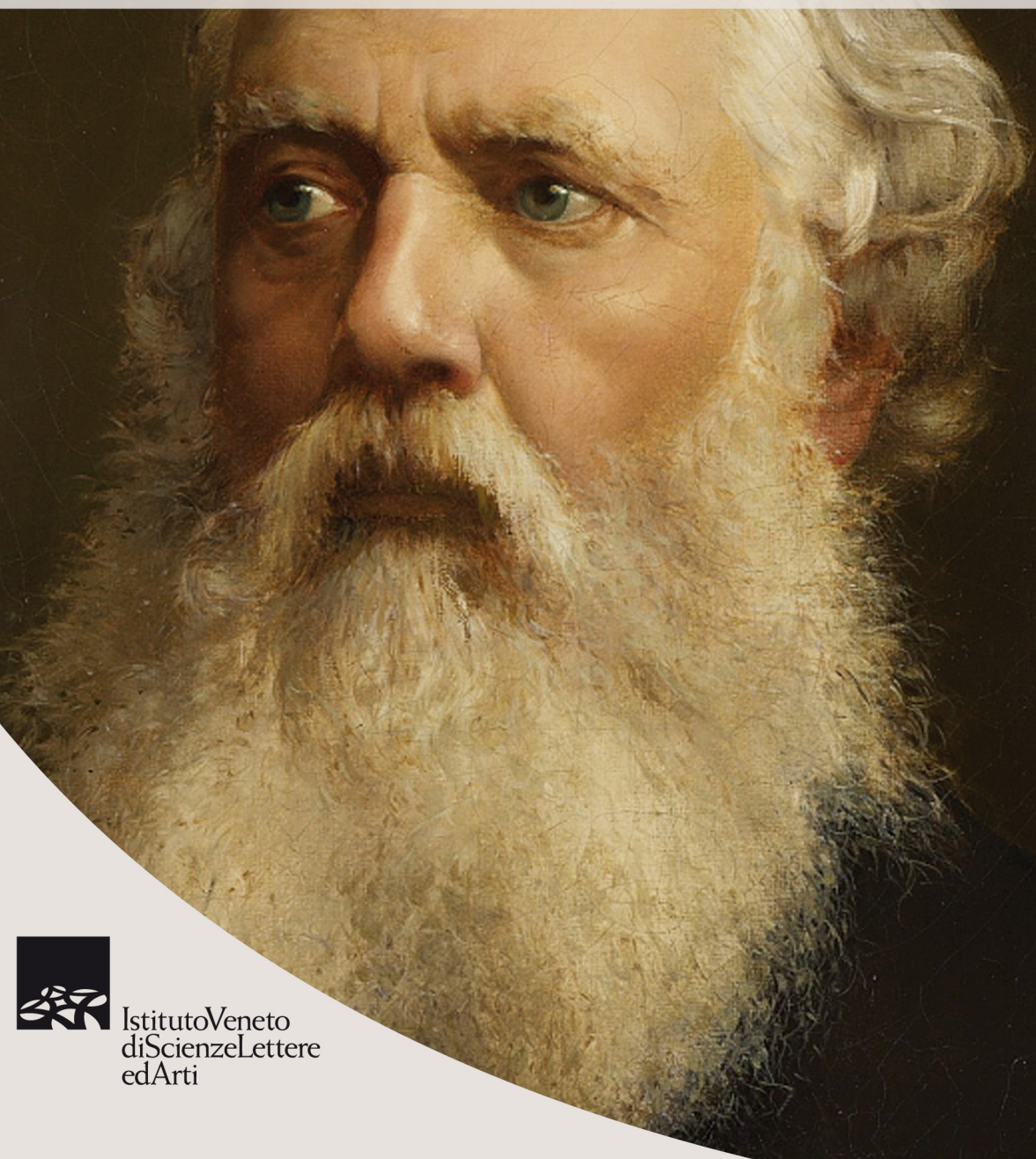


edited by STEFANIA ERMIDORO and CECILIA RIVA  
in collaboration with LUCIO MILANO

## RETHINKING LAYARD 1817-2017



Istituto Veneto  
di Scienze Lettere  
ed Arti

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On the cover:

British school, *Sir Austen Henry Layard (1817-1894). Politician, Diplomat, and Archaeologist*, c. 1890. British Embassy, Ankara (photo Wikimedia Commons).



Istituto Veneto  
di Scienze Lettere  
ed Arti

ISTITUTO VENETO DI SCIENZE, LETTERE ED ARTI

# RETHINKING LAYARD 1817-2017

edited by

STEFANIA ERMIDORO and CECILIA RIVA

in collaboration with

LUCIO MILANO

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*Project and editorial drafting:* Ruggero Rugolo

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## PREFACE

Rethinking Layard 1817-2017 marked the bicentenary of the birth of the famous archaeologist and diplomat Austen Henry Layard (1817-1894). This landmark year encouraged further reflection on his reputation and the role he played within the European context of the nineteenth century.

In the last decades, scholars have tackled his multifaceted interests in art, archaeology, education, politics, and diplomacy. This interdisciplinary approach was maintained in Rethinking Layard 1817-2017, a two-day conference held at Palazzo Loredan, Venice, on 5-6 March 2018.

The present volume brings together contributions to the conference, which was organised by Stefania Ermidoro and Cecilia Riva, with the support of the Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere e Arti and Scuola Dottorale in Storia delle Arti of Ca' Foscari University. Attention was placed upon three major themes: "Layard and archaeology" chaired by Lucio Milano (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia); "New data on Layard" presided over by Jaynie Anderson (University of Melbourne); and "Politics, diplomacy, and art" moderated by Emanuele Pellegrini (IMT Lucca). To complement the papers addressed in the Sala delle Adunanze of Palazzo Loredan, a visit to Ca' Cappello Layard was arranged to see the palace where Layard and his wife Enid lived from 1880 to 1912.

Drawing on the conference Austen Henry Layard tra l'Oriente e Venezia organised by F.M. Fales and B.J. Hickey in 1983, the present studies are intended to expand and cross-relate new, unpublished materials about Layard and his activities, relationships, influences, achievements, and long-term legacy in London and Venice. New research into the career of Layard, his networks of expert contacts and colleagues, prompted the publication of these contributions.

A first series of papers stresses the role Layard played as a pioneer and supporter of archaeological studies and revives his legacy. Not only did Layard establish the foundations of Assyriology, as Andrew George argues, but he also contributed to the pre-classical archaeology of Anatolia, as

*Silvia Alaura outlines in her essay on the exchange of expertise between Layard and Archibald Henry Sayce.*

*John Curtis addresses Layard's relationship with the artists who accompanied him on the excavations in Nimrud and Nineveh, whose illustrations contributed to a more precise contextualization of Layard's discoveries, as well as to a better understanding of Assyrian art among scholars and the public. Mario F. Fales explains how Assyrian discoveries reached America, by analysing the idealised Orientalist portrait Miner K. Kellogg painted of Layard. Drawing back from the function of these visual representations of Assyria and the Orient in general, Georgina Herrmann offers a close examination of some of the Syro-Phoenician and Egyptianizing ivories discovered by Layard, kept at the British Museum.*

*Having delved into the Layard's family archive that was recently deposited to the Philip Robinson Library at Newcastle University, Stefania Ermidoro presents Layard from a new and more intimate perspective. Being a repository of personal memories and working materials, the archive furnishes a point of access to Layard's varied interests and activities, as well as to those of his wife, Lady Enid Layard, née Guest. Henrike Rost directs her attention to Lady Layard's autograph album and the musical evenings organised at Ca' Cappello Layard, which gives a fascinating insight into the couple's social circle. Among the activities the Layards pursued in Venice was their investment in Murano glass-making, which Rosa Barovier Mentasti described at the conference; her presentation can be seen on the Istituto Veneto's Youtube channel.*

*The Venetian context of the mid-nineteenth century onwards is explored by Maria Stella Florio. She shifts the emphasis away from the Layards by introducing another illustrious Anglo-Venetian, albeit of the previous generation, Rawdon Brown. The comparison between these two personalities and their approach to Venice and its institutions is complemented by Cecilia Riva's essay, in which Layard's collecting activity and networks are explored. She focuses particularly on the British diplomatic corps in Venice and its role in the art market. Indeed, Layard's lifelong ambition since his first journey to Constantinople was to be a diplomat of the top rank, a status he partly achieved. Johnathan Parry points out how his diplomatic ambitions also guided his parliamentary career, while shedding new light on one of the least-known aspects of Layard's life.*



*The sheer variety and breadth of the essays, as well as their cross-relation in content, contribute to a rich and complex picture of Layard. Rethinking Layard 1817-2017 drew attention to Layard's involvement in the many public institutions in which he took part, both in London and in Venice. In particular, the contributors shed light on Layard's activities as a collector and contributor to various museums and private collections. Finally, Layard's ongoing legacy elicits much attention, especially in the fields of archaeology, art market issues, glass studies, and history of politics.*

*We are very grateful to all contributors for having accepted our invitation and for their lively collaboration throughout the development of this project; many thanks are equally due to those who chaired the sessions at the conference in Venice. The event benefitted from a large audience, whose enthusiastic participation enriched several fruitful discussions: we would like to thank all those who took part to the event, in particular Gianni Lanfranchi for the "Layard surprise" which he organised and which brought the audience face to face with several pieces from an Italian private collection that had been donated by Layard himself.*

*We owe a special word of thanks to Lucio Milano, who has supported us in every way from the very beginning. We are grateful to Martina Frank for the support that we received from the Scuola Dottorale in Storia delle Arti of Ca' Foscari University.*

*Warm thanks are due to the Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, in particular to its President Gherardo Ortalli and Chancellor Giovanna Palandri. We are also grateful to Sebastiano Pedrocco and all the other members of the staff at the Istituto, who contributed in every detail to the successful organization of the event in Venice. Ruggero Rugolo has guided this book through the publication process: to him, we are truly grateful.*

*Venice, September 2020*

Stefania Ermidoro, Cecilia Riva

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# RETHINKING LAYARD 1817-2017

SILVIA ALAURA<sup>1</sup>

AUSTEN HENRY LAYARD AND ARCHIBALD HENRY SAYCE:  
AN ANATOLIAN PERSPECTIVE

**Abstract**

*One of the less well-known aspects of the multifaceted life and career of Austen Henry Layard is his role in the history of the pre-classical archaeology of Anatolia, which primarily dates back to the period when he was ambassador at Constantinople. This is documented by his contacts with the Anglican clergyman Archibald Henry Sayce, Professor of Comparative Philology, and later of Assyriology, at Oxford. My paper focuses on the correspondence between Layard and Sayce in the years 1879-1880 and on other unpublished documents preserved in archives in Oxford and London. Further information concerning Layard's role in this formative phase of Anatolian studies can be obtained from the letters – also unpublished – that both Layard and Sayce exchanged in the same period with the German archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann, already well-known for his excavations in Greece and in the Troad. These materials shed light on practices and methods of the orientalist in the mid-Victorian era.*

One of the least-known and most under-investigated aspects of the multifaceted life and career of Austen Henry Layard (1817-1894) is his role in the history of the pre-classical archaeology of Anatolia, which primarily dates back to the period when he was British ambassador

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<sup>1</sup> I wish to express my gratitude to the Department of Special Collections and Western Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, The Queen's College, Oxford, the Griffith Institute, Oxford, the British Library, London, and The Athenaeum Club, London, for their kind permission to study and publish their archival materials. My manuscript has been greatly enhanced by constructive comments from Stefania Ermidoro and Marco Bonechi. I thank Adam Thorn for his revision of my English manuscript.

at Constantinople, i.e. from April 1877 to May 1880 (Figs. 1-2)<sup>2</sup>. Actually, such a role does not emerge from Layard's *Memoirs* of his ambassadorship to Turkey, which, together with the diaries of his wife Mary Enid Evelyn (*née* Guest, 1843-1912) for the same period, are the primary source for the study of these three momentous years<sup>3</sup>. This role is not even apparent from Layard's diplomatic correspondence. Rather, Layard's involvement in this formative phase of Anatolian research is documented in his contacts with the Anglican clergyman Archibald Henry Sayce (1845-1933), a younger scholar who, at the end of the 1870s, was focusing his studies on the Hittites in Asia Minor (Fig. 3)<sup>4</sup>. Shortly afterwards, Sayce became Deputy Professor of Comparative Philology, and later (1891) of Assyriology, at Oxford (Fig. 4)<sup>5</sup>.

The relationship between Layard and Sayce has not so far been adequately investigated. This is mainly to be attributed to the fact that Sayce (unlike Layard) has until now been largely ignored by historians and academics, or viewed with increasing criticism and even disdain. Indeed, although a residual appreciation of the value of his work has

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<sup>2</sup> On Layard as British ambassador in Constantinople see A. CLARKE, *Layard and Diplomacy*, in *Austen Henry Layard tra l'Oriente e Venezia*, Symposium Internazionale, Venezia 26-28 ottobre 1983, edited by F.M. FALES - B.J. HICKEY, Rome 1987, pp. 93-100; see also the article by J.P. Parry in this volume.

<sup>3</sup> The *Memoirs* and the diaries, kept in the Western Manuscripts Department of the British Library in London, have been fully published in S. KUNERALP, ed., *The Queen's Ambassador to the Sultan: Memoirs of Sir Henry A. Layard's Constantinople Embassy, 1877-1880*, Istanbul 2009, and ID., *Twixt Pera and Therapia: The Constantinople Diaries of Lady Layard*, Istanbul 2010. The Layards' arrival at Constantinople is described by Enid in her letter to Charlotte Maria Guest (Lady Layard's eldest sister) dated 27 April 1877, kept in the Layard Collection of Newcastle University; see the article by S. Ermidoro in this volume.

<sup>4</sup> On Sayce see, among others, S.H. LANGDON, *Archibald Henry Sayce as Assyriologist*, «Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland», 2 (1933), pp. 499-503; J. GARSTANG, *Archibald Henry Sayce*, «Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology», 20 (1933), pp. 195-196; R.L. BELTON, *A Non-Traditional Traditionalist: Rev. A.H. Sayce and His Intellectual Approach to Biblical Authenticity and Biblical History in Late-Victorian Britain* (Diss., Louisiana State University), Baton Rouge 2007.

<sup>5</sup> For Sayce and the beginnings of Oxford Assyriology see S. ALAURA - M. BONECHI, *Dreaming of an International Discipline - Archibald H. Sayce, Cosmopolitanism and Assyriology at Oxford*, in *Towards a History of Assyriology*, (Proceedings of the 64<sup>th</sup> RAI, Innsbruck, July 16-20, 2018), edited by H. NEUMANN - S. FINK, Münster forthcoming (Investigatio Orientis).

remained in some scientific fields, most of the agenda behind Sayce's work has lost its relevance and simply no longer fits in with prevailing scholarly interests. However, Sayce's prominence as a public intellectual, and his copious correspondence with leading contemporary scholars and cultural figures for most of his long life, placed him in the thick of that intense network that formed the backbone of the Victorian establishment. The documents I present below, almost all unpublished, are preserved in archives in Oxford and in the British Library, London<sup>6</sup>. These materials enrich our picture of the collaborations and connections between the founders of what would subsequently become the various specialised disciplines of Ancient Near Eastern studies, thus helping to shed light on the intellectual complexities and the practices and methods of the orientalists in the mid-Victorian era. In this way, I hope with this article to extend our evaluation of Layard's contribution to include subjects not examined before.

Layard was among the scholars who exercised the greatest influence upon Sayce's formative years. As Sayce describes in his 1923 autobiography entitled *Reminiscences*, as a schoolboy he began to study cuneiform by analysing the lists of personal and geographical names in Layard's account of his second expedition, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*<sup>7</sup>:

My introduction to Babylonia and the cuneiform characters must have taken place before the attack of typhoid fever, as I remember that the pleasantest hours of my convalescence were passed in dreaming that I was floating on a raft down the Tigris past Nineveh and Assur and great bulls inscribed with "arrow-headed" script. When I ceased to

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<sup>6</sup> On Sayce's unpublished Oxford papers see the overview in S. ALAURA - M. BONECHI, *Archibald Henry Sayce and his Papers at The Queen's College, Oxford*, «The Queen's College Library Insight», 8 (2018), pp. 14-20.

<sup>7</sup> A.H. LAYARD, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon; With Travels in Armenia, Kurdistan and the Desert: Being the Result of a Second Expedition Undertaken for The Trustees of the British Museum*, London - New York 1853. A cheaper and more popular version was published in 1867. On the publication of Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon* see I.M. KEIGHREN - Ch.W.J. WITHERS - B. BELL, *Travels into Print: Exploration, Writing, and Publishing with John Murray, 1773-1859*, Chicago 2015, 171ff.

dream and was able to leave my bed, I amused myself with copying the cuneiform representatives of the proper and geographical names given towards the end of Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, and with analysing them into their elements, so that by the time I could go to school again I had acquired a knowledge of the phonetic values of a good many cuneiform signs. It was the beginning of my work in Assyriology<sup>8</sup>.

Years later, Layard was one of the highly significant persons<sup>9</sup> Sayce met in London, at the Athenaeum Club (Figs. 5-6). The Athenaeum, at 107 Pall Mall, south of Burlington House, was particularly popular among the scientific and literary elite<sup>10</sup>, and was one of the places of meeting and discussion for the orientologists of the 1870s where the initial debate about the Hittites also developed<sup>11</sup>. The club was characterised by the wide range of amenities it offered, from dining facilities to libraries, and by its well-defined procedures for the selection of members. Sayce, whose membership was proposed by Herbert Spencer and Matthew Arnold, said his election «was the greatest boon conferred upon me. It gave me a delightful home in London, where I found all the books and periodicals I needed as well as the society I most enjoyed»<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> A.H. SAYCE, *Reminiscences*, London 1923, p. 19. On Layard's contribution to Assyriology, which has long been underestimated, see S. ERMIDORO, *Not Only Nineveh and Its Remains: A.H. Layard's Contribution to Assyriology*, in *Dealing with Antiquity – Past, Present, and Future* (63<sup>ème</sup> RAI, Marburg, July 24-28, 2017), edited by W. SOMMERFELD, Münster 2020 (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 460), pp. 211-224, and the article by A.R. George in this volume.

<sup>9</sup> On Layard's public reputation see the article by J.P. Parry in this volume.

<sup>10</sup> For a history of the Athenaeum Club see H. WARD, *History of the Athenaeum 1824-1925*, London 1926; F.R. COWELL, *The Athenaeum: Club and Social Life in London, 1824-1974*, London 1975; B. BLACK, *A Room of His Own: A Literary-Cultural Study of Victorian Clubland*, Athens (Ohio) 2012, esp. pp. 59-64; W.C. LUBENOW, "Only Connect": *Learned Societies in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, Woodbridge 2015, esp. pp. 125-127, 133-134, 152; M. WHEELER, *The Athenaeum: More Than Just Another London Club*, New Haven 2020, forthcoming.

<sup>11</sup> See S. ALAURA, *Setting the stage for Hittite Studies in Victorian England: practices and methods of the 1870s*, «Anabases», 26 (2017), pp. 33-52. See also D.M. WILSON, *The British Museum and the Athenaeum*, in *Armchair Athenians: essays from Atheneum life*, edited by J. THOMPSON - G. PHILO - B. BOUCHER, London 2001, pp. 226-236.

<sup>12</sup> SAYCE, *Reminiscences*, p. 124. On the significance of the Athenaeum Club see S. COLLINI, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain, 1850-1930*,

The orientalist were members of a smaller dining club within the Athenaeum that included – besides Layard – Henry Rawlinson (one of the fathers of Assyriology), James Fergusson (the architect and art historian specialising in ancient Mesopotamian, Egyptian and Indian art, and manager of the Crystal Palace Company), William Sandys Wright Vaux (who from November 1875 until his death in 1885 was Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, and whose publications did much to popularise the oriental antiquities discovered by Layard), and Thomas Kerr Lynch (the Irish explorer who was proposed as a member of the Athenaeum by Lord Dufferin)<sup>13</sup>. In the 1870s temporary, honorary membership of the Athenaeum Club was conferred on the celebrated German archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann, who had achieved fame for his archaeological excavations in the Troad<sup>14</sup>.

The orientalist's dinners, which took place at seven o'clock on Sunday evening at the Athenaeum Club, are described in abundant detail by Sayce in his aforementioned autobiography<sup>15</sup>. It is in this context that Sayce probably discussed in a preliminary way the idea that the inscriptions from both Syria and Anatolia should be attributed to the Hittites. Indeed, during the 1870s the debate in Britain about

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Oxford 1991, pp. 15-24. More generally, for the role played by the clubs in Victorian society see S.A. THÉVOZ, *Club Government: How the Early Victorian World was Ruled from London Clubs*, London 2018.

<sup>13</sup> On Thomas Kerr Lynch, author of *Across Mesopotamia to India* (1879) and *The Navigation of the Euphrates and Tigris* (1884), see E. BAIGENT, *Lynch, Thomas Kerr (1818-1891), Explorer in Mesopotamia*, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online edition, January 2008: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17261>, last accessed 15 November 2019). His son Henry Finnis Blosse Lynch, traveller and businessman for his family's commercial firm, Lynch Brothers, which acted as local agents for the Euphrates and Tigris Steam Navigation Company, was also a member of the Athenaeum Club. He was the author of the renowned two-volume 1901 book *Armenia: Travels and Studies*, with which he was also helped by Sayce. On Henry Finnis Blosse Lynch see *Who Was Who*, Vol. 1, 1897-1916, London 1920, p. 443.

<sup>14</sup> Schliemann was first proposed for membership by James Fergusson; see D.A. TRAILL, *Schliemann of Troy: Treasure and Deceit*, London 1995, pp. 198-199.

<sup>15</sup> SAYCE, *Reminiscences*, pp. 123-124. See also R. NEVILL, *London Clubs: Their History & Treasures*, Vol. 2, London 1911, p. 280 («Intellect rather than love of comfort formerly distinguished most members of the club, and for this reason, perhaps, the Athenaeum has never been noted for its cooking. "Asiatic Sundays" was the name given to the Sabbaths, on which curry and rice always appeared on the bill of fare.»).



the Hittites was not conducted in the universities but rather in social settings such as the gentlemen's clubs and learned societies, then the key sites of intellectual innovation and knowledge formation. Every space in London where the learned met and mingled could serve as a stage upon which orientalists showed each other the progress they had made in their researches, testing out their new ideas.

The year 1879 marked a turning point in the relationship between Sayce and Layard, and was also pivotal in Sayce's scientific life. At the Athenaeum, in a lecture given on 4 August, then published in the weekly periodical «The Academy», Sayce proposed that all the monuments with associated hieroglyphic inscriptions from Syria and Anatolia should be attributed to the Hittites<sup>16</sup>. Sayce himself described this as «my Hittite theory of 1879»<sup>17</sup>. A few days after his Athenaeum lecture, Sayce began the first of his travels through the East. To that end, Sayce turned to Layard, perhaps meeting him in person. In the spring of 1879 Layard was indeed in London and attended the Athenaeum Club, as shown by Enid's diaries<sup>18</sup>. It is very likely that in this period Sayce made arrangements with Layard, exploiting his diplomatic position.

Sayce's appreciation of Layard as ambassador shines out in this passage from his autobiography:

It was an interesting moment in the history of the Near East, and Sir Henry Layard, who was now our Ambassador at Constantinople

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<sup>16</sup> A.H. SAYCE, *The Origin of Early Art in Asia Minor*, «The Academy», 16, 380 (Aug. 16, 1879), p. 124. On «The Academy» see G. BEER, *The Academy: Europe in England*, in *Science Serialized: Representations of the Sciences in Nineteenth-Century Periodicals*, edited by G.N. CANTOR - S. SHUTTLEWORTH, Cambridge MA 2004, pp. 181-198.

<sup>17</sup> SAYCE, *Reminiscences*, p. 162. See A. ALAURA, *Lost, Denied, (Re)Constructed: The Identity of the Hittites and Luwians in the Historiographical Debate of the Late 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, in *Transformations and Crisis in the Mediterranean. "Identity" and Interculturality in the Levant and Phoenician West during the 12<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> Centuries BCE*, edited by G. GARBATI - T. PEDRAZZI, Pisa - Rome 2015 (Supp. RSF XLII 2014), p. 30.

<sup>18</sup> See for example the entries of 10 March 1879 («I went to the Atheneum [*sic*] & picked up Henry») and 15 March 1879 («Went to club to fetch Henry»). During the same days the Layards visited the Queen at Windsor, with whom Layard spoke of the Sultan. See Layard's account of his six weeks in England and his meeting with the Queen in KUNERALP, *The Queen's Ambassador*, pp. 544-551. For the good relationship between Queen Victoria and Layard in the years of his ambassadorship in Constantinople see K. BOURNE, *Layard in politics*, in FALES-HICKEY, eds., *Austen Henry Layard*, pp. 89-91.

and omnipotent in Turkish Councils, had asked me to visit him [...]. It was a very interesting moment at Constantinople. The Russian war was over; Abdul Hamid had been called to the throne by Midhat and the Young Turkish party, and politicians were once more dreaming of their ability to settle the Eastern Question. Sir Henry Layard had stepped into the position formerly held by "the great Elchi," Lord Stratford de Redcliffe<sup>19</sup>, and, as I have said, was now omnipotent in Turkey. The Turks regarded him as a friend; he was acquainted with their language, habits, manners and ideas; he was, moreover, a man of extraordinary ability, full of intellectual and physical vigour, who had made his own way in the world, unspoilt by the debilitating atmosphere of the British diplomatic service. Just now he was called upon to carry out the conditions of the Convention with Turkey which had given us the possession of Cyprus, and to see that in return Asia Minor should be provided with a just and firm government<sup>20</sup>.

Sayce's high opinion of Layard was not shared by everyone in England. Layard's ambassadorship was a highly problematic one during a momentous period, and he inevitably ran into difficulties with both the British and the Ottoman governments. At home, Layard's diplomatic skills were acrimoniously called into question, especially by William Gladstone's faction by leveraging British public opinion through the press. Layard was easily lampooned, as is evident from a scathing caricature by Edward Linley Sambourne, published in the humorous weekly magazine «Punch» on 2 March 1878, in which the Nineveh Bull with Layard's head (and 'Layard' written on the bull's wing) is shown ploughing into an Eastern-looking china shop, knocking over vases with labels such as 'Caution' and 'Diplomatic Propriety' (Fig. 7)<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>19</sup> «Great ambassador» (*büyük Elçi*) in Turkish. The British diplomat and politician Stratford Canning held his first appointment as Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire between 1825 and 1828. In 1841 he was re-appointed as Ambassador in Constantinople, a position he held for the next 17 years. In 1852 he was raised to the peerage as Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe. See S. RICHMOND, *The Voice of England in the East: Stratford Canning and Diplomacy with the Ottoman Empire*, London - New York 2014 (Library of Ottoman Studies, 35), esp. pp. 17-18, on the misuse of the title 'Great Elchi'.

<sup>20</sup> SAYCE, *Reminiscences*, pp. 162-163.

<sup>21</sup> «Punch, or the London Charivari», 74 (2 March 1878), p. 86 («Punch's Essence of Parliament»). For the political context of this illustration see G. WATERFIELD, *Layard*

Preserved at The Queen's College, Oxford, there is a letter from Arthur Nicolson – the well-known British diplomat and politician, then second secretary at the embassy at Constantinople – which at the very beginning of September 1879 confirmed to Sayce that Layard would be available to meet him at the summer residence of the British embassy at Therapia:

Sir, I am desired by the British Ambassador to inform you that he will be very happy to see you in case you may be coming down to Therapia. Yours faithfully A. Nicolson<sup>22</sup>.

Sayce used the back of this letter to make notes during the journey, and it contains his first drawings and sketches of some Anatolian monuments, written in pencil but still legible.

The large state dinner party held on the evening of Sayce's arrival at the embassy at Therapia, attended by most of the Turkish ministers and leading European diplomats, is briefly mentioned in the diaries of Lady Layard, at the end of a description of one of her typical days at Therapia:

Saturday. 6th [September 1879]. Blanche & Edward drove in to Pera to be photod. I had my Turkish lesson – Alice a singing lesson. Mrs Privilegio came to ask for money for the poor. Dr Dickson came to luncheon & also Mrs Walker. I arranged with her that she should go as dame de compagnie with P[rince]ss Halim when she goes to Europe. Sat out in the grove whilst the others were playing lawn tennis – & then came in & wrote. B[lanche] & E[dward] came home ab[ou]t 4. The Mantillas called. Prof. Sayce, Mr [Laurence] Oliphant<sup>23</sup> &c dined. The

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*of Nineveh*, London 1963, pp. 400ff., and K.M. McGEOUGH, *The Ancient Near East in the Nineteenth Century: Appreciations and Appropriations. Vol I. Claiming and Conquering*, Sheffield 2015 (Hebrew Bible Monographs, 67), pp. 135-136, with fig. 3.16. See also Layard's description of the attacks he suffered in the press in KUNERALP, *The Queen's Ambassador*, p. 551.

<sup>22</sup> A. Nicolson to A.H. Sayce, Therapia, September 1, 1879, The Queen's College, Oxford, Sayce Papers, MS. 759/5-3.

<sup>23</sup> Laurence Oliphant was a South African-born British author, traveller, diplomat and controversial Christian mystic, who submitted to the Sultan a plan for large-scale Jewish settlement in Palestine. With letters of recommendation from Lord Beaconsfield

chancery & the Dicksons came in afterwards & we had singing all the even[in]g<sup>24</sup>.

However, the same dinner party at Therapia is described in far more detail by Sayce in his *Reminiscences*<sup>25</sup>. Of particular interest is the account of the long conversation that Sayce had with Layard, during which the latter recalled his youthful adventures that took place immediately before his excavations in Assyria, when Stratford Canning, the long-time British ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, employed him in various unofficial diplomatic missions and confidential assignments in Turkey<sup>26</sup>. They also included the story, otherwise unknown, of Layard's engagement as a guide and travelling companion of a certain Mr Grace (a young Englishman, son of a wealthy Alexandrian merchant), en route through Asia Minor. As Sayce reports, Layard's recollection was prompted by the presence of Grace himself at the Therapia dinner. This episode in Layard's youth, which does not feature either in Layard's *Early Adventures* or in his *Autobiography*<sup>27</sup>, is also mentioned in a lengthy unpublished manuscript written by Sayce and titled *The Heroic Age of Assyriology*, kept at The Queen's College, Oxford<sup>28</sup>:

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and Lord Salisbury, he went to Palestine in 1879. Oliphant's stay in Constantinople in these months of 1879 should be understood in this context; see M. OLIPHANT, *Memoir of the Life of Laurence Oliphant and of Alice Oliphant, His Wife*, Vol. 2, New York 1891, pp. 173-188.

<sup>24</sup> KUNERALP, *Twixt Pera and Therapia*, p. 199.

<sup>25</sup> SAYCE, *Reminiscences*, pp. 163-165.

<sup>26</sup> On the cooperation between Canning and Layard see S. LANE-POOLE, *The life of the Right Hon. Stratford Canning, Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, from his memoirs and private and official papers*, Vol. 2, London 1888, pp. 123, 137-139, 149ff., and *passim*. More particularly, on their collaboration in the excavation and export of artefacts from Nineveh see SH. MALLEY, *Layard Enterprise: Victorian Archaeology and Informal Imperialism in Mesopotamia*, «International Journal of Middle East Studies», 40 (2008), pp. 623-646.

<sup>27</sup> A.H. LAYARD, *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana and Babylonia, Including a Residence Among the Bakhtiyari and Other Wild Tribes Before the Discovery of Nineveh*, London 1887, and *Id.*, *Autobiography and Letters From His Childhood Until His Appointment as H.M. Ambassador at Madrid*, edited by W.N. BRUCE, 2 vols, London 1903.

<sup>28</sup> A.H. SAYCE, *The Heroic Age of Assyriology*, undated manuscript, 12 pages (The Queen's College, Oxford, MS 759/1 – 1.7.5). This text was read by Sayce at the *Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists*, held at Oxford between 28 August and 1 September 1928. See S. ALAURA - M. BONECHI, "The Heroic Age of Assyriology": An unpublished manuscript of Archibald H. Sayce at The Queen's College, Oxford, forthcoming.

Layard, too, I knew well. I stayed with him at Therapia in the summer of 1879 in the days when he was British Ambassador & omnipotent in Constantinople. One evening an incident occurred which caused him to tell me the story of a very interesting period in his life, little if at all known to his friends & consequently unpublished. That afternoon an old friend of his, Mr. Grace by name, had arrived from Alexandria, & in the evening there was a large state dinner-party at which several of the Turkish Ministers were present as well as some of the foreign ambassadors & Hobart Pasha, the British Admiral of the Turkish fleet. When the ladies had retired Layard asked me to sit by him & be introduced to Mr. Grace. Then looking round the table he said: "The first time I saw Constantinople I little thought I should ever be entertaining a company like this. I owe it all to my old friend Grace; when I first visited Constantinople I often did not know where to look for a dinner". Then he went on to tell me how after the death of his father, who had left a large family behind him with slender means of support, an uncle who was a coffee-planter in Ceylon had asked him to come & join him there. Layard had always had a passionate desire to explore the East & accordingly instead of proceeding to Ceylon by ship he started to do so by land. The result was that by the time he had reached the eastern side of the Jordan the money provided for the journey by his uncle was nearly all exhausted & he was forced to travel on foot. Then he was captured by the Beduin & for about six months was a slave in their camp. He eventually managed, however, to escape & made his way to Damascus where, ragged, half-starving & in Arab dress he knocked at the gate of the British Consulate. The Consul believed his story & provided him with clean clothes & a few coins. Thereupon he made his way on foot thro' Asia Minor to Constantinople, dependent to a large extent on the hospitality of the Turkish peasants & picking up their language at the same time. In Constantinople he called on Sir Stratford de Redcliffe, at that time the British Ambassador there, who was evidently favourably impressed by the young man & told him to give him his address. The only address he could give, it seems, was that of a Frank chemist. Shortly afterwards young Grace arrived, with the intention

of making a tour in Asia Minor, & asked the Ambassador if he could recommend a dragoman. “No”, said Sir Stratford, “but there is a young Englishman here who I think would just suit you. He has been tramping thro’ Asia Minor on foot, knows the people & speaks sufficient Turkish for your purpose”. Layard was accordingly sent for & engaged as dragoman. Before the tour was finished he had ceased to be dragoman & became Grace’s friend & fellow-traveller. He was again furnished with means for accomplishing his journey to Ceylon, but on this second occasion did not get further than Mosul. The rest of the story I heard from James Fergusson the architect. Botta was at the time excavating at Khorsabad. Here, therefore, Layard remained & made drawings of some of the objects that had been found. These he sent to London together with a statement that similar discoveries would be made further south, opposite Mosul, on the site of Nineveh, & that if the requisite amount of money could be sent to him he would undertake to excavate there for the British Museum. The drawings were shown to Fergusson as an architectural expert & he at once determined that the chance should not be thrown away. After a talk with John Murray, the publisher, sufficient money was collected & sent by them to commence the excavations & a small fund was started which resulted in the discovery of the palaces & monuments of the ancient Assyrian kings<sup>29</sup>.

This passage, together with an amusing account concerning a delicious-looking poisoned cake that was served with tea on the lawn of the Embassy at Therapia, confirms what Stephen H. Langdon had written about Sayce years before: «A raconteur of delightful tales, he possesses a mild humour which is rare in our day»<sup>30</sup>.

Layard supported Sayce’s stay in Anatolia in many ways. First of all, Sayce was allowed to examine archaeological and epigraphic finds of the Imperial Museum in Constantinople, newly transferred to Çinili Köşk and still in crates. Sayce’s account of his visit to the museum, in which he warmly thanked Layard and Philipp Anton Dethier, the

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<sup>29</sup> SAYCE, *The Heroic Age of Assyriology* (see previous footnote), pp. 7-9.

<sup>30</sup> S.H. LANGDON, *Archibald Henry Sayce*, «The Expository Times», 31/3 (1 December 1919), pp. 118-123.

museum's director at the time<sup>31</sup>, was immediately sent by Sayce to «The Academy»<sup>32</sup>.

Layard then personally introduced Sayce to Sultan Abdul Hamid II, who had come to power in 1876, in order to facilitate his access to the Anatolian monuments lying in an area that was very dangerous due to brigandage. Sayce had wanted to travel to the Troad years earlier, but he had given up on the advice of Schliemann, who on 20 November 1877 wrote to him from London: «To Troy I would not go now if I were in your place. As soon as the war is over I shall continue the excavations there; shall then always keep a house in readiness for you, and shall be delighted to see you with me. Now travelling in the Troad is very dangerous»<sup>33</sup>.

It is interesting to note that it was in these very days that the British government, via its ambassador Layard, was exerting strong pressure on the Sultan to make political reforms, as attested, *inter alia*, by an illustration in «Punch», the liberal and politically active publication that mirrored the Victorian public's mood for social change (Fig. 8)<sup>34</sup>. It was drawn by the satirical cartoonist John Tenniel, whose fame stems primarily from his drawings for Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*<sup>35</sup>.

Layard himself, together with his wife and her niece, was to leave Therapia a few days later to visit the coast of Asia Minor, Syria and some of the Turkish islands, in order to judge for himself the condition of the Asiatic provinces and to have personal communication with both

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<sup>31</sup> On Philipp Anton Dethier as a museum curator see M. AFİK IŞIK, *Development of Museology in Turkey*, in *Mauerschau. Festschrift für Manfred Korfmann*, edited by R. ASLAN *et al.*, Remshalden-Grundbach 2002, Vol. 3, pp. 1169-1170; see also E. ELDEM, *Philipp Anton Dethier: der Anti-Held der osmanischen Archäologie*, in *Dabeim in Konstantinopel. Deutsche Spuren am Bosphorus ab 1850*, edited by E. PAUW, Nürnberg 2014, pp. 59-91.

<sup>32</sup> A.H. SAYCE, *Letter from Constantinople*, «The Academy», 16, 385 (20 September, 1879), p. 214.

<sup>33</sup> H. Schliemann to A.H. Sayce, November 20, 1877, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Eng. lett. d. 63, fols. 86-88.

<sup>34</sup> «Punch, or the London Charivari», 75 (15 November 1879), p. 223 («The English of It»); see WATERFIELD, *Layard of Nineveh*, p. 440.

<sup>35</sup> On Tenniel and Layard see D.A. THOMAS, *Assyrian Monsters and Domestic Chimeras*, «Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900», 48/4 (2008), pp. 897-909.

British consular officers and Turkish authorities. They left Therapia on 11 September 1879 and went back on 13 October. Two days after his return, Layard was received by the Sultan, who was very anxious to learn from him the condition of the country<sup>36</sup>. Although for different reasons and with different agendas, at this time Layard and Sayce therefore had a shared interest in the Mediterranean regions of the Ottoman Empire.

Sayce's trip to Western Asia Minor focused on four main areas of ancient Lydia: the Troad, Smyrna and its neighbourhood (including the Karabel Pass and Akpınar), Sardis and its neighbourhood (including the Alyattes tumulus, the Marmara Lake, and the Gumush Dagħ), and Ephesos and Magnesia<sup>37</sup>.

The large reliefs with inscriptions located respectively at Karabel Pass on the Kemalpaşa-Torbali road (mentioned by Herodotus in his *History*, where he identified the carved figure as the Egyptian pharaoh Sesostris) and in Sipylos Mountain in the locality of Akpınar near Manisa (mentioned by Pausanias in his *Description of Greece* and believed to have been a representation of Niobe or of the goddess Kybele) were among the main goals of Sayce's trip. He took two squeezes of the Karabel inscription and made for the first time an accurate copy of it. He also made careful drawings of the Sipylos relief, entering an area then still so little explored that it was likened to the interior of Africa<sup>38</sup>. In 1879 the Sipylos inscription was only seen by Sayce, who copied it during his next trip, in 1881, when he was accompanied by the British

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<sup>36</sup> See KUNERALP, *The Queen's Ambassador*, pp. 601ff., and ID., *Twixt Pera and Therapia*, pp. 201-223.

<sup>37</sup> A.H. SAYCE, *The Troad*, «The Athenaeum», 2710 (4 October 1879), pp. 440-441, and ID., *Letter from Smyrna*, «The Academy», 16, 389 (18 October 1879), pp. 288-290. Soon after his return to England, Sayce published *The Hittites in Asia Minor*, «The Academy», 16, 391 (1 November 1879), p. 321, *A forgotten empire in Asia Minor*, «Fraser's Magazine», 608 (August 1880), pp. 223-233, and *Notes from Journeys in the Troad and Lydia*, «Journal of Hellenic Studies», 1 (1880), pp. 75-93. See also his retrospective account in *Reminiscences*, pp. 160-173.

<sup>38</sup> «Mais aux portes mêmes de Smyrne s'étend le massif montagneux du Sipyle, dont certaines parties sont encore aussi peu explorées que l'intérieur de l'Afrique!», S. REINACH, *Conseils aux voyageurs archéologues en Grèce et dans l'Orient hellénique*, Paris 1886, pp. 7-8, based on G. WEBER, *Le Sipylos et ses monuments. Ancienne Smyrne (Navlochon)*, Paris - Smyrne 1880.



consul at Smyrna, George Dennis<sup>39</sup>. The importance for Sayce of the 1879 visit and the *in situ* study of the Karabel and Sipylos monuments also resonates in his later publications<sup>40</sup>.

Sayce's interest in the Troad comes as no surprise. Sayce, who had just met Schliemann personally for the first time in London, was among those who recognised the importance of the latter's discoveries in this region for the pre-classical civilisations of Anatolia and Greece<sup>41</sup>. Sayce also unhesitatingly supported Schliemann's proposal to identify Homer's Troy with Hissarlık, and they shared this passionate conviction. Schliemann, who in the mid-1870s was lauded and derided in equal measure, absolutely fascinated Sayce<sup>42</sup>. Schliemann had also invited Sayce to join him for the 1879 season of excavations at Hissarlık<sup>43</sup>. Sayce did not go, however. He hoped to meet Schliemann in the Troad in September of that year during his trip, but by the time of Sayce's visit to Hissarlık, Schliemann had already completed his excavation campaign (which ran from March to July) and was no longer there. Therefore, in his 1879 visit Sayce was accompanied by Frank Calvert, Schliemann's

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<sup>39</sup> See A.H. SAYCE, *Letter from Smyrna*, «The Academy», 18, 466 (9 April 1881), pp. 261-263, and ID., *Explorations in Aeolis*, «The Journal of Hellenic Studies», 3 (1882), pp. 226-227. For G. Dennis see also below.

<sup>40</sup> A.H. SAYCE, *Recent Hittite Discoveries*, «The Review and Expositor», 5/2 (1908), pp. 161-168, and ID., *Reminiscences*, pp. 168-169, 200-201.

<sup>41</sup> The first meeting between Sayce and Schliemann, which dates back to the spring of 1878, when they had a lunch at the fashionable De Keyser's Royal Hotel in London, is described by Sayce in his *Reminiscences*, p. 150. By that time, they were already in correspondence. The earliest preserved letter from Sayce to Schliemann dates from 23 April 1877. From then on, they had a solid collaboration and regular correspondence that would continue until Schliemann's death in 1890.

<sup>42</sup> On the relationship between Sayce and Schliemann see D.A. TRAILL, *Schliemann and His Academic Employees*, in *Heinrich Schliemann nach hundert Jahren*, edited by W.M. CALDER III - J. COBET, Frankfurt am Main 1990, pp. 226-230 (republished in *Excavating Schliemann: Collected Papers on Schliemann*, edited by D.A. TRAILL, Atlanta 1993 (Illinois Classical Studies, Supp. 4), pp. 215-233); D. GANGE, *Dialogues with the Dead: Egyptology in British Culture and Religion, 1822-1922*, Oxford 2013 (Classical Presences), esp. pp. 40, 146-150; S. DUESTERBERG, *Popular Receptions of Archaeology: Fictional and Factual Texts in 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Britain*, Bielefeld 2015 (Historische Lebenswelten in populären Wissenskulturen – History in Popular Cultures, 14), pp. 295-298.

<sup>43</sup> TRAILL, *Schliemann and His Academic Employees*, p. 226, and ID., *Schliemann of Troy*, p. 186.

partner in the excavations at Hissarlık, with whom Sayce began an important relationship<sup>44</sup>, and by Nicholas Yannakis, Schliemann's personal servant. Sayce made precise observations on stratigraphy, based also on the finds he had seen at the Museum of Constantinople<sup>45</sup>.

The *firman* to carry out excavations at Hissarlık in summer 1878, together with a permit to explore the tumuli in the plain the following year (1879), had been obtained by Schliemann through Layard. Schliemann's gratitude to Layard is attested by his very first brief report on the 1878 excavation season at Hissarlık:

In conclusion, I here publicly most warmly thank my honourable friend, Sir A. Layard, the illustrious English Ambassador at Constantinople, for the powerful assistance he has lent me, and all the kindness he has shown me during the time of my excavation at Troy. Solely to him am I indebted for my *firman* and for my successful excavations, in the progress of which there arose at every moment difficulties which would have put an end to the work had it not been for his friendly protection, which I had continually had occasion to invoke, and sometimes even twice a day, per telegraph<sup>46</sup>.

Later, Schliemann again gratefully acknowledged Layard's support by dedicating *Ilios* to him<sup>47</sup>. And again with Layard's help vis-à-vis the Turkish authorities, Schliemann was able to manage the division of the 1878 finds in a manner, time and place of his own choosing (i.e. in Hissarlık with Kadry Bey, the Turkish overseer of the excavations, rather than in Constantinople with an unknown official). Schliemann was also able to take a selection of his share of the finds to London to exhibit in the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria & Albert Museum),

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<sup>44</sup> On the relationship between Sayce and Calvert see M.S. ROBINSON, *Schliemann's Silent Partner: Frank Calvert (1828-1908). Pioneer, Scholar and Survivor*, Philadelphia 2006, esp. pp. 250ff. and *passim*.

<sup>45</sup> SAYCE, *Notes from Journeys in the Troad and Lydia*, p. 75. See S.H. ALLEN, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, Berkeley - London - New York 1999, p. 198.

<sup>46</sup> H. SCHLIEMANN, *Excavations at Ilium*, «The Athenaeum», 2668 (14 December 1878), p. 769. For the *firman* in particular see TRAILL, *Schliemann of Troy*, pp. 182-185, and ALLEN, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, pp. 188-191.

<sup>47</sup> H. SCHLIEMANN, *Ilios. Stadt und Land der Trojaner*, Leipzig 1881, pp. 53-54. Schliemann then dedicated his later book *Troja* (1884) to Queen Victoria.

together with his earlier finds<sup>48</sup>. Therefore, Layard was pivotal not only in Schliemann's career and in the fate of the finds from Hissarlık, but also more generally in Anatolian pre-classical archaeology and its popular reception in Victorian London society. Ironically, however, despite being one of Schliemann's greatest supporters, the British ambassador was among those unconvinced that Hissarlık was to be identified with the site of Homer's Troy; Layard instead shared the widespread conviction that it was located at Pınarbaşı (Bounar Bashi). Layard's disappointment at Hissarlık's ruins is palpable in a long passage from his *Memoirs* referring to a trip he had made in 1877 along the coast of Asia Minor. Here Layard abandons his usual diplomatic language and with the sure-footedness of the famed archaeologist of Nineveh provides us with a first-hand, detailed account of the ruins of Hissarlık, together with a rather unflattering assessment of Schliemann as an archaeologist:

On the next day [5<sup>th</sup> October] we rode to Hisarlik to see the excavations made there by Dr Schliemann. Nothing could be more disappointing as regards the aspect of the ruins. The mound is low and rises on the edge of marshy ground. [...] There is no place for an acropolis, no natural position such as that of Bounar Bashi for defence. It was then impossible to verify Dr Schliemann's theory as to the six or seven strata of rubbish and burnt buildings representing different cities of different periods, one raised upon the remains of other cities, a theory which has been called into question on high authority and which I have never assured, was not entertained by the Doctor until after he had returned to Europe subsequent to his first excavations. As to the ruins themselves they are strangely insignificant both as regards extent and importance. They do not deserve to be called either those of a city or of a palace. They have been reconstructed out of Dr Schliemann's imagination. [...] It will be seen by the measurements given by the discoverer himself that the whole area is scarcely more than 100 or 150

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<sup>48</sup> The exhibition at South Kensington opened in December 1877 and ran until 1880. For Schliemann's Trojan collection on display in London see D.F. EASTON, *Priam's Gold: The full story*, «Anatolian Studies», 44 (1994), pp. 230-232 and A. BAKER, *Troy on Display: Scepticism and Wonder at Schliemann's First Exhibition*, London 2019, pp. 37-43. More generally on the public reception of Schliemann's excavations in Britain see DUESTERBERG, *Popular Receptions of Archaeology*, esp. pp. 314ff.

feet square. These dimensions might suit an outlying stronghold but would scarcely be those of a town or village. I do not in any way wish to underrate the importance of Dr Schliemann's discoveries. They are archaeologically and historically of very high interest and value and there may be abundant evidence to convince many whose opinion on the subject is deserving of the highest consideration that the remains, which he explored, occupy the site of Troy. Of their antiquity there can be no question, or even that the buildings which they represent were of different periods and that some of them may even have preceded the foundation of the Troy of the Iliad. But any attempt to identify them with the city or the edifices by the Homeric poets [...] appears to me after a careful examination of the ruins uncovered by Dr Schliemann to be simply absurd. The same may be said of the golden and other ornaments and the various objects discovered by him during the excavations. [...] They are chiefly important as showing the state of civilisation and the arts in Western Asia before the influence of Assyria had reached it, and before the dawn of that great progress wrought by the Greeks. To find in them the very object which the Iliad describes [...] can only be traced to an imagination easily excited and easily satisfied. But Dr Schliemann, whilst possessing the qualities necessary to a successful explorer and discoverer, perseverance, boundless energy, fertility of resources and great disinterestedness, was extremely deficient in critical insight, judgment and accuracy of description. Had he simply submitted his discoveries to the judgment of those who were able of understanding and determining their value and character, had abstained from endeavouring to apply them to the carrying out and illustration of preconceived theories, his reputation would have been greater. But as it is he has accomplished with great success an important work with which his name will be forever connected<sup>49</sup>.

We might ask ourselves if the severity of Layard's judgement on Schliemann was due to the fact that the latter's discoveries in Anatolia were being compared with those Layard himself had made in Assyria. Schliemann had succeeded in forever tying his name to Troy, just as

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<sup>49</sup> KUNERALP, *The Queen's Ambassador*, pp. 162-164. See also Enid's description of their trip on 5 October 1877 to Hissarlık in ID., *Twixt Pera and Therapia*, p. 63.

Layard had tied his to Nineveh. Promising *material* proof of the Homeric poems, Schliemann's excavations at Hissarlık were equated in the mind of the British public with Layard's excavations in Mesopotamia in relation to the Bible. And Schliemann had consciously taken Layard as a role model through which to secure his place in history<sup>50</sup>. Not surprisingly, when Layard came to pen his memoirs during his retirement in Venice<sup>51</sup>, his visit to Schliemann's archaeological excavations received detailed attention. Schliemann had influential British supporters, including Prime Minister Gladstone<sup>52</sup> and the archaeologist Charles Thomas Newton, known for his discovery of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus and, from 1861, Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum<sup>53</sup>.

After his 1879 trip to Asia Minor, Sayce vehemently defended Schliemann against his detractors<sup>54</sup>. He penned enthusiastic articles and reviews about Schliemann's works for newspapers and magazines, and also contributed to his publications by means of introductions<sup>55</sup>, appendices and editing<sup>56</sup>. Sayce looked to Schliemann's archaeological

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<sup>50</sup> For a discussion of the parallels between Layard's discoveries in Mesopotamia and Schliemann's excavations in the Troad see W. ARENTZEN, *Frank Calvert, Henry Austen Layard and Heinrich Schliemann*, «Anatolian Studies», 51 (2001), pp. 169-185; DUESTERBERG, *Popular Receptions of Archaeology*, pp. 221ff., 262ff., 292ff.

<sup>51</sup> From internal evidence it would seem that the Istanbul sections of the *Memoirs* were written by Layard over a number of years, ranging from 1881 to 1888. Why they were never published remains a matter of conjecture; see KUNERALP, *The Queen's Ambassador*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>52</sup> J. VAIÖ, *Gladstone and the Early Reception of Schliemann in England*, in *Heinrich Schliemann nach hundert Jahren*, pp. 415-430, and ID., *Schliemann and Gladstone: New Light from Unpublished Documents*, in *Heinrich Schliemann: Grundlagen und Ergebnisse moderner Archäologie 100 Jahre nach Schliemanns Tod*, edited by J. HERRMANN, Berlin 1992, pp. 73-76.

<sup>53</sup> J.L. FITTON, *Heinrich Schliemann and the British Museum*, London 1991 (British Museum Occasional Paper, 83).

<sup>54</sup> As an example of the sarcastic criticism of Schliemann's archaeological excavations in the mid-1870s see the article *Dr. Schliemann*, «New York Times», 10 November 1876, p. 4.

<sup>55</sup> A.H. SAYCE, *Vorrede to H. Schliemann, Troja, Ergebnisse meiner neuesten Ausgrabungen auf der Baustelle von Troja, in den Heldengräbern, Bunarbashi und andern Orten der Troas im Jahre 1882*, Leipzig 1884, pp. VII-XXXVII.

<sup>56</sup> For example, Sayce contributed a chapter to Schliemann's *Ilios* («Anhang III.

research as a tangible proof that German sceptical criticism («Higher Criticism»), which had dominated the study of Homer and the Old Testament for decades, was simply wrong and was to be labelled as a «worthless pastime»<sup>57</sup>. Sayce was pugnacious in asserting that the results of Schliemann's excavations had opened up «a new era in the study of antiquity»<sup>58</sup>.

The numerous unpublished letters exchanged by both Layard and Sayce with Schliemann in the seventies and eighties, which are kept at the British Library, London, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Gennadius Library of the American School of Classical Studies, Athens<sup>59</sup>, are currently being studied and will reveal further details concerning British archaeological strategies in Western Asia Minor.

Layard certainly helped Sayce in many other ways and introduced him to colleagues and friends interested in Anatolian archaeology, on this occasion or later. Layard was probably responsible for initiating Sayce's fruitful relationship with the American institution at Istanbul known as Robert College, and in particular with the Methodist missionary and scholar Albert L. Long, who played an important role in the beginnings of the acquisition and recovery of Hittite antiquities<sup>60</sup>. Layard had a very important relationship with Robert College, which is fittingly described by its president, George Washburn:

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Die Inschriften von Hissarlik», pp. 766-781) and revised the original manuscript of the «Selbstbiographie» included in it, making editorial changes for its English edition; see SAYCE, *Reminiscences*, p. 181, and R.C. FLICKINGER, *Sayce and Schliemann*, «The Classical Journal», 27/1 (October 1931), pp. 23-25, esp. 24. See also TRAILL, *Schliemann's Academic Employees*, and ID., *Schliemann of Troy*, pp. 196-215 and *passim*.

<sup>57</sup> SAYCE, *Reminiscences*, pp. 273 and 474-475.

<sup>58</sup> A.H. SAYCE, *The "Higher Criticism" and the Verdict of the Monuments* (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge), London 1894, p. 17.

<sup>59</sup> On the acquisition history of the Schliemann papers see S.A.H. KENNEL, *Schliemann and His Papers: A Tale from the Gennadeion Archives*, «Hesperia», 76/4 (2007), pp. 785-817, and D.F. EASTON, *The Schliemann Papers*, «Annual of the British School of Archaeology», 77 (1982), pp. 93-110.

<sup>60</sup> See S. ALAURA, *The Wandering Life of the Hittite Seal Dresden ZV 1769 at the End of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century: New Archival Light*, in *Between Syria and the Highlands: Studies in Honor of Giorgio Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati*, edited by S. VALENTINI - G. GUARDUCCI, Roma 2019 (Studies on the Ancient Near East and the Mediterranean, 3), pp. 21-32.

The fall of Midhat Pasha made it impossible for Sir Henry Elliott to return to the British Embassy here, and Sir A. Henry Layard was sent to take his place. He had been here in the time of Lord Stratford, before he became famous for his work in Babylonia, and he was welcomed by the Turks as an old friend and a well-known Turcophile. He was also a devoted friend of ours, which at that time was most fortunate for us. Dr. Long and I continued to conduct the Sunday services at the British Embassy in Therapia as we had done for several years in the summer months under Sir Henry Elliott. A good many Turks at that time gave us the credit of having brought on the war, and Sir Henry Layard improved a favorable opportunity to ask the Sultan and the Grand Vizier whether they had any complaints to make of Robert College. Both of them assured him that they were perfectly satisfied that neither the College nor any of its students had ever done anything to encourage rebellion in Bulgaria. This was the simple truth. It was a relief to know that it was acknowledged to be true by the Sultan. Sir Henry Layard represented here the pro-Turkish and anti-Russian policy of Lord Beaconsfield, and his relations with the Sultan were more intimate than those of any other ambassador before or since. He was consequently in a position to mitigate, in some measure, the severity of the treatment of the Bulgarians by the Turkish authorities<sup>61</sup>.

On his return to England, Sayce expressed his gratitude to Layard in a letter dated 19 November 1879, which I quote in full:

Dear Sir, I ought to have written long ago to thank you for your kind offices wh[ich] smoothed the way for me at Smyrna, and I must apologise much for not having done so. My wanderings in Lydia were more successful than I could have hoped. I had the pleasure of seeing and copying the second pseudo-Sesostris described by Herodotus, as well as of having the remains of the old Greek road wh[ich] ran close to it. My squeezes and copies of the first pseudo-Sesostris, already known from Texier's drawing, show that the inscription accompanying it is Hittite, the characters being identical with those on the monuments

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<sup>61</sup> G. WASHBURN, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, Boston - New York 1909, pp. 121-122. The first meeting between Layard and Washburn took place at Robert College on 25 June 1877 according to Enid's diaries.

recently sent to the British Museum from Carchemish; and they prove, therefore, that Hittite arms and influence must once have penetrated as far as the Aegean Sea. So 'the missing link' between the art of Assyria and Lydia is found. I also made some curious discoveries on [Ly<sup>2</sup>] in the neighbourhood of the Niobe-figure, including a phallic monument similar to one I once visited among the Basque Pyrenees. I further noticed [...] on the Niobe-figure as well as a circular ornament above the head, neither of wh[ich] seem to have been observed before. I have returned home persuaded that Kyme is likely to pan out as excellent a site for excavations as Pergamos [*sic*] has proved to be to the Germans. And not only are statues and other remains of the same period and phase of art as that represent at Pergamos [*sic*] likely to be found at Kyme, but there also exists there an extensive necropolis full of ancient tombs. Two or three of these have been opened by the natives, and I saw some of the spoils found in their containing<sup>3</sup> archaic pottery and [...] ornaments. The Germans already have their eyes on Kyme, and have sent to Berlin two colossal marble figures lately found there. On board the steamer from Constantinople to Dardanelles I met Prof. Sachau<sup>62</sup> who told me that a stone inscribed with unknown characters and brought from a (now) unknown part of Asia Minor, has been lying for some years in the Customs House at Constantinople, unowned and unclaimed. He thought it could be procured for a sum. With kind regards, believe me Yours very faithfully, A. H. Sayce<sup>63</sup>.

This letter shows how Sayce called upon Layard for archaeological advice, suggesting an excavation at Kyme Aeolis, which seemed

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<sup>62</sup> The German orientalist Carl Eduard Sachau travelled to the Near East on several occasions. During his 1879 travels, on 11 September, he met the Layards when they were leaving Therapia for their above-mentioned trip: «Zugleich mit uns hatte am 11. September ein englisches Kanonenboot Constantinopel verlassen, das wir in der Gegend zwischen Tenedos und Mytilene, da es einen mehr westlichen Curs steuerte, aus den Augen verloren. Es trug einen Mann nach Syrien, dessen Name der Wissenschaft und der Politik zugleich angehört, den Entdecker Ninives, Sir Henry Layard, damals Vertreter Englands am Bosphorus»; see E. SACHAU, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, p. 2, and see also pp. 10, 16, 108.

<sup>63</sup> A.H. Sayce to A.H. Layard, Oxford, November 19, 1879, British Library, Add MS 39029, f. 250. Already partially published in ALAURA, *Setting the stage*, p. 51. I thank Cecilia Riva for making available to me her transcription of this letter.



as promising as Pergamon, where the Germans had just started excavations<sup>64</sup>. Although Layard had retired from archaeological practice many years before, as ambassador he was very active in promoting British excavations in the Near East on behalf of the British Museum. Layard supported both Hormuzd Rassam's expeditions in Mesopotamia<sup>65</sup> and Patrick Henderson's excavation at Jerablus, the ancient Karkemish, situated on the Euphrates along the modern border between Turkey and Syria<sup>66</sup>. In the very days when Sayce left for his trip to Anatolia, Rassam had returned to London from his excavations in Assyria<sup>67</sup> and Layard was managing to convince Samuel Birch, then Keeper of the Department of Oriental Antiquities of the British Museum (which after his death was reorganised and renamed the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities), to start excavations and acquire antiquities in Toprakkale near the Van Citadel, the Urartian capital in eastern Anatolia<sup>68</sup>.

With these circumstances in the background, Sayce's proposal to Layard to undertake excavations at Kyme Aeolis comes as no surprise. Actually, this was part of Sayce's extensive research programme in Asia Minor to further promote the study of Anatolian culture, particularly in

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<sup>64</sup> In 1878 Carl Humann had received the official permits from the Ottoman government to start excavations in Pergamon. Large parts of the frieze of the altar and many sculptures were found during this initial work.

<sup>65</sup> Rassam had assisted Layard during his Mesopotamian excavations of 1845-1847 and 1849-1851. In 1877 and 1878 Layard helped Rassam to obtain two *firman*s to continue the earlier diggings. On Rassam see J.E. READE, *Rassam, Hormuzd*, «Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie», 11, 3/4 (2007), pp. 262-263; on Rassam, Layard and the excavations of these years see J.E. READE, *Hormuzd Rassam and His Discoveries*, «Iraq», 55 (1993), pp. 56-59.

<sup>66</sup> Layard managed to obtain a *firman* that was valid throughout northern Syria. For the circumstances under which the British Museum Expedition was established at Karkemish and for an overview of Henderson's excavations see D.G. HOGARTH, *Carchemish: Report on the Excavations at Jerablus on Behalf of the British Museum, Part I: Introductory*, London 1914, pp. 1-14.

<sup>67</sup> See for instance the announcement *Assyrian Explorations*, «Scientific American Supplement», 8, 189 (16 August 1879), p. 3013.

<sup>68</sup> See R.D. BARNETT, *The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale near Van*, «Iraq», 12 (1950), pp. 1-43, esp. 3ff., and B. GENÇ, *Archaeology of Destruction*, «Iraq», 80 (2018), pp. 113-137.

order to give Britain a monopoly on Hittite research. This programme began life within the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies (generally known as the Hellenic Society)<sup>69</sup>, recently founded by scholars including Sayce himself and Newton. The two scholars had become «very intimate» at the end of 1878, following the publication of two articles by Sayce in which he had suggested that «Assyrian influence entered Greece through Asia Minor» and that «before the appearance of the Phoenicians, the Phrygians had been the intermediaries between East and West»<sup>70</sup>. The founding members of the prestigious Society included Oscar Wilde, who sat on its first Council<sup>71</sup>. The objectives of the Society included that of founding a British School at Smyrna, to compete with those of the French and Germans in Athens. Sayce himself was to recall the aims of his travels as follows:

My exploratory travels in Asia Minor were intended to be a sort of introductory essay in what we hoped would form a large part of the future work of the Society. I was particularly anxious that it should devote its attention more especially to that portion of the ancient Hellenic world. I had come more and more to believe that prehistoric Greece had owed far more to Asianic influence – the influence, that is to say, of Asia Minor – than to the Phoenicians, and that whatever elements in its culture were derived from Assyria and Babylonia had come to the

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<sup>69</sup> For an account of the first 50 years of the Society (1879-1929) see G.A. MACMILLAN, *An Outline of the History of the Hellenic Society, Part I: 1879-1904; Part II: 1904-1929*, available online at <<https://www.hellenicsociety.org.uk/about-us/george-a-macmillan-letters/>> (last accessed 15/11/2019). For a centenary retrospective see P.T. STEVENS, *The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, 1879-1979: A Historical Sketch*, London 1979. See also R. DOYLE, *The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies Archive of George A. Macmillan's Personal Papers*, «Archaeological Reports», 56 (2010), pp. 203-218.

<sup>70</sup> SAYCE, *Reminiscences*, pp. 149-150. The two articles are: *The Art of Prehistoric Greece*, «The Academy», 13, 304 (2 March 1878), pp. 195-197, and *The Phoenicians in Greece*, «The Contemporary Review», 34 (December, 1878 - March, 1879), pp. 60-76.

<sup>71</sup> See I. ROSS, *Oscar Wilde and Ancient Greece*, Cambridge 2013 (Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture, 82), pp. 101-102, 119, and K. RILEY - A. BLANSHARD - I. MANNY, eds., *Oscar Wilde and Classical Antiquity*, Oxford - New York 2018, pp. 7, 20, 40. In 1879 Wilde wrote, without success, to Sayce about the possibility of an archaeological scholarship at Athens; see M. HOLLAND - R. HART-DAVIS, *The Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde*, London 2000, pp. 79, 85.

West through the Hittites and Phrygians. But the earlier history of Asia Minor was practically unknown. The excavations of Schliemann had shown what lay secreted under the soil and had raised problems the answers to which were still to be found. The archaeology of Greece was being well looked after by the French and German schools at Athens as well as by the Greek Government itself; what we had to do was to carry on a similar work in Asia Minor and eventually establish a school at Smyrna<sup>72</sup>.

Further details of the 1879 journey undertaken by Sayce had already been communicated to Layard by Newton in a letter from England dated 5 November 1879, in the context of the destruction of the partly unearthed marble ruins in ancient sites:

Sayce has just come back from Asia Minor and gives a sad account of the destruction of ancient marbles which is going on everywhere, particularly at Magnesia ad Meandrum and at the great temple at Sardis. It is very bad, but I really don't see how in the present state of Turkey matters can be mended. I am very glad that the Germans rescued from destruction so much at Pergamos, as you will have seen by a letter in the Times. I have not yet had any intelligence from Berlin as to the value of these marbles<sup>73</sup>.

Layard's reply to the above-mentioned letter by Sayce of 19 November is dated 12 December 1879 (Fig. 9):

Dear Professor Sayce, I was very glad to learn by your letter of the 19<sup>th</sup> ult[im]o that your trip to Smyrna had proved so successful. I had already heard from Mr. Dennis, whom I saw shortly after your visit, of your discoveries. Unfortunately the time at my disposal was so short that I could only pay a hasty visit to the ruins of Ephesus. I should certainly have visited the 'Niobe' and the 'Pseudo-Sesostris' if I could have remained another day or two at Smyrna; but my presence was urgently required at Constantinople and I had no time to spare. Perhaps

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<sup>72</sup> SAYCE, *Reminiscences*, p. 172.

<sup>73</sup> Ch. Newton to A.H. Layard, November 5, 1879, British Library, Add MS 39029, fols. 150-151. I thank Cecilia Riva for making available to me her transcription of this letter.

next year I may be able to visit Smyrna again, and I shall then endeavor to see all the remains in the neighbourhood which you describe. The fact that Hittite influence reached so far north as Smyrna, is very curious & interesting, and may account, as you suggest, for the Assyrian character of Lydian art. Mr. Henderson tells me that he has discovered some further monuments at Carchemish. I am sorry to say that the Americans have obtained a firman for excavations at Kyme and have thus forestalled Mr. Dennis, who was anxious to make researches there. Unfortunately I was not informed of his wish until it was too late. I am now asking for a firman to enable him to examine other sites, which, he hopes, will yield important remains. I could not obtain any information about the discoveries of the Germans at Pergamus. Mr. Dennis had not been able to obtain a description of the monuments & sculptures. The matter has been kept very secret. Unfortunately no Englishman can do anything without sending or allowing to be sent a full account to the newspapers. The publication of the firman I obtained for Mr. Rassam in the "Times" did a world of mischief. When I was in Syria a colossal statue was found at Gaza. I did not see it, but from the descriptions of it I received it is probably of the Phoenician period. The Minister of Public Instruction tells me that the American Consul was going to embark it for the United States, but has not been allowed to do so by the Authorities. I will make enquiries about the Stone at the Customs House here mentioned to you by Professor Sachau. Believe me yours very truly AHLayard<sup>74</sup>

From this letter we learn that Sayce's idea to excavate at Kyme was one he shared with the British explorer and Etruscologist George Dennis who, being a protégé of Layard, at that time worked at the Smyrna Consulate, and also that the project came to nothing because the British were pre-empted by the «Americans»<sup>75</sup>. Some time later, in

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<sup>74</sup> A.H. Layard to A.H. Sayce, Pera, December 12, 1879, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. lett. d. 63, fols. 231-232.

<sup>75</sup> Actually, the first excavations in Kyme were the result of a French expedition led by Salomon Reinach who, with the help of the French ambassador Hugues Fournier, in 1880 obtained permission to excavate the entire territory from Myrina to Phokaia. The reports of these excavations, carried out by Reinach with Edmond Pottier (later chief curator of the Louvre), were published in the «Journal of Hellenic Studies» in 1882.

1882, Dennis led an archaeological campaign at Sardis. In general, the letter shows the wide range of interests shared by Layard and Sayce. In particular, it is interesting to note that neither Layard nor Dennis had precise information on the activity of the Germans in Pergamon.

For Sayce and his many projects in Anatolia – from the establishment of a school at Smyrna to the excavations at Kyme – the end of Layard's posting to Constantinople in 1880 did irreparable damage. However, this did not mark the end of their fruitful relationship. For instance, when Sayce devoted himself at the beginning of the 1880s to the decipherment of the language of Urartu, he used Layard's unpublished pen-and-ink copies of the Vannic inscriptions, which were kept in the British Museum. As Richard Barnett pointed out at the 1983 Venice Symposium<sup>76</sup>, Sayce found them to be more accurate and reliable than those made before by the German scholar Friedrich Eduard Schulz:

Sir A. H. Layard had already visited Armenia in 1850, at the time when he was excavating in Assyria, and had there made copies of the inscriptions in Van and its immediate neighbourhood. His copies, which have never been published, are extremely valuable, as they are much more accurate than those of Schulz, and not unfrequently clear up a doubtful passage in the latter. Among them, moreover, are several inscriptions which Schulz did not see. [...] The only palaeographical difficulty presented by the Vannic inscriptions is one due to the faultiness and inaccuracy of the copies of them which we possess. Most of these copies are excessively bad; in many cases, as we shall see, the text can be restored only by the help of parallel passages. Sir A. H. Layard's copies are by far the best<sup>77</sup>.

It is difficult to believe that Sayce and Layard did not talk about the «Vannic inscriptions» together. The two men undoubtedly spent time together in London during the eighties. Of the places Layard and Sayce visited and the communications they exchanged, only a few traces

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<sup>76</sup> R.D. BARNETT, *Layard's Influence on British Orientalism in the Nineteenth Century*, in FALES-HICKEY, eds. *Austen Henry Layard*, p. 180.

<sup>77</sup> A.H. SAYCE, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van, Deciphered and Translated*, «Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society», 14 (October 1882), pp. 377-732 (quotation from pp. 385 and 418).

remain. Certainly, the Athenaeum Club continued to be one of the places where they could meet<sup>78</sup>. Both also participated in important cultural events in London. For instance, at the end of March 1882, both Layard and Sayce participated in the inaugural meeting of *The Delta Exploration Fund* (its name was soon changed by Committee decision to *The Egypt Exploration Fund*) which in the 1880s undertook the first large-scale British excavations<sup>79</sup>. Some years later, in 1888, the two men were among those invited by the archaeologist William Matthew Flinders Petrie to be the first members of the Society for the Preservation of the Monuments of Ancient Egypt, together with other prominent figures in the intellectual and artistic life of London, such as the Egyptologist Amelia Edwards, the painters of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood William Holman Hunt and Edward Burne-Jones, and the portraitist, sculptor, landscape painter and symbolist George Frederic Watts, whose work embodied the most pressing themes and ideas of the time<sup>80</sup>. Without question, Layard and Sayce routinely interacted in a variety of ways – now almost impossible to trace – which played a crucial role in the progress of oriental studies.

Sayce probably also kept Layard informed about the evolution of his Anatolian research. *The Asia Minor Exploration Fund*, an initiative of the Hellenic Society established in 1882, supported the classical scholar and archaeologist William Mitchell Ramsay<sup>81</sup>, a good friend of Sayce, in

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<sup>78</sup> Layard's visits to the Athenaeum Club are recorded in Enid's diaries for 12 and 18 January 1882.

<sup>79</sup> The inaugural meeting was reported in some detail in «The Academy» of 1 April 1882, p. 236, under the title *Fine Art*. In 1918 *The Egypt Exploration Fund* renamed itself *The Egypt Exploration Society*; see M.S. DROWER, *The Early Years*, in *Excavating in Egypt. The Egypt Exploration Society 1882-1982*, edited by Th.G.H. JAMES, London 1982, pp. 9-36, and also D. GANGE, *Dialogues with the Dead: Egyptology in British Culture and Religion, 1822-1922*, Oxford 2013 (Classical Presences), esp. pp. 40-41.

<sup>80</sup> See M.S. DROWER, *Flinders Petrie: A Life in Archaeology*, Madison 1995<sup>2</sup> (Wisconsin Studies in Classics), esp. pp. 168ff. On the significance of Egypt for the painters of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood see D.V. MASON, «*The Perennial Dramas of the East*»: *Representations of the Middle East in the Writing and Art of Dante Gabriel Rossetti and William Holman Hunt*, Diss. Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada 2009.

<sup>81</sup> William Mitchell Ramsay graduated from the University of Aberdeen and continued his studies in Oxford, where in 1885 he was appointed to the Lincoln and Merton Chair of Classical Archaeology. In 1886 he moved back to Aberdeen, where he was Regius Professor

his exploration of Asia Minor during the early 1880s<sup>82</sup>. In the same years, Sayce also tried to encourage Schliemann to excavate the ruins near Boğazköy, in central Anatolia<sup>83</sup>. However, the Smyrna plan ultimately came to nothing. Expert manoeuvring by key individuals on the Hellenic Society's Council ensured that a location in Athens was found. The British School at Athens eventually came into being in 1886<sup>84</sup>.

From Sayce's aforementioned manuscript *The Heroic Age of Assyriology* we learn that during the 1890s Layard and Sayce continued to meet in London until shortly before Layard's death in 1894. As research currently stands, Anatolia does not emerge as a major topic of conversation between them, whereas it is documented that Sayce and

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of Humanity until his retirement in 1911. He travelled extensively in Asia Minor from 1880 until the outbreak of World War I. On Ramsay see J.G.C. ANDERSON - P.W. LOCK, *Ramsay, Sir William Mitchell, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (online edition, January 2008: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/35664>, last accessed 15 November 2019). Ramsay met Sayce at Oxford for the first time during the 1870s at Max Müller's house; see W.M. RAMSAY, *The bearing of recent discovery on the trustworthiness of the New Testament*, London - New York - Toronto 1915, p. 22.

<sup>82</sup> SAYCE, *Reminiscences*, pp. 172-173; Ramsay published several articles in the «Journal of Hellenic Studies» from 1880 onwards on discoveries made during his travels. A selection of letters from Ramsay to Macmillan are available online at <<https://www.hellenicsociety.org.uk/about-us/william-mitchell-ramsay-letters/>> (last accessed 15/11/2019). See also DOYLE, *The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies*, pp. 205-206 and *passim*.

<sup>83</sup> SAYCE, *Reminiscences*, p. 220, and see also S. ALAURA, "Nach Boghasköy!" *Zur Vorgeschichte der Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattuša und zu den archäologischen Forschungen bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg. Darstellung und Dokumente*, Berlin 2006 (13. SendschriftDOG), pp. 25-26.

<sup>84</sup> The story of the School's foundation has often been told; see e.g. G. MACMILLAN, *A Short History of the British School at Athens, 1886-1911*, «The Annual of the British School at Athens», 17 (1910-1911), pp. ix-x; H. WATERHOUSE, *The British School at Athens: The First Hundred Years*, London 1986, pp. 6-9; D.W.J. GILL, *The British School at Athens and Archaeological Research in the Late Ottoman Empire*, in *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F.W. Hasluck, 1878-1920*, edited by D. SHANKLAND, Vol. 1, Istanbul 2004, pp. 223-255; L. POTTER - J. WHITLEY, *The Origins of the British School at Athens*, in *On Site: British Archaeologists in Greece*, edited by E. CALLIGAS - J. WHITLEY, Athens 2005, pp. 11-23; M. BEARD - CH. STRAY, *The Academy Abroad: The Nineteenth-Century Origin of the British School at Athens*, in *The Organisation of Knowledge in Victorian Britain*, edited by M. DAUNTON, Oxford 2005, esp. p. 378 for Sayce; D.W.J. GILL, *Sifting the Soil of Greece: The Early Years of the British School at Athens (1886-1919)* London 2011 (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, suppl. 111), esp. pp. 12-29.

Layard discussed issues relating to Mesopotamia, such as the quarrel in 1893 between Layard's protégé Rassam and E.A. Wallis Budge, who from 1892 was Acting Keeper and in 1894 became Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities of the British Museum<sup>85</sup>:

One of my last recollections of him [Layard] is a conversation in his London house one afternoon tea when he vigorously [*sic*] took the part of his old friend & protégé Hormuzd Rassam who had become entangled in a quarrel with the British Museum. Hormuzd Rassam, by the way, married an English wife, & spent the better part of his life in Bayswater not far from the house in which I was living at the time. He asked me one day if I would revise the English of an account of his experiences in Aden & Abyssinia & more especially of his work in Babylonia & Assyria which he was writing for the benefit of his children. I agreed to do so & the pages of the MS [i.e. manuscript], in pencil, were sent to me from time to time as soon as they were finished. There was a good deal in them of interest to the Assyriologist, but unfortunately I took no notes, thinking that the whole work would be completed before long & eventually published. When only the earlier portion of the intended work however had been written & revised I had to leave England for Egypt & when I returned some months later I found that Rassam was dead & his unfinished MS lost or destroyed<sup>86</sup>.

As shown by archival documentation preserved at the Bodleian Library, Sayce was kept well informed about the legal dispute concerning Rassam and Budge – which attracted a great deal of press attention<sup>87</sup> – by Rassam himself. Rassam's legal case was therefore probably among the last important issues discussed by Layard and Sayce.

After Layard's death, the unstoppable rise of German oriental

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<sup>85</sup> See J. READE, *Wallis Budge - for or against?*, in *Wallis Budge: Magic and Mummies in London and Cairo*, edited by M. ISMAIL, Kilkerran 2015, pp. 461-463.

<sup>86</sup> SAYCE, *The Heroic Age of Assyriology* (see above footnote 28), pp. 9-10. See also SAYCE, *Reminiscences*, p. 302.

<sup>87</sup> See for example the articles that came out in rapid succession in «Nature», *The Thieving of Assyrian Antiquities*, 48, 1241 (10 August 1893), pp. 343-344; 1247 (21 September 1893), pp. 508-509; 1249 (5 October 1893), p. 540.



studies, which had begun in those very years when Sayce was travelling in Asia Minor, continued both generally and with regard to Hittite Anatolia. Sayce's rivalry with the German Assyriologist Hugo Winckler was first sparked by the cuneiform tablets found in Middle Egypt in 1887 in the ruins by Amarna. Among them were two letters (EA 31, 32) written in an unknown language, which both Winckler and Sayce independently suggested was Hittite<sup>88</sup>. These and other discoveries then pushed the German and British orientalists simultaneously in 1905 to ask for permission to dig at Boğazköy. By that time, Ottoman Turkey was allied with Germany, especially after the oriental trip made by Wilhelm II in 1898, which marked the beginning of the personal friendship between the Kaiser and the Sultan<sup>89</sup>. And two further simultaneous developments gave German archaeology a privileged position: the founding of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft and the signing of a secret excavation treaty between Germany and the Sublime Porte<sup>90</sup>.

Sayce supported John Garstang of the Institute of Archaeology at Liverpool University, but it was Winckler who succeeded in excavating Boğazköy, where he found the tablets that allowed its identification with the Hittite capital, Hattuša. At this crucial moment in the history of Anatolian studies, many years after Layard's death, Sayce still regretted the ending of Layard's ambassadorship to Turkey, as is clear from a letter, now preserved at the Griffith Institute at Oxford, that he sent to Garstang from Egypt on 10 November 1907. From his dahabeeyah,

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<sup>88</sup> H. WINCKLER, *Bericht über die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna im Königlichen Museum zu Berlin und im Museum von Bulaq*, Berlin 1888 (Sitz. Kgl. Pr. Ak. Wiss. LI/2, 13. Dec. Sitz. der phil.-hist. Kl.), pp. 1341-1357, esp. pp. 1348-1349; A.H. SAYCE, *Letter from Egypt*, «The Academy», 872 (19 January 1889), p. 47. For the history of the Amarna discoveries see, among others, C. ALDRED, *El-Amarna*, in *Excavating in Egypt*, pp. 89-106.

<sup>89</sup> See K. JASCHINSKI - J. WALDSCHMIDT, eds., *Des Kaisers Reise in den Orient 1898*, Berlin 2002, and S. MANGOLD-WILL, *Die Orientreise Wilhelms II.: Archäologie und die Legitimierung einer Hohenzollernschen Universalmonarchie zwischen Orient und Okzident*, in *Wilhelm II. Archäologie und Politik um 1900*, edited by Th. BEIGEL - S. MANGOLD-WILL, Stuttgart 2017, pp. 53-66.

<sup>90</sup> See S.L. MARCHAND, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970*, Princeton 1996, esp. pp. 188-200, and EAD., *German Archaeology in the Wilhelmine Era: An Overview*, in *Wilhelm II.*, pp. 15-21 (esp. pp. 17-18).

*Ishtar*, the Nile boat fitted out with a library on which he used to spend the winter, Sayce wrote:

The German concession includes Kara Eyuk (or Kül Tépé) near Kaisarya, where the Cappadocian cuneiform tablets are found, as well as Boghaz Keui: it was obtained by the German ambassador and a letter to the Sultan from the Kaiser. I wish we had a man like Layard at Constantinople now. [...] Winckler brought back 2500 tablets from Boghaz Keui as the result of his months' digging<sup>91</sup>.

No British ambassador to the Porte would ever again command so much influence over Anatolian archaeology as Layard had. And even later, in his essay in the monumental and now almost forgotten *The Book of History*, published in 1915, Sayce celebrated Layard and his chief assistant and successor Rassam among the «Revealers of the Past» who had preceded him, and he included photographs of them in the select «group of the most notable archaeologists, to whose labours so much of our knowledge of the ancient empires is due»<sup>92</sup>.

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<sup>91</sup> A.H. Sayce to J. Garstang, November 10, 1907, Griffith Institute, Oxford, Sayce MSS. B 32.4.

<sup>92</sup> A.H. SAYCE, *The Ancient Civilisations and their Vanished Glories: Early Empires of Mesopotamia & Egypt*, in *The Book of History: The Life-Story of the Earth and of All Nations. Fourth Grand Division – The Near East*, New York - London 1915, p. 1557.

Fig. 1 - *The Rt Hon. Austen Henry Layard DCL, British Ambassador to Constantinople* by Lock & Whitfield, published by Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington woodburytype, 1877 (© National Portrait Gallery, London).

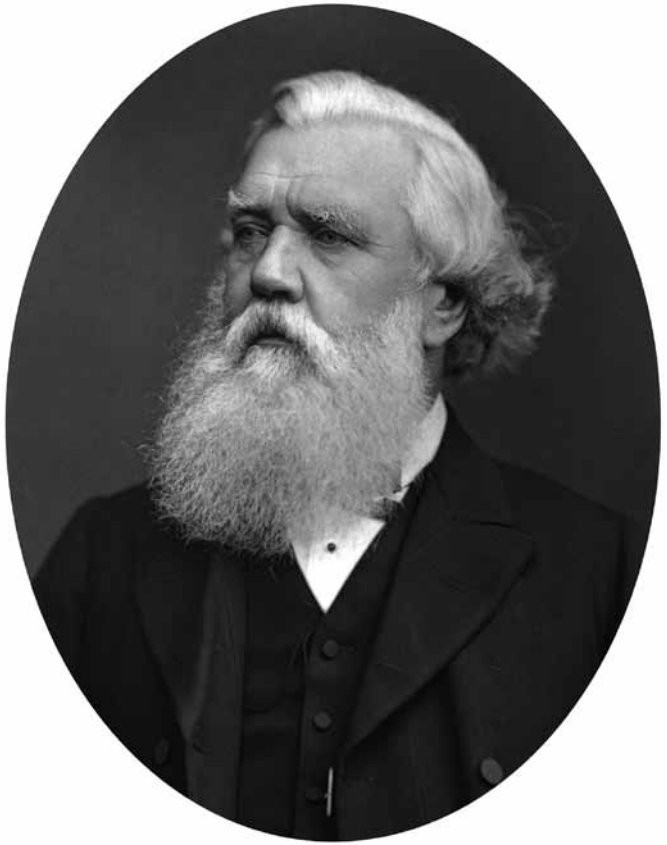


Fig. 2 - *The War in the East, Arrival of Mr. Layard, the New British Ambassador, at Constantinople: The Reception at the Arsenal*, Anonymous.

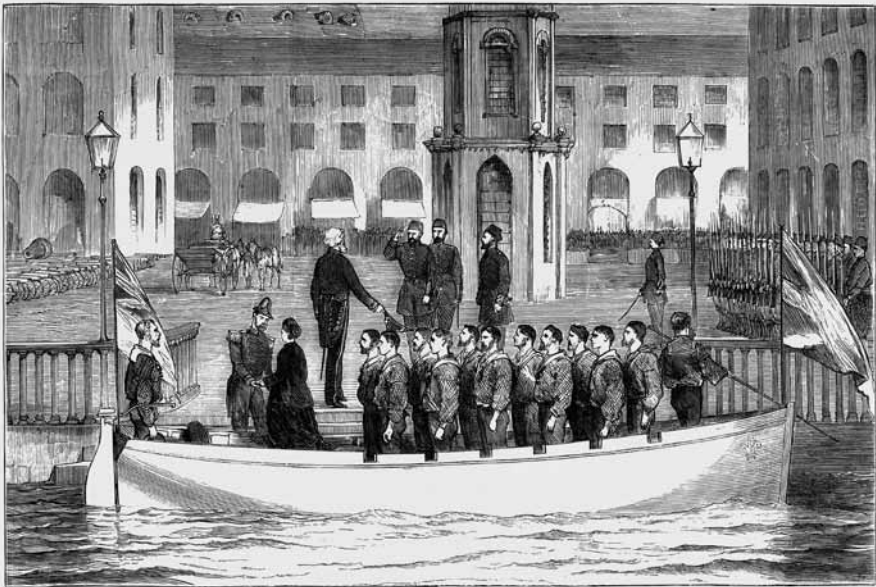
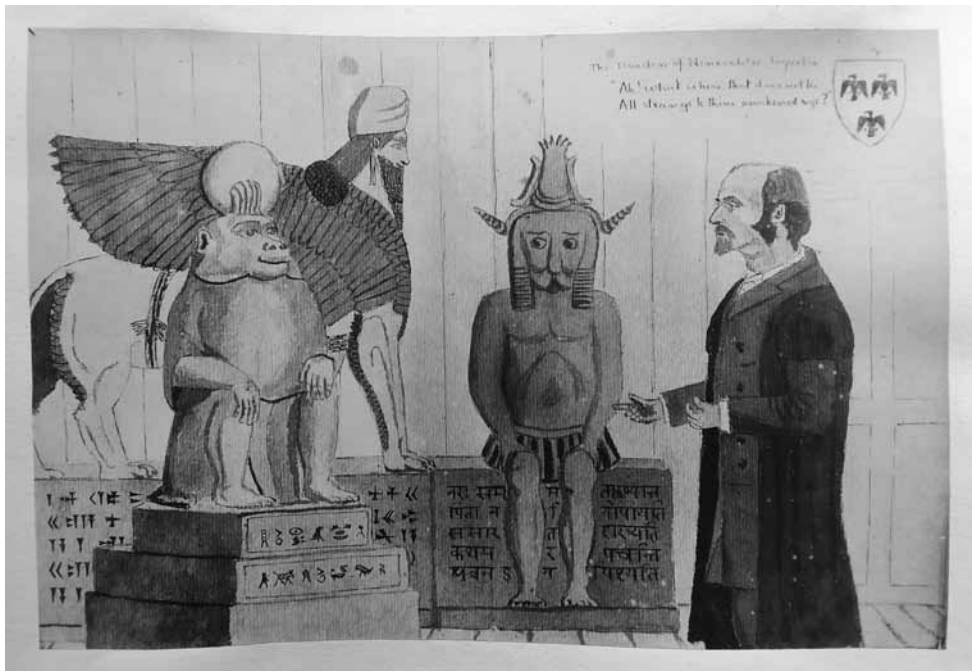




Fig. 3 - Archibald Henry Sayce (1845-1933) by Samuel Alexander Walker, 1874 (© National Portrait Gallery, London).

Fig. 4 - *The Burden of Nineveh* so loquitur "Ah! what is here that does not lie, All strange to thine awakened eye" (from *The Burden of Nineveh*, poem by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, 1870). Archibald Henry Sayce with anthropomorphic statues with inscriptions on their bases; caricature publ. by Thomas Shrimpton & Son c. 1897. Dimensions: 194x132 mm. (The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, Shelfmark: G.A. Oxon. 4° 418, vol. 7, fol. 1203).



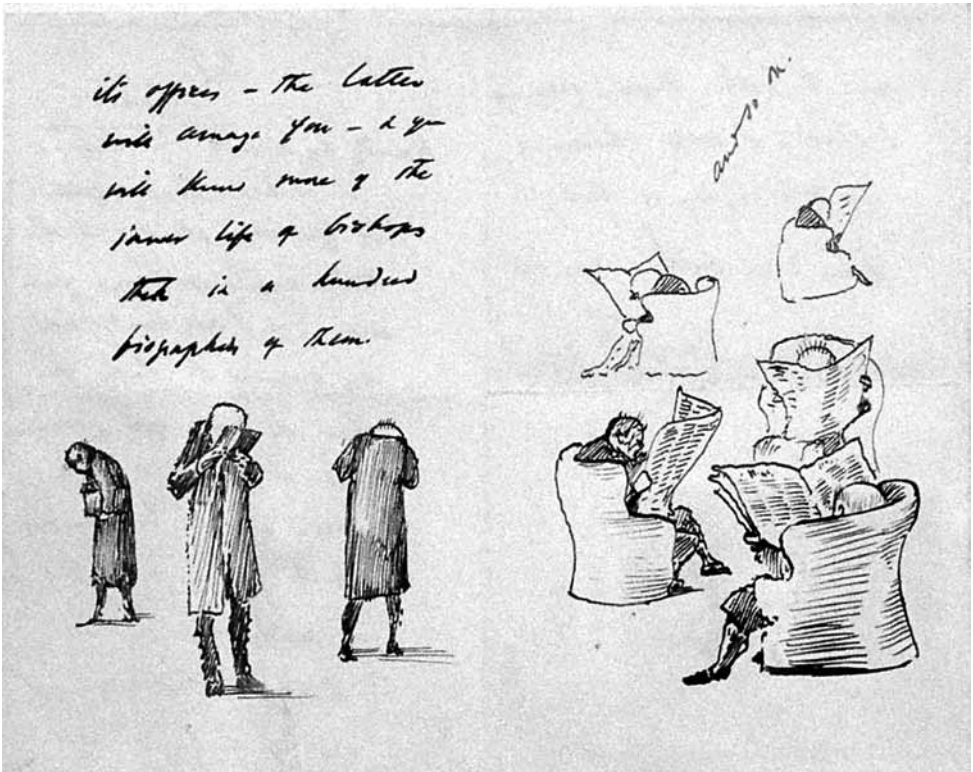


Fig. 5 - *The Athenaeum Club in London in 1830*, engraved by James Tingle from an original study (now in the Museum of London) by Thomas Hosmer Shepherd.

Fig. 6 - *Members of the Athenaeum Club* by Sir Edward Coley Burne-Jones, Bt ARA. Pen and ink on paper (Courtesy of the Athenaeum Club, Waterloo Place and Pall Mall, London).





Fig. 8 - *The English of It*, designed by J. Tenniel, from «Punch, or the London Charivari», 75 (November 15, 1879), p. 223.

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Private

Pera  
Dec. 12/79

Dear Professor Sayce.

I was very glad to learn by your letter of the 19<sup>th</sup> that your trip to Smyrna had proved so successful. I had already heard from W. Deane, whom I saw shortly after your visit, of your discoveries. Unfortunately the time at my disposal was so short that I could only pay a hasty visit to the ruins of Ephesus. I should certainly have visited the 'Horti' and the 'Pseudo-Reservoir' if I could have remained another day or two at Smyrna, but my presence was urgently required at Constantinople and I had no time to spare. Perhaps next year I may be able to visit Smyrna again, and I

Fig. 9 a, b - Letter from A.H. Layard to A.H. Sayce, Pera, December 12, 1879 (The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, MS. Eng. lett. d. 63, fols. 231-232).

shall then endeavor to see whether Xenophon in the night march that you describe. The fact that Artaxerxes influenced accident to go north to Smyrna, is very curious & interesting, and may account, as you suggest, for the Assyrian character of Lydian art. Mr. Henderson tells me that he has discovered some further monuments at Caracemish.

I am sorry to say that the Americans have obtained a former for excavations at Hymn, and have then purchased W. Deane, who was anxious to make researches there. Unfortunately I was not informed of his work until it was too late. I am now asking for a former to enable him to examine other sites, which, perhaps, will yield important remains.

I could not obtain any information about the discovery of New German at Pergamon. W. Deane had not been able to obtain a description of the numerous sculptures. The medals have been kept very secret. Unfortunately he could not even do anything without sending, or showing to himself, a paper account to the newspapers. The publication of the Prussian I obtained for W. Deane in the Times did a world of good.

When I was in Syria a colonial statue was found at Gaze. I did not find, but from the description of it I assumed it a possibility of the Seleucid period. The Minister of Public Instruction told me that the American Consul was going to embark for the United States, but he had not been allowed to do so by the Authorities.

I will make enquiries about the stones at the fountain which have mentioned to you by Professor Deane.

Believe me  
Yours very truly  
A. H. Layard.

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*Rethinking Layard 1817-2017* marked the bicentenary of the birth of the famous archaeologist and diplomat Austen Henry Layard (1817-1894). The volume brings together contributions to the international two-day conference, which was organised by Stefania Ermidoro and Cecilia Riva, with the support of the *Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere e Arti* and *Scuola Dottorale in Storia delle Arti* of Ca' Foscari University. Using an interdisciplinary approach, the essays collected in this volume intend to expand and cross-relate new, unpublished materials about Layard and his activities, achievements, and long-term legacy in nineteenth-century London and Venice. Particular attention is placed upon Layard's contribution to art, archaeology, politics, and diplomacy.

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