfortable, and the statute prepared following examinations into the situation was deemed to be appropriate by the Sultan, leading to the “*Âsâr-ı Atîka Nizâm-nâmesi*” (statute) coming into force on the February 13, 1869 (Kocabaş, 1969: 75-76; Eldem, 2010: 55-56). To date, the statute of 1869 is the earliest published legislation specifically concerned with the protection of historical artefacts in Turkey (Karaduman, 2004: 73-92; Çal, 1997: 394-395; Mumcu, 1969: 66; Eldem, 2010: 57; Dilbaz, 2018: 12, 18-19).

After a while, as the shortcomings of the 1869 statute became apparent, there was a need for further regulations. This resulted in the second statute, dated the April 8, 1874, (Düstûr, Tertip I, 3, 426-430). A separate article on the protection of antiquities was also put into effect on August 16, 1874 (Düstûr, Tertip I, 3, 431). According to the statute of 1874, “*all types of man-made goods remaining from ancient times were deemed to be a part of the Collection of Historic Artefacts (antiquities).*” With this statute, it was set forth that antiquities found as a result of excavations carried out without permission, irrespective of where they were found, would belong to the state, while one third of the antiquities found during all types of excavations would belong to those carrying out the excavations, one third to the owner of the land, and one third to the state. This last provision was completely contradictory to the philosophy of protecting antiquities. Excavations to be carried out under this statute first needed the permission of the Ministry for Education and the owner of the relevant land. Wherever these procedures were not adhered to, it was stipulated that any antiquities found would be confiscated by the state, and the individuals concerned would be fined and imprisoned (Cezar, 1995: 328-330; Stanley-Price, 2001: 267-270).

As developments in regard to the changes in the Asar-ı Atika legislation were undertaken by the Ottoman state, the island of Cyprus, with its rich historical artefacts, drew the attention of Western researchers. Due to its significant location, the island of Cyprus has been host to numerous civilisations and

contained a rich heritage of antiquities (For the history of Cyprus and the states which reigned over the island, and the antiquities belonging to them, see Jeffery 1918; Alaska, 1964; Newman, 1953; Kinal, 1964: 383-417; Hill, 1972; Gunnis, 1973; Wright, 1992). This wealth of heritage possessed by the island is reflected in the memoirs of travellers, religious functionaries, scientists and diplomats who visited Cyprus, especially in the 19th century (Elizabeth, 1988).

### **The Arrival of Louis Palma di Cesnola in Cyprus and his Interest in Antiquities.**

Louis Palma di Cesnola was born near Turin in 1832, served in the Sardinian army during the Austrian and Crimean wars and went to America in the 1860's and joined the cavalry. He reached the rank of brigadier general in 1865. He was then appointed consul to Cyprus, moving into the diplomatic service. During his time as an American consul, he also took on the role of Russian consul. During his stay in Cyprus, he was known for spending more time on archaeological research than in his consular duties (For detailed information, see Marangou, 2000). It was documented and claimed by the prosecutor in a New York court in 1883 that Cesnola had never been officially appointed a General and that he, therefore, had been using the title of General unlawfully (Testimony of L. P.Di Cesnola, 1884:42).

Cesnola was appointed American consul at the beginning of December 1865 (A. DVNS. DVE. d, 1/1, p.57, prov. 3; Özkul, 2011: 156; Özkul, 2013: 271) and reached Cyprus on December 25. He began his first archaeological activities on March 6, 1866 (Testimony of L. P.Di Cesnola, 1884: 3). The duties of an American consul on Cyprus were not heavy, enabling Cesnola to conduct his search for historical artefacts (Myres, 1914: xiii), and in its first period, Cesnola did not obtain any official permission (Pillides, 2008: 6) and quickly extended the surface searches and excavations begun in Larnaca to cover the entire the island. (Cesnola 1877: 52; Testimony of L. P.Di Cesnola, 1884: 3).

In the book, he wrote about his activities after leaving the island; he stated he began excavations near Larnaca and found more than two thousand graves and two temples. He then moved to Idalium and opened close to fifteen thousand graves, followed by his discovery of two temples in the Golgi region, with nearly a thousand statues. Then he was not successful in his excavations in the Salamis region. He said he also found the remains of a temple at Pedalium Point (Famagusta) region, and from there he had moved to the Throne region, followed by the settlements of Karpas and Aphrodisium, Acte-Archaeon, Lapethus, Soli and Arsione regions, where he had also found temples and graves. Cesnola stated

he had also carried out excavations in Paphos, Pissouri, Amathus and Curium (Cesnola, 1876: 522-523).

The American consul faced the anger of the Muslims and rulers on the island after the start of extensive excavation works in the Dali (Testimony of L. P.Di Cesnola, 1884: 3) region in the summer of 1866, and attempts were made to prevent him. The district governor of Larnaca intervened and imprisoned some excavation staff without prior notice. Cesnola requested an explanation from the island government and was told that carrying out excavations without approval was strictly prohibited. The consul did not believe this to be a sufficient reason but could not convince the district governor to release his staff, or to prevent them from remaining in custody for several days; despite stating this requirement for approval was something new, he had never heard of this before (Cesnola, 1877: 56-57; Testimony of L. P.Di Cesnola, 1884: 3).

In response, Cesnola took revenge against District Governor, Cenap Efendi, appointing Mustafa Fevzi, the son of Salih Agha, who did not get on with the District Governor in the region in a manner that was not correct (BOA. BEO. VGG. d. 386, p.595, no.70). However, due to this appointment, which had been made to exempt him from military service (BOA. BEO. VGG. d. 386, p.598, no.1), Mustafa Fevzi was arrested by District Governor Cenap Efendi for being a draft dodger (BOA. BEO. VGG. d. 386, p.604, no.18). Consul Cesnola's method of solving this problem carried great importance in terms of enabling his later research. He went to Istanbul and met with the American Ambassador, Edward Joy Morris, and successfully had the District Governor of Larnaca, Cenap Efendi, who had caused him difficulties in his archaeological activities dismissed, and replaced by new officials. Indeed, Cesnola demanded the five requests listed below were to be accepted by the government of the island. These were:

1. The dismissal of Cenap Efendi from his position as the District Governor of Larnaca, and a permanent ban on his serving as an officer of the Ottoman State;
2. The return of Mustafa Fevzi, and his recognition as a guard at the American Consulate,
3. The saluting of the American flag in Larnaca Castle, together with twenty-one rounds of cannon fire;
4. The awarding of compensation of ten thousand kurush to the American translator, whose house Turkish officers had entered illegally, without the permission of the American consul;

5. An official letter by the Governor of Cyprus, apologising to the American consul for his mistake. (Cesnola, 1877: 56-60; Kasapoğlu, 2002: 157; Dinç, 2019: 448-449).

The approach of Cesnola via the American Embassy led to Cenap Efendi being dismissed from his duties, replaced in February 1867 by Ahmet Bey, as a category one director (Ayar, 2012: 349, 369-370). Mustafa Fevzi was released on orders sent due to the pressure exerted by the American Embassy. However, the District Governor did not wish to comply with the other demands given above. These demands were not included in the orders sent to the District Governor on March 2, 1867 (BOA. BEO. VGG. d. 386, p.606, no.68). However, these demands were met on March 30, 1867, and an American flag was raised at the consulate, with twenty-one rounds of cannon fire as a salute to the flag (BOA. TŞR. KB. NZD. 199/19).

Following the resolution of this issue, Cesnola focused his research on graves and shrines in 1866, and this caused tension (Pillides, 2008: 6). Indeed, the Muslim judge wrote to the governor, stating that unless the excavations were stopped immediately, all the fields would be ruined and be unproductive, and the government would not be able to obtain its revenue. Moreover, in fact, the ruler of Dali imprisoned excavation staff when he saw that the baskets they had in their hands contained human skulls removed from graves. However, Cesnola was able to ensure they were freed, meeting with the Governor, Said Pasha, and explaining that the graves which had been opened did not belong to Muslims but to a period long before Islam. (Cesnola, 1877: 79-81).

In consequence, the American consul was able to conduct excavations on the island without obstruction. Additionally, he was given special permission to search for antiquities and take them out of the country, on the condition that one of every two artefacts found would be donated to the *Müze-i Hümayun*, with a license issued on January 30, 1868 (BOA. BEO. VGG d. 386, p.206, no.58).

It was not possible for the Ottoman State to prevent the activities of foreign researchers with diplomatic protection, and so consul Cesnola turned his home into a museum and rented other houses to store the antiquities he obtained (Marangou, 2000: 137). Cesnola also purchased land adjoining the consulate building on Tuzla Quay, surrounded it with walls and stored antiquities he had discovered there, and succeeded without difficulty in having them sent abroad by ship as this land was beside the sea (Kasapoğlu, 2002: 167). In fact, the wall, which had been built for the consulate building, caused issues with the Austrian

consul, who lived next door (BOA. ŞD, 2379/73; BOA. TŞR. KB. THR, 43/171; BOA. HR. TO, 147/28).

When Cesnola realised that attempts were being made to prevent his archaeological research and removing abroad the antiquities he collected, he looked for ways to quickly move them abroad. The 1869 Statute brought prohibitions in this respect. However, despite the fact that sending antiquities abroad was illegal, he had obtained a license with which he was able to overcome the ban.

The New York missionaries in Beirut, who were interested in Cesnola's collection, came to Larnaca in 1868, and prepared a catalogue of the collection held by Cesnola. Cesnola even gave them some of the antiquities from his collection (Woolley, 1921: 1). However, he knew that the best market for purchasing his harvest of antiquities was in Europe. With this purpose in mind, he sent a letter to the Parisian archaeologist and aficionado of historical artefacts, Wilhelm Froehner, in November 1868. This letter described the antiquities–numbered at more than two thousand, seven hundred of which were vases – with photographs of some of them. (Marangou, 2000: 171, 176-177)

The fame of the collection established by Cesnola through his excavations and news of his discoveries of antiquities began to spread throughout Europe. In 1868, Dr. Carl Friederichs from the Museum of Berlin came to Cyprus to meet Cesnola, and examine the collection. He also purchased some pieces in return for two thousand dollars and took them to the Museum of Berlin (Testimony of L. P.Di Cesnola, 1884: 4).

### **The Legal Problems Encountered by Cesnola in Respect to the 1869 Statute, his Misconduct and Removal of Antiquities from Cyprus.**

Like other collectors of antiquities, Cesnola carried out excavations and took antiquities out of the country in any manner he wished – with or without permission – until February 13, 1869, when the statute with its restrictions on removal went into effect. So as not to experience any problems at the customs, he re-applied for a license prior to the expiry of his previous one year license to avoid difficulties at customs when taking artefacts abroad after the statute went into effect, and to have an exemption from customs duties. On the other hand, he said he wished to prepare several boxes of some of the valuable antiquities he would find and present them to the Imperial museum. On August 5, 1869, after some written communications, a new one year license was issued for excavations and for taking antiquities found out of the country (BOA. İ.HR. 238/14160; BOA.

TŞR. KB. RSN. 191/5). To determine the reason for the consul's request for new permission before the expiry of the old license, for exemption from customs taxes, an enquiry was made to the Directorate of Taxes of Cyprus as to the procedures and processes to be followed in this respect. The Governor's office, on the other hand, stated that the matter had been referred to the Vizierate but that for now, it would be necessary to record the items without collecting customs taxes, until instructions were received (BOA. TŞR. KB. RSN. 191/6). The Sultan decided that there would be no customs taxes on the antiquities to be exported by Cesnola, and officials were notified to this effect (BOA. TŞR. KB. RSN. 191/12). As a result, Cesnola focused even more on archaeological research in 1870, employing more than 100 people in his activities (Testimony of L. P.Di Cesnola, 1884: 4).

The Italian consul Collici was also affected by the restrictions in the 1869 statute. Consul Collici had discovered a large number of antiquities and transported these to Italy using the license he had obtained for this purpose prior to the enforcement of the statute. However, when he wished to take packages of antiquities out of the country in December, this was not permitted. He stated that he had taken a large number of antiquities abroad with the license he had received prior to the statute and showed the American consul, who only had an excavation license on the same dates, and who had obtained a new license following the statute in order to take the antiquities he had found abroad, and without any problems at customs, before the term of his old license had expired, as a precedent. Mehmet Arif Bey, the district governor of Larnaca, stated that the Italian consul could protest this situation and request it be re-assessed (BOA. TŞR. KB. TL. 156/35; BOA. TŞR. KB. KNS. 194/100).

However, together with the statute, the licenses obtained previously had become invalid. The new situation was explained to the American, French and Italian consuls, who were conducting searches for antiquities on Cyprus, stating that those who wished to export the antiquities that they had found would need to apply for a new license, according to the regulations of the new statute (BOA. TŞR. KB. KNS. 194/89). The result was that the Italian consul applied for permission to carry out excavations and export the antiquities he would find and was given this permission for a period of two years in February 1871 (BOA. TŞR. KB. d. 30, p.47, prov.2; BOA. TŞR. KB. KNS. 194/100; BOA. TŞR. KB.KNS. 194/157).

Cesnola sent the artefacts he had discovered before 1868 to Paris to sell them in Europe (Myres, 1914: xvi). An auction was organised by Wilhelm Froehner in Paris on the 25<sup>th</sup> to March 26, 1870, to sell the collection (Marangou,

2000: 186), and 388 artefacts were offered for sale by Cesnola, some were purchased by the Louvre Museum (The New York Times, March 4 1895; Cesnola, 1877: 170). Emperor Napoleon III was interesting in buying Cesnola's collection for the Louvre, but the outbreak of the 1870 war ended negotiations, while the Hermitage Museum in Petersburg was also interested in Russian consul Cesnola's collection (Marangou, 2000: 190). In June 1870, Johannes Doell was appointed as a representative of the Hermitage Museum (St. Petersburg) to purchase antiquities from Cyprus and to prepare a catalogue of the artefacts discovered by Cesnola. Doell prepared the catalogue over eight weeks when he stayed and worked in Cesnola's home (Doell, 1873: 1-10). He signed a protocol-dated August 16, 1870-with Cesnola for the whole collection to be purchased by the Hermitage Museum in return for one hundred and forty-eight thousand roubles, but the Museum changed its mind and offered to purchase only some gold pieces for three thousand roubles. Cesnola rejected this offer, and the sale of the collection to the Hermitage was not completed (Marangou, 2000: 197-198).

Cesnola also organised an auction, where he was represented by the companies Rollin-Feuardent he had previously written to to sell his collection in Europe (Testimony of L. P.Di Cesnola, 1884: 8). Representatives opened a sales office in London, similar to the one already existing in Paris. The first of the auctions in London took place in January 1871, and the second, in May the same year. Both were undertaken by Sotheby's (Marangou, 2000: 186-188, 219). A small number of artefacts were purchased from these auctions by the British Museum, the Autun Museum (France), the Museum of National Historic Artefacts (Saint-Germain-en-Laye, France), and some private collectors, such as Louis de Clerq (Myres, 1914: xvii).

European collectors of antiquities and scientists who knew of the Cesnola collection convinced Cesnola to bring his collection to London. In any case, the fact that his excavations and discoveries had started to be heard about in Istanbul, even though precautions had been taken against this, and the fact that the 1869 statute had brought restrictions, led Cesnola to attempt to find a way to export his collection as soon as possible. This was the reason why he had made an application to extend the license he had obtained only six months earlier, in July 1870, to the end of the year. When this application was assessed at the Council of Education, a reminder was made that in accordance with article two of the statute, the taking of antiquities, apart from coins, out of the country was prohibited. Further, it was stated that consuls had obtained licenses intending to transport to their own countries the antiquities they acquired, and according to investigations, due to their diplomatic status, they were able to transport antiquities at any time,

and that it was not possible to prevent them through licensing. Therefore, it was decided, in order to protect the statute, licenses would not be issued to consuls and that the permissions requested by foreign officials on behalf of the museums of their countries would be subject to the orders of the Sultan. On the recommendation of the Vizier, who had evaluated the application of the American Embassy on this matter, permission was given to the American consul on December 9 1870, for excavations in Cyprus until the end of the year, on condition that this would not be again extended, nor did this permit include permission to export the finds (BOA. İ. HR. 247/14672. See, Annex-1).

Cesnola's excavations during this period were being discussed in Istanbul. The importance attached to antiquities and historic artefacts following the 1869 statute increased, and archaeological excavations in the country were being monitored closely. In this context, permission was not given to the American consul to take the antiquities he had found out of the country. The consul was notified of this restriction by Ahmet Pasha of Kayseri, the Governor of the Archipelago. After hearing this decision, Cesnola immediately went to Istanbul and met with the American Ambassador, Dr. Dethier. Then Cesnola realised he could not keep the collection in Cyprus any longer. He requested a ship from the American Fleet Command for its transport to America, and this request was met in a short time. He loaded the whole collection on the ship on his return to the island but received two telegrams reminding him that it was absolutely prohibited for him as the American consul, to take the antiquities out of the country. However, on the advice of Besbes, the consulate translator, he succeeded in removing the collection from Cyprus under his status as Russian consul. The customs officials did not attach the required importance to the matter, and he sent 5.756 pieces of his collection of 13.110 pieces, comprising 166 boxes, to London, via Izmir, Alexandria and Liverpool. His translator Besbes went with the antiquities as they were going onto London (Cesnola, 1877: 171-175; Testimony of L. P. Di Cesnola, 1884:44; Marangou, 2000: 186-188; 221). Despite the fact that orders were renewed that while the antiquities Cesnola obtained after the date on which the statute came into force be set aside, there could be no interference in the previous ones (BOA. MF.MKT. 21/21), Cesnola sent 166 boxes of antiquities to the company Rollin-Feuardent, in August, September and October 1871 (Testimony of L. P. Di Cesnola, 1884:7) Although Cesnola had smuggled a large number of antiquities out of the country, he had also managed to obtain a new excavation license in October 1872, so that it would be an example to others (BOA. BEO. VGG. d. 386, p.387, no.51).

As it was determined the reason behind Cesnola's ability to take such an extensive collection out of the country was customs officials neglect, failing to attach importance to this matter, letters of warning were sent to the Customs Directorate to prevent similar situations in the future (BOA. MF. MKT. 51/169).

On the publication of news of the historic and valuable antiquities obtained as a result of unpermitted excavations being taken to London and sold, the Vizier's office began an investigation into the matter (BOA. MF. MKT. 45/91) and also requested information from the Governor's Office of Cyprus (BOA. MF. MKT. 45/101).

Cesnola had ensured that a part of his collection and its album was sent on to New York from London in September 1871 and kept in closed boxes at the home of his friend Hiram Hitchcock. In the meantime, his friend Hiram Hitchcock published an article entitled "*The Explorations of di Cesnola in Cyprus*" (Harper's New Monthly Magazine, July 1872, p.188-208), in the United States. This article caught the attention of the Metropolitan Museum. In addition, there were a large number of articles penned in New York on the discoveries made by Cesnola in Cyprus and of the antiquities he had taken to the West during 1872. These articles made Cesnola visible in the New York market (Marangou, 2000: 222,231).

Cesnola sent a letter to the representatives of the British Museum, who had promoted his collection on February 24, 1872, to sell it. In a letter of March 12, 1872, and the reply received from S. Birch; a preliminary agreement was reached to have a meeting (Testimony of L. P. Di Cesnola, 1884:9-10). This led Cesnola to rent a ship in May 1872, in order to take the antiquities he had, to Europe and requested that he be given permission for this. He stated that if he was given permission, he would set aside six boxes of antiquities for the *Müze-i Hümayun*, and, if not, he would postpone this but would demand compensation for the ship he had hired (BOA. TŞR. KB. NZD. 212/98). In the assessment made in Istanbul, it was decided in accord with the statute of duplicates of antiquities, one should be set aside for the *Müze-i Hümayun* and that Cesnola is permitted to take the others out of the country (BOA. TŞR. KB. NZD. 212/66, May 25 1872). Even though consul Cesnola waited a long time for permission to take the artefacts abroad, he eventually received this in September 1872 (BOA. TŞR. KB. NZD. 212/109). However, with the antiquities loaded onto ships, Cesnola had already begun visiting the European museums from July 1872 (BOA. TŞR. KB. KNS. 194/103). When Cesnola was away from the island, he had recommended that Theodore Peristianis be appointed his deputy, and this was accepted in October

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1872 (Marangou, 2000: 229). One of these ships caught fire during the journey and sank near Beirut (BOA. TŞR. KB. KNS. 194/103).

He went first to Paris, and in September 1872 to London, wherein a short time in the first house he stayed, he prepared an exhibition of the antiquities he had discovered in Golgoi. This exhibition attracted collectors of antiquities, such as New York banker J. S. Morgan and Metropolitan Museum representative W. T. Blodgett was among those who saw the exhibition (Testimony of L. P.Di Cesnola, 1884: 11; Marangou, 2000: 221, 231).

During this period, he corresponded with the Louvre, Berlin and Hermitage Museums and met with the British Museum for the whole of the collection to be sold through Rollin and Feuarent. The British Museum made an offer of ten thousand pounds for all the statues and inscriptions discovered in Golgoi (Testimony of L. P.Di Cesnola, 1884: 52). Cesnola did not accept the offer and wrote to the Metropolitan Museum. Cesnola made an offer to the director of the Museum, John Taylor Johnson, that the museum purchase the whole collection at a price determined by a referee approved by both parties. As the cost of the whole collection was too high, the Museum approached this offer with caution (Marangou, 2000:222-227). However, the banker J. S. Morgan, and the representative of the Metropolitan Museum, W. T. Blodgett, who had seen the Cesnola Collection in London, and been impressed by it, were influential in the collection being purchased by the Metropolitan Museum (Marangou, 2000: 231). Eventually, an offer of 60 thousand dollars, presented by the Museum Director, John Taylor Johnson, was accepted by Cesnola, and an agreement was reached (Marangou, 2000: 24). The *Levant Herald* relates that the collection was sold to the Museum for 10,000 British pounds (*The Levant Herald*, December 30 1872). As a result, Cesnola sailed for New York on December 28, 1872, with 275 boxes of artefacts on five separate ships (Testimony of L. P.Di Cesnola, 1884: 12; Marangou, 2000: 235-237). Cesnola in the United States completed the procedures for the sale of the collection to the Metropolitan Museum and for its display (Testimony of L. P.Di Cesnola, 1884: 15). Among the artefacts sold by Cesnola to the Metropolitan Museum in 1872 were more than 1700 pieces of glass artefacts (Richter, 1916: 7), and he returned to Cyprus on September 30, 1873 (Marangou, 2000: 241).

Following the sale of his collection to the Metropolitan Museum Cesnola continued at the same pace collecting antiquities on the island (Myres, 1914: xviii). After completing the excavations he carried out in the Golgi region, Cesnola began excavations in Ormidia in 1873 and continued his excavations

there at times to 1876, finding gold ornaments, vessels and cups (Testimony of L. P. Di Cesnola, 1884: 5).

Despite the fact that Cesnola had been able to acquire a permit to search for antiquities on the island as an American consul every year until 1872, it was not so easy when he returned to the island and applied for a license in 1873 (Marangou, 2000: 130, 135). In 1873, Ahmet Vefik Pasha, the Minister for Education, appointed Dr. Philip Anton Dethier as director, and re-established the *Müze-i Hümayun*, which had been in abeyance for a period, and attempts were made to enrich the *Müze-i Hümayun* and to regulate excavations. Within the scope of this measure, determined by the rulers in Cyprus large number of artefacts had been sent to Istanbul (BOA. A. MKT. MHM. 470/54; BOA. TŞR. KB. THR. 45/186; BOA. BEO. VGG. d. 386, p.802, no.75; BOA. MF. MKT. 23/56; BOA. MF. MKT. 20/174; BOA. MF. MKT. 27/100; BOA. TŞR. KB. NZD. 208/47) and the statutes presented after this date were subject to more scrutiny. At this time, Schliemann discovered Troy and removed abroad a large number of valuable antiquities.

### **The Consequence of the 1874 Asar-ı Atika Statute on the Activities of Cesnola**

Even though the *Asar-ı Atika* Statute enacted in April 1874 to establish a new order in the search for antiquities did not prevent the taking of antiquities abroad, it ensured a share of the discovered was set aside for the *Müze-i Hümayun*. It is noteworthy that the Cyprus customs house in September 1874 placed an export embargo on about 20 boxes of archaeological finds discovered by "a *European archaeologist*", and the Levant Herald reported Dr Dethier's departure for Cyprus to determine which of the items should go to the Imperial Museum (The Levant Herald, September 5 1874). Cesnola heard of these developments and made an application for a license to excavate and export the antiquities he would find in 1874. When this request was forwarded from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to the Ministry for Education, the discussions held at the Supreme Court led to the decision that one-half of the artefacts held by the consul be taken for the Museum and that a suitable official is appointed for the selection of the artefacts to be taken, and that a letter is written to the Embassy stating that as the consul no longer had a license, if he was to search for historical artefacts or carry out any excavations, the antiquities he had would also be confiscated. While this decision was notified to the Governor's office of Cyprus, Dethier, the *Müze-i Hümayun* Director, set off for Cyprus with this situation and warned that if the antiquities held by the consul were to be determined as 62 boxes, 48 baskets and 34 open

stones, the valuable ones among these needed to be chosen (BOA. ŞD. 2379/65; BOA. ŞD. 2379/73; BOA. BEO. VGG. d. 386, p.431, no.130). He was sent to Cyprus according to the decision taken in September 1874, as a requirement of the statute (BOA. TŞR. KB. NZD. 212/145; BOA. MF. MKT.19/81; BOA. MF. MKT. 20/25; BOA. MF. MKT. 30/170). When Dethier came to the island, Cesnola told him that he would definitely not be giving him any pieces from his collection and that he should return to Istanbul. Dethier then went to Nicosia to meet with the Governor and based on the decision of the Supreme Court (*Şûrâ-yı Devlet*), setting forth that half of the antiquities held by Cesnola be taken for the *Müze-i Hümayun* (Even though Cesnola showed this as a proposal made by Dethier, it was actually by the decision taken by the Supreme Court. BOA. ŞD. 2379/65; BOA. ŞD. 2379/73. See, Annex-2), Cesnola's home was visited, and he was informed that half of his artefacts would be confiscated. However, Cesnola stated that he had spoken with the Embassy and repeated that he would not be giving anything until a new permit was issued, allowing him to carry out excavations. In the meantime, the American Ambassador, who was in Istanbul, had met directly with the Grand Vizier, but he was told in accord with the statute that consuls could not be given a license for carrying out excavations. However, the Grand Vizier sent a telegram to the governor as a temporary solution, instructing him that excavation works should not be interfered with until the new permit arrived (BOA. ŞD. 2379/65; Marangou, 2000: 136-137). Due to this interim solution, Cesnola permitted half the antiquities in his home to be taken, and 88<sup>4</sup> Boxes of artefacts were stored by Dethier and were sent to Istanbul (in order to compare this information, see Eldem, 2013: 31-34). The artefacts set aside for the *Müze-i Hümayun* were recorded in two books and signed by both the governor and consul Cesnola (BOA. TŞR. KB. NZD. 212/145, September 21 1874). This was immediately followed by another decision of the Supreme Court, giving Cesnola permission to take the other half of the antiquities abroad (BOA. BEO. VGG. d. 386, p.420, no.86).

The photographs of some of the 88 boxes of antiquities brought to Istanbul by Dethier were published in the newspapers *Musavver Medeniyet* and *Medeniyet* between November and December 1874. There were articles concerning the description of the Statue of Bacchus (*Medeniyet*, No. 6, November 15 1874);

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<sup>4</sup> These antiquities comprised 30 boxes, 43 large baskets and 15 pieces of stone. BOA. TŞR.KB.NZD. 212/145; The number of these artefacts which was published in the foreign press was stated as being forty-four large crates and thirty chests. See The Academy, November 7 1874; The Levant Herald reported the return of Dr. Dethier from Cyprus with a total of "80 packages" to Istanbul in October. The Levant Herald, October 31 1874.

Medeniyet, No. 7, November 21 1874); Musavver Medeniyet, No. 8, November 28 1874); Musavver Medeniyet, No. 9, December 5 1874; See Annex – 3 for the drawing of the Statue of Bacchus), among these antiquities, by Museum Director, Dethier (Cezar, 1995: 156, 235; Shaw, 2004: 114). A new building was needed following the arrival of 88 boxes of antiquities from Cyprus, but construction of the building was postponed due to the situation, and the “Çinili Köşk” was used as a museum (Gözübüyük, 1993:10-11).

Consul Cesnola covered the expenses of his excavation activities in 1874 himself, as with his previous excavations. During the 1874-1875 period he began excavations in Amathus, and then at Curium (Testimony of L. P.Di Cesnola, 1884: 5-6). During this period, Babiali enquired of the government of Cyprus about the news of Cesnola’s discovery of regal artefacts (BOA. MF. MKT. 32/54). In 1875 he applied for a license to search for antiquities and to take them out of the country on behalf of the Museum of New York. However, due to the economic crisis in autumn 1875 in America, he could not productively carry on his excavation activities in 1875 (Marangou, 2000: 246).

Although the Vizier's office was aware of the artefact smuggling activities by Cesnola, it gave the Ministry for Education instructions that the previous permit given to Cesnola for searching for antiquities be extended, in line with the request made by the American Embassy. As a result of the instructions given to the Ministry for Education, the matter was discussed at the Council for Education. Permission for excavations was given, on condition, these are confined to areas for which an excavation license was given, that if the damage was caused to properties owned by others during the course of excavations, these be compensated, that the salary of the official to be employed for control purposes be paid by Cesnola, that two-thirds of the artefacts to be discovered on state lands would be set aside for the state museums and one third to the Museum of New York, and that any antiquities to be discovered on private land be set aside as one third for the landowner, one third for the Ottoman state, and one third for the Museum of New York. The term of the excavation permit was for one year (BOA. MF. MKT. 32/162; BOA. MF. MKT. 33/103). In instructions sent by the Ministry for Education to the Governor’s Office of Cyprus, on the same date, it was requested it be notified of the location of the area where the American consul would carry out his excavation works, in terms of the district and village, and whether the land was owned by the state or was private property (BOA. MF. MKT. 32/183). In line with this, in the letter sent by the Ministry for Education to the Governor's Office of Cyprus, dated February 25, 1876, instructions were given for the fulfilment of the provisions of the license given to the American consul

Cesnola in order to search for historical artefacts on behalf of the Museum of New York for one year, and that the necessary precautions be taken (BOA. MF. MKT. 34/23). Although Cesnola received the new license, he had not begun excavations. In discussions Cesnola had with the Governor's Office on this, he stated he was employed on behalf of the Museum of New York, but the Museum's directorate had not sent any money for several months, and therefore he had to suspend excavation, that the conditions of the license were deemed acceptable by him, but if the Metropolitan Museum Directorate were to find them unacceptable, he would cancel excavation altogether, and return the license to the American Embassy. This excuse put forward by Cesnola was not accepted by the Ministry for Education. In the letter sent by the Ministry for Education to the Governor's Office of Cyprus, a reminder was made of article 20 of the 1874 *Asar-i Atika* Statute, that the license would be cancelled if excavations did not start within 3 months of permission being received or if they started and were then suspended for two months without excuse. As more than four months had passed since issuing the license on January 24, 1876, and it was determined Cesnola had not begun excavations, the decision was made to cancel the license and to prohibit him from excavating again on Cyprus (BOA. TŞR. KB. d, 32, p.15, prov. 650; BOA. TŞR. KB. NZD. 212/84; BOA. MF. MKT. 38/28).

While these developments were taking place, in a letter sent by the American Embassy to the Vizier's office on November 20, 1876, it was stated that the Republic of North America (meaning the United States) did not certify its consular officials in Cyprus, the consulate had been abolished, and consequently, Cesnola had been dismissed. In another letter sent by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to the American Embassy, on January 15, 1877, it was stated Cesnola had failed to abide by the conditions of the permit to search for antiquities; he had avoided delivering part of the historical artefacts he had acquired to the *Müze-i Hümayun*, as was required. It requested action be taken to recover these. The American Embassy responded that as of November 20, 1876, the American Consulate in Cyprus had been abolished, so Cesnola no longer had any connection with the Embassy, and that they did not know where he was (BOA. HR. TO. 147/111). However, despite the fact that his license had been cancelled, Cesnola continued with his excavations in 1876 (BOA. BEO. VGG. d. 386, p.486, no.79).

At this time, Cesnola attempted to sell a 7.161 piece collection, which contained 511 gold, 272 silver and 440 bronze items, corresponding with the Metropolitan Museum to this purpose. While waiting for news from the Metropolitan Museum, in October 1875, he set off for London to offer this collection to British and French museums (Marangou, 2000: 246). At the same

time, the notification had been received in Istanbul that Cesnola was going to take the artefacts he had discovered to London, without giving any share to the *Müze-i Hümayun* (BOA. MF. MKT. 46/56; BOA. MF. MKT. 51/169), as it had not been possible to prevent him.

In the letter sent to the Governor's Office of Cyprus, it stated that despite his license being cancelled, Cesnola had managed to take the valuable artefacts to London and that it had been stated in the *Vakit* and *La Türki* newspapers that these artefacts had been valued at twelve thousand liras. The Ministry for Education immediately began investigating the matter (BOA. TŞR. KB. RSN. 191/128; BOA. MF. MKT. 45/46; BOA. MF. MKT. 45/101).

While Cesnola was in London, he met the British Prime Minister Gladstone and representatives of the British Museum to convince them to purchase the whole collection. However, he was accused in the London press of carrying on negotiations with the European and American museums at the same time. Due to these accusations and the attitude of the British Museum, he accepted the sixty thousand dollar offer made by the Metropolitan Museum and set off for New York from London on April 26 1877 (Marangou, 2000: 277-281).

In research between 1873 and 1876, consul Cesnola, carried out excavations simultaneously in the regions of Salamis, Amathus, Curium, Soli and Karpass and discovered the ancient temple of Athene and the Treasure of Curium in 1875. He also purchased a large number of antiquities found by members of the Cypriot populations (Marangou, 2000: 246).

During his eleven years of archaeological endeavours, consul Cesnola spent 362 thousand Franks, and discovered and identified the prehistoric towns of Amathus, Cerynia, Citium, Golgos (Golgoi), Lapethus, Neo-Paphos, Salamis, Palaeo-Paphos (Cesnola, 1877: 451-455; Marangou, 2000: 135). He had also discovered large and small prehistoric towns mentioned by Strabon, Ptolemy and other ancient writers, such as Ammochostos (Famagusta), Aphrodisium, Carpassia, Curium, Cytherea, Marium, Soli (Soli), Damascus, Arsinoe, Avdimio, Catalina, Curi, Aepeja, Leucolla, Papethus, Malissa, Mulas, Pergamos, Throne, and Tremitus. He unearthed 15 temples, 6 aqueducts, 65 necropolises and 60.913 graves throughout the island. He discovered inscriptions belonging to the Assyrian (4), Phoenician (30), Cypriot (62) and Greek (105) civilisations, copper, silver and gold coins (2310), vases (14.240), statues made from stone, marble or pottery (2110), heads and busts made from marble or pottery (4200), reliefs made from marble or pottery (270), and 35.573 more, smaller and larger ancient artefacts. However, around 5 thousand of these artefacts were lost when the ship

travelling to America sank off Syria in 1871 (Cesnola, 1877: 451-455). The incident of the sinking of the ship, which was alleged by Cesnola, was discussed at the court hearing in New York in 1883, but the prosecutor did not find this allegation to be convincing (Testimony of L. P.Di Cesnola, 1884: 49-50).

In case of two antiquities of the same type (duplicates), Cesnola gave some of these to the *Müze-i Hümayun*, the Royal Museum (Munich), the Egyptian Museum (Turin), the Museum of Anthropology (Turin), the Archaeology Society (Athens), the Museum of Perugia (Perugia), the Smithsonian Institute (Washington), and the British and the St. Petersburg Museums. Some small collections were sold to the Museum of Berlin, the Museum of Cambridge, the Museum of Kensington (London) and the Boston Museum of Art. In the Cesnola Collection at the Metropolitan Museum, there were 6-7 thousand historical artefacts that were duplicates (Testimony of L. P.Di Cesnola, 1884: 51).

### **The invitation of Cesnola to his Brother, Alexander, and his Activities**

When Cesnola went to London and America in order to sell his first collection, he was absent from the island for a considerable time. As his deputy, Theodore Peristianis had limited knowledge of English, and Cesnola made a recommendation that his brother, Major Alexander Cesnola be appointed deputy consul in his place. The decision to appoint Alexander Cesnola as deputy consul became official on July 18, 1873 (Marangou, 2000: 239). In this way, Cesnola, through his brother, was hoping to continue in his absence his archaeological activities (A. Cesnola, 1884: xxiii-xxiv).

Alexander Cesnola arrived in 1873 (A. Cesnola, 1884: xxi) and began his duties as the American deputy consul to Cyprus for the district of Paphos, in October 1873 (BOA. İ. HR. 261/156; BOA. A. DVNS. DVE. d. 1/1, p.83, prov.2; MAA, KŞS. 51 p.176, prov.2). Besbes was appointed as the translator of the deputy consul (BOA. TŞR. KB. BF. 67/179). Initially, problems were experienced concerning the appointment of A. Cesnola as the deputy consul to the district of Paphos, as the district governor of Paphos, İsmail Efendi, was not notified (BOA. TŞR. KB. BF. 67/146). Again, protected by international immunity, Alexander Cesnola began archaeological activities in the Paphos region under his brothers' direction (A. Cesnola, 1884: xxiv).

At the end of 1873, Alexander came to the district of Paphos with his brother. He had either secretly or openly purchased large amounts of land from the farms in Kukla for the archaeological research he was to carry out and had rented a residence to live there and began intensive operations (BOA. TŞR. KB.

THR. 45/192). The archaeological activities carried out by Alexander Cesnola received a negative reaction from both rulers and the public (BOA. TŞR. KB. THR. 45/144), and the Vizier's office also monitored him at every moment. In the letter delivered to the Governor's Office of Cyprus in September 1874, it was requested that the activities of Alexander Cesnola has to be continuously monitored and information is given. As a result, the translators of Alexander Cesnola were immediately called in and questioned, and it was established that digging had been carried out in various points in the centre of Paphos and in the surrounding areas and that the start of these digs coincided with the death of the previous district governor, Atif Bey, eight or nine days before this questioning (BOA. TŞR. KB. BF. 67/150). Due to tight supervision by the Vizier's office and the government of the island, he had been forced to leave the island at the end of 1874 and went to London. During the 18 months he spent in London, Alexander Cesnola acquired scientific training from Dr. Samuel Birch at the British Museum on the languages and antiquities of Eastern civilisations and was given a promise of financial support from Edwin H. Lawrence for the excavations he was to carry out in Cyprus (A. Cesnola, 1884: xi-xii, xxiv).

While Cesnola was in London, he asked his brother to return to Cyprus, and Alexander returned to Cyprus on July 22, 1876. In the absence of his older brother, he took on the affairs of the American consulate, although this duty lasted only six months until the US Congress abolished 120 consulates for economic reasons, including that on Cyprus. In this way, his consular authority in Paphos was also removed. With these responsibilities lifted from his shoulders, Alexander concentrated completely on archaeological activities (A. Cesnola, 1884: xxiv). He used the consulate residence of his older brother in Larnaca, rented the house he had previously owned in the village of Omidyar, hired personnel, and restarted excavations in Kitium, Idalium, Salamis and other ancient towns. He excavated, dividing his excavation staff into groups of three to four people for each region, and paid each member of staff, Greeks and Muslims, one shilling per day. He excavated for nearly three years in this way and discovered close to fourteen thousand antiquities of value. With the island of Cyprus passing to Britain in 1878, Alexander Cesnola could no longer continue his activities and left the island on a ship belonging to Lloyd's company in February 1879 (A. Cesnola, 1884: xviii-xix). Despite all the precautions taken against him, Alexander Cesnola had managed to amass thousands of historical antiquities in three years and sent these to London in the winter of 1876-1877. These antiquities, exhibited in the British Museum, are known as the Lawrence-Cesnola collection. The second shipment, made under British rule, was stopped on its way to London, confiscated, and

stored at the home of the British Commissioner for Cyprus, in Larnaca. These antiquities would later result in the development of the Museum of Cyprus (Myres and Richter, 1899).

The role the American consul Cesnola and his brother had in the removal of antiquities from Ottoman Cyprus was clearly stated by Munif Pasha, the Minister for Education, at the ceremony opening the new building of the *Müze-i Hümayun* in 1880, when he stated the American consul Cesnola in particular, had smuggled out of the country enough antiquities to fill a museum (Vakit, 1735, 11 Ramadan 1297, August 17 1880; Cezar, 1995: 243).

### **Conclusions**

The island of Cyprus has hosted numerous civilisations and carries the traces of this heritage in hundreds of thousands of historical artefacts. General Palma di Cesnola, appointed American envoy to Cyprus in 1865, undertook more work to obtain the historical heritage of the island than his consular work, at times employing more than 100 people, indicating the scale of his excavations, and, after excavating in various regions of the island, he began to remove the finds from the island. Although the officials aware of his activities tried to take measures, with his diplomatic status and the support of the American Ambassador in Istanbul, he managed to evade them. General Palma di Cesnola collected many antiquities with or without permission prior to the change from the 1869 statute forbidding, to the 1874 statute permitted, the removal of antiquities abroad, and he used this permission and transported cultural heritage from Cyprus to many European and American museums. After leaving Cyprus, he settled in New York and with the antiquities he had procured, he became a trustee of the Metropolitan Museum and then served as the Chairman of the Board of Trustees until his death in 1904.

The American consul, General Palma di Cesnola and his brother, Alexander Cesnola, the deputy consul for Paphos, aimed to become rich and famous by setting off in search of antiquities on the island of Cyprus. It can be understood that this was the fashion at that time with the consequences noted by Munif Pasha at the opening of the *Müze-i Hümayun* in 1880. In the last period of Ottoman rule, Ottoman rulers were unable to take the necessary precautions, in part due to a shortage of funds and because the Europeans and Americans had no respect for the Ottoman state and its laws, nor for its attempt to build up its own collection of antiquities in the Imperial museum. A large number of the antiquities of Cyprus, found during archaeological excavations conducted by the consuls, were taken out of the country to become objects in the rich collections of the

museums established in the United States of America, and these antiquities, objects originating in Cyprus, were also spread in quantity to numerous museums and collections in Europe.

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**BOA TŞR.KB.TL. (Tuzla Kazası Yazışmaları)**

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The American Consul Cesnola Brothers and the fate of antiquities in Ottoman Cyprus



Annex-3

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