

## Notes

### Abbreviations used in the Notes

BL Add.	British Library Additional Manuscripts
BL Egerton	British Library Egerton Manuscripts
FO	Foreign Office Papers in the Public Record Office, Kew
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
NLS	National Library of Scotland

### Chapter 1: An Embassy is Arranged

1. Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Mss of J. H. Fortescue Esq. preserved at Dropmore* (1892-1927) (hereafter HMC, *Fortescue*), iv. 359, Elgin to Grenville, 4 November 1798. Another copy in FO 78/20.
2. HMC, *Fortescue*, iv. 380.
3. Grenville informed Spencer Smith at Constantinople of Elgin's appointment on 18 December 1798 (FO 78/20). William Gartshore told Arthur Paget of the appointment as early as 4 December 1798. *The Paget Papers: Diplomatic and Other Correspondence of Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur Paget* (1896), i. 140.
4. NLS 1055, fo. 120. Elgin also alludes to his discussions with the King at Weymouth in a letter in BL Add. MS 38266, fo. 5.
5. For details of the earlier history of the family and of Elgin's education see Sydney Checkland, *The Elgins 1766-1917* (1988).
6. For the Elgin Fencibles see the collection of letters in NLS 5085 and 5087. More material among the Elgin Papers.
7. HMC, *Fortescue*, i. 603.
8. Earl Stanhope, *Life of Pitt* (1861-2), iv. 400. For other aspects of Elgin's early diplomatic career see HMC, *Fortescue*, i, ii, iii; BL Add. MS 38266, fo. 5; *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, i. 306-274.
9. HMC, *Fortescue*, ii. 184.
10. *Ibid.* iv. 276, 95.
11. See, for example, remarks in *The Journal of Elizabeth Lady Holland 1791-1811*, edited by the Earl of Ilchester (1908), i. 86, 146.
12. Revd Robert Tweddell, *The Remains of John Tweddell* (1815, 1816), 49 ff.
13. HMC, *Fortescue*, iv. 425.
14. Lord Granville Leveson Gower, *Private Correspondence 1781-1811* (1916), i. 262.
15. Elgin told Grenville of his engagement on 21 January 1799. HMC, *Fortescue*, iv. 446.
16. The information about the Nisbet fortune is contained in a short contemporary biography of Elgin in the periodical *Public Characters*, volume for 1807. Much of the other information, except where it relies on William Wittman's *Travels in Turkey, Asia Minor and Syria* (1803), is inaccurate. An income of this size would put the Nisbets amongst the richest families in the country.
17. *The Trial of R. Fergusson, Esq.* (1807), 2. HMC, *Fortescue*, iv. 446.
18. The unpublished letters between Elgin and Lady Elgin among the Elgin Papers leave no doubt of the warmth of their relationship at this time.
19. That Elgin borrowed money in 1797 is clear from [Select Committee], *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Earl of Elgin's Collection of Sculptured Marbles* (1816) (hereafter *Select Committee Report*), p. xiv, where he is recorded as asking in 1811 for interest for fourteen years. The Elgin Papers contain letters from the Dowager Lady Elgin about her son's financial difficulties at this time.
20. Colonel Anstruther to Elgin, 19 March 1799, Elgin Papers.
21. Hunt to his father, 2 April 1799, Hunt Papers. For Hunt's earlier and later career see Eric Stockdale, *Law and Order in Georgian Bedfordshire* (1982).
22. *Select Committee Report*, 31. [Elgin], *Memorandum on the Subject of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece* (hereafter *Memorandum*), 1 f. B. R. Haydon, *Autobiography and Memoirs*, new edn. (1926), 206. B. R. Haydon, *The Diary of Benjamin Robert Haydon*, ed. W. B. Pope (1960-3), i. 86.
23. *Select Committee Report*, 2. Elgin to Lord Hawkesbury, 7 July 1801, FO 78/32. Elgin's Report on his Embassy, 27 July 1806, FO 78/54.
24. HMC, *Fortescue*, v. 91. The 'magnificent publications' are the works published by the Society of Dilettanti, especially the early volumes of *The Antiquities of Athens* (by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett et al.).
25. Farington, 22, 25, and 27 April and 23 May 1799. The offer to Robert Smirke is confirmed by his manuscript journal. See also Jonathan Mayne, *Thomas Girtin* (1949), 49, who quotes *Morning Herald* of 6 May 1799.
26. Quoted in Thomas Girtin and David Loshak, *The Art of Thomas Girtin* (1954), 38.
27. Farington, 27 April 1799.
28. *Select Committee Report*, 32.
29. A. H. Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 36 (1916), 166.

30. Lord Holland, *Further Memoirs of the Whig Party 1807–1821* (1905), 336. Porson told Samuel Rogers that the offer had not been properly made. *Recollections of the Table-Talk of Samuel Rogers to which is added Porsoniana* (1856), 319.
31. Robert Walpole, *Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey* (1817), pp. xv, 84.
32. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 69, p. 369; Carlyle Papers.
33. Elgin, *Postscript to a Letter to the Editor of the Edinburgh Review* (1815), 17.
34. The financing is described explicitly in Elgin's letter to Lord Liverpool. BL Add. MS 38266, fo. 5.
35. HMC, *Fortescue*, v. 72.
36. BL Add. MS 38266, fo. 5.
37. Hunt to his father, 28 August 1799, Hunt Papers.
38. HMC, *Fortescue*, v. 250.
39. Elgin to Dowager Lady Elgin, 10 September 1800, Elgin Papers.
40. Hunt to his father, 17 July 1799, Hunt Papers.

#### Chapter 2: Great Events in the Levant

1. FO 78/24. For the general political and military history in this chapter I have relied to a great extent on Christopher Herold, *Bonaparte in Egypt* (1962), an excellent and well-documented account. Additional information comes from the FO 78 series of diplomatic records relating to Turkey in the Public Record Office.
2. Quoted by Herold, *Bonaparte in Egypt*, 133.
3. C. A. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (1935).
4. FO 78/20.
5. The circumstances in which the Military Mission was sent are related in FO 78/25–7. Some details of its activities are in Wittman, *Travels*.
6. John Barrow, *Life and Correspondence of Admiral Sir William Sidney Smith GCB* (1848).

#### Chapter 3: The Voyage Out

1. *The Letters of Mary Nisbet, Countess of Elgin* (1926) (hereafter *Nisbet*), 7.
2. Hunt to his father, 16 September 1799, Hunt Papers.
3. Philip Hunt, *A Narrative of What is Known Respecting the Literary Remains of the Late John Tweddell* (1816), 11.
4. Hunt to his father, 16 September 1799, Hunt Papers.
5. Extracts from Morier's captured journal were published by the French in *Courier de l'Égypte*, No. 70, p. 1.
6. Hunt to his sister, 22 September 1799, Hunt Papers.
7. *Nisbet*, 12 ff.
8. *Ibid.*, 17.

9. *Nisbet*, 19.
10. *Ibid.*, 22.
11. *Ibid.*, 25.
12. He bought it at Rome for £1,000, but soon afterwards he was obliged to sell it and it passed into the possession of the Duchess of Portland, and then to the British Museum.
13. A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (1882), 109 ff.
14. *Ibid.* 111, M. L. Clarke, *Greek Studies in England, 1700–1830* (1945), 186.
15. Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 168.
16. *Ibid.* 169, and Elgin to Dowager Lady Elgin, 5 October 1799, Elgin Papers.
17. *Nisbet*, 30 ff.
18. Quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 171.
19. There is an account of Theodor's extraordinary career by Karl Obser in *Ekkhart-Jahrbuch* (1930), 18. An engraved self-portrait is in the Victoria and Albert Museum. For this information I am grateful to Frau Margrit E. Velte of Karlsruhe.
20. Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 171 ff. The drawings they made in Sicily are among the Elgin collection.
21. *Nisbet*, 75.

#### Chapter 4: Reception at Constantinople

1. Tweddell, *Remains*, 262. HMC, *Fortescue*, iv. 438. Smith to Nelson, 24 January 1799, quoted in Barrow, *Life of Admiral Sir William Sidney Smith*, i. 251.
2. Spencer Smith to Grenville, 30 October 1799, FO 78/22.
3. HMC, *Fortescue*, iv. 476 ff.
4. *Ibid.* v. 316.
5. Barrow, *Life of Admiral Sir William Sidney Smith*, i. 381.
6. *Nisbet*, 34 ff. Hunt letters among Hunt Papers.
7. FO 78/26.
8. *Nisbet*, 39.
9. Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 182.
10. *Memorandum*, (1815 edition), 35. Wittman, *Travels*, 65.
11. Walpole, *Memoirs*, 98.
12. Wittman, *Travels*, 65. Robert Walsh, *A Residence at Constantinople* (1836), i. 206.
13. The word, like many transliterated from the Turkish, appears in several Anglicized forms at the time which I reproduce as they stand in the documents. For the narrative I have used the modern Turkish spelling as it appears in, for example, H. C. Hong, *A Turkish English Dictionary* (1957).



14. *Nisbet*, 48.
15. Carlyle to Dr Paley, 10 December 1799, Carlyle Papers.
16. *Nisbet*, 56.
17. My account of Elgin's reception is drawn from several sources including Elgin's report and claim for expenses, FO 78/24, Lady Elgin's letters in *Nisbet*, 40 ff., a long and detailed letter from Carlyle to Dr Paley in the Carlyle Papers, and a letter from Hunt to his father, 9 December 1799, Hunt Papers. The Turkish yard was twenty-seven inches.
18. FO 78/24.

#### Chapter 5: The Smith Brothers

1. Spencer Smith to Grenville, 10 June 1799, FO 78/22. My main source for events in Egypt is again mainly Herold. Much information about the Smith brothers is in Barrow.
2. For Elgin's initial difficulties with Spencer Smith see a series of letters in FO 78/24 and 28 and others in HMC, *Fortescue*, vi.
3. Smith to Elgin, 17 December 1799, Elgin Papers. Navy Records Society, *Private Papers of George, Second Earl Spencer* (1913–24), iv, 85.
4. *Ibid.* iv, 90.
5. Elgin to Sir Sidney Smith, 17 December 1799, FO 78/24.
6. HMC, *Fortescue*, vi, 89.
7. Elgin to Grenville, 16 February 1800, FO 78/28.
8. Elgin to Nelson, 18 February 1800, FO 78/28.
9. Elgin to Grenville, 25 February 1800, FO 78/28. The Admiralty's letter to Lord Keith is published in *The Keith Papers* (Navy Records Society, 1927–55), ii, 203. The Kaymakam was the deputy to the Vizier.
10. Elgin to Grenville, 10 March 1800, FO 78/28.
11. Elgin to Grenville, 9 May 1800, FO 78/29.
12. Published by the French in *Courier de l'Égypte*, Nos. 70, 73, 74.
13. Grenville to Elgin, 28 March 1800, FO 78/28.
14. This was the view of the French in Egypt after the capture of Morier's papers, *Courier de l'Égypte*, Nos. 70, 73, 74, 79. See also Barrow, *Life of Admiral Sir William Sidney Smith*, i, 394, 400; ii, 50, 60.
15. *Correspondance de Napoléon I, publiée par ordre de l'Empereur Napoléon III*, viii, 315.
16. *Nisbet*, 249, 278, 289. BL Add. MS 38266, fo. 5.
17. By J. G. Alger, *Napoleon's English Visitors and Captives* (1904). I have not found Alger's source.
18. *Le Jeu de Whist. Traité élémentaire des lois... traduit de l'anglais et rédigé par un Amateur Anglais* (1819). Smith's name is given in the edition of 1838.

19. The pencil drawing by Lusieri of the Elgins entertaining the Captain Pasha to whist is reproduced in Checkland, *The Elgins*, 40.
20. Lady Elgin to her mother, Elgin Papers.
21. Lady Elgin to the Dowager Lady Elgin, 25 March 1802, Elgin Papers.
22. Examples in Checkland, *The Elgins*, 11 ff.
23. *Ibid.* 30.
24. The taking of mercury is noted by Checkland, *The Elgins*, 41, 55, although without drawing the implications. Elgin's appearance was sometimes compared to that of Sir William Davenant, the early seventeenth-century playwright, known from the engraved portrait which was included as a frontispiece to editions of his works. This portrait, which shows a pronounced notch to the nostril, presumably downplayed the visible damage as much as possible, perhaps by showing the better side. It is reproduced by Mary Edmond, in *Rare Sir William Davenant* (1987). As Edmond shows, there were many contemporary allusions to Davenant's pox and to his nose, some in his own works.
25. Checkland, *The Elgins*, 77. The cruel allusions of Byron (see p. 181) suggest that it was known that the son had a mental illness earlier than 1813, the first date given by Checkland.
26. Checkland, *The Elgins*, 105.
27. There is a long series of letters of complaint about the Smith brothers in FO 78/28, 29, 30. Others are in HMC, *Fortescue*, vi.
28. HMC, *Fortescue*, vi, 347.
29. *Nisbet*, 147.
30. *Ibid.* 101, 141, 210.

#### Chapter 6: Work Begins at Athens

1. 'Logothetes' was the title of an official responsible for collecting church revenues. By Elgin's time it seems to have been used almost as a family name, at any rate by foreigners, of members of the Chromatianos family who held the post in Athens for many years and who also held British appointments. Spyridon Logotheti was Consul in 1800. His son Nicholas was appointed Vice-Consul by Elgin in 1802 and promoted to Consul in 1816: *Nicholas Biddle in Greece: The Journals and Letters of 1806*, ed. R. A. McNeal (Philadelphia, 1993), 138 note. The Logotheti whom travellers encountered at Livadia was of a different family.
2. For Athens in the early nineteenth century, see D. Sicilianos, *Old and New Athens*, trans. Robert Liddell (1960). Many of the travellers, including especially Hobhouse, also give a full description with many additional details. For an account of how the Greek provinces were in fact governed see Helen Angelomatis-Tsougarakis, *The Eve of the Greek Revival* (1990).

3. A wide range of estimates is given by the travellers. Angelomatis-Tsougarakis, with access to reliable sources, suggests 10,000. See also John Fuller, *Narrative of a Tour through some parts of the Turkish Empire* (1830), 542.
4. For an excellent summary of how Athens appeared in the early nineteenth century, with many illustrations, see C. W. J. Eliot, 'Athens in the Time of Lord Byron', *Hesperia*, 37 (1968).
5. Sicilianos, *Old and New Athens*, 137.
6. Edward Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece* (1819), i. 358.
7. A list of revenues of the Ottoman Empire is in FO 78/29.
8. J. C. Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople* (1813), i. 293. Forbin gives the population as 12,000, but, to judge from the numerous views of Athens, this seems to be an exaggeration (*Voyage dans le Levant* (Paris, 1819)).
9. Sicilianos, *Old and New Athens*, 137. The right applied to all taxes other than the poll tax and the customs taxes, and on legal dues. *Ibid.* 135. His main income seems to have come from property taxes.
10. *Ibid.* 146.
11. For a summary of the later history of the various monuments see Lynn and Raymond Matton, *Athènes et ses monuments* (1963).
12. See John Henry Merryman, 'Thinking about the Elgin Marbles', *Michigan Law Review*, 83 (1985), 1897. For evidence that Elgin's firmans applied only to public property see the comment by Smirke in 1803 quoted p. 95.
13. Some also had access to Spon (*Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant* (Lyon, 1688)). After 1800 there was a huge outpouring of books of travels in Greece in several European languages. After the publication of Hobhouse's book with its thorough researches into the history of Athens from ancient to modern times, the travellers were better informed.
14. See Manolis Korres, 'The History of the Acropolis Monuments', in *Acropolis Restoration* (Athens, 1995), 42.
15. Diane Harris, *The Treasures of the Parthenon and Erechtheion* (1995), 5. The name of the other room, the Hecatompodon, the 'hundred-foot room', was also used for the whole building.
16. For a fascinating attempt to reimagine the technology of construction see Korres.
17. Some were found as a result of Elgin's excavations and are now in the British Museum.
18. Some were found as a result of Elgin's excavations and are now in the British Museum.
19. The claim that Athens was autochthonous was a key point celebrat-

- ing Athenian pride made in the speech of Praxithea in Euripides' *Erechtheus*. See C. Collard, M. J. Cropp, and K. H. Lee, *Euripides: Selected Fragmentary Plays*, vol. i (1995), 159.
20. See Ian Jenkins and A. P. Middleton, 'Paint on the Parthenon Sculptures', *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 83 (1988). On some of the architectural blocks in the Elgin collection on public show, substantial traces of the original painted meander design can still be clearly seen. See also Chapter 24.
21. Joan B. Connelly, 'Parthenon and Parthenoi', *Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America*, 100/1 (1996).
22. As the carving appears at present, the child on the right is often assumed to be a boy. This may be partly due to the damage which the piece has sustained since it left the Acropolis, see Chapter 24. James Stuart, a highly reliable witness who examined the piece in 1750 when it was in a far better state than it is now, saw and drew the figure as that of a girl, without suggesting that he had any cause for doubt. Since the piece arrived in London, having suffered a good deal of damage in the meantime, opinion has tended to be divided, with most Victorian and later observers assuming that the figure is that of a boy. Given the extent of the damage to the surface as it exists now, the question can only be approached by shedding modern assumptions about the naked human body and trying to reconstruct how the ancient Greeks, with their very different attitudes to art, to sexuality, and to the appropriateness of nudity, might have presented, perceived, and interpreted the figure. Approached this way, there is no problem in reading the figure as that of a girl. A fine grave stele of a young girl with pigeons in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, reproduced by Jenkins in *The Parthenon Frieze* (1995), 36, Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* (1970), 492, and frequently elsewhere, shows her, presumably at the moment of death, with ungirt peplos revealing her nakedness in much the same way as the Parthenon child does, and there are other similar examples of both boys and girls. If Connelly's interpretation is right, the fact that the third daughter is shown as so young, emphasizes the scale of the sacrifice and of the impending tragedy.
23. Colin Austin, *Nova Fragmenta Euripidea* (Berlin, 1968), and Collard, Cropp, and Lee, *Euripides*.
24. Plutarch's *Life of Nikias*, xxix.
25. Collard, Cropp, and Lee, *Euripides*, 159. In a few places I have adapted their severely literal translation.
26. Collard, Cropp, and Lee, *Euripides*, 173, their translation adapted.
27. Book 1, x. Translation from the Loeb edition.
28. See Savas Kondaratos, 'The Parthenon as Cultural Ideal: The Chronicle of its Emergence as a Supreme Monument of Eternal



- Glory', in P. Tournikiotis (ed.), *The Parthenon and its Impact on Modern Times* (Athens, 1995).
29. Life of Pericles, xii.
  30. Manolis Korres, 'The Parthenon from Antiquity to the Nineteenth Century', in Tournikiotis (ed.), *The Parthenon*, 156.
  31. R. Chandler, *Travels in Greece* (1776), 51. The latest exhaustive list of fragments is in Frank Brommer, *Die Skulpturen der Parthenon-Giebel* (Mainz, 1963), *Die Metopen* (Mainz, 1967), and *Der Parthenonfries* (Mainz, 1977), but not in *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* (1979). Still useful for the history of the dispersal of fragments are A. H. Smith, *The Skulpturen of the Parthenon* (1910), and Michaelis, *Der Parthenon* (Leipzig, 1871); and *A Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum* (1812-61). For the Vatican fragments see *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 58 (1938), 276 and *Fasti Archaeologici*, ii (1947), item 243. For the Würzburg fragment see G. Rodenwaldt, *Köpfe von den Südmetopen des Parthenon* (Berlin, 1948), 13.
  32. For Fauvel's biography see the series of articles by Ph.-E. Legrand in *Revue Archéologique*.
  33. As I read the inscription in the 1960s:  
 AUGUSTE DE CHOISEUL GOUFFIER  
 FOUCHEROT  
 FAUVEL  
 1776 ET 1781.
  34. Legrand, *Revue Archéologique*, 30: 57.
  35. For the history of these pieces see *ibid.* 24 as corrected by 25 and 26.
  36. J. B. S. Morritt, *Letters Descriptive of a Journey in Europe and Asia Minor in the years 1794-1796* (1914), 175, letter of 18 January 1795, *Select Committee Report*, 130.
  37. A water-colour of the Erechtheion painted by Robert Smirke in 1803, in the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects, London, shows this cart prominently in the foreground.
  38. *Description of Ancient Marbles*, vii (1835), Advertisement.
  39. There are excellent colour reproductions of those that are known in Tournikiotis, *The Parthenon* and Checkland, *The Elgins*.
  40. One which he drew of Constantinople was eighteen feet long.
  41. Fuller, *Narrative of a Tour*, 545. H. W. Williams, *Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian Islands* (1820), ii, 331.
  42. Dodwell says he paid about the same time, 80 piastres a day just to draw, Dodwell, *Classical Tour*, i, 293. In the Ottoman currency there were 40 paras to a piastre, 500 piastres to a purse. The rate of exchange against the pound sterling varied from place to place, and the pound rose strongly over the period. In 1801-3, the time of the main removals, there were about 9 Turkish piastres to the pound. By 1814 there were about 20. At all times, even taking account of trans-

- action costs, the exchange rate was extremely favourable to visitors from western Europe. For a full note see Angelomatis-Tsougarakis, *The Eve of the Greek Revival*, 158.
43. Pay rates from William Haygarth *Greece: A Poem in Three Parts* (1814), 175. Although the pay rates were extremely low, Haygarth reckoned that, because the prices of provisions were even lower, labourers in Athens had a higher standard of living, and much more leisure, than labourers in England.

#### Chapter 7: In Search of Ancient Manuscripts

1. J. Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern* (1797), 23. The chief sources for Carlyle's activities are letters and other documents quoted in Walpole's *Memoirs* and Walpole's *Travels in Various Countries of the East* (1820). The originals of the letters to the Bishop of Durham quoted in Walpole, with some others, are preserved in the Ipswich and East Suffolk Record Office under reference HA 174: 1026/68. Some of Carlyle's manuscript journals are in the British Library. Others are quoted in his (posthumous) *Poems* (1805). A short sketch of Carlyle's earlier life is in the short-lived periodical, *Public Characters* (1802/3). It is clear from a letter of Carlyle to Dr Paley in the Ipswich and East Suffolk Record Office that Carlyle was fully familiar with the work of Dallaway.
2. BL Add. MS 27604, fo. 5.
3. J. H. Marsden, *Memoir of the Life and Writings of W. M. Leake* (1864), 7, gives an account of the circumstances in which the journey was decided. The journey itself is described by Leake in Walpole's *Travels*, 185.
4. Early twentieth-century typescript of the lost original, Hunt Papers.
5. Carlyle, *Poems*, 13.
6. *Ibid.* 16. For Byronic themes before Byron see Terence Spencer, *Fair Greece, Sad Relic* (1954).
7. Walpole, *Memoirs*, 162.
8. *Ibid.* 185.
9. E. D. Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa* (1811-23). Clarke's antipathy to Carlyle is confirmed in letters quoted in W. Otter's *The Life and Remains of the Rev. Edward Daniel Clarke* (1824), 485, 497, 505. The quarrel was the talk of Constantinople in January 1802 (see Nisbet, 165) and of Egypt in April 1802 (see *Life of General Sir Robert Wilson*, ed. H. Randolph (1862), 163, 233). Clarke somehow managed to obtain some drawings by Lusieri, Elgin's artist in Athens, and used them in his book, although Lusieri was contracted not to work for anyone else, and since most of Lusieri's work for Elgin did not survive, they are of particular interest. Clarke, *Travels*, part II, section 1, p. 82, 'Tomb of Ajax'; part II,

section 3, p. 12, 'Marathon Village'. The view of the plain of Marathon (part II, section 3, p. 14) is said on the engraving to be from a sketch by Lusieri: in Clarke's list of contents it is described as 'by the author'. Clarke also incorporated a drawing by Theodor the Calmuck (*Travels*, II/2: 598). Another, of the Voivode, may also be by him (*Travels*, II/3: 2).

10. Walpole, *Memoirs*, 138.
11. Hunt's account of Athos is in Walpole, *Memoirs*, 198 ff.; Carlyle's is in BL Add. MS 27604.
12. Elgin, *Postscript*, 17.

#### Chapter 8: The Conquest of Egypt and its Results

1. FO 78/30–1, FO 78/54. For the general history I have relied, as usual, mainly on Herold.
2. The Turkish army included the remnants of Koehler's ill-fated British Military Mission although Koehler himself and his wife had died some months before.
3. *Nisbet*, 116 f.
4. *Ibid.* 119.
5. *Ibid.* 119.
6. Elgin to Hawkesbury, 16 July 1801, FO 78/32.
7. FO 78/33.
8. FO 78/33. *Nisbet*, 117 ff.
9. FO 78/35. *Nisbet*, 162 ff.
10. *Ibid.* 249, 278. BL Add. MS 38266, fo. 5.
11. FO 78/33. An engraving appears in Walsh, *A Residence at Constantinople*, II, frontispiece.
12. *Ibid.* 171.
13. BL Add. MS 38571, fo. 19.
14. *Keith Papers*, II, 406.

#### Chapter 9: The Firman

1. For the first firman see Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 183, 188.
2. A fuller note on the various firmans obtained by Elgin is at Appendix I.
3. *Nisbet*, 92.
4. Quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 190.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Quoted *Hobhouse Journal*, 6 January 1810.
7. Pisani [British dragoman] to Elgin, 6 July 1801, Elgin Papers.
8. *Select Committee Report*, 141.
9. *Ibid.*, p. xxiv.

10. As appears from the modern letters in the collection, at that time the Hunt papers had been examined by various scholars and publishers but none had identified the document in Italian as the firman.
11. Pisani to Elgin, 6 July 1801, Elgin Papers. Quoted in Appendix 1.
12. This emerges from a phrase in Elgin's letter to Lusieri of 10 July 1801, 'you have now permission to dig'. Quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 192.
13. *Nisbet*, 97.
14. Elgin to Lusieri, 10 July 1801. Quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 191.
15. Elgin to Lord Hawkesbury, 7 July 1801, FO 78/32. Hunt's instructions are among the Hunt Papers.
16. Smirke's *Journal*. He was in Athens in July 1803.
17. M. R. Bruce, 'A Tourist in Athens in 1801', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 92 (1972), 174.
18. These details are from a letter of Hunt to Elgin, 31 July 1801, among the Elgin Papers. Smith, although quoting much of the letter, makes no mention of them.
19. See the quotations from Gell's diary (*Narrative of a Journey in the Morea* (1823)) and the comments by Bruce, a source which was not known at the time of the first edition of the book.
20. A water-colour by Dodwell which also shows Lusieri's scaffolding is at Broomhall.
21. *Nisbet*, 123. Hunt wrote a similar letter on 21 August 1801 to Lord Upper Ossory, Hunt Papers.
22. *Nisbet*, 123.
23. Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 197.
24. *Ibid.* 201.
25. *Select Committee Report*, 146.
26. *Ibid.* 143.
27. *Ibid.* 146.
28. Smirke's *Journal*, 21 July 1803. This piece of evidence has not, as far as I know, been noted before the present edition.
29. *Select Committee Report*, 144.
30. They were, for example, worried about being held to account if the political climate changed.
31. *Journal* for 21 July 1803.
32. Hunt to Lord Upper Ossory, 21 August 1801, Hunt Papers. Before telling the story of his success at Athens to Lord Upper Ossory, Hunt prudently asked Elgin's permission. 'I know there are envious people', he wrote ominously, 'who will not fail to represent what has been done here as a violence to the fine remains of Grecian sculpture.' Hunt to Elgin, 21 August 1801, Elgin Papers.
33. *Select Committee Report*, 41.



34. Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 346.
35. Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania*, 339.
36. Ibid. 196.
37. Ibid. 357, referring to *Revue Archéologique*, 24 and 26.
38. He had no reason to. A. L. Millin's *Description d'un bas relief du Parthénon actuellement au Musée Napoléon*, which was incorporated as an appendix in the 1811 and 1815 editions of the *Memorandum*, says that the slab was detached from the Parthenon, 'a été détaché'. After Choiseul-Gouffier's death in 1817 the sale catalogue of his collection emphasized that the metope was found on the ground, L. J. J. Dubois, *Catalogue d'Antiquités... formant la collection de... M. le Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier* (Paris, 1818).
39. *Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum*, viii (1839), 97.

Chapter 10: 'The Last Poor Plunder from a Bleeding Land'

1. Elgin, *Memorandum* (1815 edition), 15.
2. See, for example, Williams, *Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian Islands*, ii. 316.
3. Hunt to Elgin 21 August 1801, quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 200.
4. According to Sicilianos, *Old and New Athens*, 356, the Metropolitan at the time was Gregory III, 1799–1820, described as 'one of the worst'.
5. *Select Committee Report*, 144.
6. Elgin to Lusieri, 10 July 1801, quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 207.
7. Quoted *ibid.* 196.
8. *Keith Papers*, ii. 405.
9. Lusieri to Elgin 11 January 1802, quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 209.
10. Lusieri to Elgin 8 August 1802, quoted *ibid.* 227.
11. Smirke Journal.
12. Quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 205.
13. Elgin to Lusieri, 10 July 1801, quoted *ibid.* 207.
14. Elgin to Lusieri, 23 December 1801, quoted *ibid.* 207. At the time there was little to be seen above ground at Delphi.
15. Hunt to Elgin, no date given, quoted *ibid.* 201.
16. Lacy to Hunt, 8 October 1801, Hunt Papers.
17. Dodwell, *Classical Tour*, i. 322. Bruce, 'A Tourist in Athens', 175, notes that since Dodwell left Athens on 15 September 1801 he could not have seen all that he claims to have seen. Bruce also suggests that in 1801 neither Gell nor Dodwell felt the indignation which they showed later.
18. Clarke *Travels*, part II, section 2, p. 483. 'Telos' is printed in Greek in the original.
19. Canto II, stanza xii. See p. 182.
20. C and D of the west pediment in Brommer's classification.
21. Morritt, giving evidence to the Select Committee, p. 128.
22. One head appears to be still in place in the picture by Gell reproduced in the Goulandris Foundation catalogue, p. 65. See also Dodwell, *Classical Tour*, i. 325. Dodwell's remarks on this fragment seem to be confirmed by a letter of Fauvel quoted in *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de la France*, 6 (1900), 245. The *Notice sur le Musée Dodwell* (Rome, 1837), lists seven architectural fragments from the Parthenon and a 'testa barbata prov d'Atene' but this is now believed to refer to the head of the centaur from metope 5 on the south side in Würzburg. That head was already missing in the time of Stuart and Revett. See Brommer, *Metopen*, i. 83.
23. Wheler, *A Journey into Greece*, 361, punctuation simplified.
24. Spon, *Voyage d'Italie*, ii. 147.
25. See *Revue Archéologique*, 31: 97. *Select Committee Report*, 24, 118.
26. See, for example, the letter from Hunt, February 1805, in *Nisbet*, 344.
27. E. D. Clarke, *The Tomb of Alexander* (1805).
28. Otter, *Life*, 505.
29. Clarke, *Travels*, part II, section 2, p. 475.
30. *Travels*, II/2: 475.
31. G. P. Stevens, *The Erechtheum* (1927), 502.
32. Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, 191.
33. E. D. Clarke, *Greek Marbles* (1809), 32.
34. Otter, *Life*, 505.
35. Clarke *Travels*, II/2: 784.
36. Quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 206.
37. Otter, *Life*, 516.
38. Lusieri to Elgin 11 January 1802, quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 209.
39. Clarke, *Greek Marbles*, 34 ff.
40. Elgin to Grenville, 3 July 1800, FO 78/28.
41. Elgin to Hawkesbury, 7 July 1801, FO 78/32.
42. *Nisbet*, 140.
43. Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 211.
44. Lady Elgin to Elgin, 19 May 1802, Elgin Papers. Smith, who quoted other parts of this letter chose to omit this revealing passage. He also omitted other passages which throw an unfavourable light on Lady Elgin's character. For the protection documents which were later obtained, see Appendix I.
45. Lady Elgin to Elgin, 22 May 1802, Elgin Papers. Omitted by Smith.
46. See p. 95.

47. *Nisbet*, 199.
48. Quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 214; *Nisbet*, 187.
49. *Ibid.* 207; FO 78/36.
50. *Nisbet*, 210 ff.
51. Lusieri to Elgin, 16 September 1802, quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 232. Smith connects this with the destruction of the cornice mentioned by Clarke and repeated by Byron. Clarke had, however, left Athens in December 1801.
52. Lusieri to Elgin, 28 October 1802, quoted by Smith, 'Lord Elgin', 235.
53. Hunt to Elgin, two letters sent on 28 November 1802, Hunt Papers. An extract from one in Smith, 'Lord Elgin', 237.
54. Sicilianos, *Old and New Athens*, 229.
55. Quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin', 230.
56. *Ibid.* 206. Hunt had also suggested seizing Fauvel's collection in letters to Elgin on 31 July 1801 and 8 August 1801, Elgin Papers.
57. Smith, 'Lord Elgin', 362.
58. *Nisbet*, 154.
59. Quoted by Smith, 'Lord Elgin', 209.
60. *Ibid.* 217. Cf. *Nisbet*, 195.
61. Quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin', 218. Cf. *Nisbet*, 196.
62. Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Rosetta Stone* (1929).
63. Clarke, *Tomb* 38.
64. *Annual Register* (1859), 430.
65. Quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin', 233.
66. I use the ancient name which was readopted later in the nineteenth century. In Elgin's day the island was universally known as Cerigo, but it was called during the centuries when the island was part of the Ionian Islands ruled by Venice.
67. See p. 132.
68. Smith, 'Lord Elgin', 237. A slightly different version is in a draft among the Hunt Papers.
69. Smith, 'Lord Elgin', 239.
70. *Ibid.* 240. Captain Clarke's own account of the incident is given in a fine edition of William Falconer, *The Shipwreck*, ed. J. S. Clarke (1811), 207.
71. *Nisbet*, 232, 334.
72. For the estimated total costs see p. 144.
73. Elgin to Lord Hawkesbury, 13 January 1803, FO 78/38.
74. Quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin', 234.

#### Chapter II: Prisoner of War

1. Hunt to Elgin, 19 December 1802, Hunt Papers. For the general story of the British prisoners in France see Michael Lewis, *Napoleon and*

- his British Captives* (1962). Many details of the Elgins' life at this time in *Nisbet*.
2. *Moniteur*, No. 130.
  3. *Nisbet*, 286. The passport given by the French Ambassador in Naples to Lord Elgin and his party is among the Elgin Papers.
  4. Elgin to King of Prussia, 24 May 1803, FO 27/68.
  5. *Nisbet*, 239.
  6. *Ibid.* 238 ff., 248 ff.
  7. *Correspondance de Napoléon I*, viii. 387.
  8. *Nisbet*, 263.
  9. *Ibid.* 259.
  10. Quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 360. *Nisbet*, 259.
  11. *Revue Archéologique*, 24: 92; 26: 238.
  12. *Ibid.* 24: 88.
  13. *Ibid.* 30: 389.
  14. Quoted in full in Edward Smith, *Life of Sir Joseph Banks* (1911), 209. The subsequent story is told in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 358 ff.
  15. Farington, 5 December 1806 (published).
  16. *Revue Archéologique*, 26: 238. Favuel almost certainly wanted this marble to provide materials for the restoration of the Louvre slab ordered by Bonaparte. It was regarded as useless by Lusieri and there seems to be no other reason beyond spite why he should want to steal it from him.
  17. Quoted in *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de la France*, 6th Ser. (1900), 245.
  18. *Nisbet*, 278.
  19. *Ibid.* 249.
  20. *Correspondance de Napoléon I*, viii. p. 315.
  21. *Nisbet*, and a series of letters in FO 27/68.
  22. The fullest account of this puzzling episode is Sir Walter Scott, *Life of Buonaparte*, chapter 129, which derived from Elgin himself (see NLS 3902, fo. 95). Other evidence is in *Nisbet* and BL Add. MS 38266, fo. 5. The 'confession' of the prisoner called Rivoire is in Lewis Goldsmith (ed.), *Recueil de decrets, ordonnances etc de Napoléon Bonaparte* (1813), i. 1054.
  23. *Nisbet*, 296.
  24. *Ibid.* 321.
  25. *Ibid.* 351.
  26. E. d'Hauterive, *La Police Secrète du Premier Empire* (Paris, 1908), i. 387.
  27. Lewis, *Napoleon and his British Captives*, 183. For Ferguson see the two pamphlets, *The Trial of R. Fergusson Esq.* (1807) and *The Trial of R. J. Fergusson, Esquire* (1808). Also informative is the record of



the divorce trial, 11 March 1808, before the Commissary Court of Edinburgh in the Scottish Register Office in Edinburgh, and further details in Checkland, *The Elgins*. Ferguson was released because of his contributions to science—he was a Fellow of the Royal Society.

28. *Nisbet*, 240.

29. *Select Committee Report*, 43. The truth about Elgin's imprisonment at Melun is difficult to disentangle. Fouché's report to Napoleon of 26 September 1805 (d'Hauterive, *La Police Secrète*, ii. 101) reads: 'Lord Elgin, Macmahon, Henri Seymour, Lord Yarmouth, sont autorisés à vivre à Melun sur parole.' Since Lady Elgin had not yet left Paris this squares with Elgin's statement to the Select Committee that he was living with his family. On the other hand, two later reports, of the 10 February 1806 (d'Hauterive, ii. 257) and 26 February 1806 (ibid. 276) seem to bear on the incident. The first reports the arrival at the Turkish embassy in Paris of letters for Lord Elgin; the second reports that Elgin and others were publicly and ostentatiously giving help to Austrian and Russian prisoners. Lord Elgin might have been arrested for the activities reported in the second but, because the letters from Turkey arrived at the same time, he might have connected his arrest with them. This explanation does not, however, square with his statement to the Select Committee that the incident occurred in 1805 when he was with his family.

30. *Memorandum* (1815 edition), 93, Elgin to Spencer Perceval, 6 May 1811, BL Add. MS 38246, fo. 119; Elgin to Long, *Select Committee Report*, p. vii.

31. *The Times*, 16 December, 1805.

32. NLS 1709, fo. 202.

33. BL Add. MS 38266, fo. 5.

#### Chapter 12: Lusieri on his Own, 1803–1806

1. Hunt to Elgin, 29 December 1802, Hunt Papers.
2. Hunt to Hamilton, 13 December 1802, Hunt Papers. A copy of Galvallo's letter is also in in the collection.
3. Otter's *Life of Clarke*, 502, 505.
4. Lusieri to Elgin, 28 October, 1802, quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 236.
5. Journal in Greece.
6. Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 256.
7. In 1801 Morier published *Memoir of a Campaign with the Ottoman Army in Egypt*. That this was unauthorized and caused a breach with Elgin is clear from a letter from Lady Elgin to Dowager Lady Elgin, 12 June 1802, Elgin Papers.
8. See p. 110.

9. Elgin to Lusieri, 4 October 1802, summarized in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 235.

10. Lusieri to Elgin, 28 October 1802, quoted ibid. 236.

11. See p. 123.

12. *Revue Archéologique*, 30: 389.

13. Lusieri to Elgin, 26 September 1803, quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 257.

14. Aberdeen's Diary.

15. The list of antiquities collected for Lord Aberdeen by Gropius includes 'un très beau pied d'un Hercule d'un des metopes du Parthénon à Athènes', and 'goettes et morceaux de Marbre des Temples d'Eleusis, de Minerva, et du Cap Sunium, et des Propylées'.

16. Lusieri to Elgin, 6 February 1804, quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 258.

17. Ibid.

18. Lusieri to Elgin, 4 July 1805, quoted ibid. 261. See also Appendix 1.

19. Reproduced in Plate 3.

20. Lusieri to Elgin, 4 July 1805, quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin', 261. See also Appendix 1.

21. Lusieri to Elgin, 8 October 1805, quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin', 262. See also Appendix 1.

#### Chapter 13: Homecoming

1. The main sources for the break-up of Elgin's marriage are the two pamphlets of the Ferguson trial, and the official records of Elgin's divorce suit before the Commissary Court of Edinburgh in March 1808 in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.
2. Quoted in *The Trial of R. Fergusson Esq.*, 6.
3. Ibid. 10.
4. Quoted in the Commissary Court Record.
5. Quoted in *The Trial of R. Fergusson Esq.*, 32.
6. Ibid. 19.
7. Besides the two pamphlets, see also Sir Walter Scott's letters to Lady Abercorn in *Familiar Letters of Sir Walter Scott* (1894), i. 92, 116.
8. *Nisbet*, 248.
9. Ibid. 306.
10. BL Add. MS 38266, fo. 5.
11. HMC, *Fortescue*, ii. 184.
12. *Nisbet*, 326.
13. Ibid. 161.
14. FO 78/54.
15. Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 312.
16. BL Add. MS 38266, fo. 5.
17. Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 312.

18. Sir N. H. Nicholas (ed.), *Letters and Despatches of Nelson* (1845–6), v. 478.
19. *Select Committee Report*, p. xi.
20. BL Add. MS 38266, fo. 5.
21. Hunt, *Narrative*, 4; and NLS 5645, fo. 210. For his work for Bedford prison see Stockdale, *Law and Order in Georgian Bedfordshire*.
22. Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 295.
23. Ibid. 357. *Select Committee Report*, 44.
24. Minutes of meeting, 4 November 1806.
25. A point made graphically by Panayotis Tournikiotis, 'The Place of the Parthenon in the History and Theory of Modern Architecture', in *The Parthenon*, 203.
26. Elgin Drawings in BM Greek and Roman Department.
27. Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 255. The Calmuck went to Paris in August 1805 'pour suivre une affaire contre Lord Elgin', d'Hauterive, *La Police Secrète*, ii. 45. Later he became court painter in Karlsruhe.
28. Some amusing stories of Italian restorations in J. T. Smith, *Nollekens* (1828), i. 10.
29. Quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 227.
30. See David Constantine, *Early Greek Travellers and the Hellenic Ideal* (1984), and Suzanne Marchand, *Down from Olympus* (Princeton, 1996).
31. For an interesting discussion of who were the 'artists' see Manolis Korres, *From Pentelicon to the Parthenon* (1995).
32. *Memorandum* (1815 edition), 39.
33. Farington, 5 December 1806 (published).
34. Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 297.
35. B. R. Haydon, *Correspondence and Table Talk* (1876), i. 256. Elgin was still talking about restorations as late as 1814: Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 318.

#### Chapter 14: The Second Collection

1. Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 266 ff.; *Revue Archéologique*, 30: 389.
2. BL Add. MS 40096, fo. 21. Elgin to Mulgrave, 16 February 1808.
3. Quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 269.
4. Ibid. 269.
5. Ibid. 273.
6. Quoted *ibid.* 274.
7. Ibid. 276.
8. FO 78/67.
9. Quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 279.
10. This seems to be the meaning of the entry for 29 April 1811 in Abbott

- Diary and Correspondence* (1861). See also Sir Robert Adair, *The Negotiations for the Peace of the Dardanelles in 1808–9* (1845), i. 272. The original of this letter and the letter to which it is a reply are in FO 78/64.
11. FO 78/68.
12. Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 280.
13. Quoted *ibid.* 279.
14. *Select Committee Report*, 1.
15. Ibid. 4.
16. Ibid. 7.
17. Ibid. 7.
18. See especially the various books and articles by John Henry Merryman noted in the Bibliography.
19. John Galt, *Life and Studies of Benjamin West* (1816), ii. 75.
20. Quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 280.
21. John Galt, *Autobiography* (1833), i. 159.
22. Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania*, 292.
23. Ibid. 346.
24. See p. 180.
25. In Byron's letters Nicolo is referred to once as 'Lusieri's wife's brother', *Letters and Journals*, ed. Leslie A. Marchand (1973–82), ii. 10, once as the 'brother of Lusieri's should-be wife', *ibid.*, ii. 29, and the 'brother of Lusieri's spouse', *ibid.* ii. 16. An apparently official document (quoted in *Revue Archéologique*, 30: 385) mentions among the French colony at Athens 'la veuve du sieur Giraud dont la fille a épousé un Italien sous protection anglais'. The references to Giraud in Byron's letters to Hobhouse leave no doubt about the nature of the relationship.
26. *Letters and Journals*, ii. 71.
27. Ibid. ii. 65 note. See also Leslie A. Marchand, *Byron: A Biography* (1957), i. 282.
28. Quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 313.

#### Chapter 15: Artists and Dilettanti

1. Flaxman had, however, shown an interest in the fragment of the Parthenon frieze owned by the Society of Dilettanti, see Margaret Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain 1530–1830* (1964), 185, and in Choiseul-Gouffier's casts, see David Irwin, *English Neoclassical Art* (1966), 73.
2. Quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 297.
3. Haydon's *Diary*, ii. 15. The figure, number D in the east pediment in Brommer's classification, long known as the Theseus, is now thought to represent Dionysos.
4. Henry Crabb Robertson, *Diary, Reminiscences and Correspondence* (1869), i. 395.



5. Farington Diary, 30 March 1808 (published).
6. Published as an Appendix to Elgin's *Memorandum*.
7. Farington, 2 March 1809.
8. Ibid. 27 February 1808.
9. Ibid. 6 June 1807.
10. Ibid. 27 February and 30 March 1808.
11. Turner to Elgin, 7 August 1806, Elgin Papers.
12. W. T. Whitley, *Art in England 1800–1820* (1928), 135.
13. Farington, 20 June 1808. There were 20 shillings in a pound. A guinea was one pound, one shilling.
14. Ibid. 29 July 1808.
15. Quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 306.
16. *Memorandum* (1811 edition), 42. The figures, number K, L, and M in the east pediment in Brommer's classification, are now thought more likely to represent Hestia, Dione, and Aphrodite. The reference to Mrs Siddons was removed from the 1815 edition, perhaps as a result of some scornful remarks in Clarke's *Travels*, part II, section 2, p. 485.
17. Haydon's *Autobiography*, 66. When he was a boy Haydon bought an expensive anatomy book by Albinus in order to improve his knowledge of the human form.
18. Irwin, *Winckelmann*, 160.
19. Haydon, *Autobiography*, 68.
20. Ibid. 69.
21. Haydon's *Diary*, i. 15.
22. Ibid. i. 27.
23. Ibid. i. 28.
24. Ibid. i. 29.
25. *Quarterly Review*, 14: 533.
26. Richard Payne Knight, *An Analytic Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* (1805), 4.
27. Haydon, *Autobiography*, 207. *Select Committee Report*, p. v.
28. See p. 104.
29. Farington, 30 March 1808.
30. See especially Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*.
31. *Select Committee Report*, p. xxii.
32. *Specimens of Antient Sculpture*, vol. i, p. xxxix.
33. William Wilkins, *Atheniensia* (1816), 119f.
34. Lionel Cust and Sidney Colvin, *History of the Society of Dilettanti* (1898), 133.
35. *The Townley Gallery, British Museum* (1836), 12.

#### Chapter 16: Elgin Offers his First Collection to the Government

1. Sir George Jackson, *The Bath Archives* (1873), 409.
2. Quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 306.

3. Farington, 11 December 1802 (unpublished).
4. A copy of the letter is in NLS 1709, fo. 204. Most of it is published in *Nisbet*, 328.
5. No figures are known for the print run of the first edition. 250, 500, or 750 is my estimate based on the norms of other such pamphlets. For the second edition Elgin printed 500 copies of which many were distributed gratis to a second list of potentially influential peers, other politicians, connoisseurs, and artists. Murray archives. See also Chapter 19 n. 7.
6. Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 308.
7. 'Description d'un bas relief du Parthénon actuellement au Musée Napoléon', by A. L. Millin. *Memorandum* (1811 edition), 72.
8. *Select Committee Report*, p. viii.
9. See p. 144 for a breakdown of this figure.
10. BL Add. MS 38246, fo. 119.
11. BL Add. MS 38191, fo. 197.
12. Abbott, *Diary and Correspondence* (1861), ii. 330. Quoted in Smith, 'Lord Elgin and his Collection', 311.
13. Ibid. 313.

#### Chapter 17: Poets and Travellers

1. The main features of the early publication history are noted by Thomas James Wise, *A Bibliography of the Writings in Verse and Prose of George Gordon, Lord Byron* (1933).
2. 'Ten or twelve' according to Byron's letter of 25 December 1822, *Letters and Journals*, x. 70. The reason for Longman's refusal is confirmed in a letter to Revd Mr Card, 8 May 1815, 'some of our friends were hardly treated in it'. Longman archives, University of Reading Library, 99/98.
3. Advertisements by A. and W. Galignani in copies of books published by the firm. Five guineas would imply a premium of over 2,000 per cent above Cawthorn's price of five shillings, itself not cheap.
4. *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (1858), i. 300.
5. They are still commonly found. Most were written in expensive morocco notebooks, and carefully reproduce the title-page, the preface, and the notes as well as the verse.
6. There are also fakes of the first edition, and of the third edition with paper watermarked 1808, copies in author's collection.
7. *Complete Poetical Works*, ed. Jerome J. McGann (1980–93), vii. 103. In Soane Notebooks, 13 August 1816. Another version is quoted by Ioannes Gennadios, *Lord Elgin and the Previous Archaeological Invasions of Greece* (1930), 77. The couplet was attributed to Martin Archer Shee but is not included in his *Rhymes On Art*. For Byron quoting it see also *Medwin's Conversations of Lord Byron*, ed. Ernest