

2-2022

From Private to Public: The collection of David P. Harris

Brad Hostetler
Kenyon College

Ani Parnagian
Kenyon College

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digital.kenyon.edu/perejournal>



Part of the Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque Art and Architecture Commons

Recommended Citation

Hostetler, Brad and Ani Parnagian. "From Private to Public: The collection of David P. Harris."
Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture 8, 1 (2022): 5-25. <https://digital.kenyon.edu/perejournal/vol8/iss1/4>

This Feature Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Art History at Digital Kenyon: Research, Scholarship, and Creative Exchange. It has been accepted for inclusion in *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* by an authorized editor of Digital Kenyon: Research, Scholarship, and Creative Exchange. For more information, please contact noltj@kenyon.edu.

2 From Private to Public: The Collection of David P. Harris

Brad Hostetler with Ani Parnagian

The thirty-six Ethiopian objects featured in this catalog are part of a bequest from the estate of David P. Harris (1925–2019), a 1946 graduate of Kenyon College (fig. 2.1). In July of 2020, over 450 of Harris’s objects were accessioned into the Department of Art History’s study collection, now named the Blick-Harris Study Collection (BHSC).¹ In this essay, we situate the Ethiopian pieces in the broader context of Harris’s bequest, by examining his collecting habit, his organization of objects, and the ways in which his purchases of Ethiopian works of art fit into his overall collection.

Biography

David Payne Harris was born January 5, 1925 in Cleveland, Ohio, and raised in the suburb of Rocky River.² Following a year at the College of Wooster, he transferred to Kenyon in 1944, where he majored in English, served as editor for the *Collegian*, and was a member of the Phi Kappa Sigma fraternity. His interest in languages blossomed during his undergraduate studies; he took courses in Latin, Greek, French, Italian, and German.³ He graduated *cum laude* in 1946, and then entered the graduate program at the University of Michigan, earning his PhD in Linguistics in 1954.⁴ While at Michigan, he designed tests for the Educational Testing Service

and the English Language Institute. In 1954 he joined the English faculty at the University of Florida in Gainesville.⁵ Harris quickly became a prominent scholar in his discipline. In 1961 he was appointed Professor of Linguistics and became the first Director of the American Language Institute at Georgetown University.⁶ He was part of the development of the first Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) exam, and served as the first president of the Association of Teachers of English as a Second Language (ATESL). His book, *Testing English as a Second Language* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969) was an influential contribution to the field. Harris also held two Fulbright residencies in Greece; he was first a Lecturer at the National & Kapodistrian University of Athens in 1957–58, and then the Coordinator of the Fulbright English Language Program in Greece and Visiting Professor of Linguistics at the Universities of Athens and Thessaloniki in 1967–68.⁷

Harris remained at Georgetown University until his retirement in 1990. Friends have told us that he spent his retirement developing and researching his collection, traveling, and attending exhibitions and concerts. He resided in Washington, DC until his death on August 19, 2019 at the age of ninety-four. His ashes were spread at the Kenyon College

¹ The study collection was named after Harris and Boris A. Blick (1922–2005), the two donors whose estates form the foundation of the collection.

² General biographical information is drawn upon interviews with Harris’s friends and colleagues, from the obituary published in the *Kenyon Alumni Magazine* 2020, p. 61; and from the author bio published in his first book, Harris 1969, p. ii. Obituaries and Harris’s academic records at Kenyon state that he was born on January 6, but — thanks to the

genealogical research of Eugene Dwyer — government-issued documents indicate that he was born on January 5.

³ We are grateful to the Office of the Registrar for providing Harris’s academic transcript.

⁴ Harris 1954.

⁵ *Florida Alligator* 1954, p. 9.

⁶ Gallop 2018.

⁷ “Fulbright Alumni,” Fulbright Greece <https://www.fulbright.gr/en/alumni> (accessed September 15, 2021).



Figure 2.1. Undated photograph of David P. Harris. BHSC.
Photo: Chesshire Photographers, Youngstown, Ohio.

Cemetery, where he is commemorated with a stone marker.

In the final years of his life Harris began discussions with his *almae matres* as possible recipients of the objects he collected. He presented to Michigan his collection of letters and ship logs associated with the War of 1812. This material is now housed at the William L. Clements Library, and was featured in a 2012 exhibition.⁸ Harris wanted Kenyon to be the primary beneficiary of his estate. Discussions with the College began in May of 2009, and it was agreed that a monetary bequest would be used to establish a fund for the care, maintenance, and restoration of art on campus. Later that summer, Harris proposed to also leave his collection of Asian art to the College. Harris

⁸ *Clements Library Chronicles* 2012.



Figure 2.2. Harris's Personal Catalog (HC) of his Collection.
Photo: Birhanu T. Gessese.

submitted documents of select pieces to the Accessions Committee, who recommended that these objects be accepted if he decided to leave them in the bequest. When Harris died in 2019, it was discovered that he had left his entire estate to the College. The Office of Planned Giving first consulted with the Gund Gallery, who took over the role of the Accessions Committee when it was established in 2011. As most of the objects fall outside of the Gallery's collecting mission, the Department of Art History's study collection was suggested as the most suitable home. Faced with the choice of housing these objects or allowing them to be sent to auction, the Department decided to accession them so that faculty and students could research, and teach with, the pieces and more properly investigate their provenance.

Harris Catalog (HC)

The Department also received Harris's own records of his collection (fig. 2.2). For each object, Harris produced what we refer to as a "one-sheet,"

Table 2.1. Organization of the HC with sub-collection names provided by Harris. Inferred sub-collection names are given in brackets. The asterisk (*) identifies the sub-collection for which we attribute a title not given by Harris elsewhere in the HC.

Binder	Sub-collection	Number of Objects
1. African & Other Tribal Objects; Ethiopian Crosses	A. African and Other Tribal Objects	16
	B. Untitled [Other Tribal Objects]	5
	C. Ethiopian Crosses	27
2. Asian Art, Mostly Ceramics	D. Asian Ceramics Part One	29
	E. Asian Ceramics Part Two	19
	F. Untitled [Asian Ceramics Part Three]	38
3. Byzantine-Era Small Objects; Icons: Byzantine to Modern Era; Post-Byzantine Sacred Objects	G. Byzantine Era Small Objects	46
	H. Rings and Small Pendant Crosses	28
	I. Icons: Byzantine to Modern Era	42
	J. Post-Byzantine Sacred Objects	30
4. Small Russian Icons, Mostly Metal; Roman, Hellenic, Coptic, Egyptian Objects	K. Untitled [Small Russian Icons, Mostly Metal]	17
	L. Roman, Hellenic, Coptic, Egyptian Objects	22
	M. Untitled [Early Medieval Objects]*	2
5. American Small Objects; Greek, Slavic Miscellany; Paintings, Silver, Rugs, Misc. Small Items	N. American Small Objects; Greek, Slavic Miscellany	18
	O. Untitled [Greek Miscellany]	6
	P. Untitled [Slavic Miscellany]	23
	Q. Paintings, Silver, Rugs, Misc. Small Items	39

which includes most of the following information: a photograph, title, description, dimensions, date, dealer, date of purchase, and purchase price (fig. 2.3). He filed purchase receipts and other relevant documents after the one-sheet. In some instances, two or more objects are grouped together on a single one-sheet. These documents are held in five three-ring binders, which are labeled and organized by sub-collections. Table 1 summarizes the contents of the Harris Catalog (HC), and reproduces the titles that he gave to each sub-collection.⁹ Some sub-collections are unnamed, but their titles can be inferred by those given on the covers of the respective binders.

We do not know when Harris began organizing the HC, or when he first devised these sub-collections. What we can say is that the HC was a long-term project that was continually developed and revised. Evidence suggests that he began this documentation by creating a one-sheet for each object using a typewriter, and at some point,

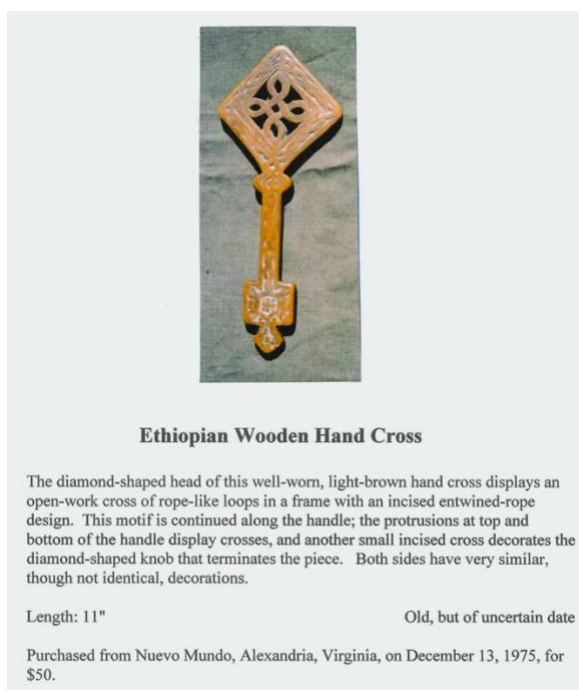


Figure 2.3. Harris's One-Sheet for a hand cross (cat. 1).

⁹ Harris did not number or sequence his binders and sub-collections, but we have done so here for the purpose of efficiently referring to specific groupings.

TEL. 549-0040 04156

3. **NUEVO MUNDO**
313 Cameron Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

DATE Feb 28 1976

M _____

QUAN.	ARTICLE	PRICE	AMOUNT
1	Doll head (Ethio)		12 50
1	Slate bowl (Ethio)		16 00
1	Head of scepter Eth.		16 00
1	Seal Ethio		14 00
1	Antique scroll (Ethio)		35 00
		913	50
	Tax	3	70
		917	20

ELMAN LABELS AND PAPER PRODUCTS, INC., SILVER SPRING, MD. 20910 DESIGN-A

Figure 2.4. Receipt from Nuevo Mundo, Alexandria, Virginia, dated February 28, 1976. BHSC.

perhaps in the mid-to-late 1990s, he produced and revised one-sheets on a computer. There are a few instances where Harris preserved both the typewriter- and computer-generated one-sheets for a single object, and in these cases we find minor revisions to his titles and descriptions from the first version to the second.¹⁰ He did not regularly save purchase receipts, and/or document specific purchase dates until the early 1960s, a few years after beginning his collection.

Our analysis of Harris's collection is through the lens of the HC, the only primary source that allows us to view the collection as through the eyes of the collector. We unfortunately never had the opportunity to speak with Harris. He was by all accounts a very private man. He left no personal diaries or letters in his estate, and while

¹⁰ See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.44.



Figure 2.5. Triptych with the Mother of God and Child, from Greece. BHSC, 2020.348. Photo: Birhanu T. Gessese.

conversations with friends have been helpful, they have not shed light on any specific pieces, or on the collection as a whole.

Building the Collection

The BHSC acquired 284 of the 407 objects that are individually cataloged in the HC. The remaining 123 objects were either given away by Harris — as indicated in hand-written notes in the HC — or could not be responsibly accepted due to the limitations of the Department’s storage space. The BHSC also received 174 objects that were not cataloged in the HC (see the Appendix for a complete list of objects accepted by Kenyon, organized by accession number and direct links to the online catalog).¹¹ The reason why Harris did not catalog all of his objects remains unclear; we have been able to find references to uncataloged objects on receipts filed with other objects purchased at the same time. For example, while the stone diptych (cat. 30) and the two amuletic scrolls (cats. 34, 35) were not cataloged in the HC, the purchase receipt for an Ethiopian processional cross (cat. 2) that was cataloged in the HC, lists other Ethiopian objects in

¹¹ Harris’s stamp collection (BHSC, 2020.453) and his coin collection (BHSC, 2020.454) are counted in this number as two objects because the hundreds of coins and stamps in these collections have not yet been fully inventoried.

¹² Other objects listed on the receipt include a “Doll bead,” which we have not been able to identify in the bequest, and a



Figure 2.6. Head of Buddha, from Thailand. BHSC, 2020.72. Photo: Birhanu T. Gessese.

that same purchase (fig. 2.4). We have identified the “slate book” on this receipt as the stone diptych, and the “antique scroll” as referring to one of the amuletic scrolls.¹²

The HC shows that Harris’s collection focused on a relatively few, specific, areas of interest. The largest, represented by Sub-collections G–K, can be characterized as Byzantine and Post-Byzantine artifacts, including jewelry, icons, and other religious objects associated with the Orthodox churches of Greece and Russia. The other major area of the collection is Asian art, represented by Sub-collections D–F. It is not clear in his

“seal,” which we identify as BHSC, 2020.230. We identified this seal late in the project and so were unable to include it in the catalog. For the stone diptych, see the essay by Sonia Dixon (ch. 8).

organization why he created three sub-collections within Binder 2 nor why he emphasized ceramics in the title.¹³ While Harris indeed focused on ceramics in his collecting of Asian art, his Asian sub-collections also include small figural sculptures in terracotta and wood.

Harris's collecting history spanned nearly sixty years, with his greatest activity in the 1970s and 1990s, the latter period corresponding to the first decade following his retirement (table 2.2). Harris began collecting in 1957. His first purchase, acquired in Athens, is a Greek Orthodox triptych with the Mother of God and Child (fig. 2.5).¹⁴ In 1957 he was in Athens for his first Fulbright residency, and it is clear that this experience greatly influenced him. Athens is where he first developed an interest in collecting, and, more specifically, collecting Orthodox icons, and we know that at some point in his adult life he converted to Greek Orthodoxy. His interests in Byzantium and Orthodox Christianity remained at the center of his collection; his last documented purchase is a small Greek triptych acquired in 2015.¹⁵

Harris also collected Asian art throughout this period. He purchased his first two Asian pieces on June 10, 1967 in San Francisco: a Ming celadon dish and a head of Buddha (fig. 2.6).¹⁶ He continued to add Asian objects to his collection; his last recorded purchase is a Song Dynasty stone head, purchased in San Francisco in 2005.¹⁷

His interests in other sub-collections were more limited. His collection of antique silver (filed under Sub-collection Q, Paintings, Silver, Rugs, Misc. Small Items) was purchased in the early 1960s.¹⁸ His purchases cataloged in Sub-collection L (Roman, Hellenic, Coptic, Egyptian Objects) began in 1968, but most objects in this group were bought between

1992 and 2005. Similarly, most objects in Sub-collection A (African and Other Tribal Objects) were purchased in the mid-to-late-1970s.

It is through this lens that we look more closely at the focus of this volume, Ethiopian art. The Ethiopian crosses filed under Sub-collection C were purchased between 1975 and 1979, with one addition in 1989. His interest in Ethiopian art and Ethiopian crosses, specifically, is brief, but we can examine how his interest in these objects was piqued by examining what else he was buying at the time.¹⁹ His first Ethiopian acquisitions were the *sənsul* and the two *sənsul* fragments (cats. 31, 32, 33), purchased together on October 21, 1975 in London.²⁰ Harris did not catalog these works with the other Ethiopian objects in Sub-collection C (Ethiopian Crosses), but rather included them in Sub-collection J (Post-Byzantine Sacred Objects). In 1974, one year prior to this acquisition, Harris had begun collecting African objects, filed under Sub-collection A, and had already acquired over half of the objects filed under Sub-collection I (Icons: Byzantine to Modern Era); he had also been actively adding to his collection of works cataloged in Sub-collection K (Small Russian Icons, Mostly Metal). It is therefore likely that purchasing Ethiopian objects satisfied two of his interests at the time: African art and Orthodox icons. The *sənsul*, with its extensive Gə'əz writing must have also appealed to him as a scholar of linguistics.

What culture did Harris believe he was collecting when he began acquiring Ethiopian objects? Constantine Panayotidis, the dealer who sold Harris the *sənsul* and the two fragments, identified the entire lot on the receipt as "16 Coptic Parchment

¹³ The three-part division of Asian art may reflect an older organization of Harris's binders. The Department received a photo of a second set of binders for the HC, but not the binders themselves, and these smaller binders, according to their labels on the spines, seemed to have contained the individual sub-collections listed in table 2.1.

¹⁴ BHSC, 2020.348. In that same year, he also purchased a Greek icon of the Pentecost, BHSC, 2020.322.

¹⁵ BHSC, 2020.349.

¹⁶ BHSC, 2020.72. The Ming celadon dish was not received in the bequest.

¹⁷ BHSC, 2020.53.

¹⁸ The antique silver was not received in the bequest.

¹⁹ See the essay by Lynn Jones (ch. 6).

²⁰ The *sənsul* and *sənsul* fragments were sold to Harris as one object; see the essay by Caitlin Mims (ch. 9) in this volume.

Drawings of Religious Scenes.”²¹ Regardless of whether Harris knew these objects were of Ethiopian origin, this purchase initiated an interest in “Coptic” art. Four days later, he visited a different London dealer and acquired two Ethiopian pectoral crosses, also identified as “Coptic” (cats. 13, 14).²² Harris’s purchases of pectoral crosses are not a surprise, as at this time most of the objects in Sub-collections G (Byzantine Era Small Objects), H (Rings and Small Pendant Crosses), and J (Post-Byzantine Sacred Objects) were pectorals from various Orthodoxies, including Bosnian, Ukrainian, Russian, and Byzantine (fig. 2.7).²³

When Harris returned to Washington, DC from his trip to London in October of 1975, he continued his “Coptic” hunt. On November 22, he made his first visit to Nuevo Mundo, a gallery in Alexandria, Virginia, to purchase what is identified on the receipt as a “Coptic textile,” a tapestry weave from early medieval Egypt.²⁴ His interest in this object seems to have been the “Coptic” identifier because he returned to Nuevo Mundo a few weeks later, on December 13, to purchase his first Ethiopian hand cross (cat. 1), identified on the receipt as a “Coptic cross.”²⁵ On February 28, 1976, Harris returned to Nuevo Mundo again. He purchased five objects, identified on the receipt not as “Coptic,” as was the case for his earlier purchases, but as “Ethiop.” written in parentheses next to each item (fig. 2.4). From this point through 1979, Harris continued to buy Ethiopian crosses on a regular basis, and they are identified on the receipts as “Ethiopian,” “Coptic,” or both. He then paused his purchasing of Ethiopian crosses for ten years, with a final purchase in 1989 (cat. 10). Two years later, he bought the double-sided, painted pectoral icon (cat. 29), but he filed this object not with any other Ethiopian objects, but in Sub-collection I (Icons: Byzantine to

Modern Era). This narrative suggests that what started as an initial interest in Coptic art and its relationship to other Eastern Orthodoxies, evolved into the collecting of Ethiopian crosses. This sub-collection in the HC is the most narrowly defined in terms of culture, object type, and the period of time in which he purchased them.

This suggestion of why Harris became interested in Ethiopian objects — that it developed from his broader interests in Orthodoxies — is supported by a photograph of one of the display cases that he kept in his living room. When Harris died in 2019, Kyle Henderson, the Associate Vice President for Planned Giving at the time, visited the home, and photographed the objects in order to take stock of the estate. One photograph depicts a display case that includes two Ethiopian objects featured in this catalog (cats. 21, 29) with five small Post-Byzantine icons (fig. 2.8).²⁶ While this is only one case of objects, without a date of assembly, it suggests that Harris perceived his Ethiopian pieces as part of Orthodox Christian artistic traditions.

Harris kept purchase records for most of his objects, allowing us to analyze his investments in each sub-collection. We are not interested in seeing whether he over- or under-paid for a particular object; our interest lies in determining where he invested his resources. In order to create a comparative analysis across his nearly sixty-year collecting history, we have adjusted all purchase prices to 2021 values based on the rate of inflation.²⁷ In doing this, we are able to see how his purchases in the 1950s are compatible with those later in his life, and can then examine the amount he invested in each sub-collection, and the average price he paid per object. This method admittedly does not account for his changing financial resources over time, or for other social conditions that would

²¹ See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.189.1.

²² See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.31. For Harris’s neck crosses, see the essay by Sarah Mathiesen (ch. 7).

²³ For the pectoral crosses depicted in figure 2.7, see BHSC, 2020.142, 2020.153, 2020.154, 2020.165, 2020.170.

²⁴ See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.401.

²⁵ See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.29.

²⁶ Objects featured in this photograph include BHSC, 2020.40, 2020.190, 2020.329, 2020.326, 2020.324, 2020.350, 2020.328.

²⁷ We used the CPI Inflation Calculator provided by the United States Department of Labor, https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm (accessed October 16, 2021).



Figure 2.7. Group of Orthodox Crosses. BHSC (upper row then lower row, left to right), 2020.165, 2020.142, 2020.170, 2020.154, 2020.153. Photo: Birhanu T. Gessese.



Figure 2.8. One of Harris's display cases in his home, as photographed in February of 2020. BHSC (upper row then lower row, left to right), 2020.40 (cat. 21), 2020.190 (cat. 29), 2020.329, 2020.326, 2020.324, 2020.350, 2020.328. Photo: Kyle Henderson.

Table 2.2. Number of Objects that Harris Purchased by Decade

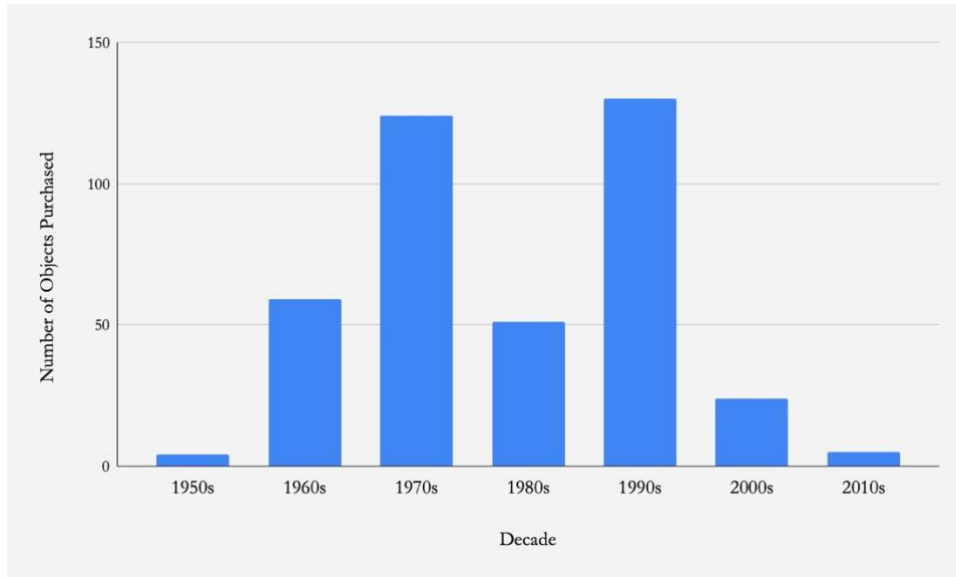
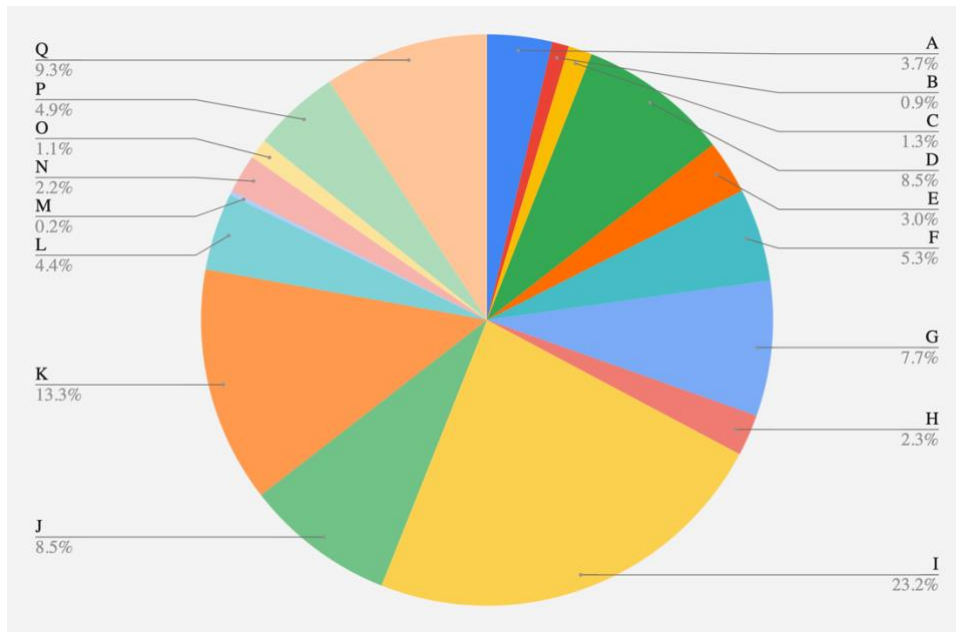


Table 2.3. Harris’s Monetary Investment by Sub-collection



- | | |
|---|---|
| A. African and Other Tribal Objects | J. Post-Byzantine Sacred Objects |
| B. Untitled [Other Tribal Objects] | K. Untitled [Small Russian Icons, Mostly Metal] |
| C. Ethiopian Crosses | L. Roman, Hellenic, Coptic, Egyptian Objects |
| D. Asian Ceramics Part One | M. Untitled [Early Medieval Objects] |
| E. Asian Ceramics Part Two | N. American Small Objects; Greek, Slavic Miscellany |
| F. Untitled [Asian Ceramics Part Three] | O. Untitled [Greek Miscellany] |
| G. Byzantine Era Small Objects | P. Untitled [Slavic Miscellany] |
| H. Rings and Small Pendant Crosses | Q. Paintings, Silver, Rugs, Misc. Small Items |
| I. Icons: Byzantine to Modern Era | |

influence his purchasing decisions, but it does offer us a snapshot of how and when he was willing to invest in particular areas. For example, many of Harris's more costly purchases occurred in the last twenty years of his life, and most of these objects are part of his Asian and Byzantine sub-collections. This could reflect many factors: a changing market, a more sophisticated eye, and/or a willingness to take greater purchasing risks in specific sub-collections. When the purchasing date and price are not known for an object, we did not include it in our analysis. Table 2.3 illustrates the financial share of each sub-collection.

As we can see, Sub-collections I (Icons: Byzantine to Modern Era) and K (Small Russian Icons, Mostly Metal) represent approximately one-third of Harris's overall investment. This higher spending within these specific areas also reflects his sustained interests over the course of his collecting career. By contrast, Sub-collection C (Ethiopian Crosses) represents a very small share of his total investments. It is also the area in which he spent the lowest amount per object. The reasons why dealers priced these Ethiopian crosses as they did is not one that can be adequately addressed within the scope of this essay, but might include low market demand and/or an abundant supply. When we look closer at individual purchases, we notice that the most expensive Ethiopian purchases — the *sonsul* and fragments (cats. 31, 32, 33) and the double-sided painted pectoral (cat. 29), which were also his first and last Ethiopian purchases — are not, as we have seen, cataloged with the crosses in Sub-collection C, but are rather placed with Byzantine and Post-Byzantine objects.

Harris's Intellectual Engagement with the Collection

Harris's friends and colleagues all noted that he enjoyed researching the objects in his collection. He found continual pleasure in his purchases, as he studied them and shared them with friends. He did



Figure 2.9. Icon of Christ, from Crete. BHSC, 2020.323. Photo: Birhanu T. Gessese.

not research all of his objects. His Asian pieces, for example, received little recorded intellectual engagement — even though they encompass a significant portion of his collection in terms of number and financial investment. His descriptions, dates, and identifications for these works largely correspond to those provided on the purchase receipts.

Harris was demonstrably more intellectually engaged with his Byzantine and Post-Byzantine objects in Sub-collections G–K; this engagement is evident in a number of ways. We find him correcting one dealer's identification of a saint on an icon, and emending another dealer's reading of an inscription.²⁸ Harris was also interested in seeking out comparative material for pieces in his collection. In the HC, he included photocopies of pages from books and print-outs from museum websites. The museums he most often cited are those that were closest to his Washington, DC home, including the

²⁸ See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.407, 2020.365.



Figure 2.10. Wing of a Triptych with Saints Nicholas and Demetrios. BHSC, 2020.350. Photo: Birhanu T. Gessese.

Freer Art Gallery and Dumbarton Oaks, and, when he was living in Greece, the Benaki Museum in Athens — suggesting a familiarity and thus regular visits to his local museums. One example is a Cretan icon of Christ, purchased in Athens in 1967, during his second Fulbright residency (fig. 2.9).²⁹ In the HC, Harris compared this to an icon at the Benaki, signed by Emmanuel Lambardos, a name shared by two artists, an uncle and nephew working in the same workshop in Heraklion in the seventeenth century.³⁰ Harris also consulted scholarly literature to glean additional information on objects in his

collection, such as identifying the weight value of his Byzantine weights by consulting the seminal source on these objects.³¹ We also find examples of his ability to read Greek inscriptions even on the most epigraphically challenging objects.³² There are also a few objects in the HC for which Harris included short, type-written research papers, complete with footnotes and brief bibliographies.³³ For every document that Harris filed in the HC, he followed academic procedure, citing sources that he consulted. These type-written papers are given no attribution, and so appear to be authored by him.

Harris's intellectual engagement also included the restoration of particular works of art. We have evidence of this for three pieces, all post-Byzantine icons. His notes indicate that after purchasing an icon of Saint Nicholas in Athens in 1967, he had a large central crack repaired the following year in London by the Bowater Gallery.³⁴ He had two other icons repaired by prominent Byzantinists in Athens. The triptych with the Mother of God and Child (fig. 2.5) was cleaned in 1958 by Fotis Kontoglou (1896–1965), the celebrated iconographer who is also known for his work as the conservator for the Byzantine and Christian Museum and in Athens, and for his restoration work on the fourteenth-century frescoes at the Peribleptos Monastery at Mystras.³⁵ A wing of a triptych (fig. 2.10), purchased in Athens in 1968, was cleaned that same year by Maria Sotiriou (1888–1979), who was also a conservator at the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens, and co-author of a number of important studies with her husband, George Sotiriou (1881–1965), the first Director of the museum.³⁶

Harris's interest in having his works appraised can also be seen as an aspect of his intellectual engagement. Of the sixteen objects in Sub-collection A (African and Other Tribal Objects), ten were

²⁹ BHSC, 2020.323.

³⁰ Benaki Museum, ΓΕ 2988, https://www.benaki.org/index.php?option=com_collectionitems&view=collectionitem&id=107671&lang=en (accessed October 16, 2021). See also Drandaki et al 2000, pp. 194–95.

³¹ His citation to Bendall 1996, is found in the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.148.

³² See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.121.

³³ See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.405, 2020.162, 2020.166, 2020.167.

³⁴ See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.318.

³⁵ See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.348.

³⁶ See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.350.

appraised by William L. Hommel (1935–2018), who was, in the 1970s, when these works were purchased, a curator at the Museum of African Art in Washington, DC.³⁷ Seven of these appraisals are indicated on the purchase receipts from the Von Barghahn Gallery in Washington, DC.³⁸ Harris also sought out Hommel’s expertise for the appraisal of three other African objects that he purchased from other dealers.³⁹ While Harris may have been interested in an object’s value, his work with Hommel, Sotiriou, and Kontoglou may also reflect an interest in verifying the authenticity of specific pieces.

Based on what remains in the HC, it appears that Harris had less intellectual engagement with his Ethiopian objects. He did not include any images of comparanda, nor do we find the type of research activities discussed above. However, the terminology he used to describe these pieces on the one-sheets evolved as he made more purchases. What may have begun as a desire for Coptic works, Harris later understood to be from the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

Provenance

Research on any collection must address questions of provenance. This is of importance not only for the purpose of evaluating an object’s authenticity, but for also determining its ownership history, both licit and illicit; for an in-depth examination of these issues, see the essay in this volume by Elizabeth Marlowe (ch. 3). Such information is critical in determining how the Department of Art History and Kenyon College should responsibly serve as stewards of Harris’s collection.

The Association of Art Museum Directors (AAMD) provides guidance on this matter. The 2008 report on the “Acquisition of Archaeological

Materials and Ancient Art” identifies the UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import and Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property held on November 17, 1970 as providing the critical benchmark for art acquisitions.⁴⁰ This report, following the date and guidance of the UNESCO Convention, states that:

Member museums normally should not acquire a work unless provenance research substantiates that the work was outside its country of probable modern discovery before 1970 or was legally exported from its probable country of modern discovery after 1970.

We have very little information regarding the pre-dealer history of Harris’s objects. Of the 458 objects that were accessioned into the BHSC from the Harris bequest, thirty-eight meet the guidelines established by the UNESCO Convention and that supported by the AAMD (see the Appendix). The AAMD Report also offers guidance when an object’s full ownership history is not available. They cite that “the cumulative facts and circumstances resulting from provenance research” may lead to the conclusion that a work most likely meets the 1970 threshold, and in such cases a museum may choose to accept a work. If so, then the museum must also publicize all known information that led to the decision to acquire the work. But they warn:

The museum must carefully balance the possible financial and reputational harm of taking such a step against the benefit of collecting, presenting, and preserving the work in trust for the educational benefit of present and future generations.

Kenyon, as Harris’s primary beneficiary, immediately became the new owner of the collection upon his death in 2019, and the

³⁷ The six African pieces in this sub-collection that were not appraised by Harris: BHSC, 2020.4, 2020.7, 2020.11, 2020.12, 2020.15, 2020.16.

³⁸ See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.2, 2020.3, 2020.6, 2020.8, 2020.10, 2020.13, 2020.14.

³⁹ See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.1, 2020.5, 2020.9.

⁴⁰ AAMD 2008; UNESCO 1970.

Department of Art History was then given the extraordinary opportunity and privilege to have a voice in determining how to best care for the pieces. Faced with the choice of incorporating Harris's bequest into the BHSC or allowing the estate to be liquidated at auction, the Department chose the former. Objects were immediately accessioned and added to the online collection catalog, where provenance materials will continue to be publicized. If research "establishes another party's right to ownership of a work" — as stated by the AAMD 2008 Report — the Department of Art History and Kenyon College, as the current stewards of these pieces, are prepared to return the work to said owner. Harris's records have already revealed the existence of one possible looted object in the collection: a glazed sgraffito Byzantine potsherd, which was reportedly "found in 1968 near the Church of Saint Demetrios, Salonica."⁴¹ As we have seen, Harris was methodical in indicating when, where, and how he acquired his objects. Given that this note says nothing of a purchase, we can assume that he was the one who found and smuggled the potsherd back to the United States. We have already been in contact with the Ephorate of Antiquities of Thessaloniki City regarding this piece, and will post information to our website when the issue is resolved.

The HC also preserves documentation that shows at least one object purchased after 1970 was exported from its country of modern discovery. A small Byzantine stone icon, purchased from Christopher Martin-Zakheim of Iconastas in London on October 20, 1994, was acquired by Martin-Zakheim in March of that same year from the State Historical Museum in Moscow.⁴² A letter preserved in the HC, and signed by curator Galina Grigorievna Smorodinova, authorized the object's deaccessioning and sale (fig. 2.11). Such a document is exceptional in the HC. For most objects, we know when and where they were purchased, but we have little or no information regarding their pre-dealer



Figure 2.11. Letter from the State Historical Museum in Moscow authorizing the sale of BHSC, 2020.181, dated March 23, 1994.

history. In the absence of this documentation, we must turn to other details preserved in the HC. We offer some approaches that may help in uncovering the provenance of Harris's objects.

We begin by looking at what the dealers wrote on the receipts. Most dealers do not provide provenance, and when they do, the notes are minimal and/or ambiguous. For one Byzantine belt buckle, a receipt from Tetragon, a London-based gallery operated by Julia Schottlander, includes the handwritten note "8th–9th or 9th–11th [century] bronze belt buckle with a lion, Syria, £90." It is not clear what Schottlander meant by this attribution. Is Syria a suggested place of origin; is it a known find location? Perhaps she verbally clarified these questions to Harris. On the one-sheet, he interprets her note thusly, "The piece comes from Syria."⁴³ On the receipt for another Byzantine belt buckle, Schottlander writes, "complete buckle with 2

⁴¹ See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.146.

⁴² See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.181.

⁴³ See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.122.

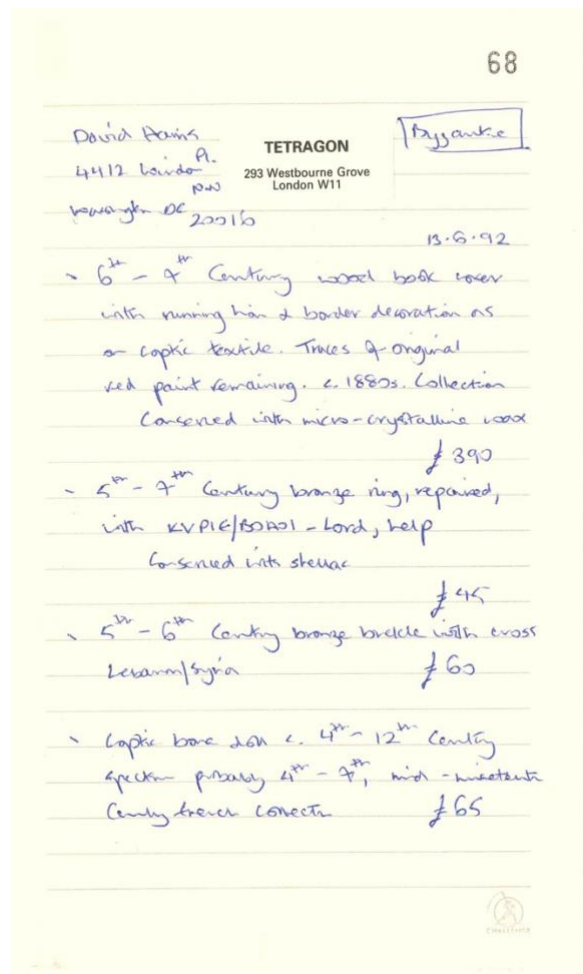


Figure 2.12. Receipt from Tetragon for BHSC, 2020.188, 2020.101, 2020.126, and 2020.177, dated June 13, 1992.

crosses, punched, & incised design, Lebanon/Syria, 6th–8th [century] AD.” On the one-sheet, Harris clarifies this attribution by noting: “The present buckle was believed by the dealer to have come from Lebanon or Syria.”⁴⁴

Some receipts indicate that objects were once part of older collections, but this information is also told in varying degrees of specificity. On one receipt, Schottlander states that a writing tablet came from a “c. 1880s Collection,” and a bone doll from a “mid-

nineteenth century French collection” (fig. 2.12).⁴⁵ No additional documents were included to prove these claims, but the mention of these purported collections was certainly meant to legitimize the acquisition and sale, as they claimed that these objects left their countries of modern discovery prior to 1970. In other instances, Schottlander was more specific about the source collections. A gold Byzantine earring is said to have come from the “Moustaki collection,” referring to Gustave Mustaki (d. 1965), a Greek-born resident of Alexandria, who collected ancient and medieval antiquities in the first half of the twentieth century.⁴⁶ This provenance is also suggested by the modern handwritten “M” on the back of the gold earring, but there is no certainty as to who produced this label.

The HC also includes provenance information that is not reflected in documents provided by the dealers. A Byzantine ring purchased from the Temple Gallery in London on June 12, 1992, is filed with a photocopied image of the same ring, from an auction catalog for the Jerusalem antiquities dealer L. Alexander Wolfe.⁴⁷ There is no mention of this catalog on the receipt, but presumably the Temple Gallery acquired the ring from this auction, which was held in Zurich on November 20, 1989. On the one-sheet for a Roman appliqué head, Harris added that the object is “said to have come from Mildenhall, England.”⁴⁸ Again, this information is not found on the purchase receipt from Schottlander, and so it is unclear how Harris gained this information. We can also learn about the ownership history of these pieces by studying the objects themselves. One example is an amulet from the Church of Saint Spyridon in Corfu (fig. 2.13), which preserves inside not a relic, but a business card from the local silversmiths, “O. Marolla & Fils” and

⁴⁴ See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.125.

⁴⁵ See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.188, 2020.177.

⁴⁶ See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.111. After World War II Mustaki legally exported most of his collection to London, and upon his death in 1965, his objects passed to his daughter Elsa MacLellan; Green 2019/2020, p.

207n75. For a list of Mustaki’s objects that were acquired by the British Museum, see <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG59539> (accessed October 16, 2021).

⁴⁷ See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.100. For the auction catalog, see Wolfe 1989, pp. 92–93, no. 347.

⁴⁸ See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.179.

the handwritten date, May 14, 1929, presumably when the amulet was made.⁴⁹

Another way we might approach the provenance of items in Harris's collection is by looking more closely at the dealers. This may not tell us much about the provenance of specific objects, but can reveal the types of objects they sold, and where they may have acquired them. Julia Schottlander of Tetragon serves as a case study for this approach. Between 1989 and 2005, Harris acquired seventy-one objects from Schottlander — the most from any one dealer. He cataloged them in Sub-collections G (Byzantine Era Small Objects), H (Rings and Small Pendant Crosses), and L (Roman, Hellenic, Coptic, Egyptian Objects). We were unable to make contact with Schottlander, but the objects that she sold to Harris and donated to museum collections indicate that she specialized in artifacts from ancient and medieval Egypt and the Near East.⁵⁰ Based on the documents preserved in the HC, she was active in acquiring existing collections, as we saw with the gold earring from the Mustaki collection.⁵¹ A fragment of a Roman lamp handle in the shape of a horse's head came from the collection of Hans Abarbanell.⁵² An amphora-shaped pilgrim vessel came from the collection of Lord Alistair McAlpine.⁵³ We do not have documented proof that these objects came from these older collections; Schottlander's handwritten notes on the receipts are the only source of this information. Schottlander is on record as having donated and sold objects associated with these former collections to major



Figure 2.13. Amulet of Saint Spyridon with contents, from Corfu. BHSC, 2020.159. Photo: Birhanu T. Gessese.

museums. She also donated a set of two copper alloy sculptures of camels from the Arbanell collection to the British Museum in 2000, and in 1992 sold a Barbotine cup from the Mustaki collection to Peter

⁴⁹ See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.159.

The amulet also contains a tag branded by the London printer, “W Straker Ltd” and “The Ludgate Tag” and the same handwritten date, “Corfu, May 14, 1929.” We also found a clipping — perhaps from a guidebook — that describes Corfu and the shrine of Saint Spyridon.

⁵⁰ Musée du Louvre, E 32581 A

<https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010036874>, E 32581 B

<https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010036875>, E 11378

<https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010009825> (all accessed October 16, 2021). Albany Institute of History & Art, 2015.47. For a list of Schottlander's objects acquired by

the British Museum, see

<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG62940> (accessed October 16, 2021).

⁵¹ See also BHSC, 2020.310.

⁵² See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.184. For a list of Abarbanell's objects that were acquired by the British Museum, see

<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG83823> (accessed October 16, 2021).

⁵³ BHSC, 2020.115. For a list of McAlpine's objects that were acquired by the British Museum, see

<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG74756> (accessed October 16, 2021).

Table 2.4. Chronology of Harris's Purchases of Ethiopian Art

	Date of Purchase	Dealer	Cat. nos.
1	[date unknown], 1975	Christopher Martin, Portobello Galleries, London	12
2	October 21, 1975	Constantine Z. Panayotidis, Antiques by Constantine Ltd., London	31, 32, 33
3	October 25, 1975	Christopher Martin, Portobello Galleries, London	13, 14
4	December 13, 1975	Maria Teresa O'Leary, Nuevo Mundo, Alexandria, Virginia	1
5	February 28, 1976	Maria Teresa O'Leary, Nuevo Mundo, Alexandria, Virginia	2, 30, 34 or 35
6	March 5, 1976	Endicott-Guthaim Gallery Inc., New York	3
7	October 11, 1976	Maria Teresa O'Leary, Nuevo Mundo, Alexandria, Virginia	4
8	January 19, 1977	Michael and Vivian Arpad, Arpad Antiques, Washington, DC	5, 6
9	February 18, 1977	Endicott-Guthaim Gallery Inc., New York	22
10	February 20, 1977	United Nations Gift Center, New York	7
11	February 21, 1977	Endicott-Guthaim Gallery Inc., New York	21
12	June 1977	Christopher Martin, London	23
13	August 15, 1977	Guthaim Gallery Inc., New York	24, 25, 26
14	August 15, 1977	Guthaim Gallery Inc., New York	8
15	November 26, 1977	The African Gallery, San Francisco	9, 15, 16
16	October 23, 1978	Guthaim Gallery Inc., New York	18, 19, 20
17	June 1979	Unnamed dealer, London	17
18	June 23, 1989	Bruce and Marcia McDougal, New Davenport Cash Store Pottery Gallery & Restaurant, Davenport, California	10
19	April 26, 1991	Xanadu, San Francisco	29

Lacovara, who later donated it to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.⁵⁴ Schottlander provides us with a special case for a deeper investigation of Harris's dealers because there is so much information available on her donations and sales to other clients.

Can we apply this approach to the dealers who sold Harris his Ethiopian objects? Table 2.4 lists the individual purchases made by Harris for the Ethiopian objects in this catalog. We have listed only those objects for which we have a receipt, or Harris's recording of the date and dealer. Harris made nineteen purchases of thirty-two objects. Seventeen of these purchases occur between a narrow window of time, between 1975 and 1979; two additional purchases were made over a decade later. These purchases come from nine named dealers.

Harris did not have a long purchasing history with most of these dealers. He made only one purchase from Constantine Z. Panayotidis of Antiques by Constantine, Michael and Vivian Arpad of Arpad Antiques, The African Gallery, and Bruce and Marcia McDougal of the New Davenport Cash Store Pottery Gallery & Restaurant. He made more than one purchase from each of the other dealers, often buying a few non-Ethiopian objects as well. From Nuevo Mundo, he also bought a medieval Egyptian textile in 1975 and an Afghan necklace in 1980 — a five-year purchasing period.⁵⁵ From the Endicott-Guthaim Gallery, which was later incorporated at the same address as the Guthaim Gallery, Harris purchased two other African objects and a Turkmen bracelet in 1976, and a Turkmen breast ornament in 1980 — a four-year purchasing period.⁵⁶ From the United Nations Gift Center, Harris bought a Yoruba scepter in 1976, one year before buying an Ethiopian hand cross (cat. 7) with

a silver Agadez pectoral.⁵⁷ While he made only four purchases from Xanadu, he did so over a fifteen-year period starting with a Yoruba baton in 1983, then a Chinese soapstone figure of Luohan in 1986, followed by the Ethiopian painted pectoral (cat. 29) in 1991, and ending with an iron Marka mask in 1998.⁵⁸ Christopher Martin is the exception to these short-lived relationships. Prior to opening the gallery Iconastas in 1975, and changing his name to Christopher Martin-Zakheim, this dealer operated a small shop on Portobello Road in London, where Harris purchased four of his Ethiopian neck crosses (cats. 12, 13, 14, 23).⁵⁹ His next purchase from Martin-Zakheim was at Iconastas in 1985, and his last was in 2015, establishing forty-year history with this dealer of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine religious artifacts. In total, Martin-Zakheim was the second greatest source for Harris's collection (four from Portobello Road and forty-three from Iconastas) after Schottlander (seventy-one objects).

When we look at the dealers associated with Harris's Ethiopian objects, we are left with many unanswered questions. Harris purchased most of these objects nearly five decades ago; many dealers have died or are no longer in business, and attempts to make contact with people who may have known them has yielded little information. What then can we say more generally about the dealers, how they acquired their pieces, and who were their clients? Answers to these questions are limited, but we present what we have been able to find in the hope that this will prompt further research.

Not much is known about The African Gallery in San Francisco. Online records indicate that the business was incorporated in 1977, the same year that Harris made his single purchase of one hand

⁵⁴ British Museum, 2000,0326.1
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_2000-0326-1, 2000,0326.2
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_2000-0326-2 (both websites accessed October 16, 2021). Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 1992.94
<https://collections.mfa.org/objects/164724> (accessed October 16, 2021).

⁵⁵ See the supporting documentation for BHSC 2020.401, 2020.17.

⁵⁶ See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.5, 2020.12, 2020.19, 2020.18.

⁵⁷ See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.4, 2020.16.

⁵⁸ See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.15, 2020.7. The soapstone figure was not received in the bequest.

⁵⁹ *The Times* 2019.

cross (cat. 9), one neck cross (cat. 15), and an earpick (cat. 16). The receipt lists additional locations in Los Angeles, New York, Seattle, and Washington, DC, but we have not been able to determine whether any of these branches are still in operation.⁶⁰

We also have minimal information regarding Xanadu for the fifteen-year period in which Harris was a customer. The gallery was established in 1979. A new owner took over in 2000 and merged Xanadu with her own gallery; she was unable to provide us with any information about the acquisition practices of the previous owner.

Bruce and Marcia McDougal built the New Davenport Cash Store Pottery Gallery & Restaurant in 1977 as part of their pottery studio, making Davenport, California an artistic hub and tourist destination.⁶¹ When Harris visited Davenport in 1989 he had not purchased an Ethiopian object for ten years. It is not clear whether the McDougals regularly sold objects such as this in their store, and if so, where they would have acquired such pieces.

Maria Teresa Eneim O'Leary established Nuevo Mundo in Alexandria, Virginia with her business partner, Cornelia Noland, in 1966.⁶² Her store sold clothing and jewelry as well as antiques from around the world. O'Leary's expertise in textiles led to her serving on the Advisory Council of the Textile Museum in Washington, DC.⁶³ She traveled extensively to Latin America and Asia, and her obituaries state that this was how she sourced many of her products.⁶⁴ We can assume that she acquired Ethiopian material in the same manner, but we have not been able to make contact with O'Leary's family members to verify this information. While Nuevo Mundo remained in business until 2011, Harris's

purchases were limited to a five-year period (1975–80), during which he made at least five purchases.

We are unsure when Antiques by Constantine of London was in business, but they seem to have been most active in the mid-to-late 1970s and in the first part of the 1980s. They frequently exhibited items in London antique fairs and advertised in collector magazines, including as *The Connoisseur*. Based on these advertisements we were able to determine that Antiques by Constantine specialized in “Netsuke, Tsuba, Japanese Swords, Ikons, Jade, Oriental Porcelain.” Harris's sole purchase from them was for the *sensul* and the *sansul* fragments (cats. 31, 32, 33).⁶⁵

Arpad Antiques of Washington, DC was in operation from 1966 to 1990. While Harris made a single purchase from them, for two Ethiopian crosses in 1977 (cats. 5, 6), their focus was in other areas, specifically American art. Arpad Antiques dealt in works that were associated with high profile artists such as James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903), and with historical figures, including the merchant Elias Hasket Derby (1739–99).⁶⁶ They also are on record as having sold a wooden sculpture of President Benjamin Harrison to the Smithsonian's National Portrait Gallery.⁶⁷

The Endicott-Guthaim Gallery is no longer in operation, and we were unable to find a contact. However, this dealer appears to have been most active in the mid-1970s, when Harris was a customer. The gallery hosted an exhibition of African art in 1975, and regularly advertised in issues of the peer-reviewed journal *African Arts*.⁶⁸

The United Nations Gift Center opened in 1952 under its first Director, Mary Dean, and Executive

⁶⁰ See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.23.

⁶¹ Smith 2018.

⁶² Theismann 2015, pp. 5, 9.

⁶³ The Textile Museum 2014, p. 13.

⁶⁴ *The Washington Times* 2015.

⁶⁵ Advertisements can be found in the following publications: *Financial Times* (June 24, 1978), p. 13; *Antique Collector* (June 1976), pp. 12, 13; *Antique Collector* (September 1981), p. 16; *The Connoisseur* (September 1981), p. 16; *The Connoisseur* (June 1976), pp. 12, 13.

⁶⁶ MacDonald and Petri 2020, cat. YMSM 269. For the tumbler owned by Elias Hasket Derby, see Metropolitan Museum of Art, 67.94 <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/385> (accessed October 16, 2021).

⁶⁷ National Portrait Gallery, NPG.77.249 https://americaspresidents.si.edu/object/npg_NPG.77.249 (accessed October 16, 2021).

⁶⁸ Scheinberg 1975. Examples of advertisements can be found in *African Arts*, vol. 8, no. 2 (Winter 1975), p. 73, and in vol. 9, no. 1 (October 1975), p. 68.

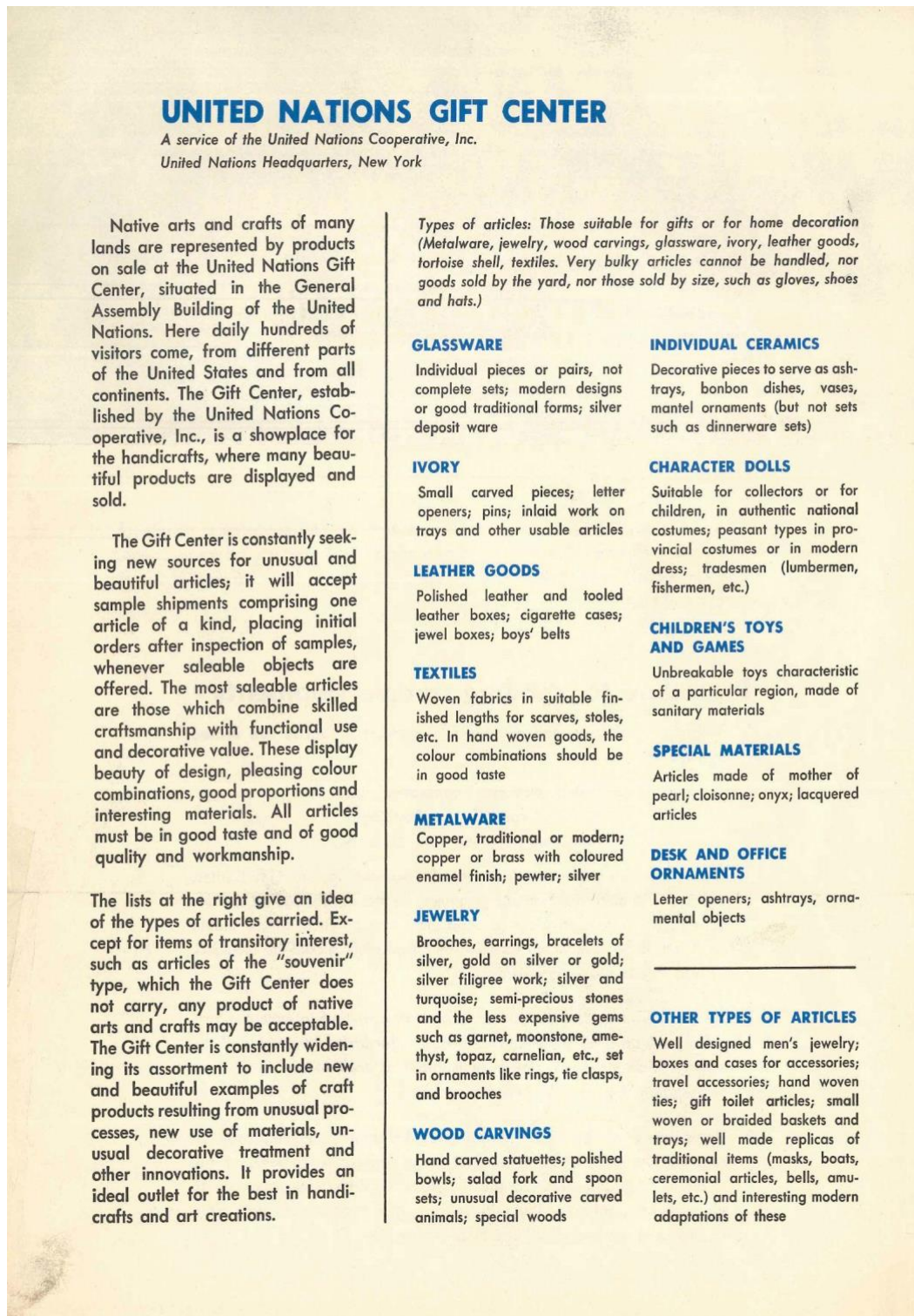


Figure 2.14. United Nations Gift Center Pamphlet, undated. BHSC, 2021.26.

Director, Eleanor Roosevelt, seeking “to promote international understanding through the medium of arts and crafts.”⁶⁹ The Gift Center sourced its stock by soliciting handmade goods from around the world. We were able to find one undated pamphlet that describes the kinds of objects they desired (fig. 2.14):

The most saleable articles are those which combine skilled craftsmanship with functional use and decorative value. These display beauty of design, pleasing color combinations, good proportions and interesting materials.⁷⁰

The UN Gift Center also acquired established collections. The HC preserves a document from the Gift Center regarding the provenance of the Yoruba scepter that Harris purchased on March 7, 1976.⁷¹ The document is type-written, with “for David Harris” at the top, suggesting that it was prepared for him after the purchase. The document states that the scepter came from the collection of Sandford Griffith (1893–1974), a New York based collector of African art.⁷²

Christopher Martin, first as a dealer at the Portobello Gallery then as Christopher Martin-Zakheim of Iconastas, offers us the possibility of more information if only because Harris had such a long purchase history with him. Martin-Zakheim operated Iconastas from 1974 until his death in 2018.⁷³ While Iconastas lists Ethiopian objects on their website and in their published sales catalogs, Harris only purchased Ethiopian material from Martin-Zakheim prior to the establishment of Iconastas gallery.⁷⁴ It is unclear how Martin-Zakheim acquired the specific objects purchased by Harris, but his obituary, published in *The Times* of London, describes one way in which he sourced his

objects.⁷⁵ The Patrice Lumumba University, established in Moscow in 1960 for students from developing nations, prohibited students from leaving the USSR with cash, but allowed them to take purchased objects with no restrictions. Martin-Zakheim would meet these students at Heathrow, and buy their Soviet purchases. This obituary also describes the ways in which Martin-Zakheim bypassed paying costly customs fees to the United States by gaining permission to pack items in shipping containers with the United States Air Force. These actions speak to Martin-Zakheim’s willingness to avoid legal and documented forms of object acquisition and customs control.

We are left with unanswered questions regarding the ways in which these dealers acquired Harris’s Ethiopian objects. This information is imperative because each of these purchases were made after Ethiopia’s own Antiquities Proclamation of 1966 and after the UNESCO Convention date of November 17, 1970.⁷⁶ While we are uncertain of the age of these objects, Ethiopia’s current definition of cultural heritage, as established in 2000, does not stipulate age as a criterion for protection, but includes, among other things, “parchment manuscripts, stone paintings and implements, sculptures and statues made of gold, silver, bronze, iron, copper or of any other mineral or wood, stone,” and that “Cultural Heritage illegally held in other countries shall be repatriated.”⁷⁷ The Ethiopian objects featured in this catalog certainly fit within this definition of Cultural Heritage. It is, therefore, the responsibility of the Department of Art History and Kenyon College to conduct additional provenance research on Harris’s collection, to determine whether any were illegally acquired, and — if so — to repatriate them.⁷⁸

⁶⁹ Cartwright 1954, p. 178.

⁷⁰ BHSC, 2021.26.

⁷¹ See the supporting documentation for BHSC, 2020.4.

⁷² *New York Times* 1974, p. 44.

⁷³ The gallery is now operated by his widow, Alexandra Martin-Zakheim, by appointment only.

⁷⁴ The website for Iconastas is <https://www.iconastas.com/> (accessed October 16, 2021).

⁷⁵ *The Times* 2019.

⁷⁶ Habte-Wold 1966. Ethiopia ratified the UNESCO Convention in 2003; see Woldegiorgis 2003. See also, Nair 2016.

⁷⁷ Gidada 2000, Articles 3.8.a and 26.1.

⁷⁸ Jacobs and Porter 2022 serves as an excellent model for college and university museums as they pursue repatriation efforts.

This survey helps us to better contextualize Harris's broader collecting interests and habits, and the ways in which he may have become interested in smaller cultural groupings, such as the Ethiopian objects featured in this volume. While Ethiopia was not a long-term collecting passion of his or a large monetary investment, it emerged at the same time as his interest in collecting African art. As we have suggested, his interest in collecting Ethiopian objects was also likely first piqued by his interest in

objects associated with Orthodox Christianities. This essay also raises questions, and opens up many avenues for future research on provenance. While we have a great deal of material with which to begin our analyses, this information can only take us so far. It is our hope that students and researchers will continue this work by helping us place these objects in context, maintain their preservation, expand our knowledge of their provenance, and, when possible, ensure their repatriation.

Bibliography

AAM 2008

American Alliance of Museums Board of Directors. *Archaeological Material and Ancient Art*. Arlington, VA: AAM, 2008.

AAMD 2008

Association of Art Museum Directors. *Report of the AAMD Task Force on the Acquisition of Archaeological Materials and Ancient Art (revised 2008)*. New York: AAMD, 2008.

Albritton, Henley, and Treharne 2021

Albritton, Benjamin, Georgia Henley, and Elaine Treharne, eds. *Medieval Manuscripts in the Digital Age*. London: Routledge, 2021.

Alvarez 1961

Alvarez, Francesco. *The Prester John of the Indies: A True Relation of the Lands of Prester John, Being the Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Ethiopia in 1520*, eds. G.F. Beckingham and G.W.B. Huntingford. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961.

Ancel and Ficquet 2015

Ancel, Stéphane, and Éloi Ficquet. "The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church (EOTC) and the Challenges of Modernity." In *Understanding Contemporary Ethiopia*, eds. Gérard Prunier and Éloi Ficquet, pp. 63–91. London: Hurst, 2015.

Appleyard 2002

Appleyard, David. "Ethiopian Christianity." In *The Blackwell Companion to Eastern Christianity*, ed. Ken Parry, pp. 117–136. Oxford: Blackwell, 2002.

Archbishop Yesehaq 1997

Archbishop Yesehaq. *The Ethiopian Tewahedo Church: An Integrally African Church*. Nashville: James C. Winston, 1997.

Ayenachew 2020

Ayenachew, Deresse. "Territorial Expansion and Administrative Evolution under the 'Solomonic' Dynasty." In Kelly 2020, pp. 57–85.

Balicka-Witakowska 2010

Balicka-Witakowska, Ewa. "Monumental Painting." In *EAE*, pp. 4:97–99.

Bamford and Francomano 2018

Bamford, Heather, and Emily C. Francomano. "On Digital-Medieval Manuscript Culture: A Tentative Manifesto." *Digital Philology* 7, no. 1 (2018), pp. 29–45.

Bauer 2015

Bauer, Alexander A. "The Kula of Long-Term Loans: Cultural Object Itineraries and the Promise of the Postcolonial 'Universal' Museum." In Joyce and Gillespie 2015, pp. 147–60.

Bauer 2019

Bauer, Alexander A. "Itinerant Objects." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 48 (2019), pp. 335–52.

Bausi et al 2015

Bausi, Alessandro, et al. *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction*. Hamburg: Tredition, 2015.

Bell 1990

Bell, Stephen. "Cultural Treasures Looted from Maqdala: A Summary of Correspondence in British National Newspapers since 1981." In *Kasa and Kasa*, eds. Tadesse Beyene, Richard Pankhurst, and Shifereraw Bekele, pp. 231–246. Addis Ababa: Ababa University Book Centre, 1990.

Bell 2016

Bell III, Malcolm. "Notes on Marlowe's 'What We Talk About When We Talk About Provenance.'" *International Journal of Cultural Property* 23 (2016), pp. 254–56.

Bendall 1996

Bendall, Simon. *Byzantine Weights*. London: Lennox Gallery, 1996.

Benjamin 1968

Benjamin, Walter. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." In *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. Hannah Arendt, tr. Harry Zohn, pp. 217–51. New York: Schocken Books, 1968.

Berry, Hellman, and Seligman 2019

Berry, Ian, Mimi Hellman, and Rachel Seligman, eds. *Teaching & Learning with Museum Exhibitions: Innovations Across the Disciplines*. Saratoga Springs: Frances Young Tang Teaching Museum and Art Gallery, 2019.

Berzock 2002

Berzock, Kathleen B. *The Miracles of Mary: A Seventeenth-Century Ethiopian Manuscript*. Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 2002.

Binns 2017

Binns, John. *The Orthodox Church of Ethiopia: A History*. London: T&T Clark, 2017.

Blumenthal and Mashberg 2012

Blumenthal, Ralph, and Tom Mashberg. "The Curse of the Outcast Artifact." *New York Times*, July 12, 2012.

Boone 2007

Boone, Elizabeth Hill. *Cycles of Time and Meaning in the Mexican Books of Fate*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007.

Boylston 2012

Boylston, Tom. "The Shade of the Divine: Approaching the Sacred in an Ethiopian Orthodox Christian Community." PhD dissertation, London School of Economics, 2012.

Boylston and Malara 2016

Boylston, Tom, and Diego M. Malara. "Vertical Love: Forms of Submission and Top-Down Power in Orthodox Ethiopia." *Social Analysis* 60, no. 4 (2016), pp. 40–57.

Bredenkamp 2009

Bredenkamp, Horst, and tr. Iain Boyd Whyte. "The Simulated Benjamin: Medieval Remarks on Its Actuality." *Art in Translation* 1, no. 2 (2009), pp. 285–301.

Brita 2020

Brita, Antonella. "Genres of Ethiopian-Eritrean Christian Literature with a Focus on Hagiography." In Kelly 2020, pp. 252–81.

Brodie 2014

Brodie, Neil. "Provenance and Price: Autoregulation of the Antiquities Market." *European Journal of Criminal Policy and Research* 20 (2014), pp. 427–44.

Brown 2011

Brown, Catherine. "Remember the Hand: Bodies and Bookmaking in Early Medieval Spain." *Word & Image* 27, no. 3 (2011), pp. 262–78.

Budge 1928

Budge, Sir E.A. Wallis. *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*. 4 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1928.

Burns 2017

Burns, Jasmine E. "The Aura of Materiality: Digital Surrogacy and the Preservation of Photographic Archives." *Art Documentation: Journal of the Art Libraries Society of North America* 36, no. 1 (2017), pp. 1–8.

Camille 1998

Camille, Michael. "Sensations of the Page: Imaging Technologies and Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts." In *The Iconic Page in Manuscript, Print, and Digital Culture*, eds. George Bornstein and Theresa Tinkle, pp. 33–53. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998.

Campagnolo 2020a

Campagnolo, Alberto, ed. *Book Conservation and Digitization: The Challenges of Dialogue and Collaboration*. Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2020.

Campagnolo 2020b

Campagnolo, Alberto. "Introduction." In Campagnolo 2020a, pp. 1–14.

Carr 1999

Carr, Annemarie Weyl. "Thoughts on the Economy of the Image of Mary." *Theology Today* 56, no. 3 (October 1999), pp. 359–78.

Cartwright 1954

Cartwright, Marguerite. "The United Nations Gift Shop." *Negro History Bulletin* 17, no. 8 (May 1954), pp. 178–79.

Chacko and Gebre 2017

Chacko, Elizabeth, and Peter H. Gebre. "Engaging the Ethiopia Diaspora: Policies, Practices, and Performance." In *Africa and its Global Diaspora. African Histories and Modernities*, ed. Jack Mangala, pp. 219–49. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

Chaillot 2002

Chaillot, Christine. *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewabedo Church Tradition: A Brief Introduction to Its Life and Spirituality*. Paris: Inter-Orthodox Dialogue, 2002.

Chernetsov 2006a

Chernetsov, Sevir. "Ethiopian Magic Literature." *Scrinium* 2, no. 1 (2006): 92–113.

Chernetsov 2006b

Chernetsov, Sevir. "Ethiopian Magic Texts." *Forum for Anthropology and Culture* 2 (2006), pp. 188–200.

Chippindale and Gill 2000

Chippindale, Christopher, and David W. J. Gill. "Material Consequences of Contemporary Classical Collecting." *American Journal of Archaeology* 104 (2000), pp. 463–511.

Chojnacki 1964

Chojnacki, Stanislaw. "Short Introduction to Ethiopian Traditional Painting." *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 2, no. 2 (July 1964): 1–11.

Chojnacki 1973

Chojnacki, Stanislaw. "The Iconography of Saint George in Ethiopia: Part I." *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 11, no. 1 (1973): 57–73.

Chojnacki 1990

Chojnacki, Stanislaw. "Nimbi in Ethiopian Painting: Their Chronology and Significance." *Paideuma: Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde, Afrika-Studien II*, 36 (1990): 13–36.

Chojnacki 2006

Chojnacki, Stanislaw. *Ethiopian Crosses: A Cultural History and Chronology*. Milan: Skira, 2006.

Chojnacki and Gossage 2000

Chojnacki, Stanislaw, and Carolyn Gossage, eds. *Ethiopian Icons: Catalogue of the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University*. Milan: Fondazione Carlo Leone Montandon, 2000.

Clements Library Chronicles 2012

“Current Exhibit: ‘The David P. Harris Collection: A Collector’s Look at the War of 1812,’ February 27 – June 1.” *Clements Library Chronicles* (blog), March 13, 2012.

<https://clements.umich.edu/current-exhibit-the-david-p-harris-collection-a-collectors-look-at-the-war-of-1812-february-27-june-1-2012/>

Cohen 2012

Cohen, Adam S. “Chaste, Obedient and Humble: Hidden Inscriptions in Arundel 155.” *Medieval Manuscripts Blog*, British Library, June 21, 2012. <https://blogs.bl.uk/digitisedmanuscripts/2012/06/chaste-obedient-and-humble-hidden-inscriptions-in-arundel-155.html>

Cohen 2018

Cohen, Adam S. “The Book and Monastic Reform.” In *Imago libri: Représentations carolingiennes du livre*, eds. Charlotte Denoël, Anne-Orange Poilpré, and Sumi Shimahara, pp. 173–82. Turnhout: Brepols, 2018.

Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2004

Colwell-Chanthaphonh, Chip. “Those Obscure Objects of Desire: Collecting Cultures and the Archaeological Landscape in the San Pedro Valley of Arizona.” *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 33 (2004), pp. 571–601.

Cotter 2009

Cotter, Holland. “Why University Museums Matter.” *New York Times*, February 19, 2009.

Daoud and Hazen 1959

Daoud, Marcos, and H. E. Blatta Marsie Hazen, eds. *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*. Kingston, Jamaica: Ethiopian Orthodox Church, 1959.

De Hamel 1996

De Hamel, Christopher. *Cutting up Manuscripts for Pleasure and Profit*. Charlottesville: Book Arts Press, 1996.

De Hamel 2000

De Hamel, Christopher. “Selling Manuscript Fragments in the 1960s.” In *Interpreting and Collecting Fragments of Medieval Books*, eds. Linda Brownrigg and Margaret Smith, pp. 47–56. London: The Red Gull Press, 2000.

De Staebler and Kontokosta 2020

De Staebler, Peter D., and Anne Hrychuk Kontokosta, eds. *Roman Sculpture in Context*. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America, 2020.

Delamarter 2007

Delamarter, Steve. “The SGD Digital Collection: Previously Unknown and Uncatalogued Ethiopian Manuscripts in North America.” *Society for Biblical Literature Forum* 5.2 (2007). <https://www.sbl-site.org/publications/article.aspx?ArticleId=622>

Derillo 2019

Derillo, Eyob. “Exhibiting the Maqdala Manuscripts: African Scribes: Manuscript Culture of Ethiopia.” *Journal of African Research and Documentation: Archives and Collections for/in Ethiopian Studies* 135 (2019): 102–16.

Deshman 2010

Deshman, Robert. “*Benedictus Monarcha et Monachus*: Early Medieval Ruler Theology and the Anglo-Saxon Reform.” In *Eye and Mind: Collected Essays in Anglo-Saxon and Early Medieval Art*, ed. Adam S. Cohen, pp. 104–36. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2010.

Di Salvo 2006

Di Salvo, Mario. *Crosses of Ethiopia: The Sign of Faith, Evolution and Form*. Milan: Skira, 2006.

Drandaki et al 2000

Drandaki, Anastasia, Lena Vranopoulou, and Alexandra Kalliga. "Icons Signed by Emmanuel Lambardos in the Benaki Museum (in Greek)." *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας* 21 (2000), pp. 189–220.

Drpić 2018

Drpić, Ivan. "The Enkolpion: Object, Agency, Self." *Gesta* 57, no. 2 (2018), pp. 197–224.

EAc

Encyclopaedia Aethiopica, eds. Siegbert Uhlig and Alessandro Bausi. 5 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2003–14.

Eakin 2007

Eakin, Hugh. "Treasure Hunt: The Downfall of the Getty Curator Marion True." *The New Yorker*, December 17, 2007.

Echard 2008

Echard, Siân. *Printing the Middle Ages*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

Elia 1993

Elia, Ricardo. "A Seductive and Troubling Work." *Archaeology* 46 (1993), pp. 64–69.

Erho 2021

Erho, Ted. "Medicine, Ritual, and Magic in Ethiopia." *Hill Museum & Manuscript Library Editorials Stories* (blog), May 13, 2021. <https://hmml.org/stories/series-medicine-magic-in-ethiopia/>

Esler 2019

Esler, Phillip F. *Ethiopian Christianity: History, Theology, Practice*. Waco, TX: Baylor University, 2019.

Evangelatou 2018

Evangelatou, Maria. *A Contextual Reading of Ethiopian Crosses through Form and Ritual: Kaleidoscopes of Meaning*. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2018.

Felch and Frammolino 2011

Felch, Jason, and Ralph Frammolino. *Chasing Aphrodite: The Hunt for Looted Antiquities at the World's Richest Museum*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2011.

Fincham 2009

Fincham, Derek. "The Fundamental Importance of Archaeological Context." In *Art and Crime: Exploring the Dark Side of the Art World*, ed. Noah Charney, pp. 1–12. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, 2009.

Finneran 2003

Finneran, Niall. "Ethiopian Evil Eye Belief and the Magical Symbolism of Iron Working." *Folklore* 114 (2003), pp. 427–33.

Fletcher 2005

Fletcher, Arcadia, and C. Griffith Mann. *Art of Ethiopia*. London: Sam Fogg, 2005.

Florida Alligator 1954

"Board Names 18 New Faculty Appointments." *Florida Alligator*, September 17, 1954.

Francomano and Bamford forthcoming

Francomano, Emily C., and Heather Bamford. "Whose Digital Middle Ages? Accessibility in Digital Medieval Manuscript Culture." *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* (forthcoming). <https://doi.org/10.1080/17546559.2021.2022738>

Gallop 2018

Gallop, Stephanie. "ELC Then & Now: From 1960 to Today." *English Language Center, Georgetown University* (blog), September 21, 2018. <https://elc.georgetown.domains/english-teaching-insights/elc-then-now-from-1960-to-today/>

German and Harris 2017

German, Senta, and Jim Harris. "Agile Objects." *Journal of Museum Education* 42, no. 3 (2017), pp. 248–57.

Gerstenblith 2013

Gerstenblith, Patty. "The Meaning of 1970 for the Acquisition of Archaeological Objects." *Journal of Field Archaeology* 38 (2013), pp. 363–73.

Gidada 2000

Gidada, Negaso. "Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage Proclamation No. 209/2000." *Federal Negarit Gazeta*, June 27, 2000.
https://en.unesco.org/sites/default/files/et_proc_209_2000_amhorof_engorof_0.pdf

Gill 2016

Gill, David W. J. "Thinking About Collecting Histories: A Response to Marlowe." *International Journal of Cultural Property* 23 (2016), pp. 237–44.

Gill 2020

Gill, David W. J. *Context Matters. Collating the Past*. Middletown, DE: ARCA Publications, 2020.

Gnisci 2014

Gnisci, Jacopo. "The Dead Christ on the Cross in Ethiopian Art: Notes on the Iconography of the Crucifixion in Twelfth- to Fifteenth-Century Ethiopia." *Studies in Iconography* 35 (2014), pp. 187–228.

Gnisci 2019

Gnisci, Jacopo, ed. *Treasures of Ethiopia and Eritrea in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*. Oxford: Manar Al-Athar, University of Oxford, 2019.

Gnisci 2020

Gnisci, Jacopo. "The Emperor Who Rooted Out Magic in Medieval Ethiopia." *Apollo Magazine*, February 15, 2020.

Gosden and Marshall 1999

Gosden, Chris, and Yvonne Marshall. "The Cultural Biography of Objects." *World Archaeology* 31 (1999), pp. 169–78.

Green 2019/2020

Green, John Richard. "Greek and Roman Theatre in the Milns Museum at the University of Queensland in Brisbane." *Mediterranean Archaeology* 32/33 (2019/2020), pp. 193–216.

Grierson 1993

Grierson, Roderick, ed. *African Zion: The Sacred Art of Ethiopia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

Habte-Wold 1966

Habte-Wold, Tsahafe Taezaz Aklili. "Antiquities Proclamation 1966 (Proclamation No. 229 of 1966)." *Negarit Gazeta*, January 29, 1966.
https://en.unesco.org/sites/default/files/ethiopia_proclamation229_1966_ethengorof.pdf

Haile 1982–83

Haile, Getatchew. "The Monastic Genealogy of the Line of T'äklä Haymanot of Shoa." *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 29 (1982–83), pp. 7–38.

Haile 1983

Haile, Getatchew. "On the Identity of Silondis and the Composition of the Anaphora of Mary Ascribed to Hereyaqos of Behensa." *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 49, no. 2 (1983), pp. 366–89.

Haile 1991

Haile, Getatchew. "Ethiopian Saints." In *Claremont Coptic Encyclopedia*, eds. Karen J. Torjesen and Gawdat Gabra. Claremont Colleges Digital Library, 1991.
<https://ccd.claremont.edu/digital/collection/cce/id/840/rec/1>

Haile 1993

Haile, Getatchew. "Ethiopic Literature." In Grierson 1993, pp. 47–55.

Haile 2001

Haile, Getatchew. "Daily Life and Religious Practices in Ethiopia." In Horowitz 2001, pp. 18–43.

Harris 1954

Harris, David Payne. "The Phonemic Patterning of the Initial and Final Consonant Clusters of English from Late Old English to the Present: A Structural Approach to their Historical Development." PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1954.

Harris 1969

Harris, David P. *Testing English as a Second Language*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969.

Haustein 2009

Haustein, Jörg. "Navigating Political Revolutions: Ethiopia's Churches during and after the Mengistu Regime." In *Falling Walls. The Year 1989/90 as a Turning Point in the History of World Christianity*, ed. Klaus Koschorke, pp. 117–36. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009.

Hecht et al 1990

Hecht, Dorothea, Brigitta Benzing, and Girma Kidane. *The Hand Crosses of the IES Collection*. Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University, 1990.

Heldman 1984

Heldman, Marilyn. "The Role of the Devotional Image in Emperor Zar'a Ya'eqob's Cult of Mary." In *Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, University of Lund, 26–29 April 1982*, ed. Sven Rubenson, pp. 131–142. Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies; Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies; East Lansing: African Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1984.

Heldman 1992

Heldman, Marilyn E. "Architectural Symbolism, Sacred Geography and the Ethiopian Church." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 22, no. 3 (1992), pp. 222–41.

Heldman 1993

Heldman, Marilyn. "Maryam Seyon: Mary of Zion." In Grierson 1993, pp. 71–100.

Heldman 1994

Heldman, Marilyn E. *The Marian Icons of the Painter Fre Seyon: A Study in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Art, Patronage, and Spirituality*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994.

Heldman 1995

Heldman, Marilyn E. "Legends of Lālibalā: The Development of an Ethiopian Pilgrimage Site." *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 27 (1995), pp. 25–38.

Heyer 1982

Heyer, Friedrich. "Some Aspects of Dependence and Independence of the Orthodox Church on the Feudal Class of Ethiopia." *Northeast African Studies* 4, no. 1 (1982), pp. 33–38.

Hicks 2020

Hicks, Dan. *The Brutish Museums: The Benin Bronzes, Colonial Violence and Cultural Restitution*. London: Pluto Press, 2020.

Hopkins 2021

Hopkins, John North. "Decapitated: Reassembling and Reassessing the Lives of Two Sculpted Heads." In Hopkins and Costello 2021, pp. 44–66.

Hopkins and Costello 2021

Hopkins, John North, and Sarah Kielt Costello. *Object Biographies: Collaborative Approaches to Ancient Mediterranean Art*. Houston: The Menil Collection, 2021.

Horowitz 2001

Horowitz, Deborah E, ed. *Ethiopian Art: The Walters Art Museum*. Surrey: Third Millennium Publishing, 2001.

Hostetler 2012

Hostetler, Brad. "The Limburg Staurotheke: A Reassessment." *Athanas* 30 (2012), pp. 7–13.

Hudson 2018

Hudson, Alison. "The Eadui Psalter." In *Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: Art, Word, War*, eds. Claire Breay and Joanna Story, p. 328. London: British Library, 2018.

Jacobs and Porter 2022

Jacobs, Jordan, and Benjamin W. Porter. "Repatriation in University Museum Collections: Case Studies from the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology." *International Journal of Cultural Property* (2022), 1–20.

Jandl and Gold 2012

Jandl, Stefanie S., and Mark S. Gold. *A Handbook for Academic Museums: Exhibitions and Education*. Edinburgh: MuseumEtc, 2012.

Jenkins 2008

Jenkins, Earnestine. *A Kingly Craft: Art and Leadership in Ethiopia: A Social History of Art and Visual Culture in Pre-Modern Africa*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2008.

Joyce 2015

Joyce, Rosemary A. "Things in Motion: Itineraries of Ulua Marble Vases." In Joyce and Gillespie 2015, pp. 21–39.

Joyce and Gillespie 2015

Joyce, Rosemary A., and Susan D. Gillespie, eds. *Things in Motion: Object Itineraries in Anthropological Practice*. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2015.

Kaimal 2012

Kaimal, Padma. *Scattered Goddesses. Travels with the Yoginis*. New York: Columbia University Press, Association for Asian Studies, Inc., 2012.

Kapila et al 2016

Kapila, Monisha, Ericka Hines, and Martha Searby. "Why Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Matter." *Independent Sector*, October 6, 2016. <https://independentsector.org/resource/why-diversity-equity-and-inclusion-matter>

Kaplan 1984

Kaplan, Steven. *The Monastic Holy Man and the Christianization of Early Solomonic Ethiopia*. Studien zur Kulturkunde 73. Wiesbaden: Franz B. Steiner Verlag, 1984.

Kaplan 2002

Kaplan, Steven. "Seeing Is Believing: The Power of Visual Culture in the Religious World of Ase Zär'a Ya'eqob of Ethiopia (1434–1468)." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 32, no. 4 (2002), pp. 403–21.

Kaplan 2009

Kaplan, Steven. "Dominance and Diversity: Kingship, Ethnicity, and Christianity in Orthodox Ethiopia." *Church History and Religious Culture* 89, no. 1/3 (2009), pp. 291–305.

Kaplan 2017

Kaplan, Steve. "Solomonic Dynasty." In *Ethiopia: History, Culture and Challenges*, ed. Siegbert Uhlig et al, pp. 111–12. East Lansing: Michigan State University, 2017.

Kay 2006

Kay, Sarah. "Original Skin: Flaying, Reading, and Thinking in the Legend of Saint Bartholomew and Other Works." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 36, no. 1 (2006), pp. 35–74.

Kelly 2020

Kelly, Samantha, ed. *A Companion to Medieval Ethiopia and Eritrea*. Leiden: Brill, 2020.

Kenyon Alumni Magazine 2020

“David P. Harris ’46.” *Kenyon Alumni Magazine* 42, no. 2 (Summer 2020), p. 61.

Kersel 2019

Kersel, Morag. “Itinerant Objects. The Legal Lives of Levantine Artifacts.” In *The Social Archaeology of the Levant*, eds. Assaf Yasur-Landau, Eric H. Cline, and Yorke Rowan, pp. 594–612. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Kersel 2020

Kersel, Morag. “Engaging with Demand and Destruction.” *Antiquity* 94 (2020), pp. 1074–76.

King and Marstine 2006

King, Lyndel, and Janet Marstine. “The University Museum and Gallery: A Site for Institutional Critique and a Focus of the Curriculum.” In *New Museum Theory and Practice*, ed. Janet Marstine, pp. 266–91. Malden: Blackwell, 2006.

Kopytoff 1986

Kopytoff, Igor. “The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process.” In *The Social Life of Things*, ed. Arjun Appadurai, pp. 64–91. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Korabiewicz 1973

Korabiewicz, Waclaw. *The Ethiopian Cross*. Addis Ababa: Holy Trinity Cathedral, 1973.

Kouneni 2008

Kouneni, Lenia. “The Kykkotissa Virgin and its Italian Appropriation.” *Artibus et Historiae* 29, no. 57 (2008), pp. 95–107.

Langmuir et al 1978

Langmuir, Elizabeth Cross, Stanislaw Chojnacki, and Peter Fetchko. *Ethiopia: The Christian Art of an African Nation. The Langmuir Collection, Peabody Museum of Salem*. Salem: Peabody Museum of Salem, 1978.

Leopold 2019

Leopold, Robert. “What Is Shared Stewardship? New Guidelines for Ethical Archiving.” *News & Events, Smithsonian Center for Folklife & Cultural Heritage* (blog), October 9, 2019. <https://folklife.si.edu/news-and-events/shared-stewardship-new-guidelines-for-ethical-archiving>

Lepage and Mercier 2005

Lepage, Claude, and Jacques Mercier. *Les églises historiques du Tigray: Art Éthiopien/Ethiopian Art: The Ancient Churches of Tigray*. Paris: ERC, 2005.

Levene 2019

Levene, Dan. “Magic Scrolls.” In Gnisci 2019, pp. 103–11.

Leventhal and Daniels 2013

Leventhal, Richard, and Brian I. Daniels. “‘Orphaned Objects,’ Ethical Standards, and the Acquisition of Antiquities.” *DePaul Journal of Art, Technology and Intellectual Property* 23 (2013), pp. 338–61.

Lied 2019

Lied, Liv Ingeborg. “Digitization and Manuscripts as Visual Objects: Reflections from a Media Studies Perspective.” In *Ancient Manuscripts in Digital Culture: Visualisation, Data Mining, Communication*, eds. David Hamidović, Claire Clivaz, and Sarah Bowen Savant, pp. 15–29. Leiden: Brill, 2019.

Lusini 2020

Lusini, Gianfrancesco. “The Ancient and Medieval History of Eritrean and Ethiopian Monasticism: An Outline.” In Kelly 2020, pp. 194–216.

Lyons 2016

Lyons, Claire. “On Provenance and the Long Lives of Antiquities.” *International Journal of Cultural Property* 23 (2016), pp. 245–53.

MacDonald and Petri 2020

MacDonald, Margaret F., and Grischka Petri. *James McNeill Whistler: The Paintings, a Catalogue Raisonné*. University of Glasgow, 2020. <https://www.whistlerpaintings.gla.ac.uk/>

Mackenzie and Yates 2017

Mackenzie, Simon and Donna Yates. "What is Grey About the 'Grey Market' in Antiquities?" In *The Architecture of Illegal Markets. Towards an Economic Sociology of Illegality in the Economy*, eds. Jens Beckert and Matías Dewey, pp. 70–86. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Mackenzie et al 2020

Mackenzie, Simon, Neil Brodie, Donna Yates, and Christos Tsirogiannis. *Trafficking Culture. New Directions in Researching the Global Market in Illicit Antiquities*. London and New York: Routledge, 2020.

Mann 2001

Mann, C. Griffith. "The Role of the Cross in Ethiopian Culture." In Horowitz 2001, pp. 74–93.

Mann 2004

Mann, C. Griffith. "May their prayers protect us': Illuminating the Gospels in Sixteenth-Century Ethiopia (W.850)." *The Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 62 (2004), pp. 195–98.

Mann 2005

Mann, C. Griffith. "Ethiopia: An Introduction." In Fletcher 2005, pp. 4–14.

Marcus 1994

Marcus, Harold G. *A History of Ethiopia*. Berkeley, CA: University of California.

Marlowe 2013

Marlowe, Elizabeth. *Shaky Ground: Context, Connoisseurship, and the History of Roman Art*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013.

Marlowe 2016

Marlowe, Elizabeth. "What We Talk About When We Talk About Provenance: A Response to Chippindale and Gill." *International Journal of Cultural Property* 23 (2016), pp. 217–36.

Marlowe 2020

Marlowe, Elizabeth. "Further Reflections on Groundedness." In De Staebler and Kontokosta, pp. 275–87.

Mashberg 2021

Mashberg, Tom. "A Trove of Artifacts Officials Call 'Stolen' Are Returned to Italy." *New York Times*, December 15, 2021.

Mauk 2014

Mauk, Ben. "Scattered Leaves." *The New Yorker*, January 6, 2014.

McKenzie and Watson 2016

McKenzie, Judith S., and Francis Watson. *The Garima Gospel Books: Early Illuminated Gospel Books from Ethiopia*. Oxford: Manar al-Athar, University of Oxford, 2016.

Mercier 1979

Mercier, Jacques. *Ethiopian Magic Scrolls*. New York: George Braziller, 1979.

Mercier 1997

Mercier, Jacques. *Art that Heals: The Image as Medicine in Ethiopia*. Munich: Prestel; New York: The Museum for African Art, 1997.

Moore 1936

Moore, Dale H. "Christianity in Ethiopia." *Church History* 5, no. 3 (September 1936), pp. 271–84.

Moore 1971

Moore, Eine. *Ethiopian Processional Crosses*. Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Haile Selassie I University, 1971.

Muensterberger 1994

Muensterberger, Werner. *Collecting: An Unruly Passion*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Munro-Hay 1993

Munro-Hay, Stuart. "Aksumite Coinage." In Grierson 1993, pp. 101–16.

Munro-Hay 2002

Munro-Hay, Stuart. *Ethiopia, the Unknown Land: A Cultural and Historical Guide*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2002.

Nagel 2012

Nagel, Alexander. *Medieval Modern: Art Out of Time*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2012.

Nair 2016

Nair, Vijayakumar Somasekharan. "Perceptions, Legislation, and Management of Cultural Heritage in Ethiopia." *International Journal of Cultural Property* 22 (2016): pp. 99–114.

New York Times 1974

"Sanford Griffith, Broker and Teacher." *New York Times*, September 18, 1974.

Nichols 1989

Nichols, Stephen G. "The Image as Textual Unconscious: Medieval Manuscripts." *L'Esprit Créateur* 29, no. 1 (1989), pp. 7–23.

Nichols 2016

Nichols, Stephen G. *From Parchment to Cyberspace: Medieval Literature in the Digital Age*. New York: Peter Lang, 2016.

Noor 2021

Noor, Nazma. "Co-Curation: A Personal Account." *Hello Future Manchester Museum* (blog), June 23, 2021.
<https://mmhellofuture.wordpress.com/2021/06/23/co-curation-a-personal-account/>

Nosnitsin 2009

Nosnitsin, Denis. "Wäwähabo qob'a wä'askema...: Reflections on an Episode from the History of the Ethiopian Monastic Movement." In *Varia Aethiopica: In Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943–2005)*, ed. Denis Nosnitsin, pp. 197–247. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2009.

Nosnitsin 2012

Nosnitsin, Denis. "Ethiopian Manuscripts and Ethiopian Manuscript Studies: A Brief Overview and Evaluation." *Gazette du livre medieval* 58 (2012), pp. 1–16.

Nosnitsin 2020

Nosnitsin, Denis. "Christian Manuscript Culture of the Ethiopian-Eritrean Highlands: Some Analytical Insights." In Kelly 2020, pp. 282–321.

Pankhurst 1985

Pankhurst, Richard. "The Napier Expedition and the Loot Form Maqdala." *Presence Africaine* 133–34 (1985), pp. 233–40.

Pankhurst and Pankhurst 1979

Pankhurst, Richard, and Rita Pankhurst. "Ethiopian Ear-Picks." *Abbay* 10 (1979), pp. 101–10.

Papalexandrou 2021

Papalexandrou, Nassos. "Collecting Greek Antiquities in the 1960s: A Group of Early Greek Bronze Horses in the Menil Collection." In Hopkins and Costello 2021, pp. 87–106.

Phillips and Steiner 1999a

Phillips, Ruth B., and Christopher B. Steiner, eds. *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Phillips and Steiner 1999b

Phillips, Ruth B., and Christopher B. Steiner. "Art, Authenticity, and the Baggage of Cultural Encounter." In Phillips and Steiner 1999a, pp. 3–19.

Phillipson 2009

Phillipson, David W. *Ancient Churches of Ethiopia*. New Haven: Yale University, 2009.

Phillipson 2014

Phillipson, David W. *Foundations of an African Civilization: Aksum and the Northern Horn, 1000 BC – AD 1300*. London: James Carry, 2014.

Pickering 2012

Pickering, Jane. "Beyond Collections: Big Issues and University Museums." In Jandl and Gold 2012, pp. 404–31.

Pitblado 2014

Pitblado, Bonnie L. "An Argument for Ethical, Proactive, Archaeologist-Artifact Collector Collaboration." *American Antiquity* 79 (2014), 385–400.

Peers 2004

Peers, Glenn. *Sacred Shock: Framing Visual Experience in Byzantium*. University Park: Pennsylvania State Press, 2004.

Porter 2018

Porter, Dot. "The Uncanny Valley and the Ghost in the Machine: A Discussion of Analogies for Thinking about Digitized Medieval Manuscripts." *Dot Porter Digital* (blog), October 31, 2018. <http://www.dotporterdigital.org/the-uncanny-valley-and-the-ghost-in-the-machine-a-discussion-of-analogies-for-thinking-about-digitized-medieval-manuscripts/>.

Reed 2021

Reed, Victoria. "Collecting Antiquities since 2008: A Look at Guidelines and Best Practices for American Museums." In Hopkins and Costello 2021, pp. 221–42.

Renfrew 2000

Renfrew, Colin. *Loot, Legitimacy and Ownership*. London: Bloomsbury, 2000.

Renfrew 2010

Renfrew, Colin. "Combating the Illicit Antiquities Trade: Progress and Problems." *Newsletter Ufficio Studi* 2 (2010), pp. 9–13.

Rosler et al 2013

Rosler, Martha, et al. "Notes from the Field: Materiality." *Art Bulletin* 95, no. 1 (2013), pp. 10–37.

Rothfield 2009

Rothfield, Lawrence. *The Rape of Mesopotamia. Behind the Looting of the Iraq Museum*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.

Rothschild 2012

Rothschild, Deborah. "Managing a Controversy: Art, Politics and Hitler's Early Years in Vienna." In Jandl and Gold 2012, pp. 55–87.

Rudy 2011

Rudy, Kathryn M. "Kissing Images, Unfurling Rolls, Measuring Wounds, Sewing Badges and Carrying Talismans: Considering Some Harley Manuscripts through the Physical Rituals They Reveal." *The Electronic British Library Journal* (2011): Article 5. <https://www.bl.uk/eblj/2011articles/pdf/ebljarticl e52011.pdf>

Sabar 2021

Sabar, Ariel. "The Tomb Raiders of the Upper East Side." *The Atlantic*, November 23, 2021.

Scheinberg 1975

Scheinberg, Alfred L. *Art of the Ibo, Ibibio, Ogoni, October 1 — November 15, 1975*. New York: The Endicott-Guthaim Gallery, 1975.

Sciacca 2018

Sciacca, Christine. “A ‘Painted Litany’: Three Ethiopian Sensual Leaves from Gunda Gunde.” *Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 73 (2018), pp. 92–95.

Selassie 1981

Selassie, Sergew Hable. *Bookmaking in Ethiopia*. Leiden: Brill, 1981.

Silver 2009

Silver, Vernon. *The Lost Chalice. The Epic Hunt for a Priceless Masterpiece*. New York: Harper Collins, 2009.

Silverman 1999a

Silverman, Raymond, ed. *Ethiopia: Traditions of Creativity*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Museum, 1999.

Silverman 1999b

Silverman, Raymond. “Introduction: Traditions of Creativity.” In Silverman 1999a, pp. 3–25.

Silverman 1999c

Silverman, Raymond. “Qes Adamu Tesfaw - A Priest Who Paints: Painting in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.” In Silverman 1999a, pp. 133–51.

Silverman and Sobania 2004

Silverman, Raymond, and Neal Sobania. “Mining a Mother Lode: Early European Travel Literature and the History of Precious Metalworking in Highland Ethiopia.” *History in Africa* 31 (2004), pp. 335–55.

Silverman and Sobania 2022

Silverman, Raymond, and Neal Sobania. *Ethiopian Church Art: Painters, Patrons, Purveyors*. Los Angeles: Tsehail, 2022.

Smith 2018

Smith, Lindsey J. “The Couple That Launched a Thousand Artists.” *San Francisco Magazine*, August 21, 2018. <https://sanfran.com/the-couple-launched-thousand-artists>

Sobania and Silverman 2009

Sobania, Neal, and Raymond Silverman. “Icons of Devotion/Icons of Trade: Creativity and Entrepreneurship in Contemporary ‘Traditional’ Ethiopian Painting.” *African Arts* 42, no. 1 (2009), pp. 26–37.

Sobania et al 2018

Sobania, Neal, Charles Mason, and Nina Kay. *Living Tradition: Contemporary Ethiopian Christian Art from the Sobania Collection*. Holland, MI: Hope College, 2018. <https://hope.edu/arts/kam/resources/living-tradition-catalog.pdf>

Steiner 1999

Steiner, Christopher B. “Authenticity, Repetition, and the Aesthetics of Seriality: The Work of Tourist Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction.” In Phillips and Steiner 1999a, pp. 87–103.

Steyn 2014

Steyn, Raita. “Christian Divine, Holy and Saintly Protection of African Rulers in the Byzantine ‘Coptic’ Iconographic Tradition.” PhD dissertation, University of Johannesburg, 2014.

Tefera 2019

Tefera, Amsalu. ነቅዕ መጻሕፍት ከ ሙዩ በላይ በግዕዝ የተጻፉ የእኢትዮጵያ መጻሕፍት ዝርዝር ከግብረ-ሪያ ጋር። Addis Ababa: Jajaw, 2019.

The Textile Museum 2014

The Textile Museum. *2013 Annual Report*. Washington, DC: The Textile Museum, 2014.

The Times 2019

“Christopher Martin-Zakheim obituary.” *The Times*, April 10, 2019.
<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/christopher-martin-zakheim-obituary-0qlh5s9ct>

The Washington Times 2015

“Maria O’Leary Obituary, Alexandria Businesswoman.” *The Washington Times*, October 20, 2015.
<https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/oct/20/aria-oleary-obituary-alexandria-businesswoman/>

Theismann 2015

Theismann, Jeanne. “Maria Teresa Eneim O’Leary.” *Alexandria Gazette Packet*, October 22, 2015.

Thomas and Pitblado 2020

Thomas, Suzie, and Bonnie L. Pitblado. “The Dangers of Conflating Responsible and Responsive Artifact Stewardship with Illicit and Illegal Collecting.” *Antiquity* 94 (2020), pp. 1060–67.

Thompson 2016

Thompson, Erin. *Possession. The Curious History of Private Collectors from Antiquity to the Present*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.

Treharne 2013

Treharne, Elaine M. “Fleshing Out the Text: The Transcendent Manuscript in the Digital Age.” *postmedieval: a journal of medieval cultural studies* 4 (2013), pp. 465–78.

Tribe 2009

Tribe, Tania Costa. “Holy Men in Ethiopia: The Wall Paintings in the Church of Abūna Abrāham Dābrā Səyon (Gār’alta, Təgray).” *Eastern Christian Art* 6 (2009), pp. 7–37.

UNESCO 1970

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. *Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property*. Paris: UNESCO, 1970.

Watson and Todeschini 2006

Watson, Peter, and Cecilia Todeschini. *The Medici Conspiracy. The Illicit Journey of Looted Antiquities from Italy’s Tomb Raiders to the World’s Greatest Museums*. New York: Public Affairs, 2006.

Wilcox 2016

Wilcox, Jonathan. “The Sensory Cost of Remediation; or, Sniffing in the Gutter of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts.” In *Sensory Perception in the Medieval West*, eds. Simon C. Thomson and Michael D. J. Bintley, pp. 27–51. Turnhout: Brepols, 2016.

Windmuller-Luna 2015

Windmuller-Luna, Kristen. “Ethiopian Healing Scrolls.” In *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2015.
https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/heal/hd_heal.htm

Winroth 2014

Winroth, Anders. *The Age of the Vikings*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014.

Winslow 2011

Winslow, Sean M. “Online Exhibit: Ethiopic Manuscript Production: ‘Magic Scrolls.’” University of Toronto, 2011.
<http://larkvi.com/mss/eth/production/scrolls.php>

Winslow 2015

Winslow, Sean Michael. "Ethiopian Manuscript Culture: Practices and Contexts." PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 2015.

Wion 2012

Wion, Anaïs. "Collecting Manuscripts and Scrolls in Ethiopia: The Missions of Johannes Flemming (1905) and Enno Littmann (1906)." In *Kaiserlichem Auftrag: Die Deutsche Aksum-Expedition 1906 unter Enno Littmann*, vol. 2: *Alttertumskundliche Untersuchungen der DAE in Tigray / Äthiopien*, ed. Steffen Wenig, pp. 353–62. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2012.

Woldegiorgis 2003

Woldegiorgis, Girma. "Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property Ratification Proclamation No. 374/2003." *Federal Negarit Gazeta*, October 28, 2003.
https://en.unesco.org/sites/default/files/eth_proc_3742003_etenorof.pdf

Woldeyes 2020

Woldeyes, Yirga Gelaw, "‘Holding Living Bodies in Graveyards’: The Violence of Keeping Ethiopian Manuscripts in Western Institutions." *M/C Journal* 23, no. 2 (2020).
<https://doi.org/10.5204/mcj.1621>

Wolfe 1989

Wolfe, L. Alexander. *Objects with Semitic Inscriptions, 1100 B.C. – A.D. 700: Jewish, Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities*. Zurich: Frank Sternberg, 1989.

Zanotti-Eman 1993

Zanotti-Eman, Carla. "Linear Decoration in Ethiopian Manuscripts." In Grierson 1993, pp. 63–67.

Zelleke 1975

Zelleke, Kinefe-Rigb. "Bibliography of the Ethiopic Hagiographical Traditions." *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 13, no. 2. (1975), pp. 57–102.