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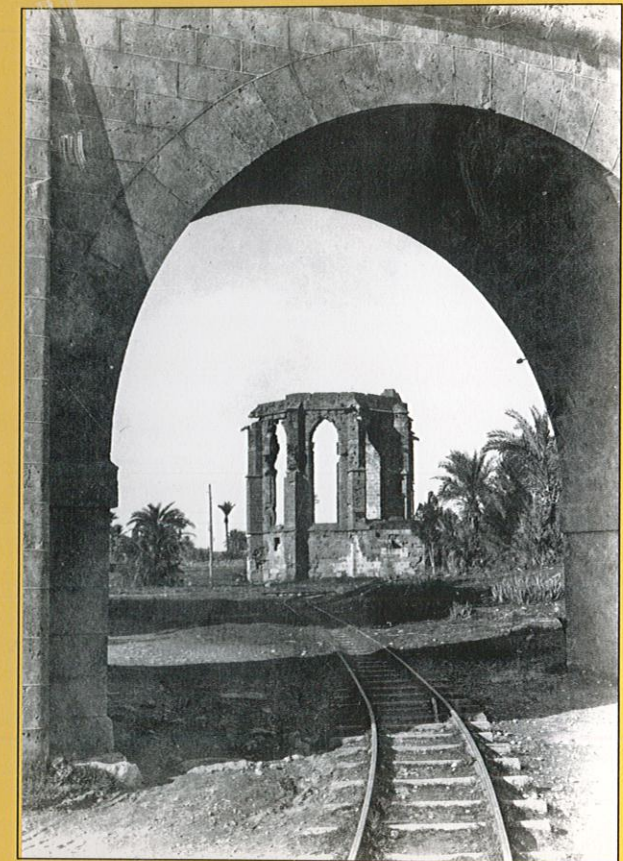


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THE ANCIENT STONES OF CYPRUS AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SUEZ CANAL¹

Elizabeth HOAK-DOERING

Résumé. L'absence de blocs architecturaux dans les monuments chypriotes antiques a fait naître la légende selon laquelle les Britanniques auraient enlevé ces pierres pour les utiliser dans le canal de Suez, une histoire diffusée sur les sites web, dans la littérature touristique, dans les notes d'études académiques et dans des archives. Cet article fait ressortir les fondements de cette légende à partir de différentes approches : des recherches d'archives à Chypre et en France, des visites de sites à Chypre et en Égypte, des entretiens personnels et des investigations dans la bibliographie archéologique chypriote et celle de l'histoire de l'art. Autant qu'on le sache, il n'y a aucune preuve directe de la présence de pierres chypriotes dans le canal de Suez ou dans les structures qui lui sont associées, malgré les nombreux témoignages qui s'y rapportent. Le pillage des pierres et leur exportation depuis Chypre, aussi honteux qu'il soit, est curieusement mis en évidence dans les traditions chypriotes, ce qui aide à mieux faire comprendre le phénomène du emploi des pierres. Prenant en compte la chronologie et les besoins matériels du projet du canal de Suez en regard de la rareté des ressources locales en pierres, cette étude montre l'ampleur des exportations de pierres, en général dirigées vers Port-Saïd, à la fin de l'époque ottomane et durant la période coloniale britannique, et examine la nature de ces transferts depuis Chypre, ainsi que leurs agents, les raisons qui les sous-tendent, et les efforts pour stopper et réguler ce commerce. La rivalité entre ceux qui cherchent à protéger les monuments chypriotes et ceux qui les utilisent comme carrières met en évidence différents points de vue sur la valeur des pierres, sur la notion d'héritage et d'identité, et sur la manière dont elle a changé avec le temps.

Introduction to a legend

The legend that cut stones taken from Cypriot sites of architectural heritage were used in the Suez Canal or in Port Saïd comes through academic footnote, local lore and the tourist industry. The legend can also serve political, post-colonial or conspiratorial agendas: for example when a Greek Cypriot tour guide who leads walking tours of Famagusta tells her customers that the British took and sold the city's ancient architectural stones.² Her story

1. This is a revised version of "Stones of the Suez Canal, A Discourse in Absence and Power in Cyprus and Egypt" in the *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* (2012) by the same author.

2. Most recently in the Spring of 2015. Here, the chagrin is intensified because she repeats the legend in Famagusta, which is not currently under the control of the Republic of Cyprus.

emphasises the vulnerability of the Cypriot people and landscape to colonial aims in the late nineteenth century, and blames the occupiers for the state of Cypriot monuments. Jeffery describes Famagusta with a similar story, "Since the year 1400 the city has passed through the vicissitudes of being a strong fortress of the Venetians, a penal settlement of the Turks, and lastly a quarry of old building materials whence much of the stone used in constructing the Suez Canal has been drawn".³ Of the many instances and contexts of this lurid detail, nothing is said about who took the stones and to what local benefit. Little, to nothing is said about where, how, or if permission was granted to take stones, and nothing about precisely where, and in what capacity Cypriot limestone was used in the Suez Canal or Port Saïd. This paper looks for substance in the story, using archival research, personal interview and site visits.

If stone came from Cyprus for construction of the Suez Canal itself, it would have been a transaction between canal contractors and Ottoman subjects. Ferdinand de Lesseps began work in 1859, the canal opened in 1869, and only in 1878 did the Ottoman Empire cede Cyprus to British protection. That is, by the time the British acquired Cyprus the canal had already been hosting crossings for a decade. According to records in the Cyprus State Archives, export of cut stone from Cyprus was an activity undertaken by Cypriots of both modern communities all through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This analysis is organized along the different perceptions of stone's value: in cultural heritage, industry and political strategy. It presents a cautious position on the legend, pointing out instances where on-island reuse and misinterpretation of local history could account for stone allegedly exported. Such caution is meant to separate facts from lore. Cypriot stones probably contributed to the development of the Suez Canal and Port Saïd – but there is no hard proof – none yet that satisfies this author, who would prefer to see geological identification of stones, or transaction receipts. Nevertheless, this paper presents plenty of evidence that stones from Cyprus, among other Mediterranean sources, served the voracious Suez Canal project. For sure, if stone trade evoked a reaction from a sultan whose empire was collapsing, that trade must have been impressive.

Cultural Heritage: at Least a Claim to Fame

Cyprus lay in ruins at the close of Ottoman rule, where neglect was the most recent chapter of destruction in more than two thousand years of violent earthquakes, conquest, ruthless taxation, and misfortune.⁴ The earthquake damage visible in the archaeological record is only less terrifying than eyewitness accounts given by survivors. In the

3. George Jeffery, architect and Curator of Ancient Monuments of Cyprus (1903-1935): Jeffery 1918, p. 102.

4. "[The Cypriots'] misery is sometimes increased by a sort of locust, which at intervals over-spreads the island, and destroys entirely every species of vegetation. As their taxes are not diminished when this calamity occurs, in these disastrous years they are forced to sell their small stock of furniture, and frequently every disposable thing they possess, to satisfy the rapacity of their unfeeling tyrants." From Turner's diary of his travels in Cyprus between 1812 and 1816: W. Turner, *Journal of a Tour in the Levant*, London, 1820, in Cobham 1908, p. 448.

earthquake in December of 1735 for example, one that particularly affected Famagusta, "... part of the cathedral of Santa Sophia which was converted into a mosque, fell and buried under its ruins over 200 people. Also the church of Saint George together with a great part of the town was thrown down ...".⁵ Enough remained of the latter church in the early 20th century that Jeffery remarked about its unusual combination of East and West architecture, "in plan and detail... the result, as far as can be judged by the ruins, was imposing and not unsatisfactory."⁶ What remains of the church of Saint George is a good barometer of both ruthless conquest, and of how much stone is missing: the east side facing the harbour is still lodged with rusting cannonballs from the Ottoman naval attack of 1571. It is a building that Enlart noted among Cypriot churches built in the style of Champagne,⁷ and yet so little is left of the vaults, structural columns or walls that he complained: "A voussoir from this hood-mould can be seen at the foot of the door where it fell when the facing of the west end of St. George's and much other material was removed and shipped off to be used in the buildings of Port Saïd; this barbarous trade is still continuing (see *Athenaeum*, 9th July 1895)."⁸

It is interesting to note that Enlart writes about the building being pulled apart, instead of the politer notion that people were scavenging rubble that had fallen in earthquake; in other words, by the late 19th c., the whole building was perceived as rubble, not just the debris around it. On what remain of the church's walls and columns there are maritime graffiti⁹ in very high places, uniquely indicating how the Suez Canal affected local ports of call. Scores of sailing ships are incised in the exposed underlayment and ruined fresco: most of it out of hand's reach. The odd height of these pictures suggests that fallen stones may have been in piles against the walls, and drawings made from atop of the heaps ever since the building fell (1571 and 1735). How the age of the sailing vessel, and the disappearance of sailors dovetail with the opening of the Suez Canal will be described later, but here the effect is clear. There is little or no maritime graffiti at or

5. Ambraseys 1965, p. 10. The testimony refers to the church of St. George of the Greeks.

6. Jeffery 1918, p. 149. Jeffery assessed earthquakes both informally – by the regular disturbance of picture-frames – and formally at archaeological sites: "There is not a solitary column standing erect to mark the sites of Salamina, Paphos or Poli. Nothing can be expected to survive the earlier Kitium, Amathus or Curium. The fragments which stand on their bases at Salamina were so placed by myself in 1909": Pilides 2009, p. 470 n. 947.

7. Enlart 1987, p. 36 and p. 256.

8. Enlart 1987, p. 257, n. 19. Here, as per usual, the stone export story appears without attribution in a footnote. The *Athenaeum* article to which he refers reads in part, "The beautiful old city which afforded Shakespeare the legend on which to ground one of his most important dramas seems to have been preserved for more than three hundred years intact for the countrymen of Shakespeare to level with the ground or rather with the sea." Article available at: Cyprus State Archives SA1-5547-1899. Material from the Cyprus State Archives hereafter noted "SA".

9. Enlart (1987, p. 257) notices Greek inscriptions. Also observed in the British Administration records, SA1 -2030 -1901 and Jeffery 1918, p. 104.

below eye-level, in areas of the wall that might have been covered with rubble.¹⁰ Once that rubble was removed, and the Suez Canal opened, sailors no longer frequented the port of Famagusta.¹¹ Today, where a few blocks remain and one can reach high on the walls, contemporary carvings of rockets and first names are carved over the old drawings of square, and lateen-rigged boats.

Cyprus was notorious among travellers for its landscape of rubble.¹² Turner, in 1815 says "... I rode through the streets of levelled palaces, choked up with ruins and rubbish to the house of the Agha, of which one half was choked up by the fallen stones of the other..."¹³ Lewis, visiting Cyprus in 1893 remarks, "We looked down... riding over what remained of the walls as if they were paths. Thus, three series of Architecture, Greek, Roman... and later Latin, having alike and together... crumbled into one common decay."¹⁴ This great history in ruins did not impress Baker who, after a disappointing walk in Paphos wrote, "[t]he past had been great, and the present was nothing."¹⁵ His mild curiosity about ancient Cyprus went unsatisfied, "...anything worth having has been appropriated many ages since by those who understood its value, and beyond a few fallen columns and blocks of squared stone there is literally nothing to attract attention."¹⁶

Having apparently no ruins to attract attention makes historical research and reconstruction difficult and it also affects the way the cultural identity of the Cypriot Republic is coalescing.¹⁷ Mediaeval architecture was famously scavenged in the 19th c., but so was the Classical architecture that preceded, and in some cases contributed to it.¹⁸ This can make the popular Greek historical (and sometimes national) narrative harder

10. The complete lack of maritime graffiti in the central apse may also indicate another logic such as religious belief.

11. Attribution of graffiti is generally difficult, however most of the drawings demonstrate a keen understanding of rigging; or navigational equipment and its location on a ship; or construction of the keel and hull in different ship designs. The precision hints at a professional knowledge of sailing. See www.hoak-doering.com for images.

12. For a fuller description see Hoak-Doering 2012, p. 199-228 (p. 203-204).

13. Cited in Cobham 1908, p. 434.

14. Lewis 1894, p. 139-140.

15. Baker 1879, p. 239.

16. *Ibid.*

17. It might be the popularity of 'Game of Thrones' that has recently ignited popular interest in the Mediaeval period. Cyprus now has just opened a Mediaeval theme park called "Cyprus Land". It may also be related to affordable 3-D design and multimedia as means to fill in gaps of history and in architecture. Either way, see <http://cyprusland.com.cy/> (Last access: 4th March 2018).

18. The Classical city of Salamis was a quarry for buildings in and around Famagusta. "All the Latin buildings of Cyprus are in stone... White or grey marble was often used and is an excellent material for sculpture; these marbles were all imported and most of them were taken from ancient buildings, especially from Salamis. Roman column-bases were reworked in this way for thirteenth-century capitals at Famagusta, their ancient outlines still to be made out beneath the Gothic carving." (Enlart 1987, p. 45).

to see and understand in the context of Cyprus because – unlike at the Parthenon – there is little with which to reconstruct a Classical architectural identity. The poaching and export¹⁹ of Classical architecture from Cyprus was happening at least by²⁰ the 15th century and was witnessed at Paphos in 1480 by a pilgrim traveller from Milan, St. Brasca, Head of the Ducal Chancellery of Galeazzo Sforza. The story as related by Karageorghis is as follows: "Here [at Paphos] Brasca witnessed some strange antique dealings, by then a customary practice among galley captains. On the trip from Venice to the ports of the Middle East the galleys carried fairly heavy cargoes...stowed in the hold to the point of overflowing. Indeed some pilgrims complained they often had to struggle with the cargo to find a place to sleep. Upon arrival in the Middle East, the merchandise was traded, mainly for spices, which were considerably lighter than the previous cargo... Obviously this was a handicap on the return journey... realising there was a shortage of building stone in Venice, the captains began to load blocks of marble... to be sold at the city's building sites.... [where] the most sought after stones were columns and capitals and general architectural elements from ancient Greek-Roman constructions...used to embellish the churches and palaces of Venice. Brasca saw one of these cargoes of stone taken directly from the ancient temple of Aphrodite at Paphos."²¹

The Classical city of Soloi was so denuded in the 19th and 20th centuries that it was necessary to mention export to the Suez Canal on the brief tourist information placard now on site. Its amphitheatre was fully rebuilt in modern times because its seats had provided a terrific quarry for stone slabs.²² From the re-made amphitheatre the contemporary visitor looks out to the seascape, where a modern rail-operated loading dock projects from the shore directly below the site: the likely apparatus of a thorough emptying of

19. For a specific case of on island transport and reuse, see Papacostas 2007, p. 25-156 (see especially p. 112).

20. In 1792 Luigi Mayer painted what looks like an 18th c. image of stone export at the shores of the ancient kingdom of Amathus. His *Roadstead on the Island of Cyprus, showing the ramparts of Amathunta and the town of Limassol* is included in Severis 2000, p. 64. Pierre Aupert (1990, p. 6), former director of the French excavation at Amathus, acknowledges the verisimilitude of the image, "[...] *La corniche et le fragment de tambour de colonne gisant au premier plan proviennent sans doute non pas du rempart, qui ne comporte pas de remploi dans cette zone, mais de quelque édifice juché plus haut sur les premières pentes de l'acropole [...] on n'ose imaginer qu'il s'agit du même [bloc de corniche], bien entendu, mais la coïncidence, jointe à l'exactitude de la représentation du pan de muraille, assurent de la fidélité de la vision de Mayer.*" However realistic, it seems that Aupert himself does not see the painting as an illustration of early exploitation at that site.

21. Karageorghis 1988, p. 53. "[...] The chronicler from Milan simply recorded this fact without any further comment, which suggests it was common practice at the time." (*ibid.* p. 54).

22. Soloi is not currently under control of the Republic of Cyprus. The amphitheatre and archaeological site are modestly maintained for tourists, although before the war in 1974 the rebuilt amphitheatre was used for performances.

the site in the 20th century.²³ Westholm, upon his arrival in 1936, describes an already ransacked place and a culture of insouciance: "[...] when the modern road was laid out, in 1912[, t]he foundations for the road were entirely taken from walls in these fields, and one of the foremen during this work told me that the labourers, once having found a wall with suitable stones, carried on destroying it until none of them was left. For a length of more than 100 m. they were allowed to despoil entirely an ancient street paved with large limestone slabs. Marble columns were also found and cut into pieces. On the same occasion the present bridge over the river west of the city area was built entirely of stones taken away from the theatre. But this destruction of the ruins, preserved until comparatively recent times, had started long before. Cesnola tells us that stones already before his time were loaded on ships and exported to Asia Minor and Egypt, especially when the Suez Canal was built."²⁴

The ancient kingdom of Amathus in Limassol, along with its necropolis and temple of Aphrodite were poached²⁵ and the hill upon which the temple stood was rapaciously quarried. A submerged footprint is all that remains of the ancient walled harbour. There, the maritime archaeologist J. -Y. Empereur notes, "The top layer of cut stones were taken for the construction of the Suez Canal", giving dimensions for the missing stones: "[...] sometimes exceeding 3 m. length of 0.70 m on one side, with a weight often approaching 3 tons. They were cut in the nearby quarries, which were found close to the beach... The number of these blocks is considerable, in the range of several thousands: in some places up to 7 layers remain, while one is sure that the upper layer has disappeared and maybe others with it."²⁶

Empereur's "nearby quarry" for the ancient harbour stones also served the purposes of the nineteenth century exporters. Cesnola, as though he had nothing to do with local damage, reflects on this quarrying: "Even the hill [of Amathus] itself is fast losing its form, while the rock of which it is composed is being cut away to be shipped to Port Saïd, bringing to the merchants of Limassol a profitable return..."²⁷ Quarrying caused the contour of the hill to change so drastically that before it, the French expedition of 1862-

23. At Soloi, Jeffery notices stone exploitation by Cypriots for British purposes. He saw stone slabs removed, and large parts of a Roman monument broken into small pieces. In a letter written 8-12-1929, from Pilides 2009, p. 527.

24. Westholm 1936, p. 14.

25. Jeffery describes Amathus this way: "...everything of any value was removed, including all available building stone, much of which is said to have been carried over to Alexandria and Port Said." (in Pilides 2009, p. 453). In a confidential draft to Lord Crawford 7-7-1930 he writes, "In the early 19th c. Amathus was 'erased' by the builders of Alex[andria] and P[or]t Said seeking second hand stone..." (*ibid.* p. 667).

26. The harbour existed until the late 19th century: Empereur 1995, p. 132, n. 3.

27. Cesnola 1877, p. 252.

1865 could remove a colossal stone jar from the top of the site;²⁸ but 21st c. contractors hired to install a reproduction of the same jar struggled to find a way up the hill – despite using tractors and working with a considerably lighter reconstruction of the jar. The fabricator explained that his trouble was caused by 19th c. quarrying for stone used in the Suez Canal.²⁹

These partial absences are spectacles of what is missing, but some types of structures like aqueducts disappeared completely. Travelling in Cyprus in 1806, Ali Bey was impressed by them: "...judging by the remains of aqueducts which are found everywhere, even in the driest parts, I suspect that in ancient times there existed a general system of irrigation..."³⁰ A few indications of such a general system remain, notably the bridge fragments in Larnaca district, Nicosia and Lefka. However, of the eight-mile-long Cafer Paşa Aqueduct that used to stretch from Cape Greco to Famagusta, nothing but a fountainhead and hamam are left. Many people noted its importance in supplying Famagusta: Pococke saw it in the 18th century, it is on the Kitcheners survey map and Inglis, who saw it in 1878, wrote "[Famagusta's] water is supplied by a covered aqueduct from the hills near Cape Greco, seven or eight miles away. The aqueduct runs through Varosha..."³¹ Since this aqueduct was finished in 1584 just after the Ottoman bombardment of Famagusta,³² rubble from the city ruins might have been used in it. There is no way to know, however, because the aqueduct was gone by the mid 20th century: last noted in a 1959 Department of Water Development Report.³³ An eight-mile long aqueduct might account for quite a bit of Famagusta's missing stone.

Another angle of the legend involves misplaced significance, where popular stories wrongly assign international or historical value to a local feature. Yon's work on the scavenged site of Bamboula in Larnaca is a good example of this. She shows that its

28. The jar was a popular subject of drawing. As part of the French expedition, Duthoit sketched it *in situ* in 1862, see Severis 2000, p. 125. By 1865 the finds from this expedition, including the jar, were removed to the Louvre. Before that Luigi Mayer painted the colossal stone jar in 1792, see *A colossal vase near Limasso in Cyprus* in Severis 2000, p. 62. See a query about Mayer's "vase" painting in Jeffery's correspondence with W. Williams in Minute Paper File J.8, Pilides 2009, p. 515-516. Among others, it was also sketched by Ali Bey who wrote, "[...] another singular monument, two vases carved or formed out of the rock, still uprights and of a colossal size", in Cobham 1908, p. 409.

29. Personal conversation with Robert Camassa in 2012. See <http://www.camassatouch.com/#!specialized-work/cck2>, last accessed 4th March 2018. French Symbolist poet Arthur Rimbaud had a stint as a translator and manager at a quarry in Potamia (Larnaca) Cyprus in 1878: see Hoak-Doering 2012, p. 204.

30. Ali Bey (Don Domingo Badia-y-Leyblich), *The Travels of Ali Bey*, 1816, cited in Cobham 1908, p. 410.

31. James Inglis, the first British Commissioner for Famagusta District, quoted in Bağışkan 2009, p. 554. The aqueduct is also described in Yıldız 2009, p. 141.

32. For Ottoman instructions regarding this aqueduct's construction, see Yıldız 1996, p. 97.

33. *Ibid.*

plundered 'acropolis', which modern tour guides and other experts declaim, is not what it seems to be. The designation of 'acropolis' comes late; the site was scavenged both by customary practice and by colonial interests.³⁴ A similar phenomenon is found in lore mistakenly assigning popular cultural importance to buildings in Cyprus, including the legend that the castle of St. Hilarion inspired Walt Disney's Snow White Castle;³⁵ and that Famagusta's Citadel inspired Shakespeare for *Othello*.³⁶ These popular legends are not about missing buildings, but they fit in with a logic of invented significance such as happens with the Suez Canal. Repeating this kind of lore invokes external validation for Cypriot architectural heritage instead of acknowledging its capacity for historical significance in its own right. No one recognized this ignorance of local significance better than Jeffery, who criticised both Cypriots and British colonial administrators: "The natives of Cyprus as a rule do not appreciate the value attaching to their ancient monuments, few of them realize the historical importance and character of memorials which display the art and history of the Middle Ages – an art and history that can never be replaced."³⁷ Popular Cypriot claims of stone export to the Suez Canal are assertions of injustice – but a complicated injustice – because along with the island's occupiers it was also the Cypriots, and their elite who plundered. Parties attempting to protect buildings of historical significance, at least by way of protest in writing, were mostly foreigners not Cypriots.³⁸ The lore functions as a veil for the tangled interests in cut stone, while giving substance to an aspect of Cypriot cultural history that is missing.

Contemporary speculation about missing stones should not be limited to reuse, export, or misguided demolition. Machines expedited wrecking and clearing, greatly

34. Yon 2002. For diplomatic gaffes surrounding stone use on the site of Bamboula, see SA1-1494-4/03/1882; for British archival records of Bamboula, see SA1-14193-3/3/1881, and S. Brown, Government Engineer, 23/2/1881 in SA1-14193-1881.

35. Unfortunately, even Luke fell for this legend – see Luke 1957, p. 100.

36. Debunked as a story that arrived with the British occupation, by Jeffery 1918, in the footnote, p. 105.

37. He comments on the contemporary renovations that ruin the value of the original, on St. George Exorinos in Famagusta (the Nestorian Church). The Orthodox community made renovations, specifically for the iconostasis (this topic comes up again later): *ibid.* footnote, p. 144.

38. With exceptions: A footnote in Jeffery's diary quotes a newspaper clipping that relates part of an address of the Legislative Council of Cyprus to the High Commissioner: "With respect to Cyprus antiquities of universal fame, the Council desires to remark that the Cypriotes be for ever irreconcilable to the despoliation thereof which has been carried on from the time of English occupation to these days, for which the Cypriotes consider the Government to be chiefly responsible." Quoted in a published letter, "Cyprus and its Antiquities" by George Chakalli, member of the Legislative Council, in Pilides 2009, p. 592, n. 983. The Legislative Council's dissent was launched against Chamberlain's comments during a Committee of Supply meeting that took place on 26 May, 1902. With reference to a rumour circulating about stone export from Famagusta to Alexandria, "[h]e wished that the inhabitants of Cyprus showed as much interest in their antiquities as some Members of Parliament did." Paraphrased by Hill, in Hill, Luke 1972, p. 610.

affecting how landscapes became the way they are now. Although cranes and "tipper" cars and railroads are gone, photographs of their presence in cultural heritage sites help explain what happened to rubble. They explain how piles of sand and stone could be quickly collected, organized and dumped elsewhere. Temporary tracks and rail cars, on loan from mining companies, were set up throughout the early twentieth century inside the walls of Famagusta when the British used rails to build the harbour (*Fig. 1*).³⁹ Rails were at archaeological sites across the island, making large-scale excavations feasible in wide-ranging areas with buried amphitheatres: Kourion, for example, where rail cars could tip "spoil" out toward the sea.⁴⁰ At Salamis, Megaw used rails to systematize the disposal of several thousand tons of sand in the sea. Sand was the primary concern but "spoil" rock was also removed. Temporary rails were shifted along with the progress of the excavation and women passed buckets along the site, one after another through the train, filling the cars from front to back. Megaw finally resorted to a locomotive engine.⁴¹ Those excavations had to remove awesome quantities of surface material before reaching desirable features, and the missing material is appreciable now. Contemporary popular understandings of on-site stone deficits, especially among generations who did not see the mechanization of large-scale excavations first hand, can benefit from considering how rapidly a rail system, for example, could effect change at essentially small locations.

The Cypriot stone legend is a special case in art history discourse where 'spolia' or 'spoliation' refers to "... objects and materials that are obtained by despoliation, that is by robbing them from another object or site."⁴² Stone reuse is a diachronic, universally common practice that is usually architectural, and by definition limited to cut stones, particularly ashlar. Reused stone is often convenient, cheaper than quarried stone, and in demand where access to stone is limited. Although Cypriot stone was a sea's journey away from building sites in Egypt, it could be floated and it was a bargain: "[t]he price (80 c.p. per 100 stones) [is] about half that paid from the quarries."⁴³ The term 'spolia' is avoided in this work because the kind of re-use described here is unique. Where most of the time stone reuse, or upcycling,⁴⁴ results in newer local or regional structures, many stones missing from Cypriot cultural heritage sites do not reappear in the island's

39. Excellent photos of railways at excavations are in Radford 2003, p. 256 and p. 258. Images with quarried stone are credited to Coode and Partners Contractors, the main contractors for the Famagusta harbour project. On p. 263 a photo attributed to Mangoian Bros. shows the rail line functioning inside Famagusta passing St. George of the Latins.

40. In 1957 the Amiantos Asbestos Mining Corporation loaned temporary rails to the University of Pennsylvania excavations under Hill, McFadden and Megaw, Cyprus Director of Antiquities 1953-1979; Radford 2003, p. 361.

41. *Ibid.*

42. Kinney 2006, p. 234.

43. Enumeration of stone exports to Port Saïd in the report by the Commissioner of Famagusta SA1-2337-1898. Also see Hoak-Doering 2012, p. 9.

44. Rous 2015.

Figure 1. Railway piercing
Famagusta city wall,
with a view of St. George of the Latins
(c. 1930-1945).
Reproduced with permission from the
Haig Mangoian Archives, Nicosia.

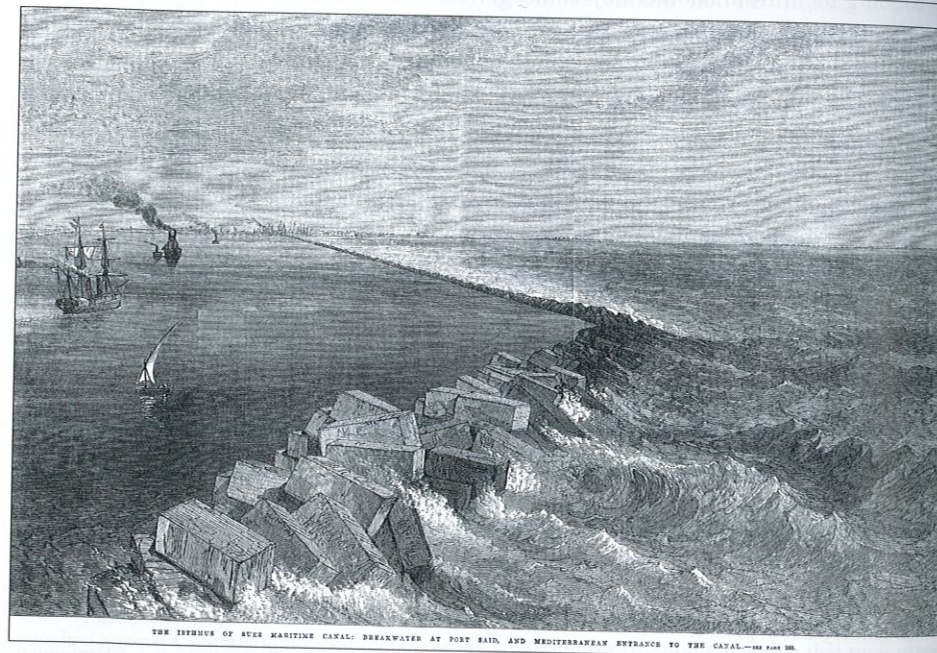
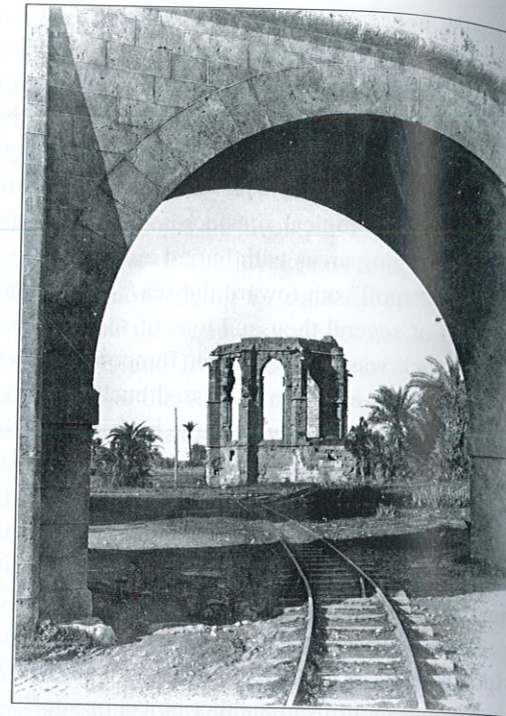


Figure 2. 'The Isthmus of Suez Maritime Canal: Breakwater at Port Said, and
Mediterranean Entrance to the Canal', *London Times Illustrated*, 13 March 1869, p. 261.

architectural landscape. Furthermore, it will be explained later how exports from Cyprus including both cut and quarried stone were probably delivered to companies that used them in limekilns, or as crushed components of concrete. Neither outcome is part of the traditional understanding of spoliation.

Industry: Building the Suez Canal and Port Saïd

The Suez Canal divided Asia from Africa, joined two seas, and fundamentally changed historical trade routes. What is less known, and less visible is that the project happened in a place with terrible access to raw materials. In a speech at the 1878 World's Fair in Paris, de Lesseps reviews the exploratory expedition of 1854 and he remembers standing in the path of what would be the Suez Canal. He says he saw a mirage. It was on a January morning, and looking out at the dry plane of the Bitter Lakes, he recalls seeing the land full of the morning's first rays of light, reflecting everything on the horizon: "La plaine des lacs Amers, alors entièrement desséchés, était saturée par les premiers rayons du soleil et reproduisait tous les objets placés à l'horizon. Nous avions devant nous le même spectacle que nous avons retrouvé 25 ans après, le 19 Novembre 1869, lorsqu'une flotte de 80 navires traversait le bassin des lacs Amers, où nous avons introduit depuis six mois deux milliards de mètres cubes d'eau."⁴⁵

The mirage was a vision of water coursing through the desert, and yet the company's first priority was just the opposite: landforms would jut into water. At Port Saïd a jetty had to be built and, more urgently, a breakwater was needed to keep the mouth of the canal clear of drifting silt from the Nile Delta. This breakwater would extend 5.6 kilometres into the Mediterranean Sea from the mud flat of Lake Manzala. If the canal is at least 13.72 meters deep, and the breakwater is at least 3 meters wide, such a breakwater might require a minimum of 230 cubic kilometres of material. Yet there was so little stone in the area that workers built their shanties in the traditional way, with sun-baked bricks formed from mud wrung out against their chests.⁴⁶ Today the Port Saïd end of the canal cuts through the mud of salt farms.

Although the legend focuses on the Suez Canal and Port Saïd, the breakwater and the jetty demanded an extraordinary quantity of building material (Fig. 2), which seemed accessible to the original research commission for the canal: "The materials necessary for the construction of the port... were easily procurable from the quarries on the Syrian coast, from the Isles of Cyprus and Rhodes..."⁴⁷ The Dussaud Brothers who won the commission for these structures were known for novel adaptations of concrete and credited with successful maritime works in Izmir, Algiers, Cherbourg and elsewhere.

45. Lesseps 1878, p. 3.

46. Elvin 1940, p. 307.

47. Notes on the report of the International Commission for the Suez Canal, 1855, from Stanley 2011, p. 21.

Their estimate for the project came to exactly 250,000 cubic metres of solid material.⁴⁸ In 1863 they began work at Port Saïd, casting massive concrete forms that were thrown into the sea, piling up to form the breakwater and the jetty. The project took only five years to finish. Since the forms were made of artificial blocks, one might imagine that the stones of Cyprus could be looked for someplace else. But pulverised stone is a component of concrete, along with cement, which is made from lime (incinerated or calcinated limestone), ash and chalk.⁴⁹ Officially, these materials came through the Valette Enterprises, which had an exclusive contract with the Suez Canal Company to supply stone to all parts of the project, including the cement works.⁵⁰ Although they had express access to the Mex Quarries in Alexandria, the fourth article in the Dussaud Brothers' contract states that in the breakwater natural stone can also be used: not only that which is already on the sea floor, but also that which is deposited there as footing.⁵¹ This clause seems to have been employed because the Valette Enterprises approved small deliveries of stones from lighters,⁵² and they hired Savon and Sons Enterprise Company to receive and pay independent ship captains – 'wholesalers' – for 'floating deliveries'. Although only ledger numbers, not receipts of manifest, exist from the Savon Enterprise's many cargo purchases and dispatches, there were stipulations about depositing stone rubble. That is, stones were either submerged immediately at specified maritime dumping sites, or delivered for cement production.⁵³ This would be an inglorious end to some Cypriot monuments, but dates of these micro-transactions match with the reports of small ships meeting stone vendors at Cypriot shores. The dates of construction for the breakwater and jetty (1863-1868) make it very possible that some of this submerged or incinerated material came from Cyprus as part of an existing trade that the British noticed upon their arrival.⁵⁴

At its inauguration in 1869 the canal was relatively unprotected, with only 33,000 cubic metres of rubble footing the embankments,⁵⁵ so the version of the legend saying

48. Article #11 guarantees exactly 250,000 cubic metres of material total for the jetties. Yearly rates begin 1864 at 25,000 cubic m., and increase through 1868, with 45,000 cubic m. of artificial blocks: Dussaud 1863.

49. Agents of the Suez Canal Company also mined at the Greek Island Santorini for ash, used in some of the cement and mortars. The mining revealed the Bronze Age site, Akrotiri (personal conversation with Robert Merrillees in 2013, and published in Arndt 1973).

50. Valette 1864.

51. Dussaud 1863.

52. A lighter, or "léger" is a flat-bottomed transport vessel, a barge. The term is more often used in this literature than "barge".

53. Valette 1864.

54. One example, quoted later, "Spectator" 1899, quoted in full in Pilides 2009, p. 586-587.

55. "A l'inauguration du Canal en 1869, sa largeur était de 22 m au plafond et sa profondeur de 8 m. Les croisements des navires s'effectuaient dans le Lac Timsah, le Grand Lac Amer et dans 8 Gares de 27 m de largeur de plafond, espacées d'environ 10 km. Dans cet état embryonnaire,

that stones from Cyprus are lining the canal merits further exploration here. As could be expected for water cutting through mud and sand, the first erosion issues were caused naturally and by 1863 Linant Bey, one of two chief engineers was already addressing this. The more serious, chronic erosion that came later was unanticipated. Because the canal shortened the route between Europe and Asia, it gave an advantage to the steamship over sailing vessels: the ratio of manpower to cargo and fuel consumption favoured steamships. As a result, the existence of the canal contributed to the decline of commercial sailing ships and effectively changed the kinds of vessels that used it.⁵⁶ Turbulence from the passage of steamers and towboats caused serious erosion though, and this, along with natural erosion, quickly made the canal shallower. By 1884 a consultative commission on erosion recommended stone reinforcements on the length of the canal. The process took several decades, with the history of reinforcement on various sections of the canal happening in five periods: 1885-1908, 1908-1924, 1925-1940 and 1940-1952. Stone rubble riprap was preferred mostly in the period from 1885-1908; in subsequent renovations the general inclination was to protect the embankments with reinforced concrete. Early period riprap reinforcements may have used Cypriot rubble although there are no receipts for stone destined for this particular use. Engineers wrestled with types of embankments throughout the twentieth century,⁵⁷ with variations on the design and slope of embankments, positioning of pilings, and fabrication materials. Six phases of such efforts are well documented through 1952.⁵⁸

The 1884 commission for the protection of the embankments indicates that gravel and stone for the riprap should come from Attaka quarries near the Red Sea, accessed through the canal itself, but what appears now is not typical for quarrying from single source. The reinforcements are several courses of stone extending below the water line to at least two metres above it, in nearly all areas of the canal including bypasses. Although their conditions, silhouettes and compositions vary, the embankments almost always expose

aucune protection des berges, qui eût été inutilement dispendieuse, ne fut envisagée; les dimensions et les vitesses des transiteurs prévus ne la justifiaient d'ailleurs pas encore.: Universal Company of the Suez Maritime Canal 1952b, p. 2.

56. "Towards the close of the year 1869 the Suez Canal was opened for traffic, and this ultimately caused important alterations in the trade to China and to the East; the steamers entirely superseding the sailing-ships." R. J. Cornewall, "The British Mercantile Marine", in *The Isle of Man, Gibraltar, Malta, St. Helena, Barbados, Cyprus, the Channel Islands, the British Army and Navy: Historical, Political, and Geographical History*, London, 1902, p. 408.

57. By 1935, reinforced concrete, and concrete spray guns were used to repair the embankments, replacing and covering stone and mortar: Universal Company of the Suez Maritime Canal 1952b, p. 17. Another approach to containing the canal used wood facing; this, and some of Port Saïd's dock pilings were made from the marine resistant giant Red Satinay tree (*Syncarpha hillii*), cut from virgin forests in an area now called Pile Valley on Fraser Island, Queensland, Australia: Smith 2010, p. 71; Williams 2002, p. 118. Author's on-site research is in preparation.

58. For a thorough, illustrated documentation of the embankments refer to: Universal Company of the Suez Maritime Canal 1952a.



stone: the dark yellow, pinkish, white or grey shades of limestone that are ubiquitous in the Eastern Mediterranean. The stones are also irregular in shape, but not so irregular as to betray a particular previous use: there are no circles that could have been pillars, for example. Use of mortar, and coverage with concrete varies dramatically along the way, reflecting various stages of improvement and attempts at repair.⁵⁹ Beginning in 1967, the Arab-Israeli War complicated the picture of how the embankment protections are composed because they were lined with 686,000 mines and 13,500 other explosive devices. When the canal was cleared for re-opening 1975, some mines had to be detonated on site.⁶⁰ The manner of, and sources for any modern repairs are unclear. Nevertheless, the first period of reinforcement with stone (1885-1908) certainly coincides with heavy stone export from Cyprus, as do the subsequent periods where concrete was preferred. It is impossible to distinguish exact types and origins of stone from a distance or from photograph,⁶¹ and the canal's edges are relatively inaccessible because of enforced military zones. With limestone samples, however, the organic components of limestone could be traced back to a quarry. This kind of proof is necessary before it can be said for certain that Cypriot stone was used in the Suez Canal.⁶²

The development of Port Saïd peaked between 1879 and 1889, just when the British occupation began in Cyprus. Prior to their arrival, a loose network of business connections had grown up between Ottoman subjects and French contractors. The network functioned into the 20th century in spite of laws that will be discussed later. Along with law enforcement, the British Administration introduced a level of documentation that had not previously happened: where possible, they measured, weighed, and counted the stones destined for export. One 1898 report comes with a comment about the demand at Port Saïd: "Replying to his Excellency's queries I have the honour to state: I The average size of the stones is about 1'.0" x 1'.0" x 9" – a few run up to about 2'.6" x 1'.6" x 1'.0" however. II The price [80 c.p per 100 stones] about half that paid from the quarries. III The number of stones exported from Famagusta this year is as follows: January: nil; February: nil; March: nil; April: 7,200; May: 6,900; June: 10,500; July 15,600; August 1–15th: 3,100. Total - 43,300. It appears there is now a brisk demand for stones at Port Saïd, as all the stones exported were for that place."⁶³

Notes in the Cyprus State Archive also contain casual comments from within the British Administration such as this, "...the rumour has always been that Port Saïd is

59. Seen in 2007 from the container ship *COSCO Vancouver*, crossing the canal. Personal research, in Hoak-Doering 2012, p. 217.

60. Arndt 1975, p. 10.

61. Personal conversation with geologist Costas Xenophontos, 15/9/2011.

62. One such geological study: Kourou *et al.* 2002.

63. Enumeration of stone exports to Port Saïd in the report by the Commissioner of Famagusta in SA1 - 2337 - 1898. Also see Hoak-Doering 2012, p. 9.

practically built with stones exported from Famagusta..."⁶⁴ It is hard to tell if the mild jocularity is intended to downplay the number and kind of transactions taking place along the shores.

Port Saïd and its sister city Port Fuad were planned cities. Intended to accommodate the shipping industry and related ventures, the designs included offices and homes, with a variety of options for architecture and interior decoration. The cities were developed almost all at once in a decade.⁶⁵ Now, most of the remaining original French colonial buildings are under repair, and their foundations are laid bare to see: they are made of a wild assortment of alternative building materials, not just limestone.⁶⁶ The "old town" is a fraction of what it was before the Suez Crisis, the Tripartite War of 1956, but in 2010 there were still enough of the original buildings to see multiple shades and textures of limestone, varieties of brick and concrete block. Although the underlying mixed materials and sizes seem haphazard – different kinds of brick and stone, with wood in the same wall for example – they are covered over with plaster and veneer in order to deliver an overall stylistic uniformity. They feature classic French Colonial scrollwork, turned wood, full-length and wrap-around balconies on four- to five-storey colourful apartment buildings. The assorted composition of building foundations may illustrate how quickly the towns were being built in an area where stone was scarce, and where alternatives were sought out and used. Like in the breakwater, novel uses of concrete played a role here, too: the original lighthouse at Port Saïd is one of the world's first buildings made entirely of poured concrete.⁶⁷ Consumption of Cypriot stone in the region was watched not only by the British Administration but also by members of the British public concerned with cultural heritage. One particularly ardent editorial from *the London Times* reads: "Famagusta is fast disappearing thanks to the enterprise of a few natives who still inhabit its ruins. Port Saïd may be said to be built of its stones carried across to Egypt in little two-masted lighters at a very profitable rate...the priceless old carvings of angels, saints, lions, and what not are roughly knocked off to render the stones square, and perhaps to avoid alarming the good people of Port Saïd. The Turk who keeps the general shop of the place speaks a little French and he acts as agent. The more complete destruction of this city now contemplated is another matter. It is proposed to build a small harbour for

64. British Administration Records, 17 August 1898: Remark by Young, A., Available at: SA 1-2337-98.

65. Architects plans, town plans in: Universal Company of the Suez Maritime Canal 1879.

66. Observations and photographs from 2010, published in Hoak-Doering 2012, p. 218-219.

67. Playfair 1890, p. 54. The lighthouse construction is noted by Jeffery (17-9-1931) in relation to a petition to replace, in concrete, a minaret in Famagusta: Pilides 2009, p. 570.



coasting steam liners within the shallow rocky port of ancient times... The Tower of London might as well be demolished to make way for a new Thames-side dock!"⁶⁸

Government officials tried to control the export of stone by enforcing existing Ottoman stones laws of 1869 and 1874, and later by augmenting these laws with the Famagusta Stones Law of 1891 and its Amendment of 1901;⁶⁹ but they had stiff competition from developers in Egypt and the willing local suppliers. The laws and the motivation to enforce them will be explored next, but this letter of 1888 to the chief Secretary of the British Administration attests to the mood and haste, both of the British and the Cypriots: "Chief Secretary, 25 July 1888: I have the honour to report that Messrs. Hadji Pavlos, of Limassol, export stone from time to time from this district under a contract⁷⁰ dated [1291, AH Y77]⁷¹ which they are allowed to export 10,000 tons of stone; of which quantity they have not yet exported 4000 tons. Unfortunately there is no limit of time. The last shipment... during the present month the Vessel 'Kypros', a small brig, built at Limassol, which has a carrying capacity of 250 tons. This was the Vessel seen by the Receiver General... When stone is shipped by Messrs. H. Pavlos from Limassol wharf dues... [are] paid. When from Amathus [sic] or elsewhere a customs guard is placed on board the Vessel and he remains on board during the whole period of shipment, to see that nothing but stone is taken on board... On the occasion referred to about 230 tons of stone were shipped at Amathus, after which the Vessel took, at Limassol, about 30 tons of stone (from Agia Phyla quarries)... I went out to Amathus to see what had been done, & found, as the Receiver General reports, that several tombs had been recently opened, or reopened; and that large slabs of stone were lying about near the tomb. I found also the opening of a grain store... on the hill, site of the old town, which had evidently been recently opened, but contained only stone & rubbish. On going to Agios Tychonas, I saw on the ground several votive columns and half a... limestone sarcophagus in the house yard of one of the villagers, who had been opening the tombs referred to in land claimed as his own. I have

68. "Spectator" 1899. Jeffery waged a personal campaign for the protection of Mediterranean monuments, which by 1900 had generated public attention such that newspaper editorials like this one criticised British colonial disrespect for Gothic and Mediaeval architecture: Pilides 2009, p. 586-587.

69. See Hoak-Doering 2012, p. 207.

70. The British Government differed with the contractual aspects of Mr Hadji Pavlou's (sic) business: mainly, that he was using a monopoly that was transferred to him, set up under the Ottoman government with a man who had since died, Mr Thrasyvoulos Georgiou. The latter's right was to quarry around Amathus, with no provisions for pre-cut stone. Hadji Pavlos made use of Georgiou's monopoly and apparently extended it to cut stone and antiquities for export to Port Saïd. There was a question about customs being rendered. See SA1-1985-1888.

71. Probably 1877: the apparent Hijiri date (1874) is complicated by the addendum "Y 77". [From correspondence with M. K. Kasapoğlu, EVKAF Nicosia. 9/2/2018.]

sent to take possession of the objects referred to ... with a view to preventing Villagers and probably others."⁷²

Although the pillaging of tombs and sarcophagi dismayed these British agents, Hadji Pavlos⁷³ insisted on business as usual. He argues that since his contract was set up under the Ottoman government, he had good reason to doubt British attempts to stop his trade. There is also an essential urgency that would coincide with the pace in Port Saïd: "The arrangement of the said contract is so plainly affording us the right of free shipment of stones and consequently, it is not at all possible that the correspondence with the Chief Secretary should concern us. The delay which is indefinitely made for the permission which we have asked, seriously damages our interests and renders us responsible for compensation to the Captain of the Vessel 'Kypros'."⁷⁴

Eyewitnesses of loaded ships destined for Port Saïd, in a decade of mighty development there, points inevitably to a scenario where Cyprus was plundered, for money, by Cypriots themselves, including ones from wealthy and politically influential families.⁷⁵ That the Captain of the vessel is mentioned here fits in with the way Savon and Sons Enterprises worked with independent ship captains, who were paid directly for their cargo. This, and other testimonials attest to trade in stone from Cyprus to Egypt that was already established when the British arrived.⁷⁶ Eventually, both locals and occupiers exploited Cypriot cut stone: "The works of demolition [for the harbour] at Famagusta have not yet commenced – but I am informed by one of the officials who takes an interest in the historical past of the island that the wholesale export of stone to Port Saïd still continues. Certainly I saw several houses in Larnaca which had been recently built (within a few months) with Famagusta stones"⁷⁷ Yet even with such clear testimony like the previous from Jeffery, the author of this paper could find no receipts for the micro-transactions

72. Letter to the Commissioner of Limassol dated 6 September 1888, in SA1-1985-1888.

73. The exporter here is Demosthenis Hadjipavlou (1845-1915), who was the mayor of Limassol when the affair with ransacked tombs and stone export took place (mayor from 1887-1896). He is a noted "κοινωνικός παράγων" – a pillar of society, as it were. As a young man he settled in Egypt, set up a trading business from there. Later, in Cyprus, he imported a still from France and established the island's first commercial distillery and set up a wine and spirits trade. The main sea-front road approaching the old port of Limassol is named after Christodoulos Hadjipavlou, the father ("Crist.") listed in "Haggipavlu and Sons". See A. Koudounaris, *Βιογραφικόν Λεξικόν Κυπρίων 1800-1920*, Nicosia, 2010, p. 658.

74. Letter to the Commissioner of Limassol dated 6 September 1888, op. cit. SA1-1985-1888.

75. For more about Cypriot complicity in stone export – the protean local expert I. Vondiziano (also written Bondiziano); and the antiquities dealers of the Tano family – see Merrillees 2003 and Hoak-Doering 2012, p. 214-215.

76. For another connection between wine export and trade in antiquities from Cyprus and Egypt including France, see Merrillees 2003, p. 11 in particular.

77. Pilides 2009, p. 592.

of stones in the archives of the Universal Suez Maritime Canal Company: nothing that directly links Cyprus to Egypt.

Geopolitics: Debt, Tax and Stones

Stone export from Cyprus took place during the transition from Ottoman to European hegemony in the Middle East in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Great Britain acquired Cyprus as "the outpost of the Suez Canal"⁷⁸ although there were prescient detractors who foresaw its underdevelopment as a liability.⁷⁹ The island came with a financial reminder that it was still part of the Ottoman Empire – the Cyprus Tribute – a sum theoretically rendered to the sultan. Originally calculated as the remainder of money left after governing costs were subtracted from annual revenue, the nature of the Tribute changed over time and became a major point of contention during the movement toward Cypriot self-determination. Britain expected Cyprus to produce the revenue for the Tribute, and the cost of it was felt locally: in taxes that were added to the pre-existing Ottoman tax structure. Luke calls the Tribute "paradoxical"⁸⁰ because the Tribute did not go from Cypriots via the British Administration into Turkish coffers; it went to British and French bondholders in repayment of historical Ottoman debt. When the Ottoman Empire and the Khedive of Egypt went bankrupt in 1875, Disraeli and Rothschild bought the Egyptian shares in the Suez Canal Company. Many things could be said about the ambition encapsulated in Disraeli's telegram to Queen Victoria, but it was a threshold for Cyprus: "...You have it, Madame... from now on, the globe's lifeline is yours"⁸¹ At that moment, Cyprus became less essential to imperial strategy regarding access to 'the globe's lifeline'. Nevertheless the British occupied Cyprus three years later, and the Ottoman Empire's debts to European lenders began repayment through Cypriot labours.

In the period of heavy stone export – late 1900's and early 20th century – Cypriots were individually overtaxed, and their collective productivity was not rewarded in ways they could appreciate because of the Tribute. Greek Cypriots in particular were articulate about this inequity, claiming, "in the first ten years of the occupation, which was a period of falling cereal prices, £50,000 worth of annual revenue was encashed in excess of what the Turks had been collecting (on average £182,000 as against £132,000 yearly). The increased tax revenue absorbed, according to their estimates, from one-fifth (1889)

78. Fyler 1889, p. i.

79. "During the last few days I have had repeated conversations with [Smith] and Stanley. They, in common with the Cabinet, feel that Cyprus does not answer the purpose for which it was acquired, namely, to be a spot where a considerable force could rendez-vous and be organized for employment either in Asia Minor or in Egypt. I told them that I believed it was as good for that purpose as any other neighbouring locality, and that, in event of war, most certainly a large quantity of transport animals could be purchased there. Stanley said that they had been very much misled by the Intelligence Department regarding Cyprus and its condition." Wolseley, Cavendish 1991, p. 126.

80. Luke 1957, p. 90.

81. Karbell 2003, p. 262-264, and Verra 2011.

to one-quarter (1895) of the value of the island's output."⁸² The British perspective on what they provided to the island is quite different.⁸³ "The 'Tribute', writes Luke, "constituted a grievance in the minds of Cypriotes considerably greater than the actual sums involved. It rankled to the extent of inducing forgetfulness of conditions before 1878 and of the changes that took place thereafter, which were not unimpressive."⁸⁴ After this, he describes modern progress in Cyprus since British occupation: changes in the legal system, communication and roads, the spread of education and the overall increase in the population.⁸⁵ Between the two perspectives on the Tribute lie the stones, and Luke's list of benefits stops short at the protection of medieval monuments. Local government clamoured for the financial means to develop the infrastructure necessary for the island to earn its keep, but their requests were not heard in London. The British therefore wanted used stone, while Cypriots, in a situation of over-taxation and underdevelopment, found that collecting for export, and exporting stones was a good – if not clandestine – way to make a little money. British methods regarding controls on exports and local use of stone reveal their strategic interests, and their police reports expose local (Cypriot) sentiment. Seen in this light, the Cyprus Tribute can be understood as a trigger, and a nexus where stone rubble became valuable for both occupiers and locals.⁸⁶

At a time when the Sublime Porte was under intense financial and military pressure, it seems strange that the sultan would consider stone export a problem. Yet in 1869, as his empire slid into bankruptcy, he issued a law constraining it. Before then, foreign excavators only needed him to issue permission, a *firman*, to excavate. The 1869 law, *Règlement sur les objets antiques*, confined antiquity exports to within the Ottoman

82. Georghallides 1979, p. 31.

83. In 1879 Baker records an imperious, yet telling assessment of Famagusta's potential: "The vast heaps of stones, all of which are an extremely porous nature, have absorbed the accumulated filth of ages, and the large area now occupied by these ruins must be a fertile source of noxious exhalations. During rainy season the surface water, carrying with it every impurity, furnishes a fresh supply of poison to be stored beneath these health-destroying masses, which cannot possibly be cleansed otherwise than by their complete obliteration... Should the harbour works be commenced, all this now useless and dangerous material will be available for construction the blocks of concrete required for constructing the sea-wall, and the surface of the town will be entirely freed from the present nuisance without additional expense. The few modern buildings should be compulsorily purchased by the Government, and entirely swept away, so that the area inclosed [sic] by the fortification walls should represent a perfectly clean succession of levels in the form of broad terraces, which would drain uniformly towards the sea. Upon these purified and well-drained plateaux the new town could be erected, upon a special plan suitable to the locality, and in harmony with the military requirements of a fortified position..." (Baker 1879, p. 160-161).

84. Luke 1957, p. 90.

85. *Ibid.* p. 90-93.

86. Hoak-Doering 2012, p. 206-209.

Empire and, among other things, forbids defacement of public buildings (Article 5).⁸⁷ It specifies that all archaeological permissions are for things underground, and above ground damage made to antique monuments of any sort is prohibited. In the context of archaeology, the date of the first law, 1869, could be read as an eventuality resulting from some larger-than-life archaeological expeditions. Cesnola's apparent liberty in Cyprus, and the ways he disposed of his collections reflect the various iterations of these laws, especially corresponding with the earlier period of relative freedom, through the Laws of 1869 and the one that came later in 1874. However 1869 also coincides with the opening of the Suez Canal. Perhaps the recent amount of stone sold from the shores of Cyprus and elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire alerted a very preoccupied sultan.⁸⁸ Here, we may remember the Dussaud Brothers building the breakwater in five years (1863-1868), and the 250 cubic kilometres of material that construction required.

Shortly thereafter the sultan issued yet another law, The Ottoman Law of 1874 *Règlement sur les antiquités*, which enlarges and refines the 1869 law. In it, Article One specifies that "all kinds of objects dating from ancient times is an antiquity" and Article Two specifies two kinds of protected objects: coins, and any other antiquity whether mobile or not.⁸⁹ In general, Islamic law did not recognize antiquities that pre-dated the Koran (7th c. CE), but the new Ottoman laws seem to keep the definition of "antiquity" open to interpretation. The application of Islamic Law under the Ottoman Empire varied depending on where it was administered, subsuming pre-existing Islamic legal systems in Muslim places that came under Ottoman rule, and in non-Muslim places subsuming some pre-existing secular customs and laws.⁹⁰ Since both Egypt and Cyprus were provinces of the Ottoman Empire during the construction of the canal, there should have been a similar – if not identical – understanding of the two antiquities laws. In his work about Islamic law in Ottoman Cyprus, Wright mentions the problematic stone export around the time the Suez Canal was built and he too claims that stone from Famagusta, Soloi and Amathus was exported to build "the quays and hotels of Port Saïd." Regarding the legality of it he quips, "legal provisions are one thing and their administration is another."⁹¹

Under the British Administration, Ottoman Law was initially enforced with only a few additions, many having to do with limiting the despoliation of the natural environment and its goods. One regulation, which Stanley-Price calls "conspicuous by its absence, given the thriving market for them in Cyprus," was an amendment to protect antiquities.⁹²

87. This paper refers to the versions of the 1869 and 1874 Ottoman Stones Laws in use by the British Administration, which were French translations from Arabic, reprinted on p. 273-275 in Stanley-Price 2001.

88. Syria and Rhodes, for example, as referred to by Stanley 2011, p. 21.

89. Author's translation from Stanley-Price 2001, p. 274.

90. Wright 2001.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 266.

92. Stanley-Price 2001, p. 267.

Indeed, the British Administration waited thirteen years before amending the Ottoman regulations on antiquities with the Famagusta Stones Law of 1891. As Hill puts it, this "quaintly entitled" law "found its way to the Statute Book" to "stop the destruction of the ancient buildings of the town, which were serving as a quarry for new constructions."⁹³ The Famagusta Law of 1891 provided footing for those with a mentality to protect local antiquities,⁹⁴ and the intervening Law no. 12 of 1898 dealt with rehabilitating, repairing the town.⁹⁵ Part of the 1891 Law reads quite clearly: "...it shall be unlawful to export from the town of Famagusta any dressed or cut stone, ashlar or rubble-stone."⁹⁶ Despite the written intentions of the Famagusta Stones Law of 1891 and its supplements and amendments, they came late and seemed hard to enforce.⁹⁷

A less generous perspective on the Famagusta Stones Laws is that the British Administration needed the loose stone. This is visible in a communication to the Public Works Department on 23rd July 1898 which reads, "I have brought this [export] to your notice as I am of opinion that if the harbour works at Famagusta are undertaken, all the available stone in the Town, whether private property or otherwise, will be required for their construction."⁹⁸ Establishing a deep-water harbour at Famagusta was the centrepiece of British aims in Cyprus: "with it, Cyprus is the key of a great position; without it, the affair is a dead-lock."⁹⁹ The harbour attracted international attention to the destruction it would cause on the sea side of the Venetian walls, and a lot of public outcry was stimulated by that project alone; not just stone export to Port Saïd. Gunnis calls the British administration "Victorian Vandals" who "would have torn down the whole Sea Wall if they had been allowed."¹⁰⁰ In fact, all the British aims for development needed

93. "The builders of Port Said being in need of materials had been tearing down churches and transporting their stones to Egypt for building quays and hotels [...]" Hill writes, quoting Gunnis. It is worth noting that he does not specify who the actors are, in this scenario: Hill, Luke 1972, p. 609.

94. Hoock (2007, p. 49-72) argues that British Museum acquisitions relied not just on private donation and private interest, but also on public projects such as the Famagusta harbour works that could hide and assist private collecting activities. Stanley-Price (2001, p. 275) also comments that the Cyprus Museum could have, but did not amass a collection of antiquities using the legal system of spoils sharing.

95. Hill, Luke 1972, p. 609.

96. Amendments to the Famagusta Stones Law of 1891, SA1 - 846 - 1900 p. 3.

97. Emerick (2014, p. 124-127) assesses further the enforcement of new laws pertaining to stone removal in the period immediately after occupation. Ownership disputes are particularly problematic where the understanding is transferred from Ottoman law. Disputes related to the right to demolish immovable property were common, one instance has already been cited here: Demosthenes Hadjipavlou, p. 18 (fn. 73); also see Hoak-Doering 2012, p. 207-208, for specific local infractions and disputes with British regulations.

98. British Administration Records (23 July 1898).

99. Baker 1879, p. 159-160.

100. Gunnis 1947, p. 90.

stone – strategic, infrastructural and administrative – and this made the demolition of (or strategic desuetude of) Cypriot monuments worse. “It may also be mentioned, Hill asides, “that the authorities, if they sought to prevent wilful destruction, were not always unwilling to accept the boons that accident provided, if the story is true that one High Commissioner, who shall be nameless, welcomed the news of the fall of the dormitory roof at Bellapais with the remark that as road metal it would be very useful.”¹⁰¹ Jeffery, who repeatedly petitioned the High Commission claimed, “during the past 25 years [of British administration] the destruction of most singular examples of Gothic architecture, ecclesiastical and domestic of all kinds has been very great and every year the number of remaining fragments gets smaller. In Turkish days the destruction was less rapid.”¹⁰² Jeffery’s judgment must have come from frustration: what was removed during the “Turkish days” (i.e., 500 years of rule culminating with the canal construction) was impossible for him to measure in retrospect. Nevertheless, the order of destruction he witnessed, even if its duration was much shorter, was intensified by Industrial Age equipment and ambition.

While implementing Ottoman Law, the government had to supply itself with cut stone, and simultaneously curtail the pre-existing local market for trade and export. Government officials tried to manage stone by sending prisoners to collect it and to guard the piles; the stone was then counted, and stashed under guard in the Famagusta police yard. Despite all the legal constraints, lighters with double masts sailed often from Famagusta, filled with stones.¹⁰³ Little in the Cyprus State Archives describes what might have been a well-coordinated, and longstanding trade, with merchants, brokers, and apparatuses, both human and machine, loading and preparing these lighters. One exception is the hint of the French – Ottoman cooperation from the previously quoted 1899 “Spectator” clipping wherein “[t]he Turk who keeps the general shop of the place speaks a little French”.¹⁰⁴ Another is an 1898 report to the Cyprus Public Works Department reading, “... upon my recent visit to Famagusta, I noticed that large quantities of building stone removed from the ruins of the Town were being exported to the Syrian Coast... in the case of shipment of such material from Larnaca an export duty of some description is imposed and I consider it would be advisable to adopt a similar course in the case of Famagusta...”¹⁰⁵ In addition to mentioning another site of export, the official also lodges another uncertainty about the stones’ destination.

Perhaps if the government educational system that the British installed had included history lessons related to local monuments, some sympathy for preservation might have been aroused. The Cypriots’ consistent pragmatism pained Jeffery, but to his chagrin he

101. Hill, Luke 1972, p. 609 n. 1. Another version in Luke 1957, p. 94 (cited in full later).

102. Jeffery, letter to Sec. S.P.A.B., 25-01-06 in Pilides 2009, p. 600.

103. British Administration Records (1893) and British Administration Records (23 July 1898).

104. “Spectator” 1899.

105. British Administration Records (23 July 1898).

recognized equally pragmatic and brutal treatment of Cypriot monuments among his own, better-educated countrymen. Luke, too, after listing the benefits brought to Cyprus by the British occupation, unreservedly criticizes the government’s approach to cultural heritage: “...here I cannot refrain from recalling [the government’s] failure adequately to protect the island’s magnificent mediaeval remains, which in the first thirty years or so of the Occupation could have been restored and preserved at a very moderate cost. The tower of the palace of the Lusignan Kings in Nicosia, which had survived the vicissitudes of five centuries, was actually demolished when it could well have been saved, and featureless offices were erected in its site.”¹⁰⁶ Understanding the value of material culture was so foreign to some of the Cypriots whom Jeffery meets that, in an uncomfortable moment of truth he writes, “[h]istorical continuity can hardly be expected amongst people who appear to have little or no conception of a patronymic.”¹⁰⁷ By contemporary standards this statement is difficult, but it opens up an interesting area of thought. Regional and historical knowledge can be quite deep without use of a foreign system of nomenclature, but Jeffery exposes the similar ground between kin recognition and recognition of culture, or perhaps cultural identity. Knowing about and valuing locations that have transmitted significance, and naming kin both contribute to forming social bonds and framing individual and group identities. The gap in that breadth of knowledge, between family structure and a sense of social history comes from education and exposure to external (extra-local) knowledge. Jeffery thought that Cypriots, who lacked a relational understanding of their history, could be assisted by Europeans who ostensibly had this refinement: “[t]he natives of Cyprus are of course too uneducated and too prejudiced to offer the smallest assistance in the matter. The only possible chance of doing anything towards the rescue of these most interesting medieval monuments from further spoliation is by obtaining funds from Europe.”¹⁰⁸ (Now that anodyne, EU-sponsored renovations have become commonplace in Cyprus, Jeffery’s expostulations sound even more futile than they did in the first half of the 20th century.)

Considering that the church was a source of education, and last names, for many Greek Cypriots there is another problem of transmitted significance. When medieval Christian buildings undergo renovations¹⁰⁹ in order to bring them up to modern Orthodox tastes, the transmitted significance of the building’s Christian history is less important than the design exigencies of its Orthodox appropriators. The case of Agios Georgios Exorinos, the Nestorian church, is one example where Jeffery lamented the destruction of its 14th

106. Luke 1957, p. 94.

107. Pilides 2009, p. 151.

108. Pilides 2009, p. 600.

109. The subject of this discussion is limited to 19th and 20th century Christian renovations of Christian monuments. This is different from, and far less egregious than the changes made to the same period buildings after the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus or what has happened since the war in 1974.

century Christian details in this way. Jeffery's reaction to Orthodox renovation¹¹⁰ is parallel to what "filled [Sir Harry Luke] with impotent fury" against the British administration's buildings. He deplored the "apathy that had allowed priceless remains of mediaeval Cyprus to go to rack and ruin; at the misguided energy which had raised necessary new buildings... in the shoddiest Public Workesque."¹¹¹ It wasn't just the Greek Cypriots and employees of the British government that were pulling buildings apart, however: all the communities on Cyprus were doing it, regardless of their level of education.¹¹² Perhaps the saddest anecdote of all is the vision that Luke gives us of Jeffery's "voice crying in the wilderness." Jeffery "represented [to the government] that the famous two-storeyed fourteenth-century monastic dormitory in the Abbey of Bellapais would collapse unless immediate and quite inexpensive steps were taken to reinforce it, [and] the only answer he received was that it would come in handy for road-metal. It did not even do that; the weathered sandstone proved far too soft".¹¹³

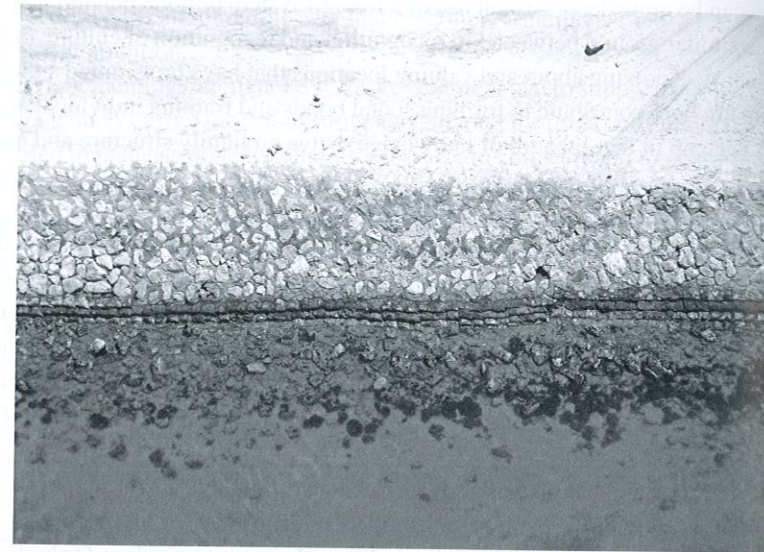


Figure 3. Suez Canal stone embankment at the El Ballah Bypass.
Photo Credit: Elizabeth Hoak-Doering 2007.

110. Pilides 2009, p. 144.

111. Luke 1957, p. 94.

112. A Turkish Cypriot wants to build a garage on his property where "the Chapter House of an important Cathedral – [was] still in evidence [...] It is also possible that this Chapter House in Nicosia may have been built as the archives of the Lusignan kingdom [...] a monument of the XIII century stands the chance of being converted to a motor garage." [Memorandum from Jeffery to the Hon. Col. Secretary Nicosia 4th August 1928, in Pilides 2009, p. 58-59.] In Jeffery's diary from May 15, 1919: "Visited Salamis and discovered a large amount of damage done by Armenians during past 5 years." (*Ibid.* p. 169). Also see the Cyprus State Archive record of police interactions with Mehmed Mahmoud about the stones on his property, explained in Hoak-Doering 2012, p. 207.

113. Luke 1957, p. 94-95.

Final Comments (Fig. 3)

A recent remark by Gaber encapsulates an intriguing aspect of missing Cypriot stones: i.e., although absent, they retain their importance. She recalled that excavating robber trenches at Idalion showed, through the volume and form of backfill, the original size of poached architectures.¹¹⁴ Because Idalion is inland, the fate of those foundation stones may be unrelated to the Suez Canal but it illustrates the way that material absence of stone does not diminish its theoretical value.¹¹⁵ In general this notion could be applied at monuments around the world where people rob stones: Hadrian's Wall, the Great Wall of China, Mayan pyramids, among countless others.¹¹⁶ Cypriot stones, by contrast, became famous through their reuse at a spectacular foreign destination. They leave a deficit that was supplanted – not by backfill – but by this legend of the Suez Canal. Sometimes, when old stones are reused, legends of their previous history bring added significance to a new location. Kinney (2006) cites art historians Gunther Bandmann and Wolfgang Götz, who suggest that Classical materials used in mediaeval architecture are intrinsic bearers of meaning; that a new site could be invested with the "authority" of the older one.¹¹⁷ Maybe the Cypriot stones create an Industrial-era footnote to this art-historical notion: one where the essence of stone – as sand, gravel or lime – contributes meaning to a new (concrete) structure, enhancing the value of that structure with a pulp of history.

Eyewitnesses most frequently quoted here – Jeffery, Enlart, and some from the archives of the British Administration – see the island as it was in the years after the Suez Canal was open. Before the British occupation of Cyprus visits to Famagusta in particular were rare if permitted, and export in general was not quantified. Still, it should be clear by now that the stone trade was happening; even flourishing. As Port Saïd added to the social aspect of the canal's presence and became a transport hub with cultural life, the stone quay and hotels provided visual stakes in a narrative that visitors could imagine. And even though the canal was open in 1869, later reports of stone destined for Port Saïd do not exclude continued use of imported stones for upkeep.

The many accounts of stone poaching say something about a pragmatic side of human nature. Education could have instilled local interest in regional history and the importance of Cypriot monuments. However, building local pride – like building bonds between Cypriots of all communities – would not have been a very good colonizing strategy. The desirability of cut stone caused tension between the government and locals in the late 19th century but later inter-communal differences may also have contributed to demolition and repurposing of supposedly missing architecture. Aqueducts are a good example of this.

114. P. Gaber, personal conversation with the author, Nicosia 2015, in reference to Stager, Walker 1989.

115. Article 5 of the 1869 Ottoman Law would have permitted taking material from underground.

116. Associated Press in Belize City (15th May 2013) Mayan pyramid bulldozed by road construction firm. *The Guardian*. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/may/14/mayan-pyramid-bulldozed-road-construction> (Last accessed 4th March 2018).

117. Kinney 2006, p. 241.

Since the ones surviving into modernity were mainly Ottoman constructions, and thus perceived as a Turkish – not Classical – aspect of Cypriot cultural heritage, aqueducts might selectively have been left in disrepair, demolished and repurposed: disappearing in spite of antiquities laws that could have protected them.

Stone used in the Suez Canal and Port Saïd is a special instance of stone reuse. It cannot be compared to reuse like the Classical fragments found in Byzantine churches on Cyprus, or in Venice, or in Famagusta; it cannot be compared to Famagusta's stones used in Larnaca, or Nicosia's mediaeval stones used in later shops and houses. In those instances of reuse, the old stones are identifiable or at least tangible. By contrast, the stones exported to Port Saïd and the Suez Canal more or less vanished. The reuse is not local, and there is little trace of them. The legend of the stones that were used in the Suez Canal speaks to a history and a society that dissolved during a brutal shift to modernity, and the agents of the stone trade who sold their historical substance did so with a different understanding of time, heritage and art. Those things were not in shortage then, as they are now.

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TIBURCE COLONNA CECCALDI À CHYPRE (1866-1869)

I. LES ACTIVITÉS CONSULAIRES

Lucie BONATO

Abstract. Tiburce Colonna Ceccaldi (1832-1892) was the Consul of France in Larnaca from 1866 to 1869. The study of his correspondence shows that he was very active, not only reporting on the state of trade and navigation which was the essential task of the Consuls, but also protecting the French colony (people and business) as well as the Catholic Christians. Cyprus was rather calm during his stay, one of the main events being the promulgation of a very important law which allowed foreigners to become land owners in the Ottoman Empire (June 1867). He also denounced the Ottoman Governors and insisted on another point: France was losing its influence in favour of England.

Introduction

Une carrière diplomatique exemplaire

Tiburce, de son vrai nom Dominique Albert Edouard Colonna Ceccaldi (Blois 18 juillet 1832-Paris 8 décembre 1892) appartient à une famille corse originaire de Vescovato (au sud de Bastia)¹, qui s'est installée pour partie à Évisa (à mi-distance entre Ajaccio et Calvi) et pour partie à Calvi.

Licencié en droit, il entre dans la carrière² en juin 1854 en tant qu'attaché à la Direction des consulats et affaires commerciales. Devenu élève consul le 12 janvier 1859, il est attaché au consulat général d'Alexandrie (septembre 1859). Par la suite, il occupe différents postes : Barcelone (janvier 1860), Smyrne (octobre 1861), Beyrouth (janvier 1862), Djeddah (novembre 1864, où il devient consul de seconde classe)³. En juin 1865, il obtient un congé de quatre mois, puis est affecté à Tauris (aujourd'hui Tabriz en Iran) – poste qu'il n'a pas occupé⁴ –, avant d'être nommé à Larnaca le 28 septembre 1865.

1. Il est fils de Durabile Francescu Zavieru Colonna Ceccaldi (Calvi, 3.12.1789-Calvi, 24.4.1874) et de Cécile Charlotte Virginie Brousse, épousée en 1831.

2. Carrière reconstituée à partir de son dossier personnel aux Archives du ministère des Affaires étrangères.

3. Il ne semble pas avoir occupé le poste, car de janvier à mars 1865 il est chargé de l'intérim du Consulat général de Beyrouth.

4. La nomination le trouve dans un établissement de bains, il demande alors une prolongation de son congé et une autre affectation pour raisons de santé.