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Delivered by hand to:
Peter Wilson, Chief Constable,
Fife Constabulary,
Police HQ,
Detroit Road,
Glenrothes,
FIFE.

Monday 23rd February 2004

Dear Sir,

Parthenon Marbles and other Grecian artefacts.
With the discovery of five new pieces of evidence regarding the above, I believe the police should now consider the Parthenon or so called Elgin Marbles as stolen property. Similarly other relics brought from Greece and offered for sale to Parliament by Thomas Bruce, 7th Earl of Elgin (hereinafter Elgin), but not accepted, should be considered likewise. The five new pieces of evidence are:

1/. The Parthenon and other so called Elgin Marbles were probably obtained illegally.
2/. Elgin lied to the Select Committee of Parliament, which purchased the Marbles.
3/. Elgin had no authority to dismantle structures or desecrate graves.
4/. Elgin used a bogus anonymous Memorandum written by himself or his Chaplin/ Occasional Private Secretary, Dr Philip Hunt, (hereinafter Hunt) to support his petition of Parliament.
5/. Elgin or his staff bribed Turkish occupation officials to allow the theft of artefacts.

In light of this new evidence I would ask Fife Constabulary to consider the following:

A complaint against the occupants of Broomhall House, Charlestown, Fife.
Greek stelae, or grave markers and other items not bought by the British Government in 1816 are reported by the press to be currently housed in Broomhall House, Broomhall Estate, by Charlestown, Fife. This address is the home of the descendants of Thomas Bruce, 7th Earl of Elgin. I would respectfully ask the Chief Constable of Fife Constabulary to investigate a *Prima Facie* case of possession of stolen goods by the occupants of Broomhall House, there being no statute of limitation for such matters in Scotland.

A complaint against the owners of the British Museum London.
As fraud negates all statutory provisions or court regulations regarding time limitations there is a *Prima Facie* case that the British Museum in London is housing property stolen from Greece at a time when that country was under illegal foreign occupation. This stolen property which includes the Parthenon frieze was bought by Parliament for the nation from Thomas Bruce 7th Earl of Elgin for £35,000.00 in 1816. I would respectfully ask the Chief Constable of Fife Constabulary to investigate this matter or pass this information on to their colleagues in London for action.

Background and new information.

1/. The Parthenon and other so called Elgin Marbles were probably obtained illegaly:

Professor David Rudenstine, an expert on Constitutional Law and Head of the Cardozo Faculty of Law at Yeshiva University New York has recently researched the above. In his research Professor Rudenstine has proved beyond a reasonable doubt that the widely held belief that an 1801 Ottoman authorisation document, which allowed Elgin's party to remove marbles from the Parthenon walls was accurately translated for the Select Committee, is wrong[1].

It is well known that at least two so called firmans were granted to Elgin's party, one in 1800 gave permission to Elgin's artists to model and draw the Parthenon, and the second, or new firman granted in 1801 allowed the artists to model, draw, excavate and remove stones from the rubble in the Parthenon.

In his close examination of the documentary evidence available Prof. Rudenstine found that at no time was an Ottoman document or Firman produced to Parliament as evidence of the legitimacy of the removal of the marbles from the Parthenon walls. Whatever the Select Committee of Parliament examined in 1816, it was not the second 1801 Ottoman firman, but was instead either: a/ an Italian letter purported to be a translation of an Ottoman document, or: b/ an inaccurate and misleading English translation of the Italian letter.

Professor Rudenstine proved that the Italian letter was not signed and had other deficiencies that were not translated accurately to the English letter, which was enhanced to present it as something that it was not. All of this was to Elgin's benefit. It is a matter of fact that the Select Committee were wrong to consider the English letter translation as being an accurate established documentary link to the Ottoman document.

Although Professor Rudenstine stops short of labelling the actions of Elgin's party (in unauthorised removal), and the Select Committee (in accepting flawed authority for removal) illegal, he casts doubt on the propriety of both of these actions. Professor Rudenstine gives some credence to the evidence of Elgin and Hunt. I am able to go further than the Professor as I am now in possession of evidence that the only two witnesses to speak of the documents to the Select Committee, Elgin and Hunt, were individually or jointly party to misrepresenting other documents to that Committee and in consequence all of their evidence must be viewed as untrue.

If I am correct it must follow that the legitimacy of the Elgin marbles held by the British Museum is at best questionable and probably illegal. In a similar way that documents accepted by the British Museum as legitimate provenance for the art collection of Dr Arthur Feldmann were questionable and led back to German officials in occupied Czechoslovakia Circa: 1939-45. The art collection of Dr Feldmann was nevertheless bought by the British Museum despite having a murky provenance.

In 2000 the "Commission for Looted Art in Europe" sought restitution for Dr Feldmann's artworks and the British Museum conceded that the Commission had a "compelling claim". Ways forward are currently being negotiated between the parties which include the possibility of a referral to the "Spoilation Advisory Panel"[2].

Other than the passage of time there is little difference between the questionable actions of the British Museum in buying unsubstantiated artefacts looted from occupied countries in these two cases (Elgin & Feldmann).

Footnotes Section 1

1/ See David Rudenstine "A Tale of Three Documents" generally PDF Pages 9-39

2/ See "Commission for Looted Art in Europe" Press Release. PDF Pages 42-43

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2/. Elgin lied to the Select Committee of Parliament that purchased the marbles.

Professor Rudenstine has established that Elgin lied to Parliament by stating that he (Elgin) personally travelled to Athens with the second firman. This revelation by the Professor is substantiated by correspondence from Hunt to Richard William Hamilton stating that he (Hunt) was leaving for Athens within days with a new firman. It is known from Hunt's correspondence to Elgin that Hunt took the letters allowing Elgin's party to dig, (the so called second firman) to the Voivode, or governor of Athens in July 1801.

Elgin however stated in his evidence to Parliament[3] in 1816 that the second firman was addressed by the Porte to the local authorities in Athens *"to whom I delivered it"*.

In addition to the overwhelming case made by Prof. Rudenstine that Elgin lied to Parliament in stating that he took the second firman personally to Athens, are two further references which contradict Elgin's statement to the Select Committee.

The first being that it is a matter of record from the letters of the Countess of Elgin (hereinafter Mary Nisbet), that Elgin did not set out for Athens to see the effect of the new firman which Pisani obtained in 1801, or as she put it[4] : "*a whole year later, Lord Elgin was at last able to visit the scene of the operations himself",*. Mary Nisbet then goes on in the same letter to her mother dated 10th April 1802 to say regarding their departure for Greece[5]: "*We sailed from Constantinople monday evening the 28th of March*," and later in the same letter states[6]: "*It was between 8 and 9 O'clock when we arrived in Athens*"(3rd April 1802).

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The second piece of evidence indicating that it was Hunt as opposed to Elgin who took the second firman to Athens is that Hunt stated in his evidence to Parliament in answer to a question regarding permission to pull down a house[7]: *"No; I am confident no such permission was in the fermaun I took to Athens, though it contained general permission to excavate near the temples"*.

This evidence from Hunt, who was the last witness to testify to the Committee, together with the letters of Mary Nisbet[8] and Hunt (to Hamilton and Elgin) flatly contradict Elgin's testimony to the Select Committee.

Footnotes Section 2

3/ See "Report From The Select Committee". PDF Page177.

4/ See "Letters of Mary Nisbet of Dirleton". PDF Page 264

5/ See "Letters of Mary Nisbet of Dirleton". PDF Page 265

6/ See "Letters of Mary Nisbet of Dirleton". PDF Page 266

7/ See "Report From The Select Committee" PDF Page 220

8/ See "Letters of Mary Nisbet of Dirleton" generally PDF Pages 238-283

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3/. Elgin had no authority to dismantle structures or desecrate graves.

Professor Rudenstine's revelations also disclosed that whatever the second firman, or the purported Italian translation of that letter authorised Elgin or his party to do it was not to dismantle the structure of the Parthenon but instead limited the extent of the activities sanctioned to digging among the rubble of the Parthenon. No letter of permission has ever been presented to Parliament or anywhere else as authority to plunder artefacts and sacred relics from churches, graveyards, or other places outwith

the Parthenon. This is evident from the new firman translation which is appended to the Report of the Select Committee[9] and from the letters of Mary Nisbet.

Footnotes Section 3

9/ See "Report From The Select Committee". PDF Pages 231-232

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4/. Elgin used a bogus anonymous Memorandum written by himself or his Chaplin/ Occasional Private Secretary, Dr Philip Hunt, to support his petition of Parliament

My dormant interest in the Elgin Marbles was awakened in 2001 when I read an article by a history Professor, Epaminondas Vranopoulos, who wrote about the marbles and in Chapter 10 of the article[10] made reference to an anonymous book found in the library of the Estia of Nea Smyrni (a suburb of Athens). The book is in praise of Elgin's virtue and stresses the immense financial and artistic value of all of Elgin's collections in Greece. The book was published in 1815 in London and Professor Vranopoulos believed that Wiliam Richard Hamilton, Elgin's private secretary, in fact wrote it.

I set out to research the book, which is entitled "MEMORANDUM ON THE SUBJECT OF THE EARL OF ELGINS PURSUITS IN GREECE" in the National Library of Scotland and found that the library contained three editions of this book title by three different publishers on three separate dates. One of the books could be the 1815 London edition that Professor Vranopoulos found. The three books are:

An 1810 edition[11] printed in Edinburgh by Balfour Kirkwood & Co.
An 1811 edition[12] printed in Edinburgh by Balfour Kirkwood & Co.
An 1815 second edition[13], corrected, printed in London for John Murray, Albermarle Street by W. Bulmer and Co. Cleveland-Row.

I then found evidence of another edition of the Memorandum by way of a literary review from a publication entitled, "The British Review, and London Critical Journal." This journal contains a critique[14] of an 1811 edition of the Memorandum published by Millar of which the reviewer says:

"This publication relates, that much has been performed by the exertions of Lord Elgin, in redeeming the specimens of sculpture and architecture which remained in Greece, and in transmitting them to England. On reading this splendid account, it is matter of some curiosity to know the name and character of the author. The publication is anonymous; yet, if the whole be not a fabrication, which incontrovertibly it is not, the writer, if not the hero, of the tale is some one mentally connected with his lordship; for he determines not only what Lord Elgin performed, but he presumes to specify what Lord Elgin "conceived." (p. 18) This folletto, or familiar of his lordship, begins by informing the public, that in the year 1799, when Lord Elgin was appointed to be his Majesty's ambassador extraordinary to the Ottoman Porte, he happened to be in frequent intercourse with Mr Harrison, an architect of eminence in the west of England;"……..*
Footnote on page ** Why expressed as a casualty?"*

It is interesting to note that in the 1810 edition the wording of the first paragraph is slightly different and reads[15]:
"*he happened to be in much intercourse with Mr Harrison".*

The 1811 second edition is again slightly different and reads[16]:
"*he happened to be in habits of intercourse with Mr Harrison"*

The 1815 edition removes the word *happened* and reads[17]:

"*he was in habits of frequent intercourse with Mr Harrison"*

It would seem to me that in light of the comments by the literary critic in the footnote of the British Review & London Critical Journal the anonymous author who, "*seemed to be mentally connected*" to Elgin had altered subsequent editions of the Memorandum to take account of this criticism. It should also be noted that in the 1815 Memorandum (as the Select Committee hearing approaches) various letters in addition to the two from Benjamin West (which feature in all editions) appear in praise of Elgin and his efforts and one fawning anonymous letter[18] compares Elgin's marbles equal in value to a Napoleon's Borghese collection worth £500.000.00.

The National Library of Scotland is clear in identifying the author of the 1811 and 1815 editions as Bruce, Thomas, 7th Earl of Elgin. In the case of the 1810 edition the National Library attributes the author as being Benjamin West, President of the Royal Academy whose two letters to Lord Elgin form an appendix to all four editions (3 in N.L.S. & 1 in British Review & London Critical Journal). In a sense this is partly correct as West was a co-author in that his 2 letters form part of the Memorandums.

As the forerunner to the National Library in Scotland, the Library of the Faculty of Advocates (Advocates' Library) formed in 1689 was entitled to receive a copy of every book printed in Great Britain from the publishers by virtue of a Royal Charter granted by Queen Ann in 1710. If it is the case that the contemporaneous records[19] of the Advocates' Library are correct and the author in the Advocates' Library "Catalogue of Accessions to 1871" is quite clearly stated, then Lord Elgin wrote his own reference. This Memorandum of reference was then sent to Parliament together with his petition under cover of his letter dated May 6th 1811 to the Right Honourable Charles Long MP with a Postscript added February 1816. The letter states[20] :

"The Memorandum recently published, on the subject of my pursuits in Greece (of which I did myself the honour of sending you a copy), and the inspection of my Museum, will sufficiently explain that my undertaking could have had no other object ……."

If the Parliamentary Select Committee was given the latest and corrected edition of the Memorandum to replace the original 1810 edition it is likely that the additional appendices would have had an influence on the Committee's opinion of the propriety of Elgin's actions and the monetary compensation arising from same.

There is another possible explanation regarding the identity of the anonymous author of the Memorandum that supported Elgin's petition to Parliament. This explanation is supported by several factors, is just as damaging to Elgin's reputation and the legitimacy/provenance of the marbles, and it is that Hunt wrote the Memorandum.

A similar theory was favoured by Dr Epaminondas Vranopoulos however when I investigated his premise I found it to be accurate up to a point but wrong with regard to the identity of the author.

The author of the Memorandum was in fact Hunt. This fact is verifiable by cross referencing the Memorandum and the letters of Hunt. In 1805, Hunt wrote to Mrs Hamilton Nisbet (Elgin's mother in law) from Pau, near Lourdes, France, where he was imprisoned with the Elgins. The language in Hunt's letter is almost identical to that used in the 1810 Memorandum and differs only by way of the pretence of anonymity attempted in the latter. For Example Hunt's letter of 1805 states[21] :

"Near the Parthenon are three temples so connected in their structure, and by the rites celebrated in them, that they may be almost considered as a triple temple. They are of small dimensions, and of the Ionic Order. One of them dedicated to Neptune and Erectheus; the second to Minerva Polias the Protectress of Citadels; the third to the Nymph Pandrosos. It was on the spot where these temples stand that Minerva and Neptune are supposed to have contended for the honour of naming the city. Athenian superstition long shewed the mark of Neptunes's trident, and a briny fountain, that attested his having there opened a passage for his horse; and the Original Olive tree produced by Minerva was venerated in the Temple of Pandrosos as late as the time of the Antonines".
"The temple of Minerva Polias is of the most delicate and elegant proportions of the Ionic Order; the capitals and bases of the columns are ornamented with consummate taste; and the sculpture of the frize and cornice is exquisitely rich. One has difficulty to conceive how marble has been wrought to such a depth, and brought to so sharp an edge; the palmetti, onetti, etc. have all the delicacy of works in metal".

The 1810 Memorandum states: It is not necessary to reproduce the text of the Memorandum here as it is, verbatim, a duplication of Hunt's letter with the exception of the last line where the Memorandum[22] refers to *"ovetti, &c."* as opposed to *"onetti etc".* in Hunt's letter.

Further evidence of Hunt being the author of the Memorandum can be found by comparing references to the Posticum of the Parthenon in Hunt's letter from Pau in 1805, and the 1810 Memorandum. Here in identical descriptive passages the writer of the letter is forced to change[23] *"I also procured some valuable inscriptions"* into *"Lord Elgin also procured some valuable inscriptions"* in the Memorandum[24], so as to preserve a sham of objectivity and anonymity.

That the anonymous Memorandum was taken from the letters or writings of Hunt is now undeniable and can be proven further if such proof were necessary by examining a portion of Hunt's letter where reference to what actions we (Hunt and Elgin) had jointly taken is deleted from the letter text so as to preserve Hunt's anonymity in the Memorandum. For example, Hunt's letter of 1805 states[25]:

"One of the bombs fired by Morosini, the Venetian from the opposite hill of the Musæum injured many of the figures of this fronton, and the attempt of General Königsmark to take down the figure of Minerva ruined the whole.
*By purchasing the house of one of the Turkish Janissaries built immediately under it, and then demolishing it in order to excavate, Lord Elgin has had the satisfaction of recovering the greatest part of the Statue of Victory, in a drapery which discovers all the fine form beneath**, with as much delicacy and taste as the Flora Farnésé. We also found there the Torso of Jupiter, part of Vulcan, and other fragments. I believe his Lordship has also had the Hadrian and Sabrina taken down and sent to England.** On the other frontispiece was the contest between Minerva and Neptune about giving a name to the city. The goddess of Wisdom had just gained the victory by proving how much greater a benefit she should confer by the peaceful and productive olive, than the God of the Ocean by his warlike gift of a horse."*

The 1810 Memorandum has an almost identical passage which deals with the **bolded** section above that would have identified the author by omitting that revealing section and replacing it with[26]: *"Lord Elgin also found there the torso of Jupiter, part of Vulcan, and other fragments."*

It would appear that Elgin misled the Parliament by presenting a supposedly anonymous document of testimony that he himself dictated to his accomplice, or that

Hunt had written while in prison in France with Elgin. Given the close confines of their detention at Pau it would be surprising if Elgin was not aware of the writings of his closest aide to his mother-in-law and perhaps the writings of Hunt were part of a conspiracy to persuade Parliament that Elgin had acted properly in acquiring all manner of relics, and that these items should be purchased for the nation at an inflated monetary value which would benefit the seller and his accomplice.

At best, if, as seems likely, the Advocates Library were informed of the correct identity of the author by the publisher who supplied copies of the various Memoranda (as per the 1710 Queen Ann Act), it would suggest that Elgin plagiarised Hunt's letters or writings into anonymous Memoranda for publication

Whatever the circumstances, by writing or having his Chaplin/Occasional Private Secretary write his own reference Elgin, or Hunt, or both Elgin & Hunt misled Parliament by allowing his Memorandum to be used for fraudulent purposes without demur and giving evidence to Parliament without disclosing the fact that Hunt was the original author of the narrative, which became the anonymous Memorandum in support of Elgin's petition. These matters require further investigation by Parliament and the police.

Footnotes Section 4

10/ See "Epaminondas Vranopoulos" C10. PDF Pages 40-41
11/ See "1810 Memorandum"Generally PDF Pages 44-61
12/ See "1811 Memorandum" Generally PDF Pages 62-95
13/ See "1815 Memorandum" Generally PDF Pages 96-149
14/ See "The British Review & London Critical Journal" Generally PDF Pages 150-160 & Page 150
15/ See "1810 Memorandum" PDF Page 45
16/ See "1811 Memorandum" PDF Page 63
17/ See "1815 Memorandum" PDF Page 99
18/ See "1815 Memorandum" PDF Page 146
19/ See "Advocates Library Catalogue of Accessions 1871" PDF Page 161
20/ See "Report From The Select Committee 1816" PDF Page 226
21/ See "Letters of Mary Nisbet of Dirleton" PDF Page 280
22/ See "1810 Memorandum" PDF Page 52
23/ See "Letters of Mary Nisbet of Dirleton" PDF Page 278
24/ See "1810 Memorandum" PDF Page 50
25/ See "Letters of Mary Nisbet of Dirleton" PDF Page 277-278
26/ See "1810 Memorandum" PDF Page 49

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5/. Sacrilegious acts were committed after bribing occupation officials.

The "Report From The Select Committee on The Earl of Elgin's Collection of Sculptured Marbles &c." contains various contradictory sets of accounts from Elgin purporting to be his expenses for excavating and transporting the several hundreds of Marble pieces, tomb headstones, alters, burial urns, medals etc. Within Elgin's bill to Parliament there is twice reference to the amount of 21,902[27] Piastres for *"Presents found necessary for the local authorities, in Athens alone"*

Elgin or members of his party bribed Turkish officials in the occupied city of Athens and other occupied territories to allow the unauthorised or illegal removal of all manner of items including sacred items such as altars, tomb headstones (Hunt described as Cippi), and funereal urns. In Hunt's accounts of finding a funereal urn which could have belonged to Aspasia he waxes lyrical about the quality of the outer marble urn, the inner alabaster urn, and the myrtle wreath of gold that the buried lady had worn, yet mentions nothing of her remains other than to refer to a deposit of burnt bones[28], which, presumably would have been decanted without ceremony onto a rubbish heap. This hypocrisy from a so called man of god is tantamount to a confession of grave robbery and sacrilege. It is sad to note that the current Earl of Elgin thinks fit to give interviews to the press and pose for photographs in his basement study where the walls are lined with ancient Greek stelae or grave markers[29].

Footnotes Section 5

27/ See "Report From The Select Committee 1816" PDF Page 229
28/ See "1810 Memorandum" PDF Page 54 & "Letters of Mary Nisbet of Dirleton" PDF Page 282-283
29/ See "Independent Article & Photo of Stelae" PDF Pages 284-286

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Conclusion.

I trust that you will treat this complaint (which arises out of new evidence) seriously. It is a matter of some importance to the reputation of Scotland that a name synonymous with our country should be besmirched by association with misleading Parliament and inducing that Parliament to purchase stolen and sacred artefacts on behalf of the nation.

I will be making a quite separate and distinct complaint to the Parliamentary Standards Commissioner, Sir Philip Mawer calling on him to review the matter of the purchase of the Elgin Marbles by Parliament in light of facts now known which show evidence given to the Select Committee in 1816 to have been lies supported by bogus documentation. If my allegations are investigated and found to be correct it would mean that the Parliament of Great Britain spent the taxpayers' money to buy stolen goods from grave robbers.

The people of Great Britain have, in the past, had many injustices carried out in the name of their Empire. Such things happen when nations have Imperial ambitions but the recognition of injustices and willingness to make reparation for such acts is surely the measure of a mature democracy. The people in whose name such actions are taken have a right to expect no less.

I look forward to a response at your earliest convenience.
Yours faithfully,

Thomas Minogue.

C.c. Sir Philip Mawer, others.

A TALE OF THREE DOCUMENTS: LORD ELGIN AND THE MISSING, HISTORIC 1801 OTTOMAN DOCUMENT

*David Rudenstine**

INTRODUCTION

The dispute between Greece and England over the Parthenon sculptures removed to the British Museum's permanent collection in the early nineteenth century is probably the most prominent cultural property controversy in the world today.[1] These fabulous marbles—sculpted out of fine white Pentelic marble under the guiding hand of Phidias during the age of Pericles, quarried ten miles from Athens, and hauled by oxcart to the Acropolis—had remained on the high walls of the Parthenon for 2200 years before they were removed.[2]

This dismantling of the Parthenon was done at the behest of Lord Elgin, who was formally known as Thomas Bruce, seventh Earl of Elgin, eleventh of Kincardine, and the Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty to the Sublime Porte of Selim III, Sultan of Turkey in Constantinople,[3] which then ruled Greece.[4] Except for the

* David Rudenstine is a Fellow in the Law and Public Affairs Program at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University. He is also the Dr. Herman George and Kate Kaiser Professor of Constitutional Law at the Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law, Yeshiva University. The Article, *A Tale of Three Documents*, is part of a larger work entitled *Who Owns the Past? Greece, England and the Historic Dispute over Lord Elgin's Removal of the Parthenon Sculptures*. This Article was first presented to a seminar sponsored by the Law and Public Affairs Program, Princeton University, in October 2000. I wish to thank the seminar participants for their helpful comments and suggestions.

[1] *See generally* JEANETTE GREENFIELD, THE RETURN OF CULTURAL TREASURES (1989); KARL E. MEYER, THE PLUNDERED PAST (1973); LYNN H. NICHOLS, THE RAPE OF EUROPA: THE FATE OF EUROPE'S TREASURES IN THE THIRD REICH AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR (1994); THE SPOILS OF WAR: WORLD WAR II AND ITS AFTERMATH: THE LOSS, REAPPEARANCE, AND RECOVERY OF CULTURAL PROPERTY (Elizabeth Simpson ed., 1997).

[2] *See* IAN JENKINS, THE PARTHENON FRIEZE 9 (1994).

[3] *See* WILLIAM ST. CLAIR, LORD ELGIN & THE MARBLES: THE CONTROVERSIAL HISTORY OF THE PARTHENON SCULPTURES 1 (3d ed. 1998) [hereinafter ST. CLAIR, CONTROVERSIAL HISTORY].

[4] *See generally* RICHARD CLOGG, A CONCISE HISTORY OF GREECE (photo. reprint

devastating Venetian bombing in 1687, the removal of these extraordinary sculptures from the Parthenon's edifice was perhaps the single most violent desecration of classical Greece's most celebrated monument.[5]

From the moment the first sculpture—depicting a youth and centaur in combat—was lowered to the ground,[6] Lord Elgin's taking of the world's greatest single collection of classical Greek sculptures has been defended and criticized by poets, artists, historians, politicians, lawyers, cultural leaders, diplomats, art dealers and collectors, and museum officials. Indeed, almost any book focusing on cultural property, the evolution of aesthetic tastes in Britain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, English culture and society, or Greece at the time of Ottoman rule, mentions the dispute over the Parthenon sculptures, which are considered one of the crown jewels of the British Museum's exceptional collection.[7]

The debate over the original removal and the possible repatriation of Elgin's collection continues to be vigorous—the marbles were even the subject of recent international conferences in London and Athens.[8] Recently, the dispute over the sculptures has been the subject of diplomatic negotiation and international efforts aimed at restricting the outflow of cultural property from art-rich countries. In January 1999, 339 of the European Parliament's 629 members urged Britain to return the collection to Greece,[9] and after touring the Parthenon, President Clinton offered to mediate Greece's demands that Britain return the sculptures.[10] In June 2000, Greek Foreign Minister George Papandreou even pressed his country's repatriation claim before the Culture Select Committee in the British House of Commons.[11]

1995) (1992); C.M. WOODHOUSE, MODERN GREECE: A SHORT HISTORY (6th ed. 1998).

[5] *See* Manolis Korres, *The Parthenon from Antiquity to the 19th Century*, *in* THE PARTHENON AND ITS IMPACT IN MODERN TIMES 136-61 (Panayotis Tournikiotis ed., 1994).

[6] *See* Letter from Philip Hunt, to Lord Elgin (July 31, 1801), *quoted in* A.H. Smith, *Lord Elgin and His Collection*, 36 J. HELLENIC STUD. 163, 196 (1916) [hereinafter Hunt Letter].

[7] *See* B.F. COOK, THE ELGIN MARBLES 5 (2d ed. 1997) ("The Elgin Marbles, as they have come to be known, were placed in the British Museum and have remained ever since one of the chief attractions to artists, scholars and millions of ordinary visitors.").

[8] *See* David Rudenstine, *Did Elgin Cheat at Marbles?*, THE NATION, May 29, 2000, at 30 [hereinafter Rudenstine, *Did Elgin Cheat?*]; *see also* Warren Hoge, *On Seeing the Elgin Marbles, with Sandwiches*, N.Y. TIMES INT'L, Dec. 2, 1999, at A4.

[9] *See Property Rites*, N.Y. TIMES, Jan. 19, 1999, at E1.

[10] *See* Marc Lacey, *Clinton Tries to Subdue Greeks' Anger at America*, N.Y. TIMES INT'L, Nov. 21, 1999, at A6.

[11] *See* House of Commons, Culture, Media and Sport—Minutes of Evidence (Session 1999-2000), *available at* http://www.parliament.the-stationary-office.co.uk.

Although the complex and wide-ranging debate[12] over the removal of the sculptures crisscrosses historical, moral, cultural, aesthetic, and legal considerations, two assumptions are broadly shared regardless of how one judges the morality of the initial removal and the possibility of repatriation. First, it is assumed that the appropriate Ottoman officials gave Elgin either prior or subsequent permission to remove the sculptures.[13] Although I

[12] Those defending the taking and retention of the marbles from the Parthenon do not claim that Britain is entitled to the marbles by mere virtue of their possession. Rather, they insist that the British Museum's entitlement to the marbles stems from Lord Elgin's unimpeachable legal title to them. They also argue that the marbles have been in Britain so long that they are now part of the British patrimony. Alternatively, they claim that the enduring significance of the world's great cultural treasures transcends the claims and attachments of any one people and belongs to all humankind. They also assert that the return of the marbles would establish a precedent that would threaten the collections of the world's great museums. They emphasize that Elgin rescued the marbles from other collectors, and that they are in better condition today than they would be if they had remained on the Parthenon because they have been in a museum for a 180 years. Lastly, they claim that not every wrong can be righted—assuming that the initial taking was a wrong—and the acceptance of the past requires accepting Elgin's dismantling of the Parthenon.

Greece takes exception to the British assertions. Having not forgiven, condoned, or accepted the taking, Greece insists that the Ottomans could not legitimately alienate Greece's cultural property merely because the Ottoman military occupied the territory. If the Greeks lent any credence to the British claim that the marbles are part of the British patrimony, they would characterize the marbles as a British step-child rather than one of Greece's own. If the Greeks conceded that the marbles are in better condition today because they have been in a museum, they also would emphasize that the Parthenon is in worse condition because of the brutal means used to remove them. While Greece concedes that it has never sued for the return of the marbles, it dismisses the suggestion since it could only bring such a suit in a British court. Instead, Greece insists that the British recognize that such a taking violates contemporary international norms and that the British honor the rule of law by returning the marbles. *See generally* Rudenstine, *supra* note 8; David Rudenstine, *The Legality of Elgin's Taking: A Review Essay of Four Books on the Parthenon Marbles*, 8 INT'L J. CULTURAL PROP., at 256-76 (1999) (book review) [hereinafter Rudenstine, *Legality*].

[13] The museum-going public assumes that Elgin's artisans removed the sculptures from the Parthenon walls only after Elgin had secured permission from proper Ottoman authorities. One can never know all the reasons why such a belief is so deeply embedded, but some reasons seem obvious. The sheer scope and magnitude of the removal was so enormous that it is difficult to imagine that such an undertaking could have commenced without permission. Moreover, because the Ottomans used the Acropolis as a military garrison it is inconceivable that the denuding of the Parthenon took place without some governmental approval. The stripping of the sculptures strikes the modern mind, a mind that has turned the Parthenon into a symbol of Western civilization, as such a desecration that it may seem improbable that such an event could have occurred without the approval of appropriate Ottoman authorities. The British Museum has placed its power, influence, and prestige behind the idea that the removal of the sculptures constituted an act of rescue condoned by the Ottomans. But no matter what combination of reasons explain the assumption that Elgin had permission to remove the marbles, there is little doubt that the assumption has wide currency. Thus, Harold Nicolson, who favored repatriation, wrote several decades ago: "Lord Elgin obtained from the Sultan a firman . . . expressly authorizing him to remove the statues: there was nothing illegal in what he did." Harold Nicolson, *The Byron Curse Echoes Again*, N.Y. TIMES, Mar. 27, 1949 (Magazine), at 12.

have concluded that there is no evidence to support this assumption—in fact, the available evidence points to a contrary conclusion—I do not address this important issue in this Article.[14]

Second, it is assumed that the starting point for any inquiry into whether the Ottomans gave Elgin permission to remove the

[14] *See* Rudenstine, *Did Elgin Cheat?*, *supra* note 8; Rudenstine, *Legality*, *supra* note 12. Contemporary researchers, even those partial toward the British retention of the Elgin collection, have also concluded that the Ottomans did not give Elgin prior permission to remove the sculptures. Consider three examples. First, John Henry Merryman, a prominent legal academic who generally favors an open market for cultural artifacts, including antiquities, wrote a frequently cited article in 1985 in which he favors the British Museum's retention of the marbles. *See* John Henry Merryman, *Thinking About the Elgin Marbles*, 83 MICH. L. REV. 1881 (1985). At one point in the article, after quoting a clause from the Select Committee's English document that is often cited to support the claim that the Ottomans gave Elgin prior permission to remove the sculptures, Merryman writes:

> The language of this last clause, even when taken in context with that of the third paragraph of Elgin's request to the Sultan, is at best ambiguous. While it is possible to read the firman as a flowery concession of everything for which Elgin asked, it is more reasonable to conclude that the Ottomans had a narrower intention, and that the firman provides slender authority for the removals from the Parthenon. . . . The reference to 'taking away any pieces of stone' seems incidental, intended to apply to objects found while excavating. . . . It is certainly arguable that Elgin exceeded the authority granted in the firman.

Id. at 1898-99. Although his partiality favoring the British Museum's retention of the marbles is undisguised, Merryman can only conclude that the July 1801 document is "ambiguous," and offers "slender authority" for the removals.

Second, in his sympathetic biography of Elgin, William St. Clair reaches two somewhat contradictory conclusions regarding the meaning of the July 1801 document. On the one hand, St. Clair concludes that "[t]he firman confers no authority to remove sculptures from the buildings or to damage them in any way. . . . Nor is there is (sic) any indication that at the time either Elgin or any of his entourage believed that the firman gave permission to make removals from the buildings." *See* ST. CLAIR, CONTROVERSIAL HISTORY, *supra* note 3, at 89. On the other hand, St. Clair claims that the document "becomes a little ambiguous at a crucial point," and concludes that the language is sufficiently ambiguous to permit an Ottoman official in Athens acting in good faith to interpret the 1801 document to permit the denuding of the Parthenon. *See id.* St. Clair writes: "Governments have only themselves to blame if they draft ambiguous instructions which are then misinterpreted by their officials." *Id.* But even St. Clair's claim of vagueness stops short of asserting that the clause permitted the denuding of the Parthenon.

Third, B.F. Cook's *The Elgin Marbles*, comes as close to being an official British Museum statement on the matter as is possible. *See* COOK, *supra* note 7. Cook is a former Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, and his book is copyrighted by The Trustees of the British Museum and published by the British Museum Press. After quoting several sentences from the July 1801 document, including the language directing the Ottoman officials in Athens to assure that "no one meddle" with Elgin's workmen's "scaffolding or implements, nor hinder them from taking away any pieces of stone with inscriptions or figures," Cook writes: "Then Hunt asked for, and after some hesitation received, permission to remove a metope from the Parthenon itself. This was the crucial moment, and it may be questioned whether the firman actually authorized even the partial dismantling of buildings in order to remove sculptures." *Id.* at 72-74. Cook does not contend that the July 1801 document authorized the stripping of the marbles from the edifice's walls. He concedes that it is questionable whether the document authorized such actions and in the end fails to decide whether the July 1801 document permitted the removal of sculptures from the Parthenon walls. *See id.*

sculptures must commence with the missing, historic July 1801 Ottoman letter Elgin obtained from the acting grand vizier in Istanbul.[15] For the better part of two centuries, it has been an article of faith that this July 1801 Ottoman document was translated into Italian in Constantinople in 1801; that the Italian document was translated into English in London in 1816; and that the English document, initially published in an 1816 report of a parliamentary committee, gave Lord Elgin permission to remove the Parthenon sculptures from the temple walls.[16] This Article challenges for the first time the deeply embedded assumptions about the relationship among these three distinct documents; this Article challenges the existence of a provable, coherent documentary chain linking the Ottoman document to the English document through the Italian document.[17]

After so many years of acrimonious debate, it may be hard to imagine that there is anything new to say about this highly significant controversy. But there is, and what is new is no small matter. This Article concludes that the assumption of a provable, coherent, documentary chain establishing the English document's status as an authentic and accurate translation of the original Ottoman document is unproven, and in light of new evidence, probably false. It suggests that the actual relationship among these three documents is fundamentally different in character than has been previously presumed, and, further, that the traditional conception of the relationship among these three documents became viable only because of misrepresentation and deceit within the parliamentary proceedings of 1816.

Laying bare this deceit and correcting this important erroneous historical claim is no mere academic exercise. Toppling a fundamental premise central to the contemporary debate over the fate of the Parthenon sculptures, as well as making apparent the parliamentary deceit that misled international opinion for two centuries as to the legality of Elgin's removal of the sculptures, should alter the substantive context in which the contemporary debate is situated. It may also cause shifts not only in positions asserted in the international dispute, but also in comparative moral advantages that may eventually affect the ultimate question of repatriation.

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[15] *See* ST. CLAIR, CONTROVERSIAL HISTORY, *supra* note 3, at vi.

[16] *See id.* at 88; COOK, *supra* note 7, at 72; Merryman, *supra* note 14, at 1898.

[17] *See* SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE EARL OF ELGIN'S COLLECTION OF SCULPTURED MARBLES, REPORT ORDERED BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, Mar. 25, 1816, at 5, 69 [hereinafter REPORT OF MARCH 25, 1816]. COOK, *supra* note 7, at 71-73; ST. CLAIR, CONTROVERSIAL HISTORY, *supra* note 3, at vi, 88; Merryman, *supra* note 14, at 1898.

I. THREE DOCUMENTS

In July 1801, Lord Elgin obtained a document from the Ottoman government in Constantinople.[18] This document, now missing, defined the activities Elgin's artisans could conduct on the Acropolis.[19] The second document is in English and published in a report prepared by a parliamentary committee in 1816.[20] The committee claimed that the English document was an accurate translation of the missing 1801 Ottoman document. The third document, in Italian, came to light through Philip Hunt, a member of Elgin's entourage in Constantinople, who testified before the parliamentary committee in 1816 that he had the Ottoman document translated into Italian when he was in Constantinople in July 1801, and that he still retained the Italian translation.[21] Because Parliament's English document was derived from Hunt's Italian document, the Italian document is the critical link in the documentary chain connecting the missing 1801 Ottoman document and the 1816 English document. The tale of these three documents, in light of evidence now available, establishes that the actual relationship among them is quite different from the previously unchallenged conception.

A. *The Ottoman Document*

By the spring of 1801, Elgin's artisans had been stationed in Athens for months.[22] At times, local Ottoman officials permitted them regular access to the Acropolis. At other times, their access was limited, and the work they were allowed to do was unpredictable.[23] As a result, when the Reverend Philip Hunt—a youthful minister who was part of Elgin's entourage—returned to Constantinople from Athens in June 1801, he urged Elgin to ask the Porte for an order that carefully defined the activities Elgin wanted them to conduct.[24]

The archives of the British Foreign Office and the Ottoman Empire contain no information with regard to the exchanges between Elgin and the Porte over Elgin's request for a new order.[25]

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[18] *See* Letter from Mary Nisbet, to William Nisbet (July 9, 1801), *in* THE LETTERS OF MARY NISBET OF DIRLETON COUNTESS OF ELGIN, at 67 (Lieut.-Colonel Nisbet Hamilton Grant ed., 1926) [hereinafter NISBET LETTERS].

[19] I searched the archives of the Ottoman Empire in Istanbul with the assistance of translators in 1998 but was unable to find the 1801 document.

[20] *See* REPORT OF MARCH 16, 1816, *supra* note 17, at 69.

[21] *See id.* at 55.

[22] *See* ST. CLAIR, CONTROVERSIAL HISTORY, *supra* note 3, at 66.

[23] *See id.* at 66-67.

[24] *See id.* at 55-58.

[25] I searched the relevant archives of the Public Records Office in West London and of

However, evidence dating from July 1801 establishes that Elgin obtained a document from the Ottoman government in Constantinople, in Ottoman,[26] addressed to Ottoman officials in Athens, which pertained to the work of his artisans. On July 8, 1801, Hunt wrote Richard William Hamilton, Elgin's private secretary, while he was "on a special errand in Egypt,"[27] that he would leave Athens within days, and that he would "carry a Ferman to enable our artists to prosecute without interruption their researches in the Acropolis of Athens."[28] The next day, Elgin's wife, Mary Nisbet of Dirleton, Countess of Elgin, wrote her father that Pisani—Elgin's dragoman, who functioned not only as an interpreter but as a negotiator—"succeeded à merveille in his *firman* from the Porte."[29] The day after, Elgin, referring to the new Ottoman document, wrote Giovanni Battista Lusieri—an Italian landscape painter whom Elgin had employed to supervise his artisans in Athens—proclaiming, "you now have the permission to dig."[30]

Surviving records, including letters, British embassy documents, and Ottoman Empire documents, dating from the summer of 1801—as opposed to testimony given by Elgin and Hunt before a Parliamentary Select Committee in 1816[31]—provide no information about the substance of the 1801 Ottoman document. Thus, we cannot determine from sources dating from 1801 the following: who prepared the document; whether the document was an informal letter requesting cooperation or a more formal order embodying a directive; how long it was; to whom it was addressed; or what it provided. The only point that can be made with confidence is that the Porte gave the document most likely to Pisani,[32] on July 8, the date of Hunt's letter to Hamilton.

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the Ottoman Empire in Istanbul for evidence of such exchanges, but to no avail.

[26] For purposes of this Article, the language used by Ottoman officials during the first part of the nineteenth century shall be "Ottoman" as opposed to Ottoman Turkish or Turkish. This was a designation used by the author's translators when they worked together in the archives of the Ottoman Empire in Istanbul. The accuracy of this designation is also supported by Andrew Looker. *See* e-mail from Andrew Looker (April 4, 1998, 12:58:54 EST) (on file with author). My translators were Süleyman Çelik, Birol Ilkesen, and Gultekin Yaldiz.

[27] *See* Hunt Letter, *supra* note 6, at 192.

[28] *Id.* at 194. The word firman is spelled different ways. The Oxford English Dictionary prefers "firman," and that is the form adopted in this Article except when the term is spelled differently in a document that is being quoted. There the spelling adopted by the author of the material quoted is respected. *See* 4 OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY 249 (1978).

[29] *See* NISBET LETTERS, *supra* note 18, at 97.

[30] Hunt Letter, *supra* note 6, at 192.

[31] *See* REPORT OF MARCH 16, 1816, *supra* note 17, at 17-23, 55-58.

[32] *See* NISBET LETTERS, *supra* note 18, at 97.

When Elgin testified before the Parliamentary Select Committee in 1816, he claimed that he took the missing Ottoman document to Athens and personally gave it to the local Ottoman authorities: "It was . . . addressed by the Porte to the local authorities," he said, "*to whom I delivered it.*"[33] But that was not true. Letters written by Hunt and Lusieri in July and August 1801 indicate that the Ottoman document arrived in Athens in July 1801 while Elgin was in Constantinople. Indeed, Elgin visited Athens for the first time only in the spring of 1802. Instead of Elgin taking the Ottoman document to Athens, it was the young minister, Philip Hunt, who was the courier. Shortly after he arrived in Athens, Hunt referred to the Ottoman document when he wrote Elgin that the Voivode, the Ottoman governor in Athens with whom Hunt had met, "read the letters."[34]

What happened to the Ottoman document once Hunt arrived in Athens is uncertain. After permitting the Voivode to read it, Hunt might have kept it himself, but Hunt never made such a claim and no researcher has ever found the document in Hunt's surviving papers. It is conceivable that Hunt gave the Ottoman document to Lusieri, but that seems improbable since Lusieri did not read Ottoman; the document would have been of little practical use to him. What is most likely is that the Voivode kept the document since it was addressed to him. After that, the document was probably lost or destroyed either before or during the Greek War of Independence in the 1820s.

Thus, only three things are certain. No one has ever found the original July 1801 Ottoman language document in any archive, including those in Greece or Turkey. No one has ever found a copy of this document. And quite surprisingly, no one has ever discovered an 1801 reference to it in the archives of the Ottoman Empire.

Of course, it may be that someone will discover a reference to this document dating from 1801, or that a copy of the Ottoman document will be discovered in the archives of the Ottoman Empire, or—and this seems the least likely—the original July 1801 Ottoman document will turn up somewhere. For the moment, however, the document and all references to it have vanished.

Nonetheless, it seems most likely that on July 8 Elgin obtained an Ottoman document, pertaining to the work of his artisans in Athens, from Ottoman officials in Constantinople and that Hunt took the document to Athens in the middle of July and gave it to the Voivode.

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[33] *See* REPORT OF MARCH 16, 1816, *supra* note 17, at 18. (emphasis added).

[34] Hunt Letter, *supra* note 6, at 195.

B. *Parliament's English Document*

There is no known historical reference to the July 1801 Ottoman document between the summer of 1801 and March 25, 1816. On that date, a Parliamentary Select Committee, convened to evaluate Elgin's request that the government purchase his antiquities collection, published a thirteen-page report plus "minutes of evidence" and appendices.[35] The record of the committee's report and the record of its proceedings contain information relevant to the broad question of whether the Ottoman government gave Elgin written permission to denude the Parthenon of its sculptures, and it reveals the Select Committee's failure to search out information that fully answered the broad question.

Elgin was the committee's first witness.[36] During his lengthy testimony, the committee repeatedly asked Elgin whether he had obtained written permission to remove the marbles and, if so, whether he had a copy of the document. As Elgin's testimony makes clear, he had no documentary evidence to offer the committee. Thus, after Elgin stated that he had obtained "a specific permission" to "draw, model, and remove," as well as permission to "excavate in a particular place," Elgin was asked: "Was the permission in writing?" Elgin answered: "It was . . . and I have retained none of them."[37] A few minutes later, Elgin was asked again: "[D]id your Lordship keep any copy of any of the written permissions that were given to your Lordship?" Elgin's response was unequivocal: "I kept no copies whatever."[38] And then immediately after Elgin completed his answer, Elgin was queried again: "In point of fact, your Lordship has not in England any copy of any of those written permissions?" "None," Elgin answered.[39] The committee then asked Elgin: "Did the Committee understand you to say, that it is possible Lusieri has such copies?" Elgin said: "Certainly; they will be at Athens, either in his possession or in the possession of the authorities there."[40] But the committee was evidently suspicious of whether Elgin personally knew that the document was in Athens or whether he was merely guessing. Thus, it asked Elgin whether he had "any distinct recollection of having had such copies of the authorities, and of having left them in Lusieri's possession?" Elgin retreated: "I

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[35] *See generally* REPORT OF MARCH 25, 1816, *supra* note 17.

[36] Elgin testified on February 29, 1816. *See id.* at 17-23.

[37] *Id.* at 18.

[38] *Id.* at 19.

[39] *Id.*

[40] *Id.*

cannot speak to the fact so precisely as the Committee may wish."[41] And then to make sure that Elgin had no writing of any kind that would shed light on the contents of the 1801 document, the committee asked Elgin: "Did your Lordship, for your own satisfaction, keep any copy of the terms of those permissions?" Elgin again answered without qualification: "No, I never did."[42]

On the second day of hearings, William Hamilton testified. In response to a question as to whether he was "acquainted with much of the detail of the means" employed by Elgin to obtain "permission" to remove sculptures from the Parthenon walls, Hamilton stated, in a somewhat stilted manner, that "[his] employment" with Elgin "did not necessarily put [him] exactly in the way of being acquainted with his communications with the Turkish government."[43] And then to assure itself that Hamilton knew nothing about the issue, the committee asked: "Have you any impression on your mind, as to the nature of the permission that was granted by the Turkish government?" Hamilton responded: "None of my own knowledge."[44]

Nearly two weeks after Elgin told the committee that he did not retain a copy of the Ottoman permission and Hamilton stated that he knew nothing about any permission Elgin may have obtained, the "Rev. Dr. *Philip Hunt*, L.L.D. [was] called in [by the committee], and Examined."[45] The first question asked: "In what year were you at Constantinople, and in what character?" Hunt answered: "I went out with Lord Elgin, as his chaplain, and occasionally act[ed] as his secretary."[46] The committee's second question was: "Did you ever see any of the written permissions which were granted to [Elgin] for removing the Marbles from the Temple of Minerva?" Hunt answered:

> Yes; I found on my first visit to Athens that the fermauns which had been granted to Lord Elgin's artists were not sufficiently extensive to attain the objects they had in view, that their operations were frequently interrupted by the Disdar or military governor of the Citadel, and by the Janizaries, and other considerable obstacles thrown in their way, by sometimes refusing them admission and destroying their scaffolding; on my return therefore to Constantinople, in 1801, I advised Lord Elgin to apply to the Porte for a fermaun embracing the particular objects I pointed out to him; and as I had been before

[41] *Id.*
[42] *Id.* at 19.
[43] *Id.* at 25.
[44] *Id.* at 26.
[45] *Id.* at 55.
[46] *Id.*

> deceived with respect to the pretended contents of a fermaun, I begged that this might be accompanied by a literal translation; the fermaun was sent with a translation, and that translation I now possess. It is left at Bedford, and I have no means of directing any person to obtain it; I would have brought it if I had been aware I should have been summoned by this Committee before I left Bedford.[47]

Hunt's recorded statement that he had a translation of the 1801 Ottoman document is the earliest record indicating that he—or for that matter, anyone else—had such a document. Although Hunt's statement to the committee that he "begged" for a "literal translation" and that he then possessed merely "a translation," gave rise to many questions, the committee pursued none of them. Rather, once Hunt finished his answer, the committee shifted its focus to the substance of the firman. After another fifteen or twenty minutes of questioning, the committee excused Hunt as a witness and did not take the testimony of any additional witnesses.[48]

As Hunt's statement indicated, he did not identify the language of his translation. But other evidence establishes that it was in Italian and that the Select Committee knew that it was.[49] Thus, the question raised is whether the committee ever examined the Italian document Hunt said he had in Bedford, or whether Hunt simply gave the committee an English translation of the Italian document, which the committee included in its published report.

The committee's report fails to resolve the ambiguity. At one point, the report states: "A translation of the fermaun itself has since been forwarded by Dr. *Hunt*, which is printed in the Appendix."[50] That sentence could mean that Hunt forwarded an English document to the committee, which the committee then printed as a firman in the appendix. Such a construction requires that the committee's phrase, "[a] translation of the fermaun itself has since been forwarded," to be interpreted to mean—and this is the interpretation adopted by William St. Clair, Elgin's biographer—that Hunt forwarded an English translation of his purported Italian translation of the original Ottoman document.[51] While that assumption may be correct, it is equally plausible that

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[47] *Id.* at 55-56.

[48] *See id.* at 56.

[49] *See id.* at 69.

[50] *Id.* at 5.

[51] *See* WILLIAM ST. CLAIR, LORD ELGIN AND THE MARBLES 90 n.* (1967) [hereinafter ST. CLAIR, LORD ELGIN] ("In a translation given by Hunt to the Select Committee in 1816, Hunt rendered this 'by Mr. Philip Hunt, an English Gentleman, Secretary of the Aforesaid Ambassador.' I suppose this is right but I do not know what N.N. can stand for.").

the committee's phrase—"[a] translation of the fermaun itself has since been forwarded"—means that the "translation" the committee received from Hunt was the Italian document Hunt claimed was a translation of the original Ottoman document, thus leaving it to the committee to translate the Italian document into English.

The committee's report contains another clue relevant to whether it examined the Italian document. At the bottom of the English document, there is a sentence that provides: "The words in Italian rendered in two places 'any pieces of stone,' are 'qualche pezzi de pietra.'"[52] This sentence—which permits the reader to assess the correctness of the English translation of a phrase by providing the phrase in Italian—leaves it unclear whether Hunt forwarded to the committee at least this one Italian phrase because he thought it of special importance, or, and this seems more probable, whether the committee examined the entire Italian document.

Librarians for Parliament have informed me that the original record of the committee's deliberations—the transcript, committee notes, and draft report, which might have contained evidence capable of resolving this ambiguity—was destroyed in a fire.[53] Thus, it is not possible to determine conclusively whether the committee received an English translation of Hunt's Italian document, or, examined the Italian document and had it translated into English, or compared it to an English translation Hunt provided. Nonetheless, unless we are prepared to believe that the Select Committee trusted Hunt to provide it with an accurate translation—and if it did, the Select Committee would seem to have entrusted Hunt with a responsibility it could reasonably be expected to discharge itself—it is likely that the committee examined the Italian document and either had the document translated into English or verified the accuracy of an English translation provided by Hunt.

Twelve days after Hunt testified, the committee's report was printed. The report's appendix contained not only the transcription of the witnesses' testimony, but also an English document that was printed entirely on one page. Three-and-one-half lines precede the document and state: "TRANSLATION from the Italian of a *Fermaûn*, or Official Letter from the Caimacan Pasha, (who filled the office of Grand Vizier at the Porte, during that Minister's absence in Egypt) addressed to The *Cadi*, or Chief

[52] REPORT OF MARCH 25, 1816, *supra* note 17, at 69.

[53] Telephone Interview with Simon Gough, Records Office, Houses of Parliament (Aug. 14, 1998).

Judge, and to The *Vaivode* or Governor of Athens, in 1801."[54] The document, which is divided into two paragraphs, is immediately preceded by a statement that indicates that the "usual introductory compliments, and the salutation of Peace"[55] were to be inserted and to come first. Immediately underneath the second paragraph, the following words appear: "(Signed with a signet.) SEGED ABDULLAH KAIMACAN."[56] Thus, the committee's presentation of the English document gave several distinct impressions: the committee had examined a document that was signed by Seged Abdullah Kaimacan, the document examined had a signet affixed, and the English document published in the appendix was an accurate translation of the July 1801 Ottoman document Elgin obtained from the Porte in Constantinople.

Although the committee's report gave the impression that the authenticity and reliability of the English document in the appendix were beyond question, the committee had reason—ample reason—to be suspicious that Hunt's Italian document might be a fraud.[57] The committee was aware that Elgin desperately needed to sell his collection of antiquities to raise funds in order to reduce his substantial indebtedness.[58] In fact, it would not be an exaggeration to characterize Elgin's financial condition as dire. Furthermore, the committee most likely concluded, after listening to Elgin testify—especially after he incredulously insisted that any private person could have received the same permission as he did to remove the sculptures—that Elgin was prepared to bend, distort, and ignore the truth to strengthen his position before the committee.[59] The committee also must have realized that Elgin knew, given the committee's close questioning of him, that the committee was eager to see a written permission. Lastly, by the time Hunt testified, the committee knew, from Elgin's testimony, that Elgin knew nothing about Hunt having a copy of the 1801 document.[60] To have Hunt

[54] REPORT OF MARCH 25, 1816, *supra* note 17, at 69. The term "Voivode" is also spelled "Vaivode."

[55] *Id.*

[56] *Id.*

[57] *See infra* notes 58-60 and accompanying text.

[58] Lord Elgin's indebtedness had prompted him to try to sell his collection of antiquities as early as 1811 to the British Government. *See* ST. CLAIR, CONTROVERSIAL HISTORY, *supra* note 3, at 177-79.

[59] *See* REPORT OF MARCH 25, 1816, *supra* note 17, at 17-23. For example, Elgin stated at one point during his testimony: "I did not receive more as ambassador than they received as travellers." *Id.* at 19. The Earl of Aberdeen made it clear that "a private individual could have accomplished the removal of the remains which Lord Elgin obtained." *Id.* at 49.

[60] *See id.* at 19.

then appear out of the blue, claiming to have in his possession a copy of the written permission, had to make even a trusting soul suspicious that Hunt's Italian document was fraudulent.

The committee did nothing to reduce the risk of fraud even though it had two options. First, the committee could have asked Hunt questions about the Italian document—questions such as: since neither Hunt nor Elgin was fluent in Italian, why was Hunt's translation in Italian? If Hunt did not make the translation, who did? In whose handwriting was the document? When and where was the translation done? How could Hunt be certain that his translation accurately reflected the substance of the Ottoman document? If the purpose of the translation was to assure that local Ottoman officials honored the terms of the Ottoman document, why did Hunt, and not Lusieri, who was in Athens overseeing the work, have the document? How is it that Elgin did not know that Hunt had the translation? Lastly, how did Hunt come to be a witness two weeks after Elgin was repeatedly asked for a written permission he did not have? The committee's failure to ask Hunt these and related questions puts the committee's examination of Hunt in sharp contrast to the far more searching examination the committee conducted of Elgin.[61] More importantly, the committee's failure to ask Hunt such questions meant that the members of Parliament—for whose benefit the Select Committee prepared its report—received a deficient report that failed to address important questions.

Second, the committee could have sought verification of the Italian document in Constantinople. Since Hunt claimed that the Italian translation was prepared in Constantinople at his request, he most likely could have identified who had translated it and who wrote it. If Hunt had been asked those questions, he almost certainly would have identified that person as Pisani.[62] With that information in hand, the committee could have verified Hunt's claim through the British ambassador in Constantinople, who might have secured a statement from the translator, as well as confirmation that the handwriting of other documents prepared by Pisani was sufficiently similar to establish the veracity of Hunt's testimony.

But the committee pursued neither option to reduce the risk of fraud. It failed to ask Hunt questions about the document, and it failed to secure any verification from Constantinople. As a result, the committee was unable to reassure itself or, more

[61] It may be that the committee asked Hunt these questions in private, but there is no evidence that supports such speculation.

[62] *See* NISBET LETTERS, *supra* note 18, at 97-98.

importantly, Parliament that Hunt's Italian translation was not a fraud. The committee's failure to take prompt and reasonable steps to protect itself and Parliament from a fraudulent deception does not mean that Hunt's Italian document was a fraud, and, as will be shortly reviewed, there is evidence that Hunt's Italian document originated in Constantinople in 1801.

In addition to its failure to take reasonable steps to reduce the risk of fraud, the committee failed to take any action to establish that either the English or Italian document—assuming there was no fraud—was an accurate translation of the original, July 1801, Ottoman document. The committee did not follow up the statements of Elgin and Hunt—that the original Ottoman document was in Athens—by sending an envoy from London or from its embassy in Constantinople to Athens to secure information about the 1801 Ottoman document. If the document had survived, the committee could have had a copy made and translated so that it could be confident that Hunt's Italian document was an accurate translation. Or, the committee could have inquired through an envoy or ambassador as to whether the Sultan had given Elgin permission to remove the sculptures from the temple's walls. But the committee took none of these initiatives, or any other, which might have clarified the doubts surrounding the authenticity and reliability of Hunt's Italian document.

The committee's failure to exercise due diligence did not keep it from presenting in the appendix to its report the English translation of Hunt's Italian document as an accurate, authenticated translation of the July 1801 Ottoman document. Because the Italian document disappeared almost immediately from the public record, and because the Parliament fire destroyed the original committee's record of its proceedings, there was no documentary evidence to prompt a reassessment of the English language document's authenticity. As a result, the Select Committee's 1816 English document was not only accepted by the Parliament as an accurate translation of the July 1801 Ottoman document, but has been accepted as such ever since.[63]

C. *Hunt's Italian Document*

After the Select Committee completed its proceedings, Hunt's Italian document became mixed up with his personal papers and was overlooked by his heirs as a document of potential historical

[63] *See* COOK, *supra* note 7, at 71-73; ST. CLAIR, CONTROVERSIAL HISTORY, *supra* note 3, at vi, 88; Merryman, *supra* note 14, at 1898.

significance. In 1967 that changed when William St. Clair's biography of Elgin was first published, and although St. Clair did not explicitly state that he had located Hunt's Italian language document, he had.[64] In the preface to his biography, St. Clair writes: "BY FAR my greatest debt of gratitude is to Mrs. A.C. Longland of Abingdon who unreservedly made me a present of a collection of papers which belonged to her great-grand-uncle, Dr. Philip Hunt."[65] If this acknowledgment is then combined with the endnote in which St. Clair asserts that Hunt's 1816 Italian document "is among the Hunt Papers," it would seem that St. Clair, as of 1967, was in possession of Hunt's Italian document.[66] Nonetheless, it was not until the publication of the third edition of his Elgin biography, that St. Clair explicitly states that he has Hunt's 1816 Italian document, and makes the Italian text public for the first time:

> All subsequent accounts of Lord Elgin's activities before the publication of the first edition of the present book were dependent on this derived English version. The actual document remained in the family among the Hunt papers where I discovered it, and it is now in my possession. The official Italian version is published in full for the first time, 1998, in Appendix I.[67]

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[64] *See* ST. CLAIR, LORD ELGIN, *supra* note 51. In a chapter entitled "The Firman," St. Clair provides an English version of Hunt's document that differs from the Select Committee's English version. For example, St. Clair's English version states: "We therefore have written this letter to you and expedited it by N.N." *Id.* at 90. After the letters "N.N.," St. Clair places a footnote that states in full: "In the translation given by Hunt to the Select Committee in 1816, Hunt rendered this 'by Mr. Philip Hunt, an English gentleman, Secretary of the Aforesaid Ambassador.' I suppose this is right but I do not know what N.N. can stand for." *Id.* at 90 n.*. Since the Select Committee's report gave no indication that Hunt's Italian document did not identify Hunt as the courier, the only way that St. Clair could have known that the Italian document used the letters "N.N." as opposed to identifying Hunt as the courier, is if he had examined the Italian document. Furthermore, on the same page of his text, St. Clair adds a footnote that begins with the words "This part reads," and is then followed by sixteen words in Italian. *Id.* at 90 n.†. Since the Select Committee had provided only four of these sixteen Italian words, St. Clair could have added the additional twelve Italian words only if he had had access to the Italian document. *Compare* REPORT OF MARCH 25, 1816, *supra* note 17, at 69. Lastly, at the end of his English version of the Ottoman document, St. Clair makes reference to endnote four, which provides in relevant part: "An Italian version of the firman, in the handwriting of Pisani the British interpreter at Constantinople, is among the Hunt Papers. Clearly this is the document from which Hunt provided the translation for the Select Committee." ST. CLAIR, LORD ELGIN, *supra* note 51, at 287-88 n.4. The Select Committee's report made no reference to the handwriting of Hunt's Italian document. The only basis St. Clair would have had for asserting that the Italian document was in Pisani's handwriting was if he had examined it.

[65] ST. CLAIR, LORD ELGIN, *supra* note 51, at v.

[66] *Id.* at 287 n.4.

[67] ST. CLAIR, CONTROVERSIAL HISTORY, *supra* note 3, at 88. In an endnote after the word "possession," St. Clair also claims that the "Hunt papers had been examined by

The similarity between the texts of the two documents establishes that the Select Committee's English document was a translation of Hunt's Italian document. But that relationship between the documents does not eliminate the possibility, as discussed above, that the Italian document was fraudulently created in England in 1816. Although that possibility seems remote, the reasons why it seems remote are relevant to reassessing the character and authenticity of Hunt's Italian document, and therefore must be briefly reviewed.

Not surprisingly, St. Clair approaches the question of whether Hunt's Italian document was fraudulent in a way that is consistent with his fundamental claim that Hunt's Italian document is an authenticated, accurate translation of the July 1801 Ottoman document. Thus, St. Clair initially responds to the possibility of fraud by ignoring it and making unsupported assertions about the character of the Italian document. Three examples illustrate the point. First, in the preface to the third edition of the biography that contains the text of the Italian document, St. Clair states: "The official translation into Italian which was provided, at Elgin's request, for the British Embassy in Constantinople and which was used to persuade the authorities on the spot in Athens, is now in my possession."[68] Second, in the chapter entitled, "The Firman," St. Clair writes: "As was the case with many official Ottoman documents of the time, the official translation was given in Italian, at the time the lingua franca of the eastern Mediterranean. A copy was supplied to the Embassy soon afterwards."[69] Third, prior to publishing the text of the Italian document, St. Clair states: "All accounts of this firman derive from a document containing an official Ottoman translation into Italian which was given to a representative of Lord Elgin in Constantinople at the time when the permissions were granted."[70]

St. Clair weaves several assertions together—Elgin requested the translation; the translation was "official"; and a copy "was supplied to the Embassy soon afterwards"—which, if substantiated, would put the authenticity of the document beyond challenge. But St. Clair offers no support for these claims, and none seem to exist. St. Clair's assertion that Elgin requested the Italian translation, when Elgin professed no knowledge of a translation, distorts what is known, and, at minimum, requires an

various scholars and publishers but none had identified the document in Italian as the firman." *Id.* at 357 n.10.

[68] *Id.* at vi.

[69] *Id.* at 88.

[70] *Id.* at 337.

explanation that St. Clair does not provide. The meaning of St. Clair's assertion that the Italian translation was "official" is uncertain. Although St. Clair claims that the Italian document is in Pisani's handwriting, he does not claim that Pisani translated it nor does he claim that he knows who translated the Ottoman document into Italian. Since there are no references to an Italian translation in the Ottoman and British archives, St. Clair's claim that the Italian translation is "official" is vague, if not meaningless. The meaning of St. Clair's assertion that a "copy was supplied to the Embassy" is also uncertain.[71] There are no records dating from 1801 verifying the existence of the Italian document, let alone the idea that it was part of a British Embassy file. St. Clair's statement that the Italian language document "was supplied to the Embassy" begs for clarification and substantiation.[72]

St. Clair's second approach to the issue of fraud is to offer evidence that the Italian document was created in Constantinople in 1801. His claim that the Italian document he possesses is on paper that was available in Constantinople in 1801 is likely true, but that fact would not prevent the same paper from being later available in London.[73] St. Clair states that a notation—St. Clair

[71] *Id.* at 88.

[72] *Id.*

[73] *See id.* at 337. St. Clair's evidence for this assertion is a watermark on the paper that he describes as "three hats, with an unidentified symbol between them, and a V G countermark." *Id.* St. Clair identifies the watermark as belonging to the papermaker Valentino Galvani. In the very same paragraph, he writes that Galvani "is known to have possessed paper mills in the Veneto and in northern Italy in the 1790s and to have exported to the Levant." *Id.* St. Clair supports his assertion with a reference to a book by Georg Einder. *See* GEORG EINDER, THE ANCIENT PAPER-MILLS OF THE FORMER AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE AND THEIR WATERMARKS (1960). Einder identifies a watermark that has a symbol that might be considered a "hat," as St. Clair does, and the letters "V G" as Valentino Galvani's watermark. Einder also supports the claim that Galvani had paper mills in northern Italy in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. But whether Galvani exported paper to the Levant is another matter. Peculiarly, St. Clair does not actually state that Galvani exported paper to the Levant. Rather, he writes that Galvani is "known . . . to have exported to the Levant," suggesting that he, St. Clair, had evidence that Galvani had a reputation for exporting paper to the Levant, but that he, St. Clair, was not denying or verifying the reliability of Galvani's reputation. ST. CLAIR, CONTROVERSIAL HISTORY, *supra* note 3, at 337. Here, again, St. Clair cites Einder as his source. Einder, however, writes that although Galvani's "natural market was Venice, the sale of his paper to Trieste and to the north was also possible. Venice sold entire cargoes of paper to the Levant and other markets overseas." EINDER, *supra*, at 168. Einder makes no claim about Galvani's reputation, and he does not state that Galvani exported paper to the Levant. What he asserts is that Galvani sold paper to markets in Venice, which in turn shipped paper to various markets including those in the Levant. Thus, if one connects Einder's two quite separate and independent factual assertions—Galvani shipped paper to Venice and Venice shipped paper to the Levant—there is evidence to support the possibility that Galvani's paper might possibly have been exported to Constantinople in 1801. But Einder does not actually connect the assertions, presumably because he lacked the evidence to do so.

terms it a "file note"[74]—on the outside of the document is "in the hand of Philip Hunt."[75] Whether Hunt wrote the file note does not prove that the document was created in Constantinople in 1801. Hunt could have written the file note at any time in any place.

St. Clair also contends that the handwriting of the document "appears to be that of Pisani."[76] If the document is in his handwriting, that would establish at minimum that it was prepared in Constantinople since that is where Pisani worked. But St. Clair's support for this claim is weak. Instead of having handwriting experts compare the Italian document he possesses with the documents written by Pisani, St. Clair seems to have made the critical judgments by himself.[77] Perhaps St. Clair has had sufficient experience in comparing handwriting to forego the assistance of acknowledged authorities, but he makes no such representation. Moreover, although it is possible that St. Clair had access to many documents, he knew were in Pisani's handwriting and which he used as a basis of comparison, St. Clair does not state that he did, and it is not self-evident.[78]

The issue of whether the Italian document in St. Clair's possession was fraudulently created by Hunt in England in 1816 cannot be resolved without a more thorough evaluation by recognized authorities. But two factors not discussed by St. Clair make it unlikely that the Italian document was a fraud. If the document was created in England to reassure the Select Committee that Elgin did have some kind of written permission,

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[74] ST. CLAIR, CONTROVERSIAL HISTORY, *supra* note 3, at 337.

[75] *Id.*

[76] *Id.*

[77] *See* ST. CLAIR, LORD ELGIN, *supra* note 51, at 287 n.4.

[78] In addition, St. Clair expresses his point that the document is in Pisani's handwriting in a highly qualified way. What he states is that the "handwriting *appears* to be that of Pisani." *Id.* at 337 (emphasis added). The word "appears" is usually used when a person making a claim believes that an assertion is more likely true than not, while conceding that there is reasonable probability that the claim is untrue. Although the use of the word "appears" might have been unintentional on St. Clair's part, that seems unlikely given that St. Clair's understanding of the important difference between a qualified and an unqualified assertion is evidenced in the very same sentence when he asserts without reservation: "A file note on the outside of the document in the hand of Philip Hunt notes 'Kaimacan Letter No.2. To the Governor of Athens.'" *Id.* Presumably, St. Clair, who possesses a body of documents in Hunt's handwriting against which he could compare the handwriting of the file note, had far more confidence that the file note was written by Hunt than he did that the Italian document was written by Pisani. *See id.*

In addition to these shortcomings, there are gaps in St. Clair's evidence. St. Clair presents no evidence as to whether the ink used to prepare the document was ink found in Constantinople. St. Clair fails to determine whether other documents prepared by Pisani on or about July 8, 1801, the date St. Clair claims the document was prepared, used paper with the same watermark and ink of the same chemical composition. If such evidence could be established, that would constitute more than convincing evidence in support of the claim that the Italian document was prepared by Pisani in Constantinople in July 1801.

there is no reason it would have been written in Italian. An English document would have been perfectly acceptable and unquestioned since it presumably was prepared for Elgin and Hunt. Thus, the mere fact that the document is in Italian undercuts the possibility that it was fraudulent.

In addition, and perhaps more importantly, if Hunt had conspired with Elgin to create a fraudulent document, they would have most likely created one that unequivocally authorized Elgin to do what he did—that is, to remove sculptures from the Parthenon walls. After all, Elgin claimed that he had permission to do this, and the Select Committee made it crystal clear to Elgin that it wished to see a writing that permitted this activity. If Elgin and Hunt were going to commit fraud, it would seem that they would have created a document that gave the committee what Elgin knew it wanted—a document that granted Elgin permission to denude the Parthenon. But the Italian document not only failed to authorize the removal of sculptures from the Parthenon walls, it stated that the work done by Elgin's artisans would not harm the sculptures.[79] Thus, it seems inconceivable that Elgin and Hunt would engage in fraudulent conduct that failed so dramatically to achieve the very purpose of the fraud. As a result, it is extremely likely that Hunt's Italian document was created in Constantinople in 1801.

But the reasons that support the conclusion that Hunt's Italian language document was created in Constantinople stop short of establishing any particular relationship between Hunt's Italian document and the missing July 1801 Ottoman document. We will eventually turn to that question—what was the relationship between the Ottoman and the Italian documents?—but only after other preliminary issues are canvassed.

II. TWO DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN HUNT'S ITALIAN DOCUMENT AND PARLIAMENT'S ENGLISH DOCUMENT

Hunt's Italian document is the critical link in the chronological, documentary chain giving legitimacy and authenticity to the Select Committee's English document. In 1998, when St. Clair made public that he had Hunt's missing Italian document and then included its text in his revised biography of Elgin, he became the leading contemporary champion of this orthodoxy. But the very resurfacing of the Italian document provides powerful evidence that unravels this orthodoxy and

[79] *See* REPORT OF MARCH 25, 1816, *supra* note 17, at 69 ("[P]articularly as there is no harm in the said figures and edifices being thus viewed, contemplated, and designed.").

paints a vivid portrait of misrepresentation and deceit by the Select Committee, Elgin, and Hunt.

It is now apparent that there are two important discrepancies between Hunt's 1816 Italian language document and the Select Committee's 1816 English language document. The first sentence of the second paragraph of the text of the Select Committee's English language document begins with the following words: "We therefore have written this Letter to you, and expedited it by Mr. Philip Hunt, an English Gentleman, Secretary of the aforesaid Ambassador."[80] But, as St. Clair's biography of Elgin makes evident, Hunt's Italian language document states: "We therefore have written this letter to you and expedited it by N.N."[81]

St. Clair made this discrepancy public in the 1967 edition of his Elgin biography, although he stated at the time: "I do not know what N.N. can stand for."[82] By the time St. Clair revised the biography in 1998, however, he believed he had solved the "N.N." riddle. He stated that "N.N." was a "conventional way of showing that the name of an individual is to be inserted later."[83] My own investigation led to a similar conclusion.[84]

There was nothing accidental about this discrepancy. No one would mistakenly substitute "Mr. Philip Hunt, an English gentleman, Secretary of the aforesaid Ambassador," for the letters "N.N." By identifying Hunt as the courier, Parliament's English document offered an explanation in the text as to how Hunt came to possess a translation of the critical Ottoman document fifteen years after he surrendered it to officials in Athens. It also put Hunt in a position to vouch for the authenticity and the accuracy of the Italian translation, which, in turn, strengthened the legitimacy and the authenticity of the Select Committee's English document.

The second discrepancy is more startling. The Select Committee printed the English language document as if it were signed and had a signet attached. At the bottom of the document were the following words: "(Signed with a signet.) SEGED

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[80] *Id.*

[81] ST. CLAIR, LORD ELGIN, *supra* note 51, at 90. Also, in December 2000, St. Clair forwarded to me a photocopy of the Italian document, and it does use the abbreviation "N.N." and not Hunt's name.

[82] *Id.* at 90 n.*.

[83] ST. CLAIR, CONTROVERSIAL HISTORY, *supra* note 3, at 340.

[84] The letters "N.N." are likely an abbreviation for the Latin *non nullus*, loosely translated to mean "someone." It was a conventional way of indicating in a draft document that the name of a specific person would be inserted at a later time when a final version of the document was rendered. E-mail from Len Newman (June 2, 2000, 14:13 EST) (on file with author).

ABDULLAH KAIMACAN."[86] The suggestion is clear: The committee examined a document that had a signet and was signed by the Acting Grand Vizier. When St. Clair included the text of the Italian document in his 1998 biography, he placed the words "/Sotto[sic]/Sejid Abdullah Kaimmecam" at the end of the text.[87] This also gave the impression that the Italian document was signed by Sejid Abdullah Kaimmecam.[87] Immediately following the Italian language text, St. Clair included an English language translation of the Italian document that ends with the following statement: "Signed [*in the translation given in the Select Committee's report the phrase used is 'signed with a signet'*] Seged Abdullah Kaymacam."[88]

As surprising as it may be—and some may even find it shocking—St. Clair's Italian language document is not signed by Seged Abdullah Kaymacam, and it has no signet. The fact that the document is not signed and that it lacks a signet is certain. I first learned that the Italian document lacked a signature and a signet when St. Clair answered a direct question I asked him during a telephone conversation in the fall of 1997, about six months before the publication of the 1998 revised edition of his biography. St. Clair affirmed the fact that the Italian document lacked Seged Abdullah Kaymacam's signature and a signet during a second telephone conversation in the spring of 1998. St. Clair was present at a conference in Athens in May 2000 when I stated that the Italian document was not signed by Seged Abdullah Kaymacam and lacked a signet, and although he commented on other points I made in my lecture, he did not contradict or contest my statement that the Italian language document was unsigned and lacked a signet. Finally, in December 2000, St. Clair forwarded me a photocopy of the Italian document. The photocopy affirms the facts that Seged Abdullah Kaymacam did not sign the Italian document and that the Italian document lacks a signet.[89] The presentation of the Italian document as if it were signed by the acting Grand Vizier, Seged Abdullah Kaymacam, and had a signet, insulated it from questions regarding its authenticity. But if the Italian language document is not signed, as it is not, and if it lacks a signet, as it does, then its relationship to the Ottoman language document is open to question and reconsideration.

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[86] REPORT OF MARCH 25, 1816, *supra* note 17, at 69.

[87] ST. CLAIR, CONTROVERSIAL HISTORY, *supra* note 3, at 339.

[87] *See id.*

[88] *Id.* at 341.

[89] Although St. Clair has known for years that the Italian document (which has been in his possession since the 1960s) was unsigned and lacked a signet, he did not correct this misrepresentation in the third edition of his Elgin biography. *See generally id.*

III. THE SELECT COMMITTEE'S MISREPRESENTATIONS AND DECEIT

At the time of the Select Committee proceedings, who knew of the two discrepancies between the Italian and the English documents? How and why did it happen that the English document identified Hunt as the courier and was printed as if it were signed with a signet? The sparse surviving documents do not conclusively answer these questions, but a review of what is known strongly points toward several conclusions.

First, let us consider Hunt. Did Hunt knowingly participate in a process that resulted in the discrepancies between his Italian language document and the Select Committee's English language document? There was only one way that Hunt might have been uninformed of the discrepancies prior to the publication of the Select Committee's report. If Hunt had submitted the Italian translation to the committee, and if the committee did not discuss with Hunt the alterations prior to publication, then Hunt would not have known of the alterations in advance. But was that likely? Was that even conceivable? It is implausible that the committee would have replaced "N.N." with Hunt's name unless Hunt had provided the committee with that information. Given that the committee obtained the Italian document from Hunt, it likely asked Hunt whose name to put at the bottom of the document. Thus, it seems almost a certainty that Hunt was not only the source of the information that led to the alterations, but also knew of the alterations prior to publication.[91]

[91] But if Hunt knowingly participated in the process that resulted in the discrepancies between the Italian and the English documents, does that mean that Hunt lied to the committee about the nature and the content of the Italian document? Surprisingly, this problem vanishes by carefully examining Hunt's words. Hunt testified:

> [O]n my return therefore to Constantinople, in 1801, I advised Lord Elgin to apply to the Porte for a fermaun embracing the particular objects I pointed out to him: and as I had been before deceived with respect to the pretended contents of a fermaun, I begged that this might be accompanied by a literal translation; the fermaun was sent with a translation, and that translation I now possess. It is left at Bedford, and I have no means of directing any person to obtain it; I would have brought it if I had been aware I should have been summoned by the Committee before I left Bedford.

REPORT OF MARCH 25, 1816, *supra* note 17, at 56. Although Hunt's syntax was sufficiently ambiguous to permit the unsuspecting to conclude that he had in fact secured a "literal translation," that is not what Hunt said he received. Hunt said he "begged" for a "literal translation." He did not say he received one. What he secured, he said, was "a translation." Hunt knew he did not possess a "literal translation" because his document was unsigned, undated, and contained the abbreviation "N.N." Moreover, Hunt said nothing that would put his testimony in conflict with the publication of an English document that substituted his name for the abbreviation "N.N." and imposed a signature and a signet where there was none.

Hunt's willingness to increase the chances that the Parliament would agree to purchase Elgin's collection so that the antiquities would remain in England was entirely in keeping with his brash and aggressive conduct in obtaining the marbles in 1801. Remember, it was Hunt who took the Ottoman document to Athens in 1801, and it was Hunt who, by all accounts, bullied, threatened, and bribed Ottoman officials in Athens to permit the removal of sculptures from the walls.[91] It was Hunt who wrote Elgin at that time beseeching Elgin to send a "Man of War" to Athens so that the entire Erechtheum—which Hunt described in a letter to Elgin as "that beautiful little model of ancient art"—"might be transported wholly to England."[92] Against this background, it is not difficult to accept that Hunt was willing, perhaps eager, to lend a hand in creating a misconception, if the misconception might strengthen Elgin's overall position and increase the chances that Parliament would purchase Elgin's collection and deposit it in the British Museum.

Second, was Elgin aware of the deception? Although there is no direct evidence that Elgin knew the committee's English document was not faithful to the Italian document, the circumstantial evidence suggests he did. Hunt was the committee's last witness, and as he explained to the committee, his appearance before the committee was a surprise to him: "[The Italian translation] is left at Bedford, and I have no means of directing any person to obtain it; I would have brought it if I had been aware. I should have been summoned by this Committee before I left Bedford."[93] So how did Hunt become a witness? Elgin must have facilitated it. Elgin was the party in interest. He knew that the committee was eager to examine a written permission, and the failure to produce such writing might undermine his efforts to sell his collection. Although no records exist that recount how Elgin knew Hunt was in London, and although no documents indicate how Elgin got Hunt before the committee, it is implausible to think that Elgin did not play a central role in bringing Hunt to the witness table. And if Elgin was critical to bringing Hunt before the committee, he must have known what Hunt would say. Otherwise, why would he extend himself to facilitate Hunt's testimony if there was a possibility that Hunt might make statements that were

[91] Even St. Clair, who is sympathetic to Elgin and his enterprise, has written: "As described in Chapters 9 and 10, Lord Elgin's agents by a mixture of cajolery, threats, and bribes, persuaded and bullied the Ottoman authorities in Athens to exceed the terms of the key second firman and to permit removals from the Parthenon and other buildings." ST. CLAIR, CONTROVERSIAL HISTORY, *supra* note 3, at 337.

[92] Hunt Letter, *supra* note 6, at 196.

[93] REPORT OF MARCH 25, 1816, *supra* note 17, at 56.

contrary to his interests? Thus, although no evidence directly establishes what Elgin knew about Hunt's document, it seems utterly naive not to assume that he was familiar with every significant detail of Hunt's testimony.

Third, was the Select Committee aware of the discrepancies? Or, put slightly differently, was the Select Committee an innocent victim of Elgin's and Hunt's deceit? The Select Committee would have been unaware of the discrepancies between the English document it published and the Italian document only if Hunt had submitted the altered English document to the committee, had not informed the committee of the alteration, and the committee did not insist on examining the Italian document. Then and only then would the committee not have known of the discrepancy. Although the possibility of these circumstances existing must be conceded, it seems highly implausible that they did. As already noted, it is conceivable that the committee accepted an English translation from Hunt without examining the Italian document. But even so, it is difficult to believe that Hunt would have failed to disclose the discrepancies, when he knew that his deception could have been uncovered if the committee insisted on examining the Italian document.

Furthermore, a review of the committee's examination of Hunt provides additional support for the claim that the Select Committee was aware when it questioned Hunt that the English document might differ from the Italian. The committee asked Hunt no questions about his "translation." This failure to seek any information about the Italian document appears irresponsible or incompetent, and neither characterization seems appropriate given the committee's overall proceedings. However, if one accepts that the committee deliberately refrained from asking Hunt questions about the Italian document—so that his ambiguous and incomplete statements would cover up the discrepancies between the Italian and the English documents—the otherwise seemingly incomprehensible incompetence of the committee becomes a shrewd stratagem to buttress Elgin's claim that he had obtained a written permission. It seems almost certain that the Select Committee knew at the time it prepared its report that the insertion of Hunt's name in the English document and the representation that the English document was signed with a signet created serious discrepancies between Hunt's Italian document and the English document.

To commit such deceit the Select Committee had to be highly motivated. And it was. Elgin's collection was incomparable.[94] If Parliament did not buy it, it was destined for the continent.[95] Many in England who prized the collection wanted it to remain in London, believing that it would immediately strengthen the British Museum as a center of international culture.[96] Furthermore, the committee knew that opposition to the purchase existed in the Parliament.[97] Thus, it is hardly far-fetched to imagine that the committee gauged that shoring up the legality of Elgin's claim would enhance the chances that Parliament would approve the purchase.

The immediate consequence of the Select Committee's hiding of facts that could be used to challenge the purchase was to mislead the Parliament to which it reported and to increase the likelihood that Elgin's collection would remain in England. The long-term consequence was the fabrication of a claim of legitimacy that powerfully affects contemporary events.

IV. A LETTER, NOT A FIRMAN

The Select Committee's report referred to the English document published in the appendix as a firman. The committee wrote: "Dr. Hunt, who accompanied Lord *Elgin* as chaplin to the embassy, has preserved, and has now in his possession, a translation of the second fermaun."[98] The opening words of the introduction the committee placed before presenting the text of its English document were: "Translation from the Italian of a *Fermaun*, or Offical Letter from The Caimacan Pasha."[99] In this century, commentators of differing views have also referred to the Select Committee's English document as a firman. Thus, a century after the Select Committee's proceedings, A.H. Smith, a former Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, wrote in his centennial article: "The terms of the new firman are published in the report of the Select Committee and elsewhere."[100] B.F. Cook, a former Keeper at the British Museum, referred to the 1801 document as a firman in his 1984 guide to Elgin's collection: "On 6 July Elgin received the desired firman."[101] Christopher

[94] *See id.* at 6-7.

[95] *See id.* at 49.

[96] *See id.* at 15; 31 PARL. DEB., H.C. (1st Ser.) (1815) 828-30.

[97] *See* 31 PARL. DEB., H.C. (1st Ser.) (1815) 829-30; 32 PARL. DEB., H.C. (1st Ser.) (1815) 824-28.

[98] REPORT OF MARCH 25, 1816, *supra* note 17, at 4.

[99] *Id.* at 69.

[100] Hunt Letter, *supra* note 6, at 190.

[101] COOK, *supra* note 7, at 71.

Hitchens, who favors the restitution of the collection to Greece, has written: "Elgin was able to obtain a *firman* from the Sultan's ministers."[102] William St. Clair, repeatedly refers to the Select Committee's English document and the Italian document he possesses as a firman. In an identical vein, the American legal scholar, John Henry Merryman has written: "Elgin obtained from the Ottomans in Constantinople, where he was the British ambassador, a formal written instrument called a firman, addressed to the local authorities in Athens."[103]

Although a chorus chants "firman," the Select Committee's English document is not a firman. The quintessential requirement of a firman was that the Sultan issued it personally. An authority as familiar and as accessible as the Oxford English Dictionary offers a concise definition: a firman was "[a]n edict or order issued by an Oriental sovereign, *esp.* the Sultan of Turkey; a grant, license, passport, permit."[104] The Sultan did not issue the English document published in the Select Committee's report. Instead, it was signed by Seged Abdulah Caimacan, who filled the office of the Grand Vizier while the Grand Vizier was in Egypt trying to reestablish Ottoman control. As powerful a figure as the Grand Vizier was in the Ottoman government, an unbridgeable gulf separated the Grand Vizier, an appointed official, and the Sultan, the sovereign.[105]

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[102] Robert Browning, *The Parthenon History*, *in* CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS, THE ELGIN MARBLES: SHOULD THEY BE RETURNED TO GREECE? 10 (1998).

[103] Merryman, *supra* note 14, at 1897-98.

[104] 4 THE OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY 249 (1978).

[105] The question of whether the 1801 document was a firman has not been considered carefully by those who sympathize with Elgin's initial taking or the retention by the British Museum. Consider two examples. St. Clair, Elgin's biographer, who went to some lengths to offer support for his claim that the Italian document he possesses was created in Constantinople in 1801, uses the word "firman" without explanation. In contrast, John Henry Merryman at least raises the question of what a "firman" is in an explanatory footnote. Merryman writes: "A firman (firmaun, fermaun) was an edict/order/decree/permit/letter from the Ottoman Government addressed to one of its officials ordering/suggesting/requesting that a favor be conferred on a person. See 4 Oxford English Dictionary 249 (1961)." Merryman, *supra* note 14, at 1898. What is surprising about Merryman's reference is that his definition of a firman is at odds with the definition contained in his reference, the edition of the OED quoted above. As noted, the OED defines the word "firman" to be an edict or order issued by the Sultan. In contrast, Merryman states that a firman was issued by "the Ottoman government," a phrase broad enough to include the Grand Vizier or his designate. There is no apparent reason—and Merryman offers none—for Merryman to assume that the OED's statement that firmans were issued by the Sultan was intended to include the Grand Vizier. Moreover, whereas the OED limits a firman to an "edict or order," Merryman expands the definition to include a "decree/permit/letter." Although one might well think there was little difference between an "edict or order," on the one hand, and a decree or permit, on the other—they all seem like formal, legal documents—that is not true for a "letter," which can include a communication that is much less formal, and certainly less legal, in character.

The fact that the document sent to the Ottoman officials in Athens was a letter signed by the acting Grand Vizier as opposed to a firman may well be of great significance. There is evidence that the Grand Vizier—or acting Grand Vizier—lacked the authority to permit the dismantling of the Parthenon. Rather, it seems that control over classical antiquities rested with the Sultan.[106] Accordingly, the fact that the acting Grand Vizier sent a letter to the Ottoman officials in Athens, as opposed to the Sultan sending a firman, was a potentially significant matter affecting the ultimate relevance of the 1801 letter to the question of whether the Ottomans gave Elgin prior permission to remove sculptures from the Parthenon's edifice. If the Sultan controlled classical antiquities, the acting Grand Vizier would not have intended his letter to authorize the removal of the Parthenon sculptures, which only the Sultan controlled.

V. HUNT'S ITALIAN LANGUAGE DOCUMENT RECONSIDERED

The Select Committee's English document is definitely a translation of Hunt's Italian document. But is the uniformly accepted assumption that the Italian document is a translation of the original Ottoman document correct? Until now, that question seemed off limits. The representation that the Italian document was signed by Seged Abdullah Kaimacan and had a signet appeared to be irrefutable evidence establishing the document's authenticity and reliability. Regardless of how many other questions one might have challenging the Italian document, the very idea that the Italian document was signed with a signet insulated the document's authenticity from challenge. Now that it is absolutely certain, however, that the Italian document is not signed and that it lacks a signet, we are in a position for the first time to reconsider, in light of all the available evidence, the bedrock assumption that the English document published in the Select Committee's report is, by its assumed linkage to the Ottoman document through the Italian document, a trustworthy and accurate translation of the July 1801 Ottoman document.

Three factors must be assessed. First, there is the use of the "N.N." in the text of the Italian document. As already noted, "N.N." was used in draft documents to indicate that the name of an individual was to be inserted in a final version of the document. The abbreviation "N.N." would not have been used in the final version of a document; rather, it would have contained the name

[106] *See* MOLLY MCKENZIE, TURKISH ATHENS: THE FORGOTTEN CENTURIES 1456-1832, at 28 (1992).

of the courier. If the Italian document was meant to be a literal translation of the Ottoman document, and if the Ottoman document had Hunt's name in it, as Hunt claimed it did, there would be no reason whatsoever for Pisani—presumably the translator—to substitute "N.N." for Hunt's name.[107]

Second, if the Italian document was a translation of the Ottoman document intended to insure that Ottoman officials in Athens honored the terms of the Ottoman document, why was it in Italian? Neither Elgin nor Hunt read Italian. Even assuming Pisani was far more comfortable translating Ottoman into Italian than into English, nothing prevented Hunt or others from sitting down with Pisani in Constantinople and translating the Italian document into English before Hunt departed for Athens. That would have made the translation Hunt took useful. By contrast, leaving the Italian document untranslated failed to fulfill the very purpose Hunt later claimed prompted him to have a translation done in the first place. Of course, an Italian document might have helped Lusieri, Elgin's overseer in Athens, but Hunt kept the Italian document.[108]

Third, the Italian document lacked a date. It is inconceivable that the original Ottoman document lacked a date. Orders from the Porte were dated. Thus, if the Ottoman document was dated when Pisani supposedly translated it into Italian, it is likely that he would have noted the date on the Italian translation.

These three considerations—the use of "N.N.," the translation done in Italian, and the document being undated—upend the claim that the Italian document was a literal translation of the Ottoman. But if the Italian document is not a literal translation of the Ottoman document, what is it? To solve the puzzle presented, we must be willing to unleash ourselves from the orthodoxy of the past and consider two alternatives.

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[107] Even if Pisani was intent on translating only the critical aspects of the Ottoman document, only the terms of the order that defined the activities that Elgin's artisans could conduct, that approach cannot explain the use of "N.N." given the entire first paragraph of the English document, which describes the activities Elgin wished his artisans to be able to conduct, not the activities for which permission was granted. Those activities are defined in the second paragraph of the document. Thus, if Pisani's approach was to translate only the critical terms of the document that defined the permitted activities, he would not have translated the entire first paragraph, which constituted about one half of the entire document.

[108] St. Clair seeks to explain the use of Italian on the ground that it was the "lingua franca of the eastern Mediterranean" at the time. ST. CLAIR, CONTROVERSIAL HISTORY, *supra* note 3, at 88. Assuming that Italian was the lingua franca of the eastern Mediterranean, that fact fails to explain why this document was in Italian. How could a document in Italian help Hunt determine whether Ottoman officials in Athens complied with its terms if he did not read Italian? St. Clair's explanation is unpersuasive when weighed against the avowed purpose of the translation.

First, there is the possibility that the Italian document is a translation of a draft Ottoman document the Porte made available to Elgin to insure that the activities the Porte was prepared to permit were acceptable to the British ambassador. If this were the case, it would explain why the Italian document used the letters "N.N." and why it lacked a date. But it leaves unexplained why the document was in Italian. Although Pisani most likely would have translated the Ottoman document initially into Italian, it is doubtful that matters would have been left in that state since Pisani would likely have gone over the document with Hunt, if not Elgin. It would seem likely that Pisani would have worked with a member of Elgin's embassy staff to prepare an English translation so that Elgin could read it at his convenience. The possibility that the Italian document is a translation of a draft Ottoman document cannot be ruled out, but that explanation leaves unanswered why Hunt had an Italian rather than an English translation.

There is a second explanation. If the Italian document is considered a document prepared by Pisani, embodying Elgin's wishes and presented to the Porte for consideration, the puzzle created by the use of "N.N." the absence of a date on the document, and the fact that the document is in Italian vanishes. The use of the Latin abbreviation "N.N." makes sense since Pisani would not presume to know whom the Porte would select as a courier. The lack of a date makes sense if the document was a draft submitted to the Porte for consideration. The fact that the document is in Italian is also explained if Pisani prepared the document to present to the Ottomans. As a dragoman, Pisani was routinely a negotiator with the Porte. In this capacity he must have been fully informed by Hunt, who had just arrived from Athens, and possibly Elgin, as to the problems the artisans were encountering on the Acropolis and what Elgin hoped to accomplish. It is quite plausible that the Porte, wanting to please Elgin in the hope of regaining control over Egypt in the wake of the British defeat of Napoleon's forces in Egypt, asked Pisani to draft a document that defined the conduct Elgin wanted his artisans to conduct. If Pisani had been so asked, he would likely have prepared the requested document in Italian, his native language.

In sum, Hunt's Italian document was likely prepared in Constantinople in 1801. But it was not a literal translation of the Ottoman document. Rather, it was a document, probably prepared by Pisani, that defined the activities Elgin wanted his workers on the Acropolis to conduct and that Pisani presented to the Porte for consideration. It is improbable that evidence will

ever come to light that will allow us to know for certain exactly what Hunt's Italian document is, and, in the absence of such conclusive evidence, this conclusion is the one best supported by the evidence now available.

CONCLUSION

Accepting, as we must, that the Italian document is not a translation of the 1801 Ottoman document breaks the documentary chain the Select Committee knowingly misrepresented when it presented its English document as a legitimate and accurate translation of the 1801 Ottoman document. This means that although the English document is an accurate translation of the Italian document, we do not know how the substance of either document compared to the substance of the Ottoman document Elgin obtained in 1801. Such a realization destroys the settled view that the Select Committee's English document reliably and accurately defined the activities that Elgin's artisans were permitted to conduct.

Nonetheless, two points can be made with some confidence about the scope of activities permitted by the 1801 Ottoman document. First, as Elgin wrote to Lusieri in July 1801, the Ottoman document permitted Lusieri to "dig."[illegible] Digging had not previously been permitted, and Elgin emphasized this new dimension to Lusieri. Second, whatever the scope of activities permitted by the 1801 Ottoman document, there is no reason to assume that they were more extensive than those Elgin requested and that are defined in Hunt's Italian document. Thus, while the Ottoman document might have imposed more severe limitations on Elgin's artisans than those defined in the Italian document, there is no reason to believe that it granted greater powers.

[illegible] Hunt Letter, *supra* note 6, at 192.

Chapter 10

Unknown facts of Elgin's looting

A rare edition by an "anonymous" author, dated 1815 in London, can be found in the library of the Estia of Nea Smyrni. The "anonymous" author is William Richard Hamilton, private secretary to Lord Elgin. The book appeared at the time when Elgin was negotiating with the British government for the sale of his famous collection of sculptures which he had looted from Greece, taking advantage of Turkey's need for British support against Napoleon.

The object of the book was to stress the incomparable value of the collection, which is described, in the text, as infinitely more valuable than any other collection in the world. The fact that the book was published anonymously, for obvious reasons, reveals one more facet of Elgin's character.

However, this rare London edition contains some very interesting information which is unknown to those who are familiar with the story of the Elgin Marbles.

For instance, the book tells us Napoleon was very keen to acquire the Elgin collection at any price, so that Britain would be deprived of it. Indeed, at about that time, Napoleon had bought the famous Borghese collection for the staggering amount of £500,000.

A more interesting fact contained in the book is that Elgin's team dug up and looted the graves of Euripides and Aspasia. Unfortunately, the author describes only the finds in the grave of the famous courtesan from Miletus. They were contained in an impressive tomb, outside the gates of Piraeus on the ancient road to Eleusis. The excavation turned up a huge marble crater with a diameter of 1.5 metres. Inside it was a funerary urn containing the ashes and charred bones of the woman whose presence in Athens had so greatly influenced the city's political and cultural life. There was a gold wreath over the ashes in the shape of flowers made of gold.

Among the other priceless antiquities looted by Elgin in Athens and the surrounding area are the statue of Dionysos from the theatre of the same name, as well as the theatre's sun dial which, according to the "anonymous" author, gave the time in the days of Sophocles and Euripides.

Elgin also removed important architectural members from the temple of Aphrodite at Daphni, while from the courtyard of the Athenian Logothetis, who was British consul at the time, he acquired exceptional ancient sculptures which decorated a fountain. Among them was an Athenian inscription of inestimable importance to ancient Greek history, since it contained the names of the Athenians who fell at the battle of Potidaea. There was also a funerary inscription with the name of Socrates.

Another bit of information provided by the book is that Elgin had obtained permission from the Bishop of Athens to remove sculptures embedded in the walls of churches or

monasteries in Attica. He also removed many ancient bas-reliefs and many inscriptions containing irreplaceable historical data.

Among the works of art he plundered from the monasteries was the marble throne of a gymnasiarch with beautiful carvings on the back depicting the assassins of the tyrant Hipparchus, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, with daggers in their hands and the death of Leaena who, in order not to betray the plotters under torture, bit her tongue off.

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RESTITUTION CLAIM CONSIDERED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM

London 1 October 2002: The British Museum has considered the claim made to the Trustees by the Commission for Looted Art in Europe in respect of four Old Master drawings wrongfully seized by the Gestapo from a private collection on 15 March 1939. The drawings are:

(a) **Niccolò dell'Abbate**; *The Holy Family*; BM reg. no: 1946-11-16-1
(b) **Nicholas Blakey**; *An Allegory on Poetic Inspiration with Mercury and Apollo*; BM reg. no: 1946-11-16-2
(c) **Martin Johann Schmidt**; *Virgin and infant Christ, adored by St Elizabeth and the infant St John*; BM reg. no: 1946-11-16-3
(d) **Follower of Martin Schongauer**; *St Dorothy with the Christ Child*; BM reg. no: 1949-4-11-98

The Trustees recognize the merits of the detailed and compelling claim and have therefore authorised the Director to work jointly with the Commission to find the speediest possible resolution, including the possibility of referral to the Spoliation Advisory Panel established by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport.

In acknowledging the claim, the Trustees note that the atrocities committed during the era 1933-45 represent a distinct and especially brutal period of modern history, and express their sympathy with the claims of victims of the Nazi regime.

In evidence to the Select Committee on Culture, Media and Sport on 8 June 2000, the Museum placed on record its agreement with the Chairman of the Committee that, if it were established that the Museum was holding objects looted by the Nazis during the Holocaust, the Museum would wish to find a way to achieve a return of those objects to the victim's family.

For further information contact

1. Dr Carol Homden, The British Museum 020 7323 8789 or 0794 1177376

2. Anne Webber, Commission for Looted Art in Europe, 020 7487 3401

"British Museum to return drawings looted by Nazis"
The London Times, 2 October 2002

"Nazi-looted art set to go back to family"
The Daily Telegraph, 2 October 2002

"British Museum admits it has art looted by Nazis"
The Independent, 2 October 2002

British Museum May Hand over Nazi-Looted Art
The New York Times (from Reuters), 2 October 2002

"British Museum to give pictures looted by Nazis back to family"
Evening Standard, 2 October 2002

"British Museum Receives Restitution Claim"
Press Release, 27 May 2002

"British Museum faces Nazi loot claim"
BBC, 28 May 2002

'"Looted pictures' claim against British Museum"
The Guardian, 28 May 2002

"Family of Nazi victims claim museum pictures"
The Telegraph, 28 May 2002

"Nazi loot claim is investigated by British Museum"
The Independent, 28 May 2002

The Holy Family by Niccolò dell'Abbate

St Dorothy with the Christ Child by a follower of Martin Schongauer

An Allegory on Poe with Mercury and A Nicholas Blakey

Virgin and Child adored by St Elizabeth and the infant St John by Martin Johann Schmidt

Issue date: 1 October 2002

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MEMORANDUM

ON THE SUBJECT OF

THE EARL OF ELGIN'S PURSUITS

IN

Greece.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED BY BALFOUR, KIRKWOOD, & CO.

1810.

ERRATA.

Page 5.	line 4.	*For* Eretheus *read* Erechtheus.
6.	16.	*For* Perithous *read* Pirithous.
7.	17.	*For* vestibe *read* vestibulo.
8.	1.	*For* Connephoræ, Skeaphoræ, *read* Canephoræ, Skeuophoræ.
11.	8.	*For* Opisthodomum *read* Opisthudomos.
16.	9. & 20.	*For* Carlatides *read* Caryatides.
—	11.	*For* Carlas *read* Carya.
—	21.	*For* Lacedemonians *read* Lacedæmonians.
18.	10.	*For* Grecia *read* Gracia.
19.	18.	*For* Æschyles *read* Æschylus.
26.	9.	*For* representations *read* representation.
27.	3.	*For* eyed *read* valued.
29.	7.	*For* (which is as applicable to painting and architecture), as well as to sculpture, *read* (which is as applicable to painting and architecture, as to sculpture).
30.	26.	*For* Amphitryte *read* Amphitrite.

Memorandum

ON THE SUBJECT OF

LORD ELGIN'S PURSUITS IN GREECE.

In the year 1799, when Lord Elgin was appointed to the embassy in Turkey, he happened to be in much intercourse with Mr Harrison, an architect of great eminence in the west of England, who had there given various very splendid proofs of his professional talents, especially in a public building of Grecian architecture at Chester. Mr Harrison had besides studied many years, and to great purpose, at Rome. Lord Elgin consulted him, therefore, on the benefits that might possibly be derived to the arts in this country, in case an opportunity could be found for studying the architecture and sculpture in Greece; and his opinion very decidedly was, that although we might possess exact measurements of

the buildings at Athens, yet a young artist could never form to himself an adequate conception of their minute details, combinations, and general effect, without having before him some such sensible representation of them as could alone be conveyed by *casts*. This advice, which laid the ground-work of Lord Elgin's labours in Greece, led to the further consideration, that since any knowledge which had been obtained of these buildings was obtained under the peculiar disadvantages that the prejudices and jealousies of the Turks had ever thrown in the way of such attempts, any favourable circumstances which Lord Elgin's embassy might offer should be improved fundamentally; and not only modellers, but architects and draftsmen, be employed, to rescue from oblivion, in the most accurate possible detail, whatever architecture and sculpture in Greece had still escaped the ravages of time, and the barbarism of conquerors.

On this suggestion, Lord Elgin proposed to his Majesty's Government, that they should send out English artists of known eminence, capable of collecting this information in the most perfect manner; but the prospect appeared of too doubtful an issue for ministers to engage in the expense attending it. Lord Elgin then endeavoured to engage some of these artists at his own charge; but the value of their time was far beyond his means. When, however, he reached Sicily, he was so fortunate as to prevail on Don Tita Lusieri, undoubtedly the first general painter in

Europe, of great knowledge in the arts, infinite taste, and of the most scrupulous exactness in copying any subject he is to represent, to undertake the execution of this plan; and Mr Hamilton, who accompanied him to Constantinople, immediately went with M. Lusieri to Rome; where, in consequence of the confusion then existing in Italy, they were enabled to engage two of the most eminent *formatori* to make the *madreformi* for the casts: Signior Balestra, the first architect there, along with Ittar, a young man of great talent, to undertake the architectural part of the plan; and one Theodore, a Kalmouk, who had distinguished himself during several years at Rome, in the capacity of figure painter.

After much difficulty, Lord Elgin obtained permission from the Turkish government to establish these six artists at Athens; where they prosecuted the business of their several departments during three years, acting on one general system, under the great advantage of mutual controul; and at length completed Lord Elgin's plan in all its parts.

Accordingly, every monument, of which there are any remains in Athens, has been thus most carefully and minutely measured, and, from amongst the rough draughts of the architects, (all of which are preserved), plans and elevations, and details of the most remarkable objects, have been extended, in finished drawings, in the very highest perfection; in which the Kalmouk has

restored and inserted all the sculpture, with exquisite taste and ability. He has besides drawn, with astonishing accuracy, all the bas-reliefs on the several temples, in the precise state of decay and mutilation in which they at present exist.

Most of the *bas*-reliefs, and all the characteristic features of architecture, in the various monuments at Athens, have been moulded, and the casts and moulds brought to London.

Besides the architecture and sculpture at Athens, all remains of them which could be traced throughout Greece, have been measured and delineated, with the most scrupulous exactness, by the second architect, Ittar.

And picturesque views of Athens, of Constantinople, of various parts of Greece, and of the Archipelago Islands, have been executed by Don Tita Lusieri.

In the prosecution of this undertaking, the artists had the mortification of witnessing the very wilful devastation, to which all the sculpture, and even architecture, was daily exposed, on the part of the Turks and travellers. The Ionic Temple, on the Ilyssus, which, in Stuart's time, (about the year 1759), was in tolerable preservation, had so effectually disappeared, that, literally, at this date, even its foundation could not be ascertained. Another temple, near Olympia, had shared a similar fate, within the recollection of men living. The Temple of Minerva had been converted into a powder magazine, and had been completely destroyed, from a shell falling into it, while the Venetians bombarded Athens, in the end of the seventeenth century; and even this did not deter the Turks from applying the beautiful Temple of Neptune and Eretheus to the same use, and exposing it thus constantly to a like explosion. Many of the statues on the *posticum* of the Temple of Minerva, (Parthenon), which had been thrown down by the explosion, had been absolutely pounded for mortar, because of their being the whitest marble within reach; and the parts of the modern fortification, and the miserable houses where this mortar was so applied, were discovered. Besides, it is well known, that the Turks are in the constant habit of climbing up the remaining walls, and amusing themselves in defacing any sculpture they can reach; and frequently break columns, statues, &c. in the expectation of their containing some hidden treasure.

Under these circumstances, Lord Elgin felt himself impelled, by a stronger motive than personal gratification, to endeavour to preserve any specimens of sculpture, he could, without injury, rescue from such impending ruin. He had besides, another inducement, and an example before him, in the conduct of the last French embassy sent to Turkey before the Revolution. French artists did then remove several of the sculptured ornaments from several edifices on the Acropolis, and particularly from the Parthenon. In lowering one of the metopes,

it fell, and was dashed to pieces; but other objects from the same temple were conveyed to France, where they are held in the very highest estimation, and occupy very conspicuous places in the gallery of the Louvre. And the same agents were remaining at Athens during Lord Elgin's embassy, waiting only the return of favour to renew their operations there. Actuated by these inducements, Lord Elgin exerted all his advantages, and ultimately with such success, that he has brought to England, from the ruins at Athens, from the modern walls and fortifications in which many fragments had been built up, and from excavations there, far more original Athenian sculpture, in statues, alti and bassi relievi, capitals, cornices, frizes, and columns, than are elsewhere in existence.

Lord Elgin is in possession of several of the metopes from the temple of Minerva. They represent the battles between the Centaurs and Lapithæ, at the nuptials of Perithous. Each metope contains two figures, grouped in various attitudes; sometimes the Lapithæ victorious, sometimes the Centaurs. The relaxed muscles of one of the Lapithæ, who is lying dead and trampled on by a Centaur, is one of the finest productions of art; as well as the groupe adjoining to it, of Hippodamia, the bride, carried off by the Centaur Eurythion, and struggling to throw herself from the monster's back; while he is grasping her with brutal violence, with one hand twisted into her dishevelled tresses. The furious

style of his galloping in order to secure his prize, and his shrinking from the spear that has been hurled after him, are expressed with prodigious animation. They are all in such high relief, as to be absolutely groupes of statues; and they are in general finished with as much attention behind as before, in order that they might strike the eye of the spectator with effect, in whatever direction he approached the Acropolis, from the plain of Athens. They originally ran all round the entablature of the Parthenon, and formed ninety-two groupes. The zeal of the early Christians, the barbarism of the Turks, and explosions when the temple was used as a gun-powder magazine, have demolished a very large portion of them; so that, except those preserved to the arts by Lord Elgin, it is in general difficult to trace even the outline of the original subject.

The frize which ran round the top of the walls of the cell, was full of sculpture in bas-relief, designed to occupy the attention of those who were waiting in the vestible and ambulatory of the temple, till the sacred rites commenced. This frize being unbroken by triglyphs, had presented much more unity of subject than the detached and insulated groupes on the metopes of the peristyle. It represented the whole of the solemn procession during the Panathenaic festival: many of the figures are on horseback; others are just going to mount: some are in chariots; others on foot: oxen, and other victims, are leading to sacrifice;

the nymphs called Cannephoræ, Skeaphoræ, &c. are carrying the sacred offerings in baskets and vases; priests, magistrates, warriors, &c. &c. forming altogether a series of most interesting figures, in all the variety of costume, armour, and attitude. Some antiquaries, who have examined this frize with minute attention, seem to think it contained portraits of many of the leading characters at Athens, during the Peloponnesian war, particularly of Pericles, Phidias, Socrates, the young Alcibiades, &c. The whole frize, which originally was six hundred feet in length, is of Pentelic marble, superior to Parian for bas-reliefs; many large blocks of it are in Lord Elgin's possession.

The tympanum of each of the frontispieces of the Parthenon, was adorned with statues. That over the grand entrance of the temple, contained the mythological history of Minerva's birth from the brain of Jove. In the centre of the groupe was seated Jupiter, in all the majesty of his exalted character. On his left, were the principal divinities of Olympus, among whom Vulcan came prominently forward, with the axe in his hand which had cleft a passage for the goddess. On the right was Victory, in loose floating robes, holding the horses of the chariot which introduced the new divinity to Olympus. When Athens lost her freedom, she shewed her adulation and servility to the Roman power, by adding the statues of Hadrian and Sabina to this groupe of Phidias. One of the bombs fired by Morosini, the Venetian, from the opposite hill of the Musæum, injured many of the figures in this fronton, and the attempt of General Kænigsmark to take down the figure of Minerva, ruined the whole. By purchasing the house of one of the Turkish janissaries, built immediately under and against the columns of the portico, and then demolishing it in order to excavate, Lord Elgin has had the satisfaction of recovering the greatest part of the statue of Victory, in a drapery which discovers all the fine forms beneath, with exquisite delicacy and taste. Lord Elgin also found there the torso of Jupiter, part of Vulcan, and other fragments.

On the other frontispiece had been represented the contest between Minerva and Neptune about giving a name to the city. The Goddess of Wisdom had just gained the victory, by proving how much greater a benefit she should confer, by the peaceful and productive olive, than the God of Ocean, by his warlike gift of a horse. One or two of the figures remained on this tympanum, and others were on the top of the wall, thrown back by the explosion which destroyed the temple; but the far greater part had fallen: and a house being built immediately below the space they had occupied, Lord Elgin, encouraged by the success of his excavations at the opposite portico, obtained leave, after much difficulty, to pull down this house also, and make searches. But, to his great mortification, not the slightest fragment could be discovered; and the Turk, who had been induced, though

most reluctantly, to give up his house to be demolished, then exultingly pointed out the places in the modern fortification, and in his own buildings, where the cement employed, was formed from the very statues Lord Elgin had been in hopes of finding. And Lord Elgin afterwards ascertained, on incontrovertible evidence, that these statues had been reduced into powder, and so used. Then, and then only, did he employ means to rescue what still remained from a similar fate. Among these objects, is a horse's head, which far surpasses any thing of the kind ever seen, in the truth and spirit of the execution. The nostrils are distended, the ears erect; the veins swollen, one might almost say throbbing: his mouth is open, and he seems to neigh with the conscious pride of belonging to the Ruler of the waves. Besides this inimitable head, Lord Elgin has procured, from the same pediment, two colossal groupes, each consisting of two female figures, probably sea deities. They are formed of single massive blocks of Pentelic marble: their attitudes are most graceful; and the lightness and elegance of the drapery exquisite. From the same pediment, has also been procured a male statue, in a reclining posture, supposed to represent Neptune. And, above all, the figure denominated the Theseus, which is universally admitted to be superior to any piece of statuary ever brought into England. Each of these statues is worked with such care, and the finishing even carried so far, that every

part, and the very plinth itself in which they rest, is equally polished on every side.

From the Opisthodomum of the Parthenon, Lord Elgin also procured some valuable inscriptions, written in the manner called Kionedon or Columnar, next in antiquity to the Boustrophedon. The letters in each line are equal in number, without regard to the sense, even monosyllables being separated occasionally into two parts, if the line has had its complement, and the next line then begins with the end of the broken word. The letters range perpendicularly, as well as horizontally, so as to render it almost impossible to make any interpolation or erasure of the original text. Their subjects are public decrees of the people; accounts of the riches contained in the treasury, and delivered by the administrators to their successors in office; enumerations of the statues; the silver, gold, and precious stones deposited in the temples; estimates for the public works, &c.

The Parthenon itself, independently of its decorative sculpture, is so exquisite a model of Doric architecture, that Lord Elgin conceived it to be of the highest importance to the arts, to secure original specimens of each member of the edifice. These consist of a capital; assizes of the columns themselves, to shew the exact form of the curve used in channelling; a Triglyph, and mutules from the cornice, and even some of the marble tiles with which the ambulatory was roofed: so that, not only the sculptor

may be gratified by studying every specimen of his art, from colossal statues down to bas-reliefs, executed in the golden age of Pericles, by Phidias himself, and under his immediate direction; but the practical architect may examine into every detail of the building, even to the mode of uniting the tambours of the columns, without the aid of mortar, so as to make the shafts look like single blocks to the most scrutinizing eye.

The same works were executed on the Temple of Theseus; but as the walls, and columns, and sculpture, are in their original position, not a morsel of sculpture has been displaced, nor the minutest fragment of any kind taken from the building itself. The metopes in mezzo-relievo, containing a mixture of the labours of Hercules and Theseus, have been modelled and drawn, as well as the frize representing the battle between the Centaurs and Lapithæ, some incidents of the battle of Marathon, and some mythological subjects. The temple itself is very inferior in size and decorative sculpture to the Parthenon; having been raised by Cimon, the son of Miltiades, before Pericles had given his countrymen a taste for such magnificence and expense, as he displayed on the edifices of the Acropolis.

The original approach to the Acropolis, from the plain of Athens, was by a long flight of steps commencing near the foot of the Areopagus, and terminating at the Propylæa. The Propylæa was a hexastyle colonnade, with two wings, and surmounted by

a pediment. Whether the metopes and tympanum were adorned with sculpture, cannot now be ascertained; as the pediment and entablature have been destroyed, and the intercolumniations built up with rubbish, in order to convert it into a battery of five guns. Although the plan of this edifice contains some deviations from the pure taste that reigns in the other structures of the Acropolis, yet each member is so perfect in the details of its execution, that Lord Elgin was at great pains to obtain a Doric and an Ionic capital from its ruins. On the right hand of the Propylæa, was a temple dedicated to unwinged Victory; an epithet to which many explanations have been given. It was built from the spoils won in the glorious struggles for freedom at Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa. On its frize were sculptured many incidents of these memorable battles; in a style that has been thought by no means inferior to the metopes of the Parthenon: the only fragments of it that had escaped the ravages of barbarians, were built into the wall of a gunpowder magazine near it, and the finest block was inserted upside downwards. It required the whole of Lord Elgin's influence at the Porte, to get leave to remove them, but he at length succeeded. They represent the Athenians in close combat with the Persians, and the sculptor has taken care to mark the different dresses and armour of the various forces serving under the great king. The long garments and zones of the Persians, had induced former travellers, from the

hasty and aukward view they had of them, to suppose the subject was the battle between Theseus and the Amazons, who invaded Attica, under the command of Antiope; but the Persian tiaras, the Phrygian bonnets, and many other particulars, clearly point out the mistake. The spirit with which the subjects are represented is wonderful,—one remarks, in particular, the contest of some warriors to rescue the body of a dead comrade, which is expressed with uncommon animation. These bas-reliefs, and some of the most valuable sculpture, especially the representation of a marriage, taken out of the parapet of the modern fortification, were embarked in the Mentor, a vessel belonging to Lord Elgin, which was unfortunately wrecked off Cytherea, now called Cerigo; but Mr Hamilton, who was at the time on board, and most providentially saved, immediately directed his whole energies to discover some means of rescuing so valuable a cargo; and, in the course of several weeks devoted to that endeavour, he succeeded in procuring some very expert divers from the islands of Syme and Calymna, near Rhodes; who, after immense labour and perseverence, did, in the space of two years, actually bring up those masses uninjured out of the hold of the vessel, before it broke up, and while it lay in ten fathoms water.

Near the Parthenon are three temples, so connected in their structure, and by the rites celebrated in them, that they might be almost considered as a triple temple. They are of small di-

mensions, and of the Ionic order: one of them dedicated to Neptune and Erectheus; the second to Minerva Polias, the protectress of citadels; the third to the nymph Pandrosos. It was on the spot where these temples stand, that Minerva and Neptune are supposed to have contended for the honour of naming the city. Athenian superstition long shewed the mark of Neptune's trident, and a briny fountain, that attested his having there opened a passage for his horse; and the original olive tree produced by Minerva was venerated in the temple of Pandrosos, as late as the time of the Antonines.

This temple of Minerva Polias is of the most delicate and elegant proportions of the Ionic order: the capitals and bases of the columns are ornamented with consummate taste; and the sculpture of the frize and cornice is exquisitely rich. One has difficulty to conceive how marble has been wrought to such a depth, and brought to so sharp an edge: the palmetti, ovetti, &c. have all the delicacy of works in metal. The vestibule of the temple of Neptune, is of more masculine proportions; but its Ionic capitals have infinite merit. This beautiful vestibule is now used as a powder magazine; and no other access to it could be had but to creep through an opening which Lord Elgin found means to make in the wall recently built between the columns: he was enabled to keep it open during his operations in it; but it was then closed, so that future travellers will be prevented from

seeing the inner door of the temple, which is perhaps, the most perfect specimen in existence of Ionic ornament. Both these temples have been measured, and their plans, elevations, and views made with the utmost accuracy. The ornaments have all been moulded; some original blocks of the frize and cornice have been obtained from the ruins; and also a capital and a base.

The little adjoining chapel of Pandrosos is quite a *concetto* of architecture: instead of Ionic columns to support the architrave, it had seven statues of Carian women, or Cariatides. The Athenians endeavoured by this device to perpetuate the infamy of the inhabitants of Carias, who were the only Peloponnesians favourable to Xerxes in his invasion of Greece. The men had been reduced to the deplorable state of Helotes; and the women not only condemned to the most servile employments, but those of rank and family forced, in this abject condition, to wear their ancient dresses and ornaments. In this situation, they are here exhibited. The drapery is fine, the hair of each figure is braided in a different manner, and a kind of diadem they wear on their head, forms the capital. Besides drawing and moulding all these particulars, Lord Elgin has one of the original marble Cariatides. The Lacedemonians had used a similar vengeance in constructing the Persian Portico, which they had erected at Sparta, in honour of their victory over the forces of Mardonius at Platæa: placing

statues of Persians in their rich oriental dresses, instead of columns, to sustain the entablature.

The architects have also made a ground plan of the Acropolis, in which they have not only inserted all the existing monuments, but have likewise added those, the position of which could be ascertained from traces of their foundations. Among these are the Temple and Cave of Pan; to whom the Athenians thought themselves so much indebted at the battle of Marathon, as to vow him a temple. It is now nearly obliterated; as well as that of Aglauros, who devoted herself to death to save her country. In it, the young citizens of Athens received their first armour, enrolled their names, and took the oath of fighting to the last drop of their blood for the liberties of their country. Near this was the spot where the Persians scaled the wall of the citadel, when Themistocles had retired with the principal forces of Athens, and all her navy, to Salamis. The remains of the original walls may still be traced in the midst of the Turkish and Venetian additions, and are distinguishable by three modes of construction at very remarkable epochs,—the Pelasgic, the Cecropian, and that of the age of Cimon and Pericles. It was at that brilliant period, that the Acropolis, in its whole extent, was contemplated with the same veneration as a consecrated temple; consistent with which sublime conception, the Athenians crowned its lofty walls with an entablature of grand proportions, surmounted by a cornice. Some

of the massy triglyphs and motules still remain in their original position, and produce a most imposing effect.

The ancient walls of the town of Athens, as they existed in the Peloponnesian war, have been traced by Lord Elgin's artists in their whole extent, as well as the long walls that led to Munychia and the Piræus. The gates, mentioned in the Greek classics, have been ascertained: and every public monument, that could be recognised, has been inserted in a general map; as well as detailed plans given of each. Extensive excavations were necessary for this purpose, particularly at the Great Theatre of Bacchus; at the Pnyx, where the assemblies of the people were held, where Pericles, Alcibiades, Demosthenes, and Æschines, delivered their animated orations. The Theatre built by Herodes Atticus, to the memory of his wife Regilla, and the Tumuli of Antiope, Euripides, &c. have also been opened; and from these excavations, and various others in the environs of Athens, has been procured a complete and invaluable collection of Greek vases. The colonies sent from Athens, Corinth, &c. into Magna Grecia, Sicily, and Etruria, carried with them this art of making vases, from their mother country; and, as the earliest modern collections of vases were made in those colonies, they have improperly acquired the name of Etruscan. Those found by Lord Elgin at Athens, Æginæ, Argos, and Corinth, will prove the indubitable claim of the Greeks to this art: none of those

in the collections of the king of Naples at Portici, or in that of Sir William Hamilton, excel some Lord Elgin has procured, with respect to the elegance of the form, the fineness of the materials, the delicacy of the execution, or the beauty of the subjects delineated on them; and they are in very high preservation. A tumulus, into which an excavation was commenced under Lord Elgin's eye during his residence at Athens, has furnished a most valuable treasure of this kind. It consists of a large marble vase, five feet in circumference, inclosing one of bronze thirteen inches in diameter, of beautiful sculpture, in which was a deposit of burnt bones, and a lachrymatory of alabaster, of exquisite form; and on the bones lay a wreath of myrtle in gold, having, besides leaves, both buds and flowers. The position of this tumulus is on the road that leads from Port Piræus to the Salaminian Ferry and Eleusis. May it not be the tomb of Aspasia?

From the Theatre of Bacchus, Lord Elgin has obtained the very ancient sun-dial, which existed there during the time of Æschyles, Sophocles, and Euripides; and a large statue of Bacchus, dedicated by Thrasyllus in gratitude for his having obtained the prize of tragedy at the Panathenaic festival. A beautiful little Corinthian temple near it, raised for a similar prize gained by Lysicrates, and commonly called the Lantern of Demosthenes, has also been drawn and modelled with minute attention. It is a most precious little *bijou* in architecture. The elevation, ground-

plan, and other details of the octagonal temple, raised by Andronicus Cyrrhestes to the winds, has also been executed with care; but the sculpture on its frize is in so heavy a style, that it was not judged worthy of being modelled in plaster.

Permission was obtained from the archbishop of Athens, to examine the interior of all the churches and convents in Athens and its neighbourhood, in search of antiquities; and his authority was frequently employed, to permit Lord Elgin to appropriate any curious fragment of antiquity that was met with. This search furnished many valuable bas-reliefs, inscriptions, ancient dials, a Gymnasiarch's chair in marble, on the back of which are figures of Harmodius and Aristogiton, with daggers in their hands, and the death of Leæna, who bit out her tongue during the torture, rather than confess what she knew of the conspiracy against the Pisistratidæ. The fountain in the court-yard of our consul Logotheti's house was decorated with a bas-relief of Bacchantes, in the style called Græco-Etruscan: Lord Elgin obtained this, as well as a *quadriga* in bas-relief, with a Victory hovering over the charioteer, probably an *ex voto*, for some victory at the Olympic games. Amongst the Funeral Cippi found in different places, are some remarkable names, particularly that of Socrates; and in the Ceramicus itself, Lord Elgin discovered an inscription in elegiac verse, on the Athenians who fell at Potidæa, and whose

eulogy was delivered with such pathetic eloquence in the funeral oration of Pericles.

The peasants at Athens generally put into a niche over the door of their cottage, any fragment they discover in plowing the fields. Out of these, were selected and purchased many curious antique votive tablets, with sculpture and inscriptions. A complete series has also been formed of capitals, of the only three orders known in Greece, the Doric, the Ionic, and the Corinthian; from the earliest dawn of art in Athens, to the zenith of taste under Pericles; and from thence, through all its degradations, to the dark ages of the lower empire.

At a convent called Daphne, about half way between Athens and Eleusis, were the remains of an Ionic temple of Venus, which, for the brilliancy of the marble, the bold style of the ornaments, the delicacy of the finish, and their high preservation, cannot be surpassed. Lord Elgin procured from thence two of the capitals, a whole fluted column, and a base.

Lord Elgin, in his excursions on the plain of Troy, was so fortunate as to secure the famous Boustrophedon inscription, from the promontory of Sigæum, a monument which almost every ambassador from Christendom to the Porte, and even Louis XIV. in the zenith of his power, had ineffectually endeavoured to obtain. Lord Elgin found it forming a seat at the door of a Greek chapel, and habitually resorted to by persons afflicted with ague, who, de-

riving great relief from remaining reclined upon it, attributed their recovery to the marble, and not to the elevated situation and sea air, of which it procured them the advantage. Meanwhile, the practice of so using it, had much obliterated many of the letters. It is, however, the most ancient and curious specimen extant of Greek writing, at an epoch when the alphabet was very imperfect, and when the lines went alternately from right to left, and from left to right, like the furrows made by oxen in plowing; to which the word Boustrophedon alludes.

By the aid of this valuable acquisition, Lord Elgin's collection of inscriptions comprehends specimens of every remarkable peculiarity in the variations of the Greek alphabet, throughout the interesting period of Grecian history.

A few bronzes, cameos, and intaglios, were also procured: in particular, a cameo of very exquisite beauty, in perfect preservation, and of a peculiarly fine stone: it represents a female centaur suckling a young one. Lord Elgin was, besides, as fortunate in forming a collection of Greek medals, among which are several that are very rare; others of much historical merit; and many most admirable specimens of art.

The late Dr Carlyle, professor of Arabic at Cambridge, had accompanied Lord Elgin to Turkey, in the hopes of discovering any hidden remains of Grecian literature, as well as any unknown Arabic productions. Accordingly, Lord Elgin obtained for him

access to some deposits of MSS. in the seraglio: and in company with another gentleman of the embassy, amply qualified also for the research, he examined many collections in Constantinople, and in the neighbouring islands: all the monasteries, to the number of above thirty, on Mount Athos; and various other religious establishments throughout Greece, and the Archipelago islands. From these they brought home a great many MSS. which to them appeared valuable; as well as a particular catalogue and description of such as they were obliged to leave behind them.

In proportion as Lord Elgin's plan advanced, and the means accumulated in his hands towards affording an accurate knowledge of the works of architecture and sculpture in Athens and in Greece, it became a subject of anxious enquiry with him, in what way the greatest degree of benefit could be derived to the arts from what he was so fortunate as procure.

In regard to the works of the architects employed by him, he had naturally, from the beginning, looked forward to their being engraved: and accordingly all such plans, elevations, and details, as to those very eminent professional men appeared desirable for that object, were by them, and on the spot, extended with the greatest possible care, and are in a state of complete preparation. Besides these, all the working sketches and measurements have been preserved, and offer ample materials for further drawings, should they be required. It was then Lord Elgin's wish, both out

of respect for the subjects themselves, and in a view to their future utility, that the whole of the drawings might be executed in the highest perfection of the art of engraving: and for this purpose, he conceived it not impossible, and certainly very much to be desired, that a fund should have been procured by subscription, exhibition, or otherwise, by aid of which, these engravings might still have been distributable, for the benefit of artists, at a rate of expense which professional men might be supposed capable of attaining.

More difficulty occurred in forming a plan, for deriving the utmost advantage from the marbles and casts. Lord Elgin's first attempt was to have the statuary restored; and in that view he went to Rome, to consult and employ Canova. The decision of that most eminent artist was conclusive: on examining the specimens produced to him, and making himself acquainted with the whole collection, and particularly with what came from the Parthenon, by means of the persons who had been carrying on Lord Elgin's operations at Athens, and who had returned with him to Rome, Canova declared, That however greatly it was to be lamented that these statues should have suffered so much from time and barbarism, yet it was undeniable, that they had never been retouched; that they were the work of the ablest artists the world had ever seen; executed under the most enlightened patron of the arts, and at a period when genius enjoyed the most

liberal encouragement, and had attained the highest degree of perfection; and that they had been found worthy of forming the decoration of the most admired edifice ever erected in Greece: That he should have had the greatest delight, and derived the greatest benefit, from the opportunity Lord Elgin offered him of having in his possession, and contemplating these inestimable marbles: But, (his expression was,) it would be sacrilege in him, or any man, to presume to touch them with a chisel. Since their arrival in this country, they have been thrown open to the inspection of the public; and the opinions and impressions, not only of artists, but of men of taste in general, have thus been formed and collected. From these, the judgment pronounced by Canova has been universally sanctioned: and all idea of restoring the marbles has been deprecated. Meanwhile, the most distinguished painters and sculptors have assiduously attended this museum, and evinced the most enthusiastic admiration of the perfection to which these marbles now prove to them that Phidias had brought the art of sculpture. They have attentively examined and ascertained, that they were executed with the most scrupulous anatomical truth, not only in the human figure, but in the various animals to be found in this collection. They have been struck with the wonderful accuracy, and, at the same time, the great effect of the minutest detail, and with the animation and expression, so distinctly produced in every variety of attitude and action. Several

of the persons, more advanced in years, never cease to testify the liveliest concern, at not having had the advantage of studying these models. And several who have had the opportunity of forming the comparison, have publicly and unequivocally declared, that, in a view to professional men, this collection is more valuable than any other collection without exception. It may be added, on the subject of these impressions and opinions, that one of the groupes of female statues, so rivetted and agitated the feelings of Mrs Siddons, that great master of representations, as actually to draw tears from her eyes; and that Mr West, no less eminent as an artist, than as the zealous patron and encourager of the arts in this country, after passing some months in the daily study of these marbles, and making every examination to ascertain the advantage of such models, to painting as well as to sculpture, communicated to Lord Elgin the annexed report of his operations.

Two suggestions have, however, met with a good deal of approbation, in a view to the improvement to be obtained to sculpture, from these marbles and casts: The first, that casts of all such as were ornaments on the temples, should be placed in an elevation, and in a situation similar to that which they actually had occupied; that the originals should be disposed, in a view to the more easy inspection and study of them; and that particular subjects should occasionally be selected, and premiums given for the re-

storation of them: This restoration to be executed on casts, but by no means on the originals; and in the museum itself, where the character of the sculpture might be the more readily eyed.

Secondly, From trials which Lord Elgin was induced to make, at the request of professional gentlemen, a strong impression has been created, that the science of sculpture, and the taste and judgment by which it is to be carried forward and appreciated, cannot so effectually be promoted, as by athletic exercises practised in the presence of similar works, the distinguishing merit of which is an able, scientific, ingenious, but exact imitation of nature. By no other way could the variety of attitude, the articulation of the muscles, the description of the passions; in short, every thing a sculptor has to represent, be so accurately or so beneficially understood and represented.

Under similar advantages, and with an enlightened and encouraging protection bestowed on genius and the arts, it may not be too sanguine to indulge a hope, that, prodigal as nature is in the perfections of the human figure in this country, animating as are the instances of patriotism, heroic actions, and private virtues deserving commemoration, sculpture may soon be raised in England to rival the ablest productions of the best times of Greece.

LETTER

BENJAMIN WEST, Esq.

TO

THE EARL OF ELGIN.

My Lord, *London, Newman Street, Feb.* 6. 1809.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's obliging letter from your residence in Scotland; and have to thank you for the indulgence you afforded me, to study, and draw from, the sculptures by Phidias, in your Lordship's house in Piccadilly.

I have found in this collection of sculpture so much excellence in art, (which is as applicable to painting and architecture,) as well as to sculpture, and a variety so magnificent and boundless, that every branch of science connected with the fine arts, cannot fail to acquire something from this collection. Your Lordship, by bringing these treasures of the first and best age of sculpture and architecture into London, has founded a new Athens for the emulation and example of the British student. Esteeming this collection as I do, my Lord, I flatter myself it will not be unacceptable for your Lordship to know, what are the studies I have made from it.

I must premise to your Lordship, that I considered loose and detached sketches from these reliques, of little use to me, or value to the arts in general. To improve myself, therefore, and to contribute to the improvement of others, I have deemed it more important to select and combine whatever was most excellent from them, into subject and composition.

From the Centaurs in *alto relievo*, I have taken the figures of most distinguished eminence, and formed them into groupes for painting; from which selection, by adding female figures of my own, I have composed the Battle of the Centaurs. I have drawn the figures the size of the originals, on a canvass five feet six inches high, by ten feet long.

From the equestrian figures in *relievo*, I have formed the composition of Theseus and Hercules in triumph over the Amazons, having made their queen Hippolita a prisoner. In continuation, and as a companion to this subject, I have formed a composition, in which Hercules bestows Hippolita in marriage upon Theseus. Those two are on the same size with the Centaurs.

From the large figure of Theseus, I have drawn a figure of that hero, of the same size with the sculpture. Before him, on the ground, I have laid the dead body of the Minotaur which he slew. As, by this enterprise, he was extricated from the Labyrinth by the aid of Ariadne, I have represented that Princess sitting by his side, gazing on him with affection. In the back ground, are the Athenian youths, whom he delivered from bondage; and near them, the ship "with black sails," (in the poetic fancy of Pindar), which brought him to Crete. The size of this canvass is six feet high, by nine feet long.

From the figure of Neptune, I have formed a companion to the Theseus. In this composition, I have shewn Neptune reclining, with his left arm upon the knees of Amphitryte, while with his right he strikes the earth with his trident, and creates the horse. Around him, is Triton, with his train of marine gods; in the back ground, are equestrian exhibitions; and in the distance, ships at anchor.

From the casts in plaster of Paris, taken from the moulds which your Lordship had made at Athens, I selected such figures as I was enabled to form into a composition; the subject of which is, Alexander and his horse Bucephalus: it is on a canvass smaller than those before mentioned.

In order to render the subjects, which I selected with perspicuity, and the effect, which arises from combined parts and the order of arrangements, comprehensive, I have ventured to unite figures of my own invention with those of Phidias; but as I have endeavoured to preserve, with the best force of my abilities, the style of Phidias, I flatter myself, the union will not be deemed incongruous or presumptuous. Your Lordship may perhaps be inclined to think with me, that a point, and, if I may so express it, a kind of climax, is thus given to those works, by the union of those detached figures, with the incorporation of the parts of individual grandeur, and abstracted excellence of Phidias. For what I have done, my Lord, I had the example of Raphael, and most of the Italian masters of the greatest celebrity. Is it not, moreover, this combination of parts which comes the nearest to perfection in refined and ideal art? for, thus combining what is excellent in art with what possesses character in nature, the most distinguished works have been produced, in painting, poetry, and sculpture.

In following this system of combination, I had the singular good fortune, by your Lordship's liberality, to select from the first productions of sculpture which ever adorned the world in that department in art; which neither Raphael, nor any of the distinguished masters, had the advantage to see, much less to study, since the revival of art. I may, therefore, declare with truth, my Lord, that I am the first in modern times who have

enjoyed the much coveted opportunity, and availed myself of the rare advantage of forming compositions from them, by adapting their excellencies to poetic fictions and historical facts. I sincerely hope that those examples of art, with which your Lordship has enriched your country, and which has made London, if not the first, one of the most desirable points in Europe to study them—will not only afford to the British people, the frequent opportunity of contemplating their excellencies; but will be the means of enlightening the public mind, and correcting the national taste, to a true estimation of what is really valuable and dignified in art. The influence of these works will, I trust, encourage the men of taste and opulence in this country, to bestow a liberal patronage on genius to pursue this dignified style in art, for the honour of genius, themselves, and the country. I need not impress on your Lordship's mind a truth, of which the experience of the progress of art, through all ages, is the best confirmation, that without such refinement in this higher department of poetic or historical subjects, England will never acquire the glory of possessing the arts, in any but a subordinate degree. It is my wish, therefore, as it has been my endeavour, that the supreme excellence of those works of sculpture should become the means, and act as an incentive to that improvement amongst us, by which we may gratify the ambition of all honourable minds, and be remembered amongst the lovers of art and our country in a distant posterity, as those who have opened the avenues of excellence, and have rightly known and valued them. Let us, my Lord, justify ourselves, at least, by our intentions. In whatever estimation the arts of the present day shall be held by those of future ages, your Lordship must be remembered by the present, and be recorded by those to come, as a

benefactor who has conferred obligations, not only on a profession, but upon a nation; and as having rescued from the devastation of ignorance, and the unholy rapine of barbarism, those unrivalled works of genius, to be preserved in the bosom of your country, which a few centuries more might have consigned to oblivion.

To your Lordship I have to return my sincere thanks, for the means you have afforded me of adding my name to that of Phidias, by arranging his figures in my own compositions, and adapting them to subjects, by which my sketches may be rendered more acceptable, as well as more improving to myself in the higher point of my profession. And may the materials from which those sublime sculptures have been produced, be preserved from accident, that men of taste and genius yet unborn, may be gratified with a sight of them; and that the admiring world may revere the Author of all things, for having bestowed on man those peculiar powers of his mind and hand. With these sentiments, and with profound respect for your Lordship, I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most

Obedient and obliged,

BENJ. WEST.

To the Earl of Elgin.

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MEMORANDUM

ON THE SUBJECT OF

THE EARL OF ELGIN'S PURSUITS

IN

Greece.

EDINBURGH:

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1811.

Memorandum

ON THE SUBJECT OF

LORD ELGIN'S PURSUITS IN GREECE

In the year 1799, when Lord Elgin was appointed to the embassy in Turkey, he happened to be in habits of intercourse with Mr Harrison, an architect of great eminence in the west of England, who had there given various very splendid proofs of his professional talents, especially in a public building of Grecian architecture at Chester. Mr Harrison had besides studied many years, and to great purpose, at Rome. Lord Elgin consulted him, therefore, on the benefits that might possibly be derived to the arts in this country, in case an opportunity could be found for studying the architecture and sculpture in Greece; and his opinion very decidedly was, that although we might possess exact measurements of

the buildings at Athens, yet a young artist could never form to himself an adequate conception of their minute details, combinations, and general effect, without having before him some such sensible representation of them as could alone be conveyed by *casts*. This advice, which laid the groundwork of Lord Elgin's pursuits in Greece, led to the further consideration, that, since any knowledge which was possessed of these buildings was obtained under the peculiar disadvantages that the prejudices and jealousies of the Turks had ever thrown in the way of such attempts, any favourable circumstances which Lord Elgin's embassy might offer should be improved fundamentally; and not only modellers, but architects and draftsmen, be employed, to rescue from oblivion, with the most accurate detail, whatever specimens of architecture and sculpture in Greece had still escaped the ravages of time, and the barbarism of conquerors.

On this suggestion, Lord Elgin proposed to his Majesty's Government, that they should send out English artists of known eminence, capable of collecting this information in the most perfect manner; but the prospect appeared of too doubtful an issue for ministers to engage in the expense attending it. Lord Elgin then endeavoured to engage some of these artists at his own charge; but the value of their time was far beyond his means. When, however, he reached Sicily, on the recommendation of Sir William Hamilton, he was so fortunate as to prevail on Don Tita

Lusieri, one of the best general painters in Europe, of great knowledge in the arts, infinite taste, and of the most scrupulous exactness in copying any subject he is to represent, to undertake the execution of this plan; and Mr Hamilton, who was then accompanying Lord Elgin to Constantinople, immediately went with M. Lusieri to Rome; where, in consequence of the late revolutions in Italy, they were enabled to engage two of the most eminent *formatori* to make the *madreformi* for the casts: Signior Balestra, the first architect there, along with Ittar, a young man of great talent, to undertake the architectural part of the plan; and one Theodore, a Kalmouk, who had distinguished himself during several years at Rome, in the capacity of figure painter.

After much difficulty, Lord Elgin obtained permission from the Turkish government to establish these six artists at Athens; where they prosecuted the business of their several departments during three years, acting on one general system, with the advantage of mutual controul, and under the general superintendance of M. Lusieri; and at length completed Lord Elgin's plan in all its parts.

Accordingly, every monument, of which there are any remains in Athens, has been thus most carefully and minutely measured, and, from the rough draughts of the architects, (all of which are preserved), finished drawings have been made of the plans, elevations, and details of the most remarkable objects; in which

the Kalmouk has restored and inserted all the sculpture, with exquisite taste and ability. He has besides drawn, with astonishing accuracy, all the bas-reliefs on the several temples, in the precise state of decay and mutilation in which they at present exist.

Most of the *bas*-reliefs, and nearly all the characteristic features of architecture, in the various monuments at Athens, have been moulded, and the moulds of them have been brought to London.

Besides the architecture and sculpture at Athens, all remains of them which could be traced through several other parts of Greece, have been measured and delineated, with the most scrupulous exactness, by the second architect, Ittar.

And picturesque views of Athens, of Constantinople, of various parts of Greece, and of the Islands of the Archipelago, have been executed by Don Tita Lusieri.

In the prosecution of this undertaking, the artists had the mortification of witnessing the very wilful devastation, to which all the sculpture, and even the architecture, were daily exposed, on the part of the Turks and Travellers. The Ionic Temple, on the Ilyssus, which, in Stuart's time, (about the year 1759), was in tolerable preservation, had so completely disappeared, that its foundation can no longer be ascertained. Another temple, near Olympia, had shared a similar fate, within the recollection of man. The Temple of Minerva had been convert-

ed into a powder magazine, and been completely destroyed, from a shell falling upon it, during the bombardment of Athens by the Venetians towards the end of the seventeenth century; and even this accident did not deter the Turks from applying the beautiful Temple of Neptune and Erectheus to the same use, whereby it is constantly exposed to a similar fate. Many of the statues on the *posticum* of the Temple of Minerva, (Parthenon), which had been thrown down by the explosion, had been absolutely pounded for mortar, because they furnished the whitest marble within reach; and the parts of the modern fortification, and the miserable houses where this mortar was so applied, were discovered. Besides, it is well known that the Turks are in the constant habit of climbing up the ruined walls, and amusing themselves in defacing any sculpture they can reach; and they frequently break columns, statues, &c. in the expectation of finding within them some hidden treasure.

Under these circumstances, Lord Elgin felt himself impelled, by a stronger motive than personal gratification, to endeavour to preserve any specimens of sculpture, he could, without injury, rescue from such impending ruin. He had besides, another inducement, and an example before him, in the conduct of the last French embassy sent to Turkey before the Revolution. French artists did then remove several of the sculptured ornaments from several edifices on the Acropolis, and parti-

cularly from the Parthenon. In lowering one of the metopes, it fell, and was dashed to pieces; but other objects from the same temple were conveyed to France, where they are held in the very highest estimation, and occupy conspicuous places in the gallery of the Louvre. And the same agents were remaining at Athens during Lord Elgin's embassy, waiting only the return of French influence to renew their operations. Actuated by these inducements, Lord Elgin made use of all his advantages, and ultimately with such success, that he has brought to England, from the ruined temples at Athens, from the modern walls and fortifications, in which many fragments had been used as so many blocks of stone, and from excavations made on purpose, a greater quantity of original Athenian sculpture, in statues, alti and bassi relievi, capitals, cornices, frizes, and columns, than exists in any other part of Europe.

Lord Elgin is in possession of several of the metopes from the temple of Minerva. These represent the battles between the Centaurs and Lapithæ, at the nuptials of Pirithous. Each metope contains two figures, grouped in various attitudes; sometimes the Lapithæ victorious, sometimes the Centaurs. The relaxed muscles of one of the Lapithæ, who is lying dead and trampled on by a Centaur, is one of the finest productions of art; as well as the groupe adjoining to it, of Hippodamia, the bride, carried off by the Centaur Eurythion, and struggling to throw herself from

the monster's back; while he is grasping her with brutal violence, with one hand twisted into her hair. The furious style of his galloping in order to secure his prize, and his shrinking from the spear that has been hurled after him, are expressed with prodigious animation. They are all in such high relief, as to seem groupes of statues; and they are in general finished with as much attention behind as before. They were originally continued round the entablature of the Parthenon, and formed ninety-two groupes. The zeal of the early Christians, the barbarism of the Turks, and the explosions which took place when the temple was used as a gun-powder magazine, have demolished a very large portion of them; so that, except those preserved by the exertions of Lord Elgin, it is in general difficult to trace even the outline of the original subject.

The frize, which was carried along the top of the walls of the cell, offered a continuation of sculptures in low relief, and of the most interesting kind. This frize being unbroken by triglyphs, had presented much more unity of subject than the detached and insulated groupes on the metopes of the peristyle. It represented the whole of the solemn procession during the Panathenaic festival: many of the figures are on horseback; others are just going to mount: some are in chariots; others on foot: oxen, and other victims, are leading to sacrifice: the nymphs called Canephoræ, Skiophoræ, &c. are carrying the

sacred offerings in baskets and vases; priests, magistrates, warriors, &c. &c. forming altogether a series of most interesting figures, in all the variety of costume, armour, and attitude. Some antiquaries, who have examined this frize with minute attention, seem to think it contained portraits of many of the leading characters at Athens, during the Peloponnesian war, particularly of Pericles, Phidias, Socrates, Alcibiades, &c. The whole frize, which originally was six hundred feet in length, is of Pentelic marble, from the quarries in the neighbourhood of Athens.

The tympanum over each of the porticoes of the Parthenon, was adorned with statues. That over the grand entrance of the temple from the west, contained the mythological history of Minerva's birth from the brain of Jove. In the centre of the groupe was seated Jupiter, in all the majesty of the sovereign of the Gods. On his left, were the principal divinities of Olympus; among whom Vulcan came prominently forward, with the axe in his hand which had cleft a passage for the goddess. On the right was Victory, in loose floating robes, holding the horses of the chariot which introduced the new divinity to Olympus. When Athens lost her freedom, she shewed her adulation and servility to the Roman power, by adding the statues of Hadrian and Sabina to this groupe from the hand of Phidias. One of the bombs fired by Morosini, the Venetian, from the opposite hill of the Musæum, injured many of the figures in this

tympanum, and the attempt of General Kænigsmark to take down the figure of Minerva, ruined the whole. By purchasing the house of one of the Turkish janisaries, built immediately under and against the columns of the portico, and by demolishing it in order to excavate, Lord Elgin has had the satisfaction of recovering the greatest part of the statue of Victory, in a drapery which discovers the fine form of the figure, with exquisite delicacy and taste. Lord Elgin also found there the torsi of Jupiter and Vulcan, together with other fragments.

On the opposite tympanum had been represented the contest between Minerva and Neptune for the honour of giving a name to the city. The Goddess of Wisdom had just gained the victory, by proving how much greater a benefit she should confer, in the peaceful and productive olive, than the God of Ocean, by his warlike gift of a horse. One or two of the figures remained on this tympanum, and others were on the top of the wall, thrown back by the explosion which destroyed the temple; but the far greater part had fallen: and a house being built immediately below the space they had occupied, Lord Elgin, encouraged by the success of his former excavations, obtained leave, after much difficulty, to pull down this house also, and continue his researches. But, to his great mortification, not the slightest fragment could be discovered; and the Turk, who had been induced, though most reluctantly, to give up his house to be demo-

lished, then exultingly pointed out the places in the modern fortification, and in his own buildings, where the cement employed had been formed from the very statues which Lord Elgin had been in hopes of finding. And Lord Elgin afterwards ascertained, on incontrovertible evidence, that these statues had been reduced to powder, and so used. Then, and then only, did he employ means to rescue what still remained from a similar fate. Among these objects, is a horse's head, which far surpasses any thing of the kind, both in the truth and spirit of the execution. The nostrils are distended, the ears erect; the veins swollen, one might almost say throbbing: his mouth is open, and he seems to neigh with the conscious pride of belonging to the Ruler of the Waves. Besides this inimitable head, Lord Elgin has procured, from the same pediment, two colossal groupes, each consisting of two female figures. They are formed of single massive blocks of Pentelic marble: their attitudes are most graceful; and the lightness and elegance of the drapery exquisite. From the same pediment has also been procured, a male statue, in a reclining posture, supposed to represent Neptune. And, above all, the figure denominated the Theseus, which is universally admitted to be superior to any piece of statuary ever brought into England. Each of these statues is worked with such care, and the finishing even carried so far, that every part, and the very plinth itself in which they rest, are equally polished on every side.

From the Opisthodomos of the Parthenon, Lord Elgin also procured some valuable inscriptions, written in the manner called Kionedon or Columnar, next in antiquity to the Boustrophedon. The greatest care is taken to preserve an equal number of letters in each line; even monosyllables are separated occasionally into two parts, if the line has had its complement, and the next line then begins with the end of the broken word. The letters range perpendicularly, as well as horizontally, so as to render it almost impossible to make any interpolation or erasure of the original text. The subjects of these monuments are public decrees of the people; accounts of the riches contained in the treasury, and delivered by the administrators to their successors in office; enumerations of the statues; the silver, gold, and precious stones deposited in the temples; estimates for the public works, &c.

The Parthenon itself, independently of its decorative sculpture, is so exquisite a model of Doric architecture, that Lord Elgin conceived it to be of the highest importance to the arts, to secure original specimens of each member of that edifice. These consist of a capital; assizes of the columns themselves, to shew the exact form of the curve used in channelling; a Triglyph, and mutules from the cornice, and even some of the marble tiles with which the ambulatory was roofed: so that, not only the sculptor may be gratified by studying every specimen of his art, from the colossal statue to the basso-relievo, executed in the golden age of

Pericles, by Phidias himself, or under his immediate direction; but the practical architect may examine into every detail of the building, even to the mode of uniting the tambours of the columns, without the aid of mortar, so as to give to the shafts the appearance of single blocks.

Equal attention has been paid to the Temple of Theseus; but as the walls, and columns, and sculpture of this monument, are in their original position, no part of the sculpture has been displaced, nor the minutest fragment of any kind separated from the building. The metopes in mezzo-relievo, containing a mixture of the labours of Hercules and Theseus, have been modelled and drawn, as well as the frize representing the battle between the Centaurs and Lapithæ, some incidents of the battle of Marathon, and some mythological subjects. The temple itself is very inferior in size and decorative sculpture to the Parthenon; having been built by Cimon, the son of Miltiades, before Pericles had given his countrymen a taste for such magnificence and expense, as he displayed on the edifices of the Acropolis.

The original approach to the Acropolis, from the plain of Athens, was by a long flight of steps commencing near the foot of the Areopagus, and terminating at the Propylæa. The Propylæa was a hexastyle colonnade, with two wings, and surmounted by a pediment. Whether the metopes and tympanum were adorned with sculpture, cannot now be ascertained; as the pediment

and entablature have been destroyed, and the intercolumniations built up with rubbish, in order to raise a battery of cannon on the top. Although the plan of this edifice contains some deviations from the pure taste that reigns in the other structures of the Acropolis, yet each member is so perfect in the details of its execution, that Lord Elgin was at great pains to obtain a Doric and an Ionic capital from its ruins. On the right hand of the Propylæa, was a temple dedicated to Victory without wings; an epithet to which many explanations have been given. This temple was built from the sale of the spoils won in the glorious struggles for freedom at Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa. On its frize were sculptured many incidents of these memorable battles; in a style that has been thought by no means inferior to the metopes of the Parthenon: The only fragments of it that had escaped the ravages of barbarians, were built into the wall of a gunpowder magazine near it, and the finest block was inserted upside downwards. It required the whole of Lord Elgin's influence at the Porte, to get leave to remove them, but he at length succeeded. They represent the Athenians in close combat with the Persians, and the sculptor has taken care to mark the different dresses and armour of the various forces serving under the great king. The long garments and zones of the Persians, had induced former travellers, from the hasty and imperfect view they had of them, to suppose the subject was the battle between Theseus and the

Amazons, who invaded Attica, under the command of Antiope; but the Persian tiaras, the Phrygian bonnets, and many other particulars, clearly point out the mistake. The spirit with which the groupes of combatants are pourtrayed is wonderful,—one remarks, in particular, the contest of some warriors to rescue the body of a dead comrade, which is expressed with uncommon animation. These bas-reliefs, and some of the most valuable sculpture, especially the representation of a marriage, taken from the parapet of the modern fortification, were embarked in the Mentor, a vessel belonging to Lord Elgin, which was unfortunately wrecked off the island of Cerigo, (ol. Cythera); but Mr Hamilton, who was at the time on board, and most providentially saved, immediately directed his whole energies to discover some means of rescuing so valuable a cargo; and, in the course of several weeks devoted to that endeavour, he succeeded in procuring some very expert divers from the islands of Syme and Calymno, near Rhodes; who were able, with immense labour and perseverance, to extricate a few of the cases from the hold of the ship, while she lay in twelve fathoms water. It was impossible to recover the remainder, before the storms of two winters had effectually destroyed the timbers of the vessel.

Near the Parthenon are three temples, so connected by their structure, and by the rites celebrated in them, that they might be almost considered as a triple temple. They are of small di-

mensions, and of the Ionic order: one of them dedicated to Neptune and Erectheus; the second to Minerva Polias, the protectress of citadels; the third to the nymph Pandrosos. It was on the spot where these temples stand, that Minerva and Neptune were said to have contended for the honour of naming the city. Athenian superstition long shewed the mark of Neptune's trident, and a briny fountain, which attested his having there opened a passage for his horse; and the original olive tree produced by Minerva was venerated in the temple of Pandrosos, as late as the time of the Antonines.

This temple of Minerva Polias is of the most delicate and elegant proportions of the Ionic order: the capitals and bases of the columns are ornamented with consummate taste; and the sculpture of the frize and cornice is exquisitely rich. It is difficult to conceive how marble has been wrought to such a depth, and brought to so sharp an edge: the palmetti, ovetti, &c. have all the delicacy of works in metal. The vestibule of the temple of Neptune, is of more masculine proportions; but its Ionic capitals have great merit. This beautiful vestibule is now used as a powder magazine; and no other access to it could be had but by creeping through an opening in a wall which had been recently built between the columns. Lord Elgin was enabled to keep it open during his operations within; but it was then closed, so that future travellers will be prevented from seeing the inner

door of the temple, which is, perhaps, the most perfect specimen in existence of Ionic ornament. Both these temples have been measured, and their plans, elevations, and views made with the utmost accuracy. All the ornaments have been moulded; some original blocks of the frize and cornice have been obtained from the ruins, as well as a capital and a base.

The little adjoining chapel of Pandrosos is a most singular specimen of Athenian architecture: instead of Ionic columns to support the architrave, it had seven statues of Caryan women, or Caryatides. The Athenians endeavoured, by this device, to perpetuate the infamy of the inhabitants of Carya, who were the only Peloponnesians who sided with Xerxes in his invasion of Greece. The men had been reduced to the deplorable state of Helotes; and the women not only condemned to the most servile employments, but those of rank and family forced, in this abject condition, to wear their ancient dresses and ornaments. In this situation, they are here exhibited. The drapery is fine, the hair of each figure is braided in a different manner, and a kind of diadem they wear on their head forms the capital. Besides drawings and mouldings of all these particulars, Lord Elgin has brought to England one of the original statues. The Lacedæmonians had used a species of vengeance similar to that above mentioned in constructing the Persian Portico, which they had erected at Sparta, in honour of their victory over the forces of

Mardonius at Platæa: placing statues of Persians in their rich oriental dresses, instead of columns, to support the entablature.

The architects have also made a ground plan of the Acropolis, in which they have not only inserted all the existing monuments, but have likewise added those, the position of which could be ascertained from traces of their foundations. Among these are the Temple and Cave of Pan; to whom the Athenians thought themselves so much indebted for the success of the battle of Marathon, as to vow him a temple. All traces of it are now nearly obliterated; as well as of that of Aglauros, who devoted herself to death to save her country. Here the young citizens of Athens received their first armour, enrolled their names, and took the oath of fighting to the last for the liberties of their country. Near this spot the Persians scaled the wall of the citadel, when Themistocles had retired with the remains of the army, and the whole Athenian navy, to Salamis. The remains of the original walls may still be traced in the midst of the Turkish and Venetian additions, and they are distinguishable by three modes of construction at very remarkable epochs,—the Pelasgic, the Cecropian, and that of the age of Cimon and Pericles. It was at this brilliant period, that the Acropolis, in its whole extent, was contemplated with the same veneration as a consecrated temple; consistent with which sublime conception, the Athenians crowned its lofty walls with an entablature of grand proportions, surmount-

ed by a cornice. Some of the massy triglyphs and motules still remain in their original position, and produce a most imposing effect.

The ancient walls of the city of Athens, as they existed in the Peloponnesian war, have been traced by Lord Elgin's artists in their whole extent, as well as the long walls that led to the Munychia and the Piræus. The gates, mentioned in ancient authors, have been ascertained: and every public monument, that could be recognised, has been inserted in a general map; as well as detailed plans given of each. Extensive excavations were necessary for this purpose, particularly at the Great Theatre of Bacchus; at the Pnyx, where the assemblies of the people were held, where Pericles, Alcibiades, Demosthenes, and Æschines, delivered their orations. The Theatre built by Herodes Atticus, to the memory of his wife Regilla, and the supposed Tumuli of Antiope, Euripides, &c. have also been opened; and from these excavations, and various others in the environs of Athens, has been procured a complete and valuable collection of Greek vases. The colonies sent from Athens, Corinth, &c. into Magna Græcia, Sicily, and Etruria, carried with them this art of making vases, from their mother country; and, as the earliest modern collections of vases were made in those colonies, they have improperly acquired the name of Etruscan. Those found by Lord Elgin at Athens, Æginæ, Argos, and Corinth, will prove the indubitable

claim of the Greeks to the invention and perfection of this art: Few of those in the collections of the King of Naples at Portici, or in that of Sir William Hamilton, excel some Lord Elgin has procured, with respect to the elegance of the form, the fineness of the materials, the delicacy of the execution, or the beauty of the subjects delineated on them; and they are, for the most part, in very high preservation. A tumulus, into which an excavation was commenced under Lord Elgin's eye during his residence at Athens, has furnished a most valuable treasure of this kind. It consists of a large marble vase, five feet in circumference, inclosing one of bronze thirteen inches in diameter, of beautiful sculpture, in which was a deposit of burnt bones, and a lachrymatory of alabaster, of exquisite form; and on the bones lay a wreath of myrtle in gold, having, besides leaves, both buds and flowers. This tumulus is situated on the road which leads from Port Piræus to the Salaminian Ferry and Eleusis. May it not be the tomb of Aspasia?

From the Theatre of Bacchus, Lord Elgin has obtained the very ancient sun-dial, which existed there during the time of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; and a large statue of Bacchus, dedicated by Thrasyllus in gratitude for his having obtained the prize of tragedy at the Panathenaic festival. A beautiful little Corinthian temple near it, raised for a similar prize gained by Lysicrates, and commonly called the Lantern of Demosthenes,

has also been drawn and modelled with minute attention. It is one of the most exquisite productions of Greek architecture. The elevation, ground-plan, and other details of the octagonal temple, raised by Andronicus Cyrrhestes to the winds, have also been executed with care; but the sculpture on its frize is in so heavy a style, that it was not judged worthy of being modelled in plaster.

Permission was obtained from the archbishop of Athens, to examine the interior of all the churches and convents in Athens and its neighbourhood, in search of antiquities; and his authority was frequently employed, to permit Lord Elgin to carry away several curious fragments of antiquity. This search furnished many valuable bas-reliefs, inscriptions, ancient dials, a Gymnasiarch's chair in marble, on the back of which are figures of Harmodius and Aristogiton, with daggers in their hands, and the death of Lœna, who bit out her tongue during the torture, rather than confess what she knew of the conspiracy against the Pisistratidæ. The fountain in the court-yard of our consul Logotheti's house was decorated with a bas-relief of Bacchantes, in the style called Græco-Etruscan: Lord Elgin obtained this, as well as a *quadriga* in bas-relief, with a Victory hovering over the charioteer, probably an *ex voto*, for some victory at the Olympic games. Amongst the Funeral Cippi found in different places, are some remarkable names, particularly that of Socrates; and in

the Ceramicus itself, Lord Elgin discovered an inscription in elegiac verse, on the Athenians who fell at Potidæa, and whose eulogy was delivered with pathetic eloquence in the funeral oration of Pericles.

The peasants at Athens generally put into a niche over the door of their cottages, any fragment they discover in plowing the fields. Out of these, were selected and purchased many curious antique votive tablets, with sculpture and inscriptions. A complete series has also been formed of capitals, of the only three orders known in Greece, the Doric, the Ionic, and the Corinthian; from the earliest dawn of art in Athens, to the zenith of taste under Pericles; and, from thence, through all its degradations, to the dark ages of the lower empire.

At a convent called Daphne, about half way between Athens and Eleusis, were the remains of an Ionic temple of Venus, equally remarkable for the brilliancy of the marble, the bold style of the ornaments, the delicacy of the finish, and their high preservation. Lord Elgin procured from thence two of the capitals, a whole fluted column, and a base.

Lord Elgin, in his excursions on the plain of Troy, was so fortunate as to secure the celebrated Boustrophedon inscription, from the promontory of Sigæum, a monument which several ambassadors from Christian Powers to the Porte, and even Louis XIV. in the zenith of his power, had ineffectually endeavoured to

obtain. Lord Elgin found it forming a seat at the door of a Greek chapel, and habitually resorted to by persons afflicted with ague, who, leriving great relief from remaining reclined upon it, attributed their recovery to the marble, and not to the elevated situation and sea air, of which it procured them the advantage. Meanwhile, this abuse of it had obliterated many of the letters. It is, however, the most ancient and curious specimen extant of Greek writing, at an epoch when the alphabet was very imperfect, and when the lines went alternately from right to left, and from left to right, like the furrows made by oxen in plowing; whence it has received the denomination of Boustrophedon.

By the aid of this valuable acquisition, Lord Elgin's collection of inscriptions comprehends specimens of every remarkable peculiarity in the variations of the Greek alphabet, throughout the interesting period of Grecian history.

A few bronzes, cameos, and intaglios, were also procured: in particular, a cameo of very exquisite beauty, in perfect preservation, and of a peculiarly fine stone: it represents a female centaur suckling a young one. Lord Elgin was equally fortunate in forming a collection of Greek medals, among which are several that are very rare; others of much historical merit; and many most admirable specimens of art.

The late Dr Carlyle, professor of Arabic at Cambridge, had accompanied Lord Elgin to Turkey, in the hopes of discovering any

hidden remains of Grecian literature, as well as any unknown Arabic productions. Accordingly, Lord Elgin obtained for him access to some deposits of MSS. in the seraglio: and in company with another gentleman of the embassy, amply qualified also for the research, he examined many collections in Constantinople, and in the neighbouring islands; all the monasteries, to the number of above thirty, on Mount Athos; and various other religious establishments throughout Greece, and the Archipelago islands. From these, they brought home a great many MSS. which to them appeared valuable; as well as a particular catalogue and description of such as they were obliged to leave behind them.

In proportion as Lord Elgin's plan advanced, and the means accumulated in his hands towards affording an accurate knowledge of the works of architecture and sculpture in Athens and in Greece, it became a subject of anxious inquiry with him, in what way the greatest degree of benefit could be derived to the arts from what he had been so fortunate as to procure.

In regard to the works of the architects employed by him, he had naturally, from the beginning, looked forward to their being engraved: and accordingly all such plans, elevations, and details, as to those persons appeared desirable for that object, were by them, and on the spot, extended with the greatest possible care, and they are now in a state of complete preparation. Besides these, all the working sketches and measurements have been pre-

served, and offer ample materials for further drawings, should they be required. It was then Lord Elgin's wish, both out of respect for the subjects themselves, and in a view to their future utility, that the whole of the drawings might be executed in the highest perfection of the art of engraving: and for this purpose, he conceived it not impossible, and certainly very much to be desired, that a fund should be procured by subscription, exhibition, or otherwise, by aid of which, these engravings might still be distributable, for the benefit of artists, at a rate of expense within the means of professional men.

More difficulty occurred in forming a plan, for deriving the utmost advantage from the marbles and casts. Lord Elgin's first attempt was to have the statues and bas-reliefs restored; and in that view he went to Rome, to consult and to employ Canova. The decision of that most eminent artist was conclusive: on examining the specimens produced to him, and making himself acquainted with the whole collection, and particularly with what came from the Parthenon, by means of the persons who had been carrying on Lord Elgin's operations at Athens, and who had returned with him to Rome, Canova declared, That however greatly it was to be lamented that these statues should have suffered so much from time and barbarism, yet it was undeniable, that they had never been retouched; that they were the work of the ablest artists the world had ever seen; executed under the most

enlightened patron of the arts, and at a period when genius enjoyed the most liberal encouragement, and had attained the highest degree of perfection; and that they had been found worthy of forming the decoration of the most admired edifice ever erected in Greece: That he should have had the greatest delight, and derived the greatest benefit, from the opportunity Lord Elgin offered him of having in his possession, and contemplating these inestimable marbles: But, (his expression was,) it would be sacrilege in him, or any man, to presume to touch them with a chisel. Since their arrival in this country, they have been thrown open to the inspection of the public; and the opinions and impressions, not only of artists, but of men of taste in general, have thus been formed and collected. From these, the judgment pronounced by Canova has been universally sanctioned: and all idea of restoring the marbles has been deprecated. Meanwhile, the most distinguished painters and sculptors have assiduously attended this museum, and evinced the most enthusiastic admiration of the perfection to which these marbles now prove to them that Phidias had brought the art of sculpture. They have attentively examined and ascertained, that they were executed with the most scrupulous anatomical truth, not only in the human figure, but in the various animals to be found in this collection. They have been struck with the wonderful accuracy, and, at the same time, the great effect of the minutest detail, and with the ani-

mation and expression, so distinctly produced in every variety of attitude and action. Several of the persons, more advanced in years, never cease to testify the liveliest concern, at not having had the advantage of studying these models. And several who have had the opportunity of forming the comparison, have publicly and unequivocally declared, that, in a view to professional men, this collection is more valuable than any other collection without exception. It may be added, on the subject of these impressions and opinions, that one of the groupes of female statues so rivetted and agitated the feelings of Mrs Siddons, that great master of representation, as actually to draw tears from her eyes; and that Mr West, no less eminent as an artist, than as the zealous patron and encourager of the arts in this country, after passing some months in the daily study of these marbles, and making every examination to ascertain the advantage of such models, to painting as well as to sculpture, communicated to Lord Elgin the annexed report of his operations.*

Two suggestions have, however, met with much approbation, in a view to the improvement to be obtained to sculpture, from these marbles and casts—The first, that casts of all such as were ornaments on the temples, should be placed in an elevation, and in a situation, similar to that which they actually had occupied; that the originals should be disposed, in a view to the more easy

* *Vid.* Mr West's Letter subjoined.

inspection and study of them; and that particular subjects should occasionally be selected, and premiums given for the restoration of them: This restoration to be executed on casts, but by no means on the originals; and in the museum itself, where the character of the sculpture might be the more readily studied.

Secondly, From trials which Lord Elgin was induced to make, at the request of professional gentlemen, a strong impression has been created, that the science of sculpture, and the taste and judgment by which it is to be carried forward and appreciated, cannot so effectually be promoted, as by athletic exercises practised in the presence of similar works, the distinguishing merit of which is an able, scientific, ingenious, but exact imitation of nature. By no other way could the variety of attitude, the articulation of the muscles, the description of the passions; in short, every thing a sculptor has to represent, be so accurately or so beneficially understood and represented.

Under similar advantages, and with an enlightened and encouraging protection bestowed on genius and the arts, it may not be too sanguine to indulge a hope, that, prodigal as Nature is in the perfections of the human figure in this country, animating as are the instances of patriotism, heroic actions, and private virtues deserving commemoration, sculpture may soon be raised in England to rival the ablest productions of the best times of Greece.

LETTER

BENJAMIN WEST, Esq.

TO

THE EARL OF ELGIN.

My Lord, *London, Newman Street, Feb.* 6. 1809.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's obliging letter from your residence in Scotland; and have to thank you for the indulgence you afforded me, to study, and draw from, the sculptures by Phidias, in your Lordship's house in Piccadilly.

I have found in this collection of sculpture so much excellence in art, (which is as applicable to painting and architecture, as to sculpture,) and a variety so magnificent and boundless, that every branch of science connected with the fine arts, cannot fail to acquire something from this collection. Your Lordship, by bringing these treasures of the first and best age of sculpture and architecture into London, has founded a new Athens for the emulation and example of the British student. Esteeming this collection as I do, my Lord, I flatter myself it will not be unacceptable for your Lordship to know, what are the studies I have made from it.

I must premise to your Lordship, that I considered loose and detached sketches from these reliques, of little use to me, or value to the arts in general. To improve myself, therefore, and to contribute to the improvement of others, I have deemed it more important to select and combine whatever was most excellent from them, into subject and composition.

From the Centaurs in *alto relievo*, I have taken the figures of most distinguished eminence, and formed them into groupes for painting; from which selection, by adding female figures of my own, I have composed the Battle of the Centaurs. I have drawn the figures the size of the originals, on a canvass five feet six inches high, by ten feet long.

From the equestrian figures in *relievo*, I have formed the composition of Theseus and Hercules in triumph over the Amazons, having made their queen Hippolita a prisoner. In continuation, and as a companion to this subject, I have formed a composition, in which Hercules bestows Hippolita in marriage upon Theseus. Those two are on the same size with the Centaurs.

From the large figure of Theseus, I have drawn a figure of that hero, of the same size with the sculpture. Before him, on the ground, I have laid the dead body of the Minotaur which he slew. As, by this enterprise, he was extricated from the Labyrinth by the aid of Ariadne, I have represented that Princess sitting by his side, gazing on him with affection. In the back ground, are the Athenian youths, whom he delivered from bondage; and near them, the ship "with black sails," (in the poetic fancy of Pindar), which brought him to Crete. The size of this canvass is six feet high, by nine feet long.

From the figure of Neptune, I have formed a companion to the Theseus. In this composition, I have shewn Neptune reclining, with his left arm upon the knees of Amphitrite, while with his right he strikes the earth with his trident, and creates the horse. Around him, is Triton, with his train of marine gods; in the back ground, are equestrian exhibitions; and in the distance, ships at anchor.

From the casts in plaster of Paris, taken from the moulds which your Lordship had made at Athens, I selected such figures as I was enabled to form into a composition; the subject of which is, Alexander and his horse Bucephalus: it is on a canvass smaller than those before mentioned.

In order to render the subjects which I selected, with perspicuity, and the effect, which arises from combined parts and the order of arrangements, comprehensive, I have ventured to unite figures of my own invention with those of Phidias; but as I have endeavoured to preserve, with the best force of my abilities, the style of Phidias, I flatter myself, the union will not be deemed incongruous or presumptuous. Your Lordship may perhaps be inclined to think with me, that a point, and, if I may so express it, a kind of climax, is thus given to those works, by the union of those detached figures, with the incorporation of the parts of individual grandeur, and abstracted excellence of Phidias. For what I have done, my Lord, I had the example of Raphael, and most of the Italian masters of the greatest celebrity. Is it not, moreover, this combination of parts which comes the nearest to perfection in refined and ideal art? for, thus combining what is excellent in art with what possesses character in nature, the most distinguished works have been produced, in painting, poetry, and sculpture.

In following this system of combination, I had the singular good fortune, by your Lordship's liberality, to select from the first productions of sculpture which ever adorned the world in that department in art; which neither Raphael, nor any of the distinguished masters, had the advantage to see, much less to study, since the revival of art. I may, therefore, declare with truth, my Lord, that I am the first in modern times who have

enjoyed the much coveted opportunity, and availed myself of the rare advantage of forming compositions from them, by adapting their excellencies to poetic fictions and historical facts. I sincerely hope that those examples of art, with which your Lordship has enriched your country, and which has made London, if not the first, one of the most desirable points in Europe to study them—will not only afford to the British people, the frequent opportunity of contemplating their excellencies; but will be the means of enlightening the public mind, and correcting the national taste, to a true estimation of what is really valuable and dignified in art. The influence of these works will, I trust, encourage the men of taste and opulence in this country, to bestow a liberal patronage on genius to pursue this dignified style in art, for the honour of genius, themselves, and the country. I need not impress on your Lordship's mind a truth, of which the experience of the progress of art, through all ages, is the best confirmation, that without such refinement in this higher department of poetic or historical subjects, England will never acquire the glory of possessing the arts, in any but a subordinate degree. It is my wish, therefore, as it has been my endeavour, that the supreme excellence of those works of sculpture should become the means, and act as an incentive to that improvement amongst us, by which we may gratify the ambition of all honourable minds, and be remembered amongst the lovers of art and our country in a distant posterity, as those who have opened the avenues of excellence, and have rightly known and valued them. Let us, my Lord, justify ourselves, at least, by our intentions. In whatever estimation the arts of the present day shall be held by those of future ages, your Lordship must be remembered by the present, and be recorded by those to come, as a

benefactor who has conferred obligations, not only on a profession, but upon a nation; and as having rescued from the devastation of ignorance, and the unholy rapine of barbarism, those unrivalled works of genius, to be preserved in the bosom of your country, which a few centuries more might have consigned to oblivion.

To your Lordship I have to return my sincere thanks, for the means you have afforded me of adding my name to that of Phidias, by arranging his figures in my own compositions, and adapting them to subjects, by which my sketches may be rendered more acceptible, as well as more improving to myself in the higher point of my profession. And may the materials from which those sublime sculptures have been produced, be preserved from accident, that men of taste and genius, yet unborn, may be gratified with a sight of them; and that the admiring world may revere the Author of all things, for having bestowed on man those peculiar powers of his mind and hand. With these sentiments, and with profound respect for your Lordship, I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most

Obedient and obliged,

BENJ. WEST.

To the Earl of Elgin.

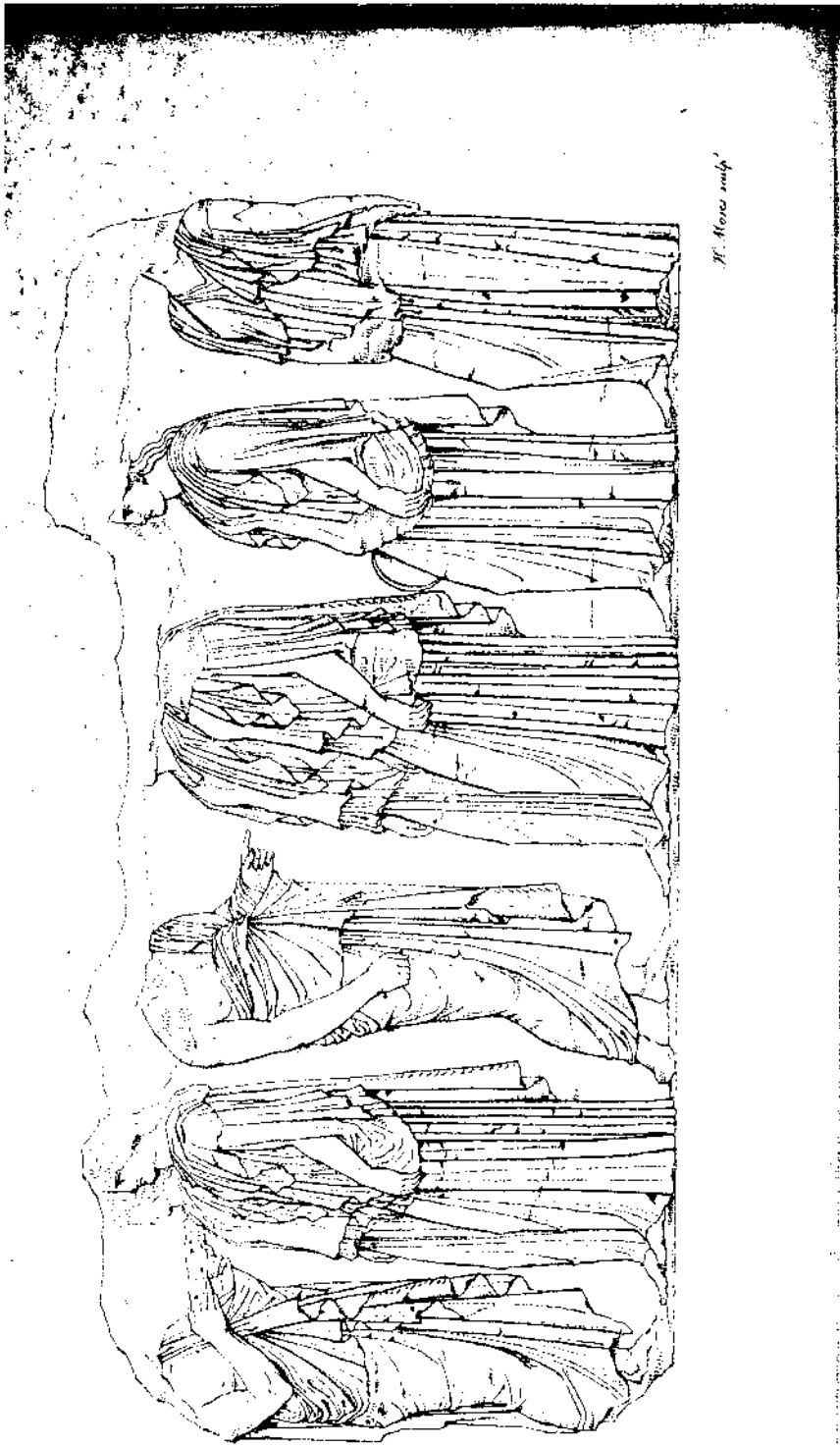
Edinburgh:
Printed by Balfour, Kirkwood, & Co.

THE

EARL OF ELGIN'S PURSUITS

IN

Greece.



MEMORANDUM

ON THE SUBJECT OF

THE EARL OF ELGIN'S PURSUITS

IN

Greece.

SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET,

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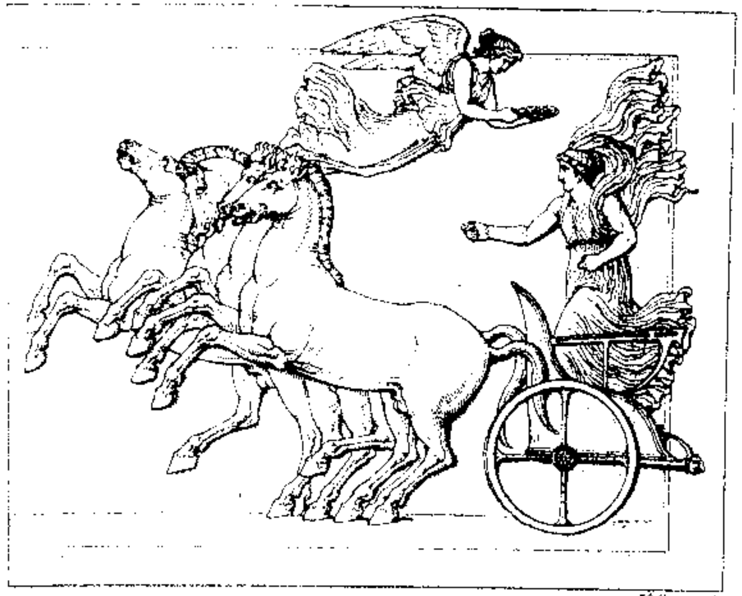

MEMORANDUM, &c.

In the year 1799, when Lord Elgin was appointed his Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary to the Ottoman Porte, he was in habits of frequent intercourse with Mr. Harrison, an architect of great eminence in the west of England, who had there given various very splendid proofs

of his professional talents, especially in a public building of Grecian architecture at Chester. Mr. Harrison had besides studied many years, and to great purpose, at Rome. Lord Elgin consulted him, therefore, on the benefits that might possibly be derived to the arts in this country, in case an opportunity could be found for studying minutely the architecture and sculpture of ancient Greece; and his opinion very decidedly was, that although we might possess exact measurements and designs of the buildings at Athens, yet a young artist could never form to himself an adequate conception of their minute details, combinations, and general effect, without having before him some such sensible representation of them as might be conveyed by *casts*. This advice, which laid the groundwork of Lord Elgin's pursuits in Greece, led to the further consideration, that, since the knowledge already possessed of these buildings

had been obtained under the peculiar disadvantages which the prejudices and jealousies of the Turks had ever thrown in the way of such attempts, any favourable circumstances which Lord Elgin's embassy might offer should be improved; and that not only modellers, but architects and draftsmen, should be employed, to rescue from oblivion, with the most accurate detail, whatever specimens of architecture and sculpture in Greece had still escaped the ravages of time, and the barbarism of conquerors.

On this suggestion, Lord Elgin proposed to his Majesty's Government, that they should send out English artists of known eminence, capable of collecting this information in the most perfect manner; but the prospect appeared of too doubtful an issue for ministers to engage in the expense attending it. Lord Elgin then endeavoured to engage some of these artists at his own charge; but the value

of their time was far beyond his means. When, however, he reached Sicily, on the recommendation of Sir William Hamilton, he was so fortunate as to prevail on Don Tita Lusieri, one of the best general painters in Europe, of great knowledge in the arts, infinite taste, and most scrupulously exact in copying any subject he is to represent, to undertake the execution of this plan; and Mr. Hamilton, who was then accompanying Lord Elgin to Constantinople, immediately went with M. Lusieri to Rome; where, in consequence of the disturbed state of Italy, they were enabled to engage two of the most eminent *formatori* to make the *madreformi* for the casts; Signior Balestra, a distinguished architect there, along with Ittar, a young man of promising talents, to undertake the architectural part of the plan; and one Theodore, a Calmouk, who during several years at Rome had shown himself equal to the

first masters in the design of the human figure.

After much difficulty, Lord Elgin obtained permission from the Turkish Government to establish these six artists at Athens; where they systematically prosecuted the business of their several departments during three years, under the general superintendance of M. Lusieri. They at length completed Lord Elgin's plan in all its parts.

Accordingly, every monument, of which there are any remains in Athens, has been thus most carefully and minutely measured; and, from the rough draughts of the architects, (all of which are preserved,) finished drawings have been made by them of the plans, elevations, and details of the most remarkable objects; in which the Calmouk has restored and inserted all the sculpture, with exquisite taste and ability. He has besides made accurate drawings of all the bas-reliefs on the several temples,

in the precise state of decay and mutilation in which they at present exist.

Most of the *bas*-reliefs, and nearly all the characteristic features of architecture, in the various monuments at Athens, have been moulded, and the moulds of them have been brought to London.

Besides the architecture and sculpture at Athens, all similar remains which could be traced through several other parts of Greece, have been measured and delineated, with the most scrupulous exactness, by the second architect, Ittar.

And picturesque views of Athens, of Constantinople, of various parts of Greece, and of the Islands of the Archipelago, have been executed by Don Tita Lusieri.

In the prosecution of this undertaking, the artists had the mortification of witnessing the very wilful devastation, to which all the sculpture, and even the architecture, were daily exposed, on the part of the Turks, and travellers: the

former equally influenced by mischief and by avarice; the latter from an anxiety to become possessed, each according to his means, of some relick, however small, of buildings or statues which had formed the pride of Greece. The Ionic Temple, on the Ilyssus, which, in Stuart's time, (about the year 1759,) was in tolerable preservation, had so entirely disappeared, that its foundation was no longer to be ascertained. Another temple, near Olympia, had shared a similar fate, within the recollection of many. The Temple of Minerva had been converted into a powder magazine, and was in great part shattered, from a shell falling upon it, during the bombardment of Athens, by the Venetians towards the end of the seventeenth century; and even this accident has not deterred the Turks from applying the beautiful Temple of Neptune and Erectheus to the same use, whereby it is still constantly exposed to

a similar fate. Many of the statues over the entrance of the Temple of Minerva, which had been thrown down by the explosion, had been pounded for mortar, because they offered the whitest marble within reach; and the parts of the modern fortification, and the miserable houses where this mortar had been so applied, are easily traced. In addition to these causes of degradation, the ignorant Turks will frequently climb up the ruined walls, and amuse themselves in defacing any sculpture they can reach; or in breaking columns, statues, or other remains of antiquity, in the fond expectation of finding within them some hidden treasures.

Under these circumstances, Lord Elgin felt himself irresistibly impelled to endeavour to preserve, by removal from Athens, any specimens of sculpture, he could, without injury, rescue from such impending ruin. He had, besides, another in-

ducement, and an example before him, in the conduct of the last French embassy sent to Turkey before the Revolution. French artists did then attempt to remove several of the sculptured ornaments from several edifices in the Acropolis, and particularly from the Parthenon. In lowering one of the metopes, the tackle failed, and it was dashed to pieces; one other object from the same temple was conveyed to France, where it is held in the highest estimation, and where it occupies a conspicuous place in the gallery of the Louvre.* The same agents were remaining at Athens during Lord Elgin's embassy, waiting only the return of French influence at the Porte to renew their operations.

* *Vide* Dictionnaire des Beaux Arts, par A. L. Millin, 1806, article *Parthenon*; and the Memoir, on the subject of a fragment of the frize of that temple, brought by M. De Choiseuil Gouffier from Athens, and constituted national property during the French Revolution. The Memoir is published in M. Millan's *Monumens Antiques inedits*.

Actuated by these inducements, Lord Elgin made every exertion; and the sacrifices he has made have been attended with such entire success, that he has brought to England, from the ruined temples at Athens, from the modern walls and fortifications, in which many fragments had been used as blocks for building, and from excavations from amongst the ruins, made on purpose, such a mass of original Athenian sculpture, in statues, alti and bassi relievi, capitals, cornices, frizes, and columns, as, with the aid of a few of the casts, to present all the sculpture and architecture of any value to the artist or men of taste, which can be traced at Athens.

Lord Elgin is in possession of several of the original metopes from the Temple of Minerva. These represent the battles between the Centaurs and Lapithæ, at the nuptials of Pirithous. Each metope contains two figures, grouped in various

attitudes; sometimes the Lapithæ, sometimes the Centaurs victorious. The figure of one of the Lapithæ, who is lying dead and trampled on by a Centaur, is one of the finest productions of the art; as well as the groupe adjoining to it, of Hippodamia, the bride, carried off by the Centaur Eurytion; the furious style of whose galloping, in order to secure his prize, and his shrinking from the spear that has been hurled after him, are expressed with prodigious animation. They are all in such high relief, as to seem groups of statues; and they are in general finished with as much attention behind as before. They were originally continued round the entablature of the Parthenon, and formed ninety-two groupes. The zeal of the early Christians, the barbarism of the Turks, and the explosions which took place when the temple was used as a powder magazine, have demolished a very large portion of them; so that it is difficult to trace

even the outline of the original subject on many of the remaining fragments.

The frize, which was carried along the outer walls of the cell, offered a continuation of sculptures in low relief, and of the most exquisite beauty. This frize being unbroken by triglyphs, presented more unity of subject than the detached and insulated groupes on the metopes of the peristyle. It represented the whole of the solemn procession to the Temple of Minerva during the Panathenaic festival: many of the figures are on horseback; others are about to mount; some are in chariots; others on foot; oxen, and other victims, are led to sacrifice: the nymphs called Canephoræ, Skiophoræ, &c. are carrying the sacred offerings in baskets and vases; there are priests, magistrates, warriors, deities, &c. &c. forming altogether a series of most interesting figures, in great variety of costume, armour, and attitude. Some antiquaries, who have examined this

frize with minute attention, seem to think it contained portraits of many of the leading characters at Athens, who lived during the Peloponnessian war, particularly of Pericles, Phidias, Socrates, Alcibiades, Aspasia, &c. The whole frize, which originally was six hundred feet in length, is, like the temple itself, of Pentelic marble, from the quarries in the neighbourhood of Athens.

The tympanum over each of the porticoes of the Parthenon, was adorned with colossal statues. That over the grand entrance of the temple from the west, contained the mythological history of Minerva's birth from the brain of Jove. In the centre of the groupe was seated Jupiter. On his left, were the principal divinities of Olympus; among whom Vulcan came prominently forward, with the axe in his hand which had cleft a passage for the goddess. On the right was Victory, in loose floating robes, holding the horses of

the chariot which introduced the new divinity to Olympus. One of the bombs fired by Morosini, the Venetian, from the opposite hill of the Museum, injured many of the figures in this tympanum; and the attempt of General Kœnigsmark, in 1687, to take down the figure of Minerva, ruined the whole. On the opposite tympanum had been represented the contest of Minerva and Neptune, for the honour of being the protector of the city. By purchasing the house of one of the Turkish janizaries, built immediately under and against the columns of the portico, and by demolishing this house in order to excavate, Lord Elgin has had the satisfaction of recovering the greatest part of the statue of Victory, in a drapery which discovers the fine form of the figure, with exquisite delicacy and taste. Lord Elgin also found there the torsi of Jupiter, Neptune, and Vulcan, the breast and part of the head of Minerva, together

with other fragments. Here was also procured that most inimitable statue, in a reclining position, supposed to represent a river God.

One or two of the figures remained on this tympanum, and others were on the top of the wall, thrown back by the explosion which destroyed the temple; but the far greater part had fallen: and a house being built immediately below the space they had occupied, Lord Elgin obtained leave, after much difficulty, to pull down this house also, and continue his researches. But no fragments were here discovered; and the Turk, who had been induced, though most reluctantly, to give up his house to be demolished, then exultingly pointed out the places in the modern fortification, and in his own buildings, where the cement employed had been formed from the very statues which Lord Elgin had hoped to find. It was, in fact, afterwards ascertained, on incon-

trovertible evidence, that these statues had been reduced to powder, and so used. Then, and then only, did Lord Elgin employ means to rescue what still remained exposed to a similar fate. Among these objects is a horse's head, which far surpasses any thing of the kind in any part of Europe, both in the truth and spirit of the execution. The nostrils are distended, the ears erect; the veins swollen, one might almost say throbbing; his mouth is open, and he seems to neigh with the conscious pride of belonging to the Ruler of the Waves. Besides this inimitable head, Lord Elgin has procured, from the same pediment two colossal groupes, each consisting of two female figures. They are formed of single massive blocks of Pentelic marble: their attitudes are most graceful; and the lightness and elegance of the drapery exquisite. And, above all, the figure denominated a Hercules or Theseus, which is universally admitted to be superior to any piece

of statuary ever brought into England. Each of these statues is worked with such care, and the finishing even carried so far, that every part, and the very plinth itself on which they rest, have been equally polished on every side.

From the Opisthodomos of the Parthenon, Lord Elgin also procured some valuable inscriptions, written in the manner called Kionedon or Columnar. The greatest care is taken to preserve an equal number of letters in each line; even monosyllables are separated occasionally into two parts, if the line has had its complement, and the next line then begins with the end of the broken word. The letters range perpendicularly, as well as horizontally, so as to render it impossible to make any interpolation or erasure of the original text without discovery. In one of these inscriptions, an interpolation of comparatively modern date is clearly visible. The subjects of these monuments

are public decrees of the people; accounts of the riches contained in the treasury, and delivered by the administrators to their successors in office; enumerations of the statues, the silver, gold, and precious stones, deposited in the temples; estimates for the public works, &c.

The Parthenon itself, independently of its decorative sculpture, is so chaste and perfect a model of Doric architecture, that Lord Elgin conceived it to be of the highest importance to the arts, to secure original specimens of each member of that edifice. These consist, of a capital, assizes of the columns themselves, to shew the exact form of the curve used in channelling; a Triglyph, and motules from the cornice, and even some of the marble tiles with which the ambulatory was roofed: so that, not only the sculptor may be gratified by studying every specimen of his art, from the colossal statue to the basso-relievo, executed in the golden age

of Pericles, by Phidias himself, or under his immediate direction; but the practical architect may examine into every detail of the building, even to the mode of uniting the tambours of the columns, without the aid of mortar, which gave to the shafts, as nearly as possible, the appearance of single blocks.

Equal attention has been paid to the Temple of Theseus; but as the walls, and columns and sculpture of this monument, are in their original position, no part of the sculpture has been displaced, nor the minutest fragment of any kind separated from the building. The metopes in alto-relievo, containing a mixture of the labours of Hercules and Theseus, have been modelled and drawn, as well as the frize representing the battle between the Centaurs and Lapithæ, some incidents of the battle of Marathon, and some mythological subjects. The temple itself is very inferior in size and ornamental sculpture

to the Parthenon; having been built by Cimon, the son of Miltiades, before Pericles had given to his countrymen that taste for such magnificence and expense, which he displayed on the edifices of the Acropolis.

The original approach to the Acropolis, from the plain of Athens, was by a long flight of steps, interrupted, as appears by later discoveries, by an open road for carriages in the centre, commencing near the foot of the Areopagus, and terminating at the Propylæa. The Propylæa was a hexastyle colonnade, with two wings, and surmounted by a pediment. Whether the metopes and tympanum were adorned with sculpture, cannot now be ascertained; as the pediment and entablature have been destroyed, and the intercolumniations built up with rubbish, in order to raise a battery of cannon on the top. Although the plan of this edifice contain some deviations from the pure taste that

reigns in the other structures of the Acropolis, yet each member is so perfect in the details of its execution, that Lord Elgin was at great pains to obtain a Doric and an Ionic capital from its ruins. On the right hand of the Propylæa, was a temple dedicated to Victory without wings; This temple was built from the sale of the spoils won in the struggles for freedom at Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa. On its frize were sculptured many incidents of these memorable battles; in a style that has been thought by no means inferior to the sculpture of the Parthenon. The only fragments of it that had escaped the ravages of barbarians, were built into the wall of a gunpowder magazine near it, and the finest block was inserted upside downwards. It required great sacrifices of time and money, and much perseverance, to remove them. They represent the Athenians in close combat with the Persians, and the sculptor has marked the different dresses and

armour of the various forces serving under the great king. The long garments and the zones of the Persians, had induced former travellers, from the imperfect view they had of them, to suppose the subject was only the battle between Theseus and the Amazons, who invaded Attica, under the command of Antiope; but the Persian tiaras, the Phrygian bonnets, and many other particulars, prove the subject of these bas-reliefs to have been in part also the wars with the Persians*. These bas-reliefs, and some of the most valuable sculpture, especially the representation of a marriage, taken from the parapet of the modern fortification, were embarked in the Mentor, a vessel belonging to Lord Elgin, which was unfortunately wrecked off the island of Cerigo: but

* Arrian, in the thirteenth chapter of the seventh book of the History of Alexander's Campaigns, states, that Cimon the Athenian had delineated the battle with the Amazons with the same art and accuracy as that with the Persians.

Mr. Hamilton, who was at the time on board, having remained in the island for some months after the misfortune, succeeded at last in procuring some very expert divers from the islands of Syme and Calymno, near Rhodes; who were able with immense labour and perseverance, to extricate a few of the cases from the hold of the ship, while she lay in twelve fathoms water. The rest of the cargo was not recovered, before the storms of two winters had effectually destroyed the timbers of the vessel.

Near the Parthenon are three temples, so connected by their structure, and by the rites which were celebrated in them, that they might be almost considered as one edifice. They are of small dimensions, and of the Ionic order: one of them dedicated to Neptune and Erectheus; the second to Minerva Polias, the protectress of citadels; the third, it is supposed by some, to the nymph Pandrosos. It was

on the spot where these temples stand, that Minerva and Neptune were said to have contended for the honour of naming the city. Athenian superstition long showed the mark of Neptune's trident, and a briny fountain, which attested his having there opened a passage for his horse; and the original olive tree produced by Minerva was venerated in the temple of Pandrosos, as late as the time of the Antonines.

The temple of Minerva Polias presents the most delicate and elegant proportions of the Ionic order: the capitals and bases of the columns are ornamented with consummate taste; and the sculpture of the frize and cornice, is exquisitely rich. It is difficult to conceive how marble has been wrought to such a depth, and brought to so sharp an edge: the palmetti, ovetti, &c. have all the delicacy of works in metal. The vestibule of the temple of Neptune, is of more masculine proportions; but its Ionic capitals have great

merit. This beautiful vestibule is now used as a powder magazine; and no other access to it could be had but by creeping through an opening in a wall which had been recently built between the columns. Lord Elgin was enabled to keep it open during his operations within; but it was then closed, so that future travellers will be prevented from seeing the inner door of the temple, which is, perhaps, the most perfect specimen in existence of Ionic architecture. Both these temples have been measured; and their plans, elevations, and views, made with the utmost accuracy. All the ornaments have been moulded; some original blocks of the frize and cornice have been obtained from the ruins, as well as a capital and a base.

The little adjoining chapel of Pandrosos is a most singular specimen of Athenian architecture: instead of Ionic columns to support the architrave, it had seven

statues of Caryan women, or Caryatides. Vitruvius says that the Athenians endeavoured, by this device, to perpetuate the infamy of the inhabitants of Carya, who were the only Peloponnesians who sided with Xerxes in his invasion of Greece. The men had been reduced to the deplorable state of Helotes; and the women not only condemned to the most servile employments, but those of rank and family forced, in this abject condition, to wear their ancient dresses and ornaments. In this state they are here exhibited. The drapery is fine, the hair of each figure is braided in a different manner, and a kind of diadem they wear on their head forms the capital. Besides drawings and mouldings of all these particulars, Lord Elgin has brought to England one of the original statues. The Lacedæmonians had used a species of vengeance similar to that above mentioned in constructing the Persian Portico, which they had erected at

Sparta, in honour of their victory over the forces of Mardonius at Platæa: placing statues of Persians in their rich oriental dresses, instead of columns, to support the entablature.

The architects have also made a ground plan of the Acropolis, in which they have not only inserted all the existing monuments, but have likewise added those, the position of which could be ascertained from traces of their foundations. Among these are the Temple and Cave of Pan; to whose miraculous intervention the Athenians thought themselves indebted for the success of the battle of Marathon. All traces of it are now nearly obliterated; as well as of that of Aglauros, who devoted herself to death to save her country. Here the young citizens of Athens received their first armour, enrolled their names, and swore to fight to the last for the liberties of their country. Near this spot the Persians scaled the wall of

the citadel, when Themistocles had retired with the remains of the army, and the whole Athenian navy, to Salamis. The remains of the original walls may still be traced in the midst of the Turkish and Venetian additions, and they are distinguishable by three modes of construction at very remarkable epochs,—the Pelasgic, the Cecropian, and that of the age of Cimon and Pericles. It was at this last brilliant period, that the Acropolis, in its whole extent, was contemplated with the same veneration as a consecrated temple; consistent with which sublime conception, the Athenians crowned its lofty walls with an entablature of grand proportions, surmounted by a cornice. Some of the massy triglyphs and motules still remain in their original position, and produce a most imposing effect.

The ancient walls of the city of Athens, as they existed in the Peloponnesian war, have been traced by Lord Elgin's artists

in their whole extent, as well as the long walls that led to the Munychia and the Piræus. The gates, mentioned in ancient authors, have been ascertained: and every public monument, which could be recognised, has been inserted in a general map; as well as detailed plans given of each. Extensive excavations were necessary for this purpose, particularly at the Great Theatre of Bacchus; at the Pnyx, where the assemblies of the people were held, where Pericles, Alcibiades, Demosthenes, and Æschines, delivered their orations, and at the theatre built by Herodes Atticus, to the memory of his wife Regilla. The supposed Tumuli of Antiope, Euripides, and others, have also been opened; and from these excavations, and various others in the environs of Athens, has been procured a valuable collection of Greek vases. The colonies sent from Athens, Corinth, &c. into Magna Græcia, Sicily, and Etruria, carried with them

this art of making vases, from their mother country; and, as the earliest modern collections of vases were made in those colonies, they thereby acquired the name of Etruscan. Those found by Lord Elgin at Athens, Æginæ, Argos, and Corinth, will prove the claim of the Greeks to the invention and perfection of this art: Few of those in the collections of the King of Naples at Portici, or in that of Sir William Hamilton, excel some which Lord Elgin had procured, with respect to the elegance of the form, the fineness of the materials, the delicacy of the execution, or the beauty of the subjects delineated on them; and they are, for the most part, in very high preservation.* A tumulus, into which an excavation was commenced under Lord Elgin's eye during

* During the war with Turkey in 1806, many of the most valuable of these vases were forcibly taken away, during the absence of Signor Lusieri, under whose direction the excavations had been made.

his residence at Athens, has furnished a most valuable treasure of this kind. It consists of a large marble vase, five feet in circumference, enclosing one of bronze thirteen inches in diameter, of beautiful form, in which was a deposit of burnt bones, and a lachrymatory of alabaster, of exquisite shape; and on the bones lay a wreath of myrtle in gold, having, besides leaves, both buds and flowers. This tumulus is situated on the road which leads from Port Piræus to the Salaminian Ferry and Eleusis. May it not be the tomb of Aspasia?

From the Theatre of Bacchus, Lord Elgin has obtained the very ancient sundial, which existed there during the time of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; and a large statue of the Indian, or bearded Bacchus,* dedicated by Thra-

* This statue is represented by Stuart with a female's head, and was called by him the personification of the Demos of Athens.

syllus in gratitude for his having obtained the prize of tragedy at the Panathenaic festival. A beautiful little Corinthian temple near it, raised for a similar prize gained by Lysicrates, and commonly called the Lantern of Demosthenes, has also been drawn and modelled. It is one of the most exquisite productions of Greek architecture. The elevation, ground-plan, and other details of the octagonal temple, raised by Andronicus Cyrrhestes to the winds, have also been executed with care; but the sculpture on its frize is in so heavy a style, that it was not judged worthy of being modelled in plaster.

Permission was obtained from the archbishop of Athens, to examine the interior of all the churches and convents in Athens and its neighbourhood, in search of antiquities; and his authority was frequently employed, to permit Lord Elgin to carry away several curious fragments of antiquity. This search furnished many valuable bas-reliefs, inscriptions, ancient dials, a Gymnasiarch's chair in marble, on the back of which are figures of Harmodius and Aristogiton, with daggers in their hands, and the death of Leæna, who bit out her tongue during the torture, rather than confess what she knew of the conspiracy against the Pisistratidæ. The fountain in the court-yard of the English consul Logotheti's house was decorated with a bas-relief of Bacchantes, in the style called Græco-Etruscan: Lord Elgin obtained this, as well as a *quadriga* in bas-relief, with a Victory hovering over the charioteer, probably an *ex voto*, for some victory at the Olympic games. Amongst the Funeral Cippi found in different places, are some illustrious names, particularly that of Socrates; and in the Ceramicus itself, Lord Elgin discovered an inscription in elegiac verse, on the Athenians who fell at Potidæa, and whose eulogy was delivered with pathe-

tic eloquence in the funeral oration of Pericles.

The peasants at Athens generally put into a niche over the door of their cottages, any fragment they discover, in ploughing the fields. Out of these, were selected and purchased many curious antique votive tablets, with sculpture and inscriptions. A complete series has also been formed of capitals, of the three orders known in Greece, the Doric, the Ionic, and the Corinthian.

At a convent called Daphne, about half way between Athens and Eleusis, were the remains of an Ionic temple of Venus, equally remarkable for the brilliancy of the marble, the bold style of the ornaments, the delicacy with which they are finished, and their high preservation. Lord Elgin procured from thence two of the capitals, a whole fluted column, and a base.

Lord Elgin was indebted chiefly to the

friendship of the Captain Pasha, for the good fortune of procuring, while at the Dardanelles, in his way to Constantinople, the celebrated Boustrophedon inscription, from the promontory of Sigæum, a monument which several ambassadors from Christian Powers to the Porte, and even Louis XIV. in the height of his power, had ineffectually endeavoured to obtain. Lord Elgin found it forming a seat or couch at the door of a Greek chapel, and habitually resorted to by persons afflicted with ague; who, deriving great relief from reclining upon it, attributed their recovery to the marble, and not to the elevated situation and sea air, of which it procured them the advantage. This ill-fated superstition had already obliterated more than one half of the inscription, and in a few years more it would have become perfectly illegible.

By the aid of this valuable acquisition,

Lord Elgin's collection of inscriptions comprehends specimens of almost every remarkable peculiarity in the variations of the Greek alphabet, throughout the most interesting periods of Grecian history.

A few bronzes, cameos, and intaglios, were also procured: in particular, a cameo of very exquisite beauty, in perfect preservation, and of a peculiarly fine stone: it represents a female centaur suckling a young one. Lord Elgin was equally fortunate in forming a collection of Greek medals, among which are several that are very rare; others of much historical merit; and many most admirable specimens of art.

The late Dr. Carlyle, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, had accompanied Lord Elgin to Turkey, in the hopes of discovering any hidden treasures of Grecian or Arabic literature. Accordingly, Lord Elgin obtained for him access to some deposits of MSS. in the Seraglio: and, in

company with another gentleman of the embassy, amply qualified also for the research, he examined many collections in Constantinople, and in the neighbouring islands; more than thirty monasteries on Mount Athos; and various other religious establishments throughout Greece, and the islands of the Archipelago. From these, they brought home a great many MSS. which to them appeared valuable; as well as a particular catalogue and description of such as they were obliged to leave behind them.

In proportion as Lord Elgin's plan advanced, and the means accumulated in his hands towards affording an accurate knowledge of the works of architecture and sculpture in Athens and in Greece, it became a subject of anxious inquiry with him, in what way the greatest degree of benefit could be derived to the arts from what he had been so fortunate as to procure.

In regard to the works of the architects employed by him, he had naturally, from the beginning, looked forward to their being engraved: and accordingly all such plans, elevations, and details, as to those persons appeared desirable for that object, were by them, and on the spot, extended with the greatest possible care, and they are now in a state of complete preparation. Besides these, all the working sketches and measurements have been preserved, and offer ample materials for further drawings, should they be required. It was then Lord Elgin's wish, both out of respect for the subjects themselves, and in a view to their future utility, that the whole of the drawings might be executed in the highest perfection of the art of engraving: and for this purpose, he conceived it not impossible, and certainly very much to be desired, that a fund should be procured by subscription, exhibition, or otherwise; by aid of which,

these engravings might still be distributable, for the benefit of artists, at a rate of expense within the means of professional men.

More difficulty occurred in forming a plan, for deriving the utmost advantage from the marbles and casts. Lord Elgin's first attempt was to have the statues and bas-reliefs restored; and in that view he went to Rome, to consult and to employ Canova. The decision of that most eminent artist was conclusive. On examining the specimens produced to him, and making himself acquainted with the whole collection, and particularly with what came from the Parthenon, by means of the persons who had been carrying on Lord Elgin's operations at Athens, and who had returned with him to Rome, Canova declared, "That however greatly it was to be lamented that these statues should have suffered so much from time

and barbarism, yet it was undeniable, that they had never been retouched; that they were the work of the ablest artists the world had ever seen; executed under the most enlightened patron of the arts, and at a period when genius enjoyed the most liberal encouragement, and had attained the highest degree of perfection; and that they had been found worthy of forming the decoration of the most admired edifice ever erected in Greece: That he should have had the greatest delight, and derived the greatest benefit, from the opportunity Lord Elgin offered him of having in his possession, and contemplating, these inestimable marbles:" But, *(his expression was,)* "it would be "sacrilege in him, or any man, to presume "to touch them with a chisel." Since their arrival in this country, they have been laid open to the inspection of the public; and the opinions and impres-

sions, not only of artists, but of men of taste in general, have thus been formed and collected. From these, the judgment pronounced by Canova has been universally sanctioned: and all idea of restoring the marbles has been deprecated. Meanwhile the most distinguished painters and sculptors have assiduously attended this museum, and evinced the most enthusiastic admiration of the perfection, to which these marbles now prove to them that Phidias had brought the art of sculpture, and which had hitherto only been known through the medium of ancient authors. They have attentively examined them, and they have ascertained, that they were executed with the most scrupulous anatomical truth, not only in the human figure, but in the various animals to be found in this collection. They have been struck with the wonderful accuracy, and, at the same time, the great effect of

the minutest detail; and with the life, and expression, so distinctly produced in every variety of attitude and action. Those more advanced in years, have testified the liveliest concern, at not having had the advantage of studying these models: And many, who have had the opportunity of forming the comparison, (among these are the most eminent sculptors and painters in this metropolis,) have publicly and unequivocally declared, that in the view of professional men, this collection is far more valuable than any other collection in existence. The President of the Royal Academy, no less eminent as an artist, than as the zealous patron and encourager of the arts in this country, after passing some months in the daily study of these marbles, and having ascertained the advantage to be derived from them, to painting as well as to sculpture, communicated to Lord

Elgin the annexed report of his operations.*

Two suggestions have, however, met with much approbation, in a view to the improvement to be obtained to sculpture, from these marbles and casts—The first, that casts of all such as were ornaments on the temples, should be placed in an elevation, and in a situation, similar to that which they actually had occupied; that the originals should be disposed, in a view to the more easy inspection and study of them; and that particular subjects should occasionally be selected, and premiums given for the restoration of them. This restoration to be executed on casts, but by no means on the originals; and in the museum itself, where the character of the sculpture might be more readily studied.

Secondly: From trials which Lord Elgin was induced to make, at the request

* *Vide* Mr. West's Letter subjoined. Appendix [A].

of professional gentlemen, a strong impression was created, that the science of sculpture, and the taste and judgment by which it is to be carried forward and appreciated, could not so effectually be promoted, as by athletic exercises practised in the presence of similar works; the distinguishing merit of which, is an able, scientific, ingenious, but exact imitation of Nature. By no other way could the variety of attitude, the articulation of the muscles, the description of the passions; in short, every thing a sculptor has to represent, be so accurately or so beneficially understood and represented.

Under similar advantages, and with an enlightened and encouraging protection bestowed on genius and the arts, it may not be too sanguine to indulge a hope, that, prodigal as Nature is in the perfections of the human figure in this country, animating as are the instances of patriotism, heroic actions, and

private virtues, deserving commemoration, sculpture may soon be raised in England to rival the ablest productions of the best times of Greece.

APPENDIX. [A.]

BENJAMIN WEST, Esq.

TO

THE EARL OF ELGIN.

London, Newman Street, Feb. 6, 1809.

MY LORD,

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's obliging letter from your residence in Scotland; and have to thank you for the indulgence you afforded me, to study, and draw from, the sculptures by Phidias,* in your Lordship's house in Piccadilly.

I have found in this collection of sculpture so much excellence in art, (which is as applicable to painting and architecture, as to sculpture,) and a variety so magnificent and boundless, that every branch of science connected with the fine arts, cannot fail to acquire something from thia collection. Your Lordship, by bringing these treasures of the

* Vide Appendix [B.]

first and best age of sculpture and architecture into London, has founded a new Athens for the emulation and example of the British student. Esteeming this collection as I do, my Lord, I flatter myself it will not be unacceptable for your Lordship to know, what are the studies I have made from it.

I must premise to your Lordship, that I considered loose and detached sketches from these reliques, of little use to me, or value to the arts in general. To improve myself, therefore, and to contribute to the improvement of others, I have deemed it more important to select and combine whatever was most excellent from them, into subject and composition.

From the Centaurs in *alto relievo*, I have taken the figures of most distinguished eminence, and formed them into groupes for painting; from which selection, by adding female figures of my own, I have composed the Battle of the Centaurs. I have drawn the figures the size of the originals, on a canvass five feet six inches high, by ten feet long.

From the equestrian figures in *relievo*, I have formed the composition of Theseus and Hercules in triumph over the Amazons, having made their Queen Hippolita a prisoner. In continuation, and as a companion to this subject, I have formed a composition, in which Hercules bestows Hippolita in marriage upon Theseus. Those two are on the same size with the Centaurs.

From the large figure of Theseus, I have drawn a figure of that hero, of the same size with the sculpture. Before him, on the ground, I have laid the dead body of the Minotaur which he slew. As, by this enterprise, he was extricated from the Labyrinth by the aid of Ariadne, I have represented that Princess sitting by his side, gazing on him with affection. In the back-ground, are the Athenian youths, whom he delivered from bondage; and near them, the ship "with black sails," (in the poetic fancy of Pindar,) which brought him to Crete. The size of this canvass is six feet high, by nine feet long.

From the figure of Neptune, I have formed a companion to the Theseus. In this composition, I have shown Neptune reclining, with his left arm upon the knees of Amphitrite, while with his right he strikes the earth with his trident, and creates the horse. Around him, is Triton, with his train of marine gods; in the back ground, are equestrian exhibitions; and in the distance, ships at anchor.

From the casts in plaster of Paris, taken from the moulds which your Lordship had made at Athens, I selected such figures as I was enabled to form into a composition; the subject of which is, Alexander, and his horse Bucephalus: it is on a canvass smaller than those before mentioned.

In order to render the subjects which I selected, with perspicuity, and the effect, which arises from

combined parts and the order of arrangements, comprehensive, I have ventured to unite figures of my own invention with those of Phidias; but as I have endeavoured to preserve, with the best force of my abilities, the style of Phidias, I flatter myself, the union will not be deemed incongruous or presumptuous. Your Lordship may perhaps be inclined to think with me, that a point, and, if I may so express it, a kind of climax, is thus given to those works, by the union of those detached figures, with the incorporation of the parts of individual grandeur, and abstracted excellence of Phidias. For what I have done, my Lord, I had the example of Raphael, and most of the Italian masters of the greatest celebrity. Is it not, moreover, this combination of parts which comes the nearest to perfection in refined and ideal art? For, thus combining what is excellent in art with what possesses character in nature, the most distinguished works have been produced, in painting, poetry, and sculpture.

In following this system of combination, I had the singular good fortune, by your Lordship's liberality, to select from the first productions of sculpture which ever adorned the world in that department in art; which neither Raphael, nor any of the distinguished masters, had the advantage to see, much less to study, since the revival of art. I may therefore, declare with truth, my Lord, that I am the first in modern times who have enjoyed the much

coveted opportunity, and availed myself of the rare advantage of forming compositions from them, by adapting their excellencies to poetic fictions and historical facts. I sincerely hope that those examples of art, with which your Lordship has enriched your country, and which has made London, if not the first, one of the most desirable points in Europe to study them—will not only afford to the British people the frequent opportunity of contemplating their excellencies; but will be the means of enlightening the public mind, and correcting the national taste, to a true estimation of what is really valuable and dignified in art. The influence of these works will, I trust, encourage the men of taste and opulence in this country, to bestow a liberal patronage on genius to pursue this dignified style in art, for the honour of genius, themselves, and the country. I need not impress on your Lordship's mind a truth, of which the experience of the progress of art, through all ages, is the best confirmation, that without such refinement in this higher department of poetic or historical subjects, England will never acquire the glory of possessing the arts in any but a subordinate degree. It is my wish, therefore, as it has been my endeavour, that the supreme excellence of those works of sculpture should become the means, and act as an incentive to that improvement amongst us, by which we may

gratify the ambition of all honourable minds, and be remembered amongst the lovers of art and our country in a distant posterity, as those who have opened the avenues of excellence, and have rightly known and valued them. Let us, my Lord, justify ourselves, at least, by our intentions. In whatever estimation the arts of the present day shall be held by those of future ages, your Lordship must be remembered by the present, and be recorded by those to come, as a benefactor, who has conferred obligations, not only on a profession, but upon a nation; and as having rescued from the devastation of ignorance, and the unholy rapine of barbarism, those unrivalled works of genius, to be preserved in the bosom of your country, which a few centuries more might have consigned to oblivion.

To your Lordship I have to return my sincere thanks, for the means you have afforded me of adding my name to that of Phidias, by arranging his figures in my own compositions, and adapting them to subjects, by which my sketches may be rendered more acceptable, as well as more improving to myself in the higher point of my profession. And may the materials from which those sublime sculptures have been produced, be preserved from accident, that men of taste and genius, yet unborn, may be gratified with a sight of them; and that the admiring world may revere the Author of all things,

for having bestowed on man those peculiar powers of his mind and hand; With these sentiments, and with profound respect for your Lordship, I have the honour to be.

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most

Obedient and obliged,

BENJ. WEST.

To the Earl of Elgin.

Newman Street, March 20, 1811.

MY LORD,

LEARNING that your Lordship is in town, I avail myself of the opportunity to request you would do me the honour of a visit, to see the last Historical Picture I have painted.—The subject is our Saviour receiving the blind and sick, in the Temple, to heal them.—This picture I am the more desirous of showing to your Lordship, as I have conducted it on those dignified principles of refined art, which I found so superior in the Athenian sculpture, with which you have enriched your country.

In the former letter, which I had the honour of writing to your Lordship, I mentioned, that I perceived in your marbles, points of excellence as appropriate to painting as to sculpture. The points to which I alluded, are the visible signs of that

internal life, with which the animal creation is endowed for the attainment of the various purposes for which they were created. It was the representation of these emotions of life which the philosophers among the Greeks recommended to their sculptors, at a period when their figures were but little removed from Egyptian statues. And, accordingly, the influence of this advice was perceptible in the subsequent works of their artists. Who, in fact, can look on the Horse's Head in your Lordship's Collection of Athenian Sculpture, without observing the animation and expression of real life? Would one not almost suppose, that some magic power, rather than a human hand, had turned the head into stone, at the moment when the horse was in all the energies of its nature?—We feel the same, when we view the young equestrian Athenians; and in observing them, we are insensibly carried on with the impression, that they and their horses actually existed, as we see them, at the instant when they were converted into marble.

In the last production of my pencil, which I now invite your Lordship to see, it has been my ambition, (though at a very advanced period of life,) to introduce those refinements in art, which are so distinguished in your Collection. And if I have achieved this, the obligation is to your Lordship, for bringing those marbles to England, and giving me the opportunity of studying them. Had I been

blessed with seeing and studying these emanations of genius at an earlier period of life, the sentiment of their pre-eminence would have animated all my exertions; and more character, and expression, and life, would have pervaded all my humble attempts in Historical Painting. Let us suppose a young man at this time in London endowed with powers such as enabled Michael Angelo to advance the arts, as he did, by the aid of one mutilated specimen of Grecian excellence in sculpture; to what an eminence might not such a genius carry art, by the opportunity of studying those sculptures in the aggregate, which adorned the Temple of Minerva at Athens? It is therefore my devout wish, that they should rest in the Capital of this Empire; and that their resting-place should be as accessible as possible to public inspection, in order to impart, generally, a true notion of what is classical in art. Such a deposit would not only be of infinite advantage to young artists, by rendering them familiar with such excellence; but it would be the means of diffusing a correct knowledge of art, whereby real merit in it might be appreciated, and judiciously rewarded.

In painting, sculpture, and architecture, it is the same as in letters. Without the opportunity of knowing what is classical in art, neither of these branches can be refined by their professors, nor adequately encouraged by their patrons.

You may be assured, my Lord, that unless England establishes the means of cultivating the exalted class of art within herself, she will never be entitled to participate with Greece and Rome in the honour they acquired in the fine arts. Yet I know no people, since the Greeks, so capable, as the inhabitants of this island, of emulating them in art, if rightly directed and patronised—For the British are a scientific and reasoning people in all matters which they undertake to investigate: and I hope the time is not far distant, when a right direction in the fine arts will not only be attained, but consolidated on true and permanent principles.

With profound respect, I have the honour to be,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient servant,

BENJ. WEST.

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Elgin.

APPENDIX. [B.]

NOTES

ON

PHIDIAS AND HIS SCHOOL;

COLLECTED FROM ANCIENT AUTHORS.

PHIDIAS, the son of Charmidas, was born about 500 years before Christ. He was originally a painter,* and he carried the arts of painting and sculpture to a greater perfection than they had ever before attained. His brother, Panænus, also painted the celebrated Marathon in the Pœcile.† In the art of making statues of bronze, both for the number and excellence of his works, Phidias was without a rival. His Amazon,‡ but especially his Lemnian Minerva,‖ were for many ages the admiration of the

* Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxv. c. 34.

† Pausan. lib. i. Eliac. p. 402. Kuhnii.

‡ Plin. xxxiv. c. 5.

‖ Pausan. in Att. p. 67. ed. Kuhn. Plin. xxxiv. c. 8.

world for their faultless symmetry. In works of ivory also, Phidias stands alone.* The enthusiasm with which Cicero,† Strabo,‡ Pliny,‖ and Pausanias,§ speak of his colossal statues of Jupiter and Minerva, which he executed in ivory and gold, can best be learned by consulting those writers: but there is reason to believe that Phidias himself did not approve of the application of this material to works of art; at least not to works of that size, however it may have suited the capricious taste of the Athenian people.¶ In an assembly of the people he is said to have earnestly recommended a different substance for the statue of Minerva, which was to be placed in her temple in the Acropolis: but on the Athenians being informed that it would be cheaper than ivory, they rejected the proposal.

Besides these two colossal statues in ivory and gold, we do not hear of above one or two more executed in these materials by the same artist. The far greater number of his statues, which are expressly mentioned by the ancient writers, are in bronze.

Phidias, however, did not disdain efforts of an humbler sort: for, not to dwell on his statues in

* Quintil. lib. xii. c. 10.
† Passim in Philos.
‡ Lib. viii. p. 255. Casaub.
‖ Lib. xxxvi. c. 5.
§ In Eliac. p. 306. ed. Xyland.
¶ Val. Max. lib. i. 11.

wood,* plaster, and clay,† nor on certain pieces of minute mechanism, as fish and flies,‡ ascribed to the same master; he was the first who discovered the true principles of carving in relievo;‖ and, in the smallest productions of his art, he preserved, according to Pliny, the same grandeur of execution, which characterized his greatest works. The same author mentions in terms of high praise, the Lapithæ and Centaurs, carved on the sandals of Minerva, and the workmanship of her shield; on the convex side of which, was represented the battle of the Amazons, and on the concave, that of the Gods and Giants. The shield, moreover, contained a likeness of Pericles, fighting with an Amazon,§ and was put together so artfully, that if a figure of Phidias himself (representing him as an old bald man, holding up a large stone in his hands, to denote his being the architect of the temple) were by any means removed, the whole shield must inevitably have fallen to pieces.¶

The masters of the greatest eminence which the School of Phidias produced, were Agoracritus, Alcamenes, and Colotes. Of these, Alcamenes was the most distinguished; he is mentioned by the ancients as an artist of the greatest merit. We praise, says

* Pausan. in Bœot. p. 718. ed. Kuhnii.
† Ibid. in Att. 97.
‡ Acad. des Ins. Gedoyn (v. ix.)
‖ Plin. xxxiv. c. 8.
§ Plut. in Pericle.
¶ Plut. in Pericle. Cic. Tusc. lib. i. c. 15. et Orat. c. 71.

Cicero, that Vulcan at Athens, which Alcamenes made; in which, though standing and covered over with drapery, there is an appearance of lameness without deformity.* Valerius Maximus gives a similar description of it at greater length.† Pausanias makes mention of a beautiful Bacchus‡ from the hands of this master, in ivory and gold; and two colossal statues of Minerva and Hercules, erected at Thebes, of Pentelic marble.‖

But the master-piece of Alcamenes was the groupe of statues on the pediment of the back front of the Temple of Jupiter§ at Olympia; the description of which, in the Eliacs of Pausanias, affords so many singular coincidences with the statues upon the pediments of the Parthenon at Athens, that it is scarcely possible to entertain a doubt that both were erected nearly at the same period. It is not improbable that Alcamenes had attempted to imitate the latter, encouraged by the success of his master Phidias in a similar undertaking.

Of the same Alcamenes, we read in Pliny that he was a statuary of the highest merit, that many of his works still adorned the temples, and that he had produced the incomparable Venus without the walls, called the Ἀφροδίτη ἐν κήποις.¶

* De Nat. Deor. lib. i. c. 30.
† Lib. viii. c. 9.
‡ Paus. in Att. p. 46 ed. Kuhnii.
§ Id. in Eliac. lib. i. p. 397.
‖ Id. in Bœot. p. 739. ed. Kuhn.
¶ Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 4.

Another of Phidias' scholars—his favourite pupil Agoracritus, is chiefly celebrated as connected with the famous statue of Nemesis, the Goddess of Vengeance, at Rhamnus, near Marathon, in memory of the result of that battle. The history of this statue, and its allegorical accessories, one of the departments of the art peculiar to Phidias, are too well known to be repeated here. To this statue was appended a label, stating that it was the work of Agoracritus: but all the ancient writers who mention it, and particularly Pausanias, speak of it as the work of Phidias—and it appears to have been one of the most extraordinary productions in marble sculpture which the art has ever produced.*

Of the other marble statues attributed to Phidias, were:

1. The Mercury Pronaos in the Temple of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes.†

2. A beautiful Venus in the Octavian Museum at Rome.‡

3. The face, hands, and feet, of the Minerva Bellica of the Platæans, from the spoils at Marathon.‖ The rest of the statue was of wood and gold.

4. The Venus Urania, in Parian marble, in the temple of that Goddess in Attica

5. One of the colossal statues on the Esquiline

* Paus. Pliny, &c.
† Paus. in Bœot. p. 857. ed. Xyland.
‡ Pliny, xxxvi. 4.
‖ Paus. in Bœot. p. 718. Kuhnii ed.

Hill.—The inscription is of later date; and therefore, exclusive of the merit of the sculpture, carries with it no other testimony than that of the notoriety of Phidias as a sculptor in marble.*

In the Augustan age, and in that immediately subsequent to it, it was generally believed, not only that Phidias frequently caused the names of his pupils to be inscribed on his own statues, but that he had given instances of the greatest skill in finishing the works of other artists. Amongst these last was the above-mentioned statue of Aphrodite ἐν κήποις by Alcamenes. To this extraordinary talent, which we must suppose was chiefly exercised in works of marble, Cicero alludes in the 4th book de Fin. For. et Mal. "Ut Phidias potest a principio instituere signum, idque perficere: potest ab alio inchoatum accipere, et absolvere."

With respect to the particular character of the sculpture of Phidias, we may gather from the language of the ancients respecting him, that he had no competitor at least for posthumous fame. That his excellence in his own art became a proverbial term of comparison, by which to illustrate that of all other persons whatsoever in their particular departments.

* The same inference may be drawn from the following passage in Aristotle. Eudem. lib. v. c. 7.—Την δε σοφίαν ἐν ταῖς τεχναις τοῖς ἀκριβεστάτοις τὰς τεχνας ἀποδίδομεν οἷον Φειδιαν λιθουργὸν σόφον, καὶ Πολύκλειτον ἀνδριαντοποίον.

As an elegant modern French writer has observed,* "The sculptors who preceded Phidias could not divest their statues of a certain stiff and dry formality. Phidias was the first who gave to his style, according to the expressions of the ancients, grandeur, majesty, gravity, breadth, and magnificence."

Dionysius Halicarnassensis, in his essay on the oratory of Isocrates, compares it, in the following terms, with the sculpture of Phidias:

Θαυμαστὸν γὰρ δὴ καὶ μέγα το της Ισοκράους κατασκευῆς ὕψος, ἡρωϊκῆς μάλλον ἢ ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως οἰκεῖον. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι μὴ ἄπο σκοπου τις ἂν εἰκάσαι τὴν Ισοκράτους ῥητορικὴν τῇ Πολυκλείτου καὶ Φειδίου τέχνῃ, κατα τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ μεγαλότεχνον, καὶ ἀξιωματικὸν. And in his chapter on Dinarchus, where he is dilating on the advantages possessed by original writers or artists, and the impossibility of those who come after them, imitating their life, and spirit, and real beauties, he adds, speaking of Phidias, and other great masters), ὅτι πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς ἀρχετύποις, ἀυΐοφυὴς τις ἐπιπρέπει χάρις, καὶ ὥρα.

Quintilian, with more critical acumen, distinguishes, by strong lines, the different merits of Phidias and Polycletus. Lib. xii. c. 10. "Diligentia ac decor in "Polyclete suprà ceteros, cui quanquam à plerisque tri-"buitur palma, tamen, ne nihil detrahatur, deesse pon-"dus putant. Nam ut humanæ formæ decorem addiderit

* Essai sur l'Art Statuaire.

" suprà verum, ita non explevisse Deorum auctoritatem
" videtur. Quin ætatem quoque graviorem dicitur refu-
" gisse, nihil ausus ultra leves genas. At quæ Poly-
" cleto* defuerunt, Phidiæ atque Alcameni dantur.
" Phidias tamen diis quam hominibus efficiendis melior
" artifex traditur, in Ebore vero longè citrà æmulum,
" vel si nihil, nisi Minervam Athenis, aut Olympium
" in Elide Jovem fecisset: cujus pulchritudo adjecisse
" aliquid receptæ religioni videtur, adeò majestas operis
" Deum æquavit."

But words were inadequate to express with sufficient energy the admiration which the ancients felt for the style and character of the works of this celebrated artist. They compared them to the style of Thucydides and of Demosthenes. Yet the masculine beauty pourtrayed by the hand of Phidias was combined with sweetness, with elegance, and with grace. Equally

* Quintilian must be here supposed to compare the different excellencies of Polycletus, Alcamenes, and Phidias, with respect to their works in marble, as Alcamenes only worked in that material. The same may be said of Ep. xiii. and vi. of Martial:

" Quis te Phidiaco formatam, Julia, cœlo
Vel quis Palladiæ non putet artis opus?
Candida non tacitâ respondet imagine Lygdos†
Et placido fulget vivus in ore decor."

† Lygdos was a part of Mount Taurus, famous for its white marble.

ingenious as he was sublime, he executed great works with energy; those the more inferior, with simplicity and truth.

" Artis Phidiacæ toreuma clarum
" Pisces adspicis: adde aquam, natabunt."

MARTIAL, III. 35.

His style, which varied with his subject, was at the same time grand and refined.* If Phidias had not applied all his powers to pourtray the slightest shades, and the most delicate lines, he never would have reached that expression of life peculiarly his own. His style was truly admirable, because it " united the three characters of truth, grandeur, and minute refinement."

Plutarch, in his life of Pericles, tells us, that that munificent and enlightened patron of the arts appointed Phidias the sole director of all his public works. All the other artists, however eminent, received his orders. Of these, Callicrates and Ictinus were particularly employed upon the Parthenon.

The two distinguished men above-mentioned, who seemed to live for each other's glory, and to combine their joint exertions in order to embellish Athens, were frequently the objects of jealousy to the Athenian people; and Phidias fell a victim to their animosity

* Ἐχεσά τι καὶ μεγαλεῖον καὶ ἀκριβὲς ἅμα.—Demet. Phal. de Elocut. cap. 14.

for attempting to give to his own name the immortality which it was not doubted would be the inheritance of his works.

Plutarch, in speaking of these works, describes them in the following terms;

After observing in general that those which were slowly executed were likely to be the most durable, he adds—"Hence we have the more reason to wonder, "that the structures raised by Pericles should be built "so quickly, and yet built for ages; for as each of them, "when finished, had the venerable air of antiquity, so, "even now they retain the strength and freshness of a "modern building. A bloom is diffused over them, "which preserves their aspect untarnished by time, as if "they were animated with a spirit of perpetual youth, "and unfading elegance."

Pausanias, a cotemporary of Plutarch, says very little on the subject of the Temple of Minerva at Athens. He merely remarks, that on the western façade was represented the Birth of Minerva; and on that to the east, the Contest between Minerva and Neptune for naming the city. After describing the statue of the Goddess, which was of ivory and gold, he adds*—

* "Τρίν δὲ ἢ γενέσθαι πανδώραν, οὔκ ἦν πῶ γυναικῶν γένος—ἐνταῦθα εἰκόνα ἰδὼν εἶδα Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως μόνου."

To this passage it may probably be attributed, that some modern travellers, who had no means of viewing the statues but from the ground, and, of course, from a considerable dis-

"The only statue of a man which I saw here [ἐνταῦθα] "was one of Hadrian."*

A few words may be necessary upon the subject of the sculptures on the exterior of the Parthenon.

The practice had obtained among the sculptors and architects of Greece in a very early period of the art, of introducing groupes of statues to occupy the ἀετὸν, or triangular space above the porticos of the temples.

The description in Diodorus Siculus of the sculptures on the pediment of the Temple of Jupiter at Agrigentum, representing at one extremity the Battle of the Giants, and at the other the taking of Troy—the Twelve Labours of Hercules, on the fronton of the Temple of Hercules at Thebes, by the hand of Praxiteles—the Calydonian Boar Hunt, described with so much detail in the 8th book of Pausanias, on the Temple of Minerva Alea at Tegæa—those in honour of Bacchus and Apollo, on the two frontons of the Temple of Apollo, at Delphi, by the hands of Praxias, the pupil of Calamis, and of Androsthenes, the pupil of Eucadmus, both of them Athenian artists;—but above all, the magnificent Temple of Jupiter, at Olympia.—All these instances present a strong body of evidence,

tance, have imagined that two of them, on the western pediment, were whiter and fresher than the rest, and bore a resemblance to Hadrian and Sabina.

* Vide Pausan. in Att.

that a building of the character of the Temple of Minerva, at Athens, would not have been left by Pericles with a bare pediment; and if Phidias did place any sculptures upon them, it can hardly be doubted that they were amongst the most distinguished works of that artist and of his pupils.

No subjects of ancient fable are more frequently alluded to in the poets and historians of Greece and Rome, than the contest between Minerva and Neptune; the birth of the former; and the battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ. One instance of this nature, bearing an immediate allusion to the present subject, may be adduced from the 6th book of Ovid's Metamorphoses. The poet is relating the contest between Minerva and Arachne for the honours of the loom. The Goddess is appropriately described as tracing upon her tapestry her former contest with Neptune for the honour of naming the capital of Greece. The poet's words are so strikingly descriptive of the sculptures on one of the pediments of the Parthenon, that the reader will readily pardon their being quoted at length.

" Cecropiâ Pallas Scopulum Mavortis in arce
Pingit, et antiquam terræ de nomine litem.
Bis sex cœlestes, medio Jove, sedibus altis
Augustâ gravitate sedent, sua quemque Deorum
Inscribit facies: Jovis est regalis imago.
Stare Deum pelagi, longoque ferire tridente

Aspera saxa facit, medioque e vulnere saxi
Exsiluisse ferum; quo pignore vindicet urbem.
At sibi dat clypeum, dat acutæ cuspidis hastam,
Dat galeam capiti; defenditur ægide pectus;
Percussamque suâ simulat de cuspide terram
Prodere cum baccis fœtum cauentis olivæ;
Mirarique Deos; operi victoria finis."*

A more elegant compliment to the genius and arts of Athens can scarcely be imagined, than is contained in these lines.

The subject of the tapestry is the same with that of the statues upon the temple.

The Goddess herself is represented producing, as the utmost effort of an imitative art, the same picture which already adorned her own temple in her own city.

The twelve deities seated, with Jupiter in the midst, exactly correspond with the remains which have been preserved. Neptune produces the horse, and Minerva the olive tree:† and the Arx Cecropia seems to fix,

* Ovid Met. lib. vi. Fab. 1.

† Traces of the accessory ornaments, alluded to by the poet, are to be found in several of the mutilated statues on the pediments: but, as these were of bronze, or other more precious material, they have long since disappeared, as well as those of which some remains are still to be discovered on the metopes, and on the frize of the cell.

beyond a doubt, the spot to which the poet attaches the scenes which he describes.

An objection might possibly be started, that "Scopulum Mavortis" would allude to the Areopagus; but it does not readily appear that the Areopagus was ever so called: whereas, on a reference to Pausanias, one is struck with the peculiar propriety of applying, in the present instance, this denomination to the ground on which the Temple of Minerva stands.

Pausanias begins the fifth chapter of his Attics with a description of the Tholus or Prytaneum, which was to the east and north of the Acropolis. He then mentions the statues of several heroes who gave their names to the Athenian tribes. He enters into details of the history of Athens under Pandion, and during the reigns of Ptolemy, Antigonus, and Attalus. Returning to the statues, he enumerates, among others, that of Demosthenes, and close to it *a Temple dedicated to Mars*. He then describes several other statues; and at length arrives at the Theatre of Bacchus and the Odeon. This statement would seem to fix the Temple of Mars in some spot under the craggy cliffs which terminate the Acropolis to the east, (*i. e.* in the line of the street of the Tripods;) and gives a rational ground for supposing, that those cliffs were the Scopulum Mavortis of the poet.—Now the eastern façade of the Parthenon appears

to rise immediately above these craggy cliffs, and certainly presents to the spectator below one of the grandest scenes which can be imagined, even in Greece

APPENDIX [C].

DESCRIPTION

D'UN

BAS-RELIEF DU PARTHÉNON,

ACTUELLEMENT AU

MUSÉE NAPOLÉON.

Par A. L. Millin, *Conservateur des Médailles, des Pierres gravées, et des Antiques de la Bibliotheque Nationale de France; Professeur d'Histoire et d'Antiquités.*

Le magnifique bas-relief dont je vais donner la description, est déjà très-connu, quoiqu'il n'ait jamais été gravé. Il ornoit la frise extérieure qui régnoit autour de la *cella* du Temple de Minerve à Athènes. Il en a été détaché par M. de Choiseul Gouffier, que sa noble passion pour les arts a autant illustré que ses qualités éminentes, sa grande fortune, et ses ambassades. Il

est actuellement au Musée Napoléon; et on l'appelle en général, parmi les artistes, *le Bas-relief d'Athènes.*

Ce beau monument est en marbre pentélique. On y distingue huit personnages, deux hommes et six femmes, partagés en trois groupes. Cette frise représentoit la pompe ou procession des Panathénées. Cette portion de ce grand bas-relief nous offre le moment où le pompe de cette grande fête va s'arranger. Les jeunes filles reçoivent des mains des directeurs de la cérémonie les vases et les utensils qu'elles doivent porter.

Les Panathénées, ainsi que leur nom l'indique, étoient des fêtes établies en mémoire de la réunion de tous les peuples de l'Attique dans la ville d'Athènes. Celles-ci étoient les petites Panathénées, qui se célébroient tous les ans le 14 du mois hécatombéon, et qui avoient été instituées par Thésée, en mémoire de cette réunion. Les grandes Panathénées se célébroient dans la troisième année de chaque olympiade, le 27 du mois hécatombéon.

Les grandes Panathénées étoient celles qui se célébroient avec le plus de pompe et d'éclat. Il est probable que ce sont celles dont la superbe frise du Parthénon nous offre la représentation. On y faisoit des courses de chevaux; on y disputoit le prix de la lutte et des différens exercices du corps, celui de la flûte et de la cithare; on y chantoit les éloges d'Harmodius, d'Aristogiton, et de Thrasybule, libérateurs de leur patrie. La pompe ou procession étoit une des principales

parties de cette fête; elle étoit accompagnée de plusieurs classes de citoyens. J'en décrirai les détails lorsque je publierai toute la frise de la *cella* du Parthénon; je ne dois m'attacher ici qu'à ceux que nous offre notre bas-relief.

Il est, comme je l'ai dit, partagé en plusieurs groupes. Le premier nous fait voir un vieillard qui présente un vase à deux jeunes filles placées sur la même ligne, et dont l'attitude sévère et décente annonce le respect religieux avec lequel elles remplissent leurs fonctions. Xénophon nous apprend en effet, que dans cette fête, il y avoit des vieillards dont la figure étoit vénérable, et des filles des meilleures maisons d'Athènes, dont les traits, la taille, et la demarche, attiroient tous les regards. Le vieillard présente un vase aux deux jeunes filles; et malgré le peu de capacité de ce vase, il le soutient des deux mains; ce qui annonce qu'il est rempli de lait ou d'huile, dont on faisoit des libations. Quatre trous faits sur ce vase étoient destinés sans doute à y fixer des ornemens de bronze, peut-être dorés. Les jeunes filles écoutent avec recueillement ses instructions.

Dans le second groupe, un vieillard vêtu comme le précédent semble régler la marche; il a le bras gauche élevé à la hauteur de la ceinture; tous ses doigts sont fermés, à l'exception de l'index, avec lequel il a l'air de leur prescrire quelque chose. Les deux trous placés au-dessus et au-dessous de sa main droit étoient probablement destinés à fixer un sceptre

ou un bâton qu'il tenoit. Les deux jeunes filles sont à-peu-près dans la même attitude que les premières; ce qui convient à la gravité et à l'ensemble d'un marche. Derrière elles sont deux autres jeunes filles, qui se suivent: celle qui vient immédiatement après les deux précédentes, porte dans la main droite une patère.

Les vieillards sont vêtus de cet ample manteau appellé par les Grecs *himation*, et chez les Romains *pallium*, dont sont ordinairement vêtus tous les personnages qui doivent avoir un maintien grave et imposant, tels que Jupiter, Sérapis, Æsculape, Silène, les philosophes et les magistrats. Les jeunes filles ont de longues tuniques Ioniennes sans manches, et un ample *peplus*.

Ce bas-relief est précieux pour la beauté des draperies. Il est curieux de les comparer avec celles des temps précédens; on y voit par quels degrés les artistes Grecs sont parvenus à devenir les maitres de toutes les nations pour l'invention et le jet des draperies: ce qui est d'autant plus étonnant, qu'ils représentoient plusieurs dieux et les héros nus ou presque nus. Mais c'est la connoissance parfaite du nu qui les a conduites à cette supériorité dans l'exécution des draperies, parce qu'elles sont faites pour couvrir le nu, mais non pas pour le cacher entièrement; il doit se faire sentir à travers les vêtemens. Les figures singulièrement habillées du vase de M. Hope, les unes comme dans un sac, les autres de tuniques et de *peplus* sans aucun

pli, nous ont fait voir comment les premiers artistes exécutèrent les draperies, sans leur donner aucun mouvement ; ceux qui imaginèrent de figurer les plis que font faire aux draperies la situation des membres, les mouvemens du corps, l'effet de la cours et du vent, les représentèrent d'abord longs, ondulés, uniformes, et enfin avec une rudesse qu'on a regardée d'abord comme particulière au style Etrusque, mais qui, comme on le sait aujourd'hui, est le caractère de l'ancien style Grec : on en trouve des exemples dans les bas-reliefs du musée Capitolin et de la villa Albani. Ce magnifique bas-relief nous fait voir comment les Grecs ont abandonné cette manière trop dure, et ont porté l'art des draperies à sa perfection, ainsi qu'on le remarque sur plusieurs vases peints, et sur les monumens de la sculpture Grecque. Personne ensuite n'a surpassé les Grecs dans l'art des draperies : ils ont excellé principalement dans celles des femmes ; mais ce beau bas-relief prouve qu'ils ne drapoient pas moins habilement les figures d'hommes. Les Romains ornoient leurs figures de draperies assez belles, mais trop amples et trop lourdes, et qui étoient bien loin de réunir la grâce et la noblesse des draperies Grecques. Cela venoit probablement de ce que les Romains avoient moins d'occasions d'étudier le nu ; ce qui prouve combien la connoissance du nu est nécessaire pour la parfaite exécution des draperies. L'art des draperies avoit disparu avec le goût des arts ; les vêtemens lourds des princes de l'empire Grec étoient sans grâce et sans mouvement.

Raphaël découvrit dans les bas-reliefs, dans les pierres gravées, et les divers monumens de l'antiquité, le grand goût du jet des draperies, et ne tarda pas à l'introduire ; il est resté le premier maître dans l'art de jeter les draperies et de donner aux plis le plus bel arrangement.

Ce bas-relief est encore précieux par la sévérité du style, et par son utilité dans l'histoire des arts. C'est Phidias lui-même qui doit en avoir fourni le dessin et surveillé l'exécution.

Avant que ce marbre précieux eut été nettoyé, il conservoit des traces, non-seulement de la couleur encaustique dont, suivant l'usage des Grecs, on enduisoit la sculpture, mais encore d'une véritable peinture dont quelque parties étoient couvertes ; usage qui tient aux procédés de l'enfance de l'art, dont il ne s'étoit pas encore débarrassé. Le fond étoit bleu ; les cheveux et quelques parties du corps étoient dorés.

APPENDIX [D].

LETTRE

DE

E. Q. VISCONTI

À

UN ANGLAIS.

MONSIEUR,

à Paris, le 25 Nov. 1814.

LE court espace de tems qui s'est écoulé entre votre retour à Londres et mon départ de cette grande capitale, ainsi que vos occupations, ne m'ont guère permis de vous entretenir avec un peu de loisir de l'impression qu'a faite sur moi la vue de tant de chefs-d'œuvres de la sculpture Grecque, réunis par Mylord Elgin à Burlington House. J'espère que vous lirez avec quelqu'intérêt l'exposé succinct des idées qu'ils ont fait naître en moi.

Ni les dessins publiés dans le bel ouvrage de Stuart,

ni ceux qui avoient été pris à Athènes par les soins de M. De Nointel, lorsque le Temple de Minerve n'avoit pas encore essuyé toutes les dévastations qu'il a éprouvées dans le cours de cent cinquante ans; ni le précieux fragment de la frise de ce temple, que l'on conserve au Musée Royal du Louvre, ni les plâtres de tant de morceaux de sculpture du Parthénon, dont M. Le Comte de Choiseul Gouffier nous a fait jouir, ne m'avoient donné une aussi grande idée de l'art de Phidias, que celle que j'ai conçue en voyant les statues et les groupes de grandeur colossale, tirés des deux frontons du temple, et cette suite admirable de plus de deux cents pieds de bas-reliefs qui formoient la frise de la Cella, et qui sont maintenant à Londres.

Cette frise, à la vérité, m'avoit toujours paru ce que l'art de la sculpture a produit de plus parfait dans le genre du bas-relief. J'y avois remarqué avec étonnement la variété et le naturel des mouvemens dans un si grand nombre de figures dont l'action est à-peu-près la même, la grande manière du dessin dans les chevaux et les taureaux, la richesse et le goût des draperies, et surtout la beauté des poses, dont plusieurs avoient été un objet d'imitation, même pour les artistes les plus habiles de l'antiquité. J'y retrouvois en effet les poses de plusieurs figures célèbres, exécutées dans des tems postérieurs, telles que les deux statues colossales du Quirinal, le Jason connu vulgairement sous la dénomination de Cincinnatus, le Mars en repos de la Villa Ludovisi, le vieux Centaure d'Aristeas, de Papias, &c.

Mais les groupes et les statues placées jadis dans les tympanes du Parthénon ont surpassé mon attente; elles sont dans le nud des modèles aussi accomplis de vérité, de choix, et de beauté de formes, que le Laocoon et le Torse. Elles présentent dans les draperies ce que les statues les plus célèbres ont de plus noble et de plus riche dans leur ajustement: j'avois de la peine à concevoir ce que Praxitèle a pu ajouter de grace et de perfection à la sculpture Grecque: peut-être ce que les anciens ont dit de lui ne doit-il se rapporter qu'aux airs des têtes.

Cette figure demi-couchée de l'Ilissus, qui semble se lever pour faire hommage de sa joie à la Déesse victorieuse, ne surpasse-t-elle pas, dans la hardiesse de la pose et du dessin, tout ce que nous connoissons de l'antiquité? Dans ses parties les mieux conservées ne retrouvons-nous pas les traces d'un ciseau qui savoit ammollir le marbre, et le transformer en chair souple et vivante?

A l'aspect de tant de merveilles, je me suis convaincu que l'école Athénienne du siècle de Périclès s'étoit dépouillée entièrement de cette sécheresse et de cette roideur, qu'on a reprochées aux artistes plus anciens, et notamment à ceux de l'école d'Egine. J'ai vu, en un mot, la vérité de ce que Plutarque a dit de ces ouvrages de Phidias, qu'ils étoient imposants par leur grandeur, inimitables par leur grace et par leur beauté.*

* Plutarchus in Pericle, § 13. *Ἔργων ὑπερφάνων μὲν μεγέθει, μορφῇ δ' ἀμιμήτων καὶ χάριτι.*

J'ai dit, de ces ouvrages de Phidias, car le même auteur ainsi que Pausanias* ne nous permettent pas de douter que tous ces chefs-d'œuvres n'aient été enfantés par le génie, dirigés par le goût, et exécutés en grande partie par le ciseau de ce maître. Ceux qui ne verroient dans Phidias qu'un statuaire dont l'art ne s'exerçoit que sur l'ivoire, l'or et le bronze, seroient réfutés par l'autorité d'Aristote, qui donne comme principal caractère du talent de cet artiste, l'excellence dans la sculpture en marbre (*σοφὸς λιθουργὸς*†), tandis qu'il reconnoit dans Polyclète la supériorité dans l'art statuaire proprement dit, que les anciens restreignoient aux statues de bronze ou d'autres métaux. Mais je m'étendrai davantage sur ce point dans un mémoire que je me propose de lire bientôt à la Classe d'Histoire et de Littérature ancienne de l'Institut Royal de France, où je parlerai aussi de cette collection d'inscriptions Grecques si utiles à l'érudition, et de plusieurs autres particularités de ces divers monumens également intéressantes pour l'archéologie, pour la paléographie, et pour l'histoire de l'art.

J'ajouterai encore une observation: Si les fragmens de la sculpture antique, exposés à Florence dans le Palais des Médicis et à Rome dans le jardin de Jules II., ont fécondé les talents des artistes Italiens du seizième siècle, des Michelange, des Raphaël, dont la renommée se soutient à une hauteur qu'aucun artiste moderne n'a pu encore atteindre, quel heureux augure pour les pro-

* Attica, cap. xxiv. † *Ethic. Nicomach.* l. vi. cap. 7.

grès de la sculpture en Angleterre ne peut-on pas tirer de la réunion à Londres et de l'étude de ces restes précieux de l'art de la Grèce ; principalement dans les circonstances actuelles, où le goût, l'opulence, et la générosité de la nation se portent à favoriser la sculpture d'un mouvement spontané et universel? J'ai vu les ateliers de vos sculpteurs encombrés de leurs ouvrages ; vos habiles artistes ne pouvoir suffire aux demandes qu'on leur fait ; et tandis que le Gouvernement fait élever des monuments magnifiques à St. Paul et à Westminster, pour honorer la mémoire des grands hommes qui ont servi la patrie, ou qui l'ont illustrées par leurs talents, j'ai vu les affections domestiques, la reconnoissance, et peut-être la vanité des particuliers multiplier les encouragemens pour cet art, dont les productions semblent promettre l'immortalité, et répandre ainsi le goût et l'amour des arts par toute l'Angleterre.

Si des modèles aussi parfaits, et jusqu'à présent mal connus, excitent dans les élèves un nouvel enthousiasme, et leur montrent la véritable route pour atteindre au sublime, n'aurons-nous pas raison d'en attendre des résultats aussi heureux que ceux de l'étude de l'antique et de ce Torse du Vatican, aussi mutilé que les sculptures de Phidias, produisirent dans les arts des modernes au commencement du seizième siècle?

Lorsque la sculpture, comme chez les anciens, maîtrise, pour ainsi dire, la peinture, et lui sert de modèle et de guide, celle-ci s'égare plus difficilement, et l'une et l'autre en acquièrent un plus haut dégré de perfection ;

le premier de ces arts, ne se prêtant ni à la séduction du coloris, ni à l'illusion que cause le jeu des lumières et des ombres, ni à l'enchantement de la perspective aërienne, n'a presque pas de moyens de racheter ses défauts, lorsqu'il s'éloigne de la vérité et de la simplicité, ainsi dans l'antiquité où la sculpture étoit employée presque seule dans les temples et dans les monuments publics exposés au grand air, les arts se sont élevés à un dégré que nous désespérons désormais d'atteindre ! ainsi à la renaissance du goût, lorsqu'il n'étoit resté de l'antiquité presque d'autres modèles pour les arts d'imitation que des fragmens de sculpture, les artistes Italiens, qui les premiers ont fixé leurs regards sur ces exemplaires admirables, ont imprimé à leurs ouvrages un caractère de vérité et de grandeur que rarement leur successeurs ont su retrouver.

Les chefs-d'œuvres de Phidias, étudiés, comme je l'ai indiqué, par les anciens eux-mêmes, ont maintenu leurs arts, durant plus de six siècles, presqu'à la même hauteur : les fragmens de la sculpture Grecque étudiés par les grands artistes du seizième siècle ont porté la peinture et la sculpture modernes à une perfection qu'on n'a encore pu égaler.

Ne craignons pas de marcher sur les mêmes traces : que les restes de l'art des Grecs soient nos guides, et les ouvrages de nos contemporains pourront rivaliser avec les productions des siècles les plus heureux dans l'histoire de l'art.

Le plaisir de vous développer ces idées, et l'admira-

tion dont j'ai été frappé à la vue de ces antiques ouvrages, m'entraineroient, Monsieur, au-delà des limites d'une lettre. Je m'arrête ici dans la crainte de les dépasser, et je vous prie d'agréer, à cette occasion, les hommages de ma haute et sincère estime.

E. Q. VISCONTI,

Membre de l'Institut Royal de France.

APPENDIX. [E.]

The following Letter was written to a friend of Lord Elgin's, some months ago, by a person who had paid particular attention to the subject of this Memoir. Its publication was accidentally delayed; but it contains so many points of consideration, important at this moment, with reference to the value of the Collection, that it has been thought proper to add it to the Appendix of this Book.

SIR,

January, 1815.

I HAVE learned with very great satisfaction, that, under the present circumstances of the country, an opening may probably now be afforded for the transfer of Lord Elgin's Grecian Collection to the British public. It is impossible not to feel the strongest desire that those precious remains of antiquity should become public property. In the hands of an individual, they might, even while united, continue useless; or they might be separated, and scattered. In

the possession of a liberal and enlightened nation, they must remain united; and, in conjunction with the other monuments of art which have already been collected in England, they must afford such means as no other country can possess, of bringing the imitative arts to perfection.

Under this impression, I have been led to turn my attention to the consideration of those circumstances which, if a treaty be entered upon, must influence the valuation of the acquisition. And proceeding upon the information already before the public, and on the considerations arising out of an acquaintance with the Collection, I feel desirous of submitting to you some observations which have occurred to me in the course of this enquiry.

The first and most striking reflection which presents itself, is, that this Collection, in the circumstances of its formation, bears no resemblance to any other that ever came before the public. At the period of Lord Elgin's embassy, some eminent artists in England recommended the object of it, as one of the highest importance to the improvement of the fine arts. It was proposed, as such, to Government. On their declining the undertaking, which then appeared of the most doubtful issue, his Lordship engaged in the pursuit, entirely at his own risk and expense. And securing before hand the most able assistants, in order to be prepared to turn to advantage any favourable conjuncture that might possibly come within his reach, he has succeeded, by unconquerable exertion and perseverance, in achieving what powerful and favoured sovereigns had, in successive ages, attempted in vain. And the public is now desirous to take the benefit of his exertions and success.

His Collection consists of:

1. Several of the matchless statues which adorned the Pediments of the Temple of Minerva, at Athens.

2. A number of the Metopes from the same Temple.

3. The whole remaining Frize of the Temple, of which about 250 feet is original, in marble: the remainder is in casts, executed on the spot.

4. Casts, also executed on the spot, of all the sculpture of the Temple of Theseus.

5. A great variety of fragments of valuable sculpture, from Athens, various in the subjects and their execution.

6. A complete Series of Architectural Drawings, containing the most accurate details of every building that can still be traced in Athens, or in the Peloponnesus, and restorations of all the most conspicuous edifices executed on the spot, in a style of the highest professional excellence.

7. Specimens of the most admired characteristics and embellishments of Architecture, such as columns, capitals, frizes, &c. &c.; many of these originals; others, casts taken from the buildings.

8. A very precious and numerous series of Inscriptions, comprehending many of considerable value to History, to Literature, and to the Arts. The Boustrophedon of Cape Sigæum, is in the number.

9. A number of Vases procured by excavations in the neighbourhood of Athens.

10. And a Collection of Medals; containing some of great merit and interest.

The value of such a property it is not easy to determine, for scarcely any rule or precedent can regulate it. Still there are various *data*, from which it may be inferred. The sums actually expended in forming the Collection; The advantage which might be obtained from the possession of it; The prices paid for, and value attached to similar possessions; And its absolute utility, in reference to national improvement in the Fine Arts, and in manufactures; each of these considerations comes severally to be regarded in fixing its value.

The amount of the expense incurred in forming this Collection might first be taken into view, the rather as it has, it seems, been suggested by very high authority, to be a fair and obvious arrangement, that the public should reimburse Lord Elgin's outlay; adding, moreover, such a compensation as the acquisition might appear to recommend. But to any one acquainted with Turkey, it must seem a very difficult matter to present expenditure of this sort, in any thing like a regular account, or to render intelligible, details arising exclusively out of the singular state of society in that country. It is indeed well-known, that Lord Elgin took six of the first artists from Rome, and employed them several years on this undertaking; and has now continued his establishment at Athens for 16 years. That

he had to remove these enormous quantities and masses of marble, nearly five miles from Athens to the Piræus, in a country without roads, without machinery, or any resource beyond manual exertion. That he had to convey them to England, to bring them from the outports to London; and keep them there at considerable cost. That he lost a valuable vessel of his own, employed in this service, wrecked off Cerigo, while having on board a number of these marbles, which he afterwards recovered with infinite labour, and at a great expense. But beyond these, and similar articles of stated outlay, it is equally well-known that no operations can be executed in Turkey, without the distribution of presents; which are always proportioned to the rank of the parties, and the eagerness or difficulty of the pursuit. And that, while Lord Elgin negociated as Ambassador with the highest officers of the Empire at Constantinople, (the town of Athens being the jointure of the Sultan's mother,) his artists must have had to purchase the good will of the persons in authority on the spot, on every occurrence, wherever any assistance was wanted.

Interest on money advanced is very frequently above the legal standard of 12 per cent.; and *commission*, where shipping or other aid has to be provided, is often as high as the charge of interest.

In fact, there was in this instance nothing like a regular purchase. He engaged in a large expense, at a time when the prospect before him presented no

immediate hopes of success. He had to distribute great sums at a venture, frequently without any precise object immediately within his reach, and often without obtaining any specific return: so that it is difficult to consider Lord Elgin's outlay as decisive of the value of this Collection. He might have been more or less fortunate. But what was thus obtained, could have been procured by no other means; while Lord Elgin hazarded in the acquisition, a considerable part of his private fortune, under the certainty, that, if by the chances of war, or the accidents to which a long sea voyage is liable, losses had occurred, all that had been expended on the enterprise would have been sacrificed without remedy to him.

Another criterion for estimating this Collection, is afforded by a consideration of the profits which *might be* obtained by the possession of it.

If Lord Elgin could have reconciled himself to the dispersion, even in England, of those monuments, which it had been the labour of so many years to assemble, with what avidity would they not have been sought after, here and throughout Europe; with what eagerness would the treasures of British wealth have been poured out, for the attainment of monuments so precious and so interesting! It is but a few years since the sale of the Roxburgh Library afforded an opportunity for the display of that species of enthusiasm, which would have had a more legitimate motive, and a wider field of exertion at a sale of these marbles. On the occasion

alluded to, the most enormous sums were paid for books which had no value whatever, except rarity. But, were these more rare, or less attainable, than the works of Phidias? Does taste, or imagination, find less interest in the undisputed monuments of the age of Pericles, than in the rude attempts of Caxton or Wynkyn de Worde? It may be questioned, if such a competition has ever yet been excited on any occasion, as that which would have been called forth, by an opportunity to purchase even the least considerable of these invaluable reliques.

But the Collection must not be scattered. Its parts would certainly be most interesting and valuable; but it is only as a whole that it can be useful. To keep it together, will appear an object of national concern, to those who remember the censure which has been cast on our Government, for allowing even the Leverian Museum to pass into private hands, and to be broken down and lost.

Even in the hands of a private individual, however, the Collection may be preserved entire. In a country so fertile as this in speculations, there may be many persons to whom the acquisition of it would be desirable, entirely as a source of profit. The immense sums collected by different public exhibitions, are well known. At the exhibitions of the Royal Academy at Somerset House, the receipts have exceeded £1000. per week. At the British Gallery in Pall-Mall, upwards of £50. per day have been taken. At the exhibition of Mr.

West's first picture, it is said that £13,000. was drawn; and two separate offers, amounting each to the enormous sum of £10,000, have actually been made to Mr. West, for his last, for the purpose of exhibition. Other public exhibitions have been proportionally successful. It may be conceived, therefore, how attractive an exhibition of this Collection would be. Even under all the disadvantages of being in the possession of an individual, what numbers of persons flocked to see it! In fact, it would be an object of curiosity to every one. To people of general taste, it would present the highest gratification. By painters, sculptors, architects, modellers, and engravers, and by those who are employed in the useful arts and manufactures, it would be habitually resorted to, as a school for imitation and improvement. All whom even the most common education has made familiar with the illustrious names and events of Grecian history, would be attracted by the remembrance of that enthusiasm which these events were wont to excite. While those who are qualified to feel and admire the high eminence which the faculties of the human mind had attained in Greece, would view with peculiar delight, in these specimens of Athenian sculpture and architecture, a fresh instance, and a confirmation of that superiority. There can be no doubt, then, that an exhibition so interesting, (and which a few partial restorations, with the addition of views of Greece, and similar objects of general taste, would render so popular,) would speedily enrich its possessor.

But, if his Lordship had been disposed to offer the Collection to sale, other and more important competitors might have been expected to appear. The high estimation in which Canova, and the leading authorities on the Continent, hold these marbles, make it certain that they would, separately, or in whole, have been an object of desire to every Collector, and to every government in Europe, which aims at improvement in the arts of peace. They would be important, as a foundation for future Collections, in countries which have not yet begun to employ this method of improvement; as well as in those, which have been robbed of their most precious monuments, by an unprincipled and rapacious invader. But it is to the Gallery of the Louvre that this Collection would be chiefly invaluable. In it is assembled the greatest variety that ever was brought together, of rare and precious specimens of Sculpture in all its progress. But it is defective in what would ensure its utility, namely, enough of the productions of the best ages of Greece, to present an indisputable standard of perfection, and to form and establish a school. No doubt can be entertained for a moment of the truth of two prominent reflections: 1. That Bonaparte must have so appreciated the sculpture that was admitted by Phidias to decorate the first temple in Athens. 2. That he would have given any price *to withdraw these from England*. Powerful, indeed, must have been the determination in Lord Elgin's mind to preserve this Collection for his own country, when during above

three years of confinement and persecution, he would at any time have obtained his liberty, and any sum of money he had named, for ceding them to the French government. It was at that very period, that Bonaparte gave 12 millions of livres, £500,000. *sterling*, for the Borghese Collection.

A *third* guide in a view to a valuation of the Collection, might be afforded by referring to the prices paid for property of a similar description, or the value annexed to it.

It must be admitted, however, that scarcely any materials of this description can be found to bear positively on the case now under consideration.

No Pictures of the Ancients have been preserved; nor has the method been ascertained which they used for securing durability in the colours. But there exists no doubt, that painting reached its highest eminence in the age of Alexander, soon after sculpture had attained perfection under Phidias. And it may well be presumed to have been superior to modern painting, in a proportion similar to what may be perceived in relation to sculpture. Still, the productions since the revival of the arts when the discovery of the fragments of the Torso sufficed to rouse all the energies of Michael Angelo's, and Raphael's schools, have become objects of very high value. The Orleans Gallery, for instance, was sold by the Orleans family at the commencement of the Revolution for £60,000. And soon afterwards £42,500. was paid in this country, for what was resold here.

The Agar Collection brought £31,500.; and as far as £8000. have been paid for single pictures.

In regard to Ancient Sculpture, there remain few statues original in all their parts, nor hardly any fragment, except the Torso of Michael Angelo, that has not been *restored:* whereas among Lord Elgin's marbles, none have been retouched in the slightest degree: whatever remains is indisputably original.

As to the Ancient Sculpture in the British Museum, the purchases from Sir William Hamilton at the price of £8,400., and from Mr. C. Towneley at £20,000., bear most directly on the present enquiry. These Collections have unquestionably the stamp of antiquity, and many of their pieces are exquisitely beautiful. Their history, however, is obscure, or unknown; while Lord Elgin's acquisitions carry us, at once, to that point in the History of the Arts, to which every student anxiously looks up. The Artist may hesitate to adopt a model, however beautiful, which bears not the stamp of authority. But he acknowledges the authority of those models, which have been fashioned with the chisel of Phidias. If, then, the Towneley and Hamiltonian Collections have always, and justly been considered of great value to the arts, how much more important are those, which are now within the reach of this nation!

The facilities which Lord Elgin's example has opened for further researches in Greece, have already led to some most valuable discoveries there. A series of sculpture of the Egina school, was sold by auction to the

Prince Royal of Bavaria. The frise of the temple at Phygalia, has been purchased on the spot by the British government, also *at an open auction*, for £15,000.; amounting, under the circumstances of the exchange, to £19,000., besides the cost and risk of conveyance to England; while the actual expenditure, incurred in procuring it, did not exceed £3000. This bas-relief in its parts varies, as to workmanship, and state of preservation. The length of the whole is about ninety feet. Its sculpture presents a criterion of comparison with the frise or the metopes in Lord Elgin's Collection.

In the Louvre, values are affixed to the more considerable pieces of sculpture and painting. One length, measuring 6 feet, of the bas-relief of the frise of the Parthenon, of which Lord Elgin possesses nearly 250 feet, is rated at 80,000 franks—£3250. sterling. The Torso of Michael Angelo is estimated at 300,000 franks, equal to £12,500. sterling. And, since the renewal of intercourse with the Continent has freely allowed the means of examination, Lord Elgin may safely challenge a comparison on the score of truth, grace, choice of forms, expression of sentiment, and exquisite workmanship, between that fragment, and the Hercules, the Ilyssus, the Torso of Neptune, or the female groupes in his collection.

The *last*, and most important consideration, in reference to the value of his Lordship's Collection, is its absolute utility, in promoting national improvement in the arts and manufactures.

The importance of such Collections might be decisively inferred from the whole history of the world. It has been the ambition of every great nation, to excel all others in the Arts and Sciences. Such was the policy of the best ages of the Republics of Greece and Rome; and modern times afford examples, not less remarkable, of the operation of the same principle. Of these examples none is so memorable as that of Florence; which, by its splendid progress in the Arts, became, from a petty republic, a powerful state.

Lorenzo "the Magnificent" has immortalised his name, by creating that school, which, even in its infancy, produced Michael Angelo and Raphael. And such is the importance attached in France to the Collection in the Louvre, that while she execrated the usurper whom she had so lately driven from the throne, the retaining of these treasures with which his rapacity had embellished her capital, was marked in the King's speech on his accession, as a leading feature, among the advantages which the restoration of the Bourbons had produced.

The time has arrived when England also may found her school. She has it in her power to possess monuments, which surpass the richest treasures of Florence, of Rome, or of Paris; and to offer to the imitation of her artists, and to the admiration of all, the most perfect models of beauty, and the most useful exercises of taste. For the creation of a school, she possesses advantages, which have never been enjoyed in the same degree: she is wealthy, and she is *free*. Whatever

encouragements are offered to improvement by those rewards which it is the privilege of wealth to bestow, are afforded here. But, as the Patron of the Arts, her proudest distinction is her free government, which gives to the human faculties their fullest energies; and secures to every individual the most entire enjoyment of those advantages, which the exertion of his faculties can command.

It were endless to particularise the benefits which may result from the study of these inestimable models. I remember to have been much struck by the remark of one of the most eminent Artists in London, "that "he never knew how much he had yet to learn in his "art, till he saw Lord Elgin's marbles." The same Artist expressed an opinion, that, by bringing these monuments to Britain, Lord Elgin had advanced the imitative arts at least a century in this country. It is only an Artist who can entirely feel their value: but all who know any thing of the History of the Arts must admit the importance of the acquisition, when they reflect on the marvellous progress of improvement which spread from Italy, to the surrounding nations, almost instantly after the creation of the Florentine Museum.

Beside Sculpture, his Lordship's labours and acquisitions have been in an especial manner directed to the advancement of the Science of Architecture. From Athens, where that science had attained a perfection, a purity, a beauty never produced elsewhere, Lord Elgin has brought home, in the studies of the eminent architects he took from Rome, in original specimens, and in casts, the materials and the means of knowing and appreciating every characteristic which these remains could elucidate. And what country, in any period of history, ever presented in any degree, equal call and encouragement for the improvement in the science and taste of Architecture, as the works of the government, of public bodies, and of individuals of every rank, continually supply in great Britain?

The advancement of the Fine Arts, and the facility of studying specimens of acknowledged merit, has a peculiar claim to favour in a manufacturing and commercial country. We know what progress the potteries made on the introduction of Sir William Hamilton's vases. In fact, there is no manufacture, whether of utility or decoration, that would not derive great benefit, were the means of correcting general taste, and adopting the purest forms and designs, at all times accessible to the manufacturer and the purchaser.

It may surely be stated, as bearing upon the general prosperity of the country, and in exemplification of the advantage to be derived from this Collection, even in the point of view now under consideration, that the British Institution, that most meritorious association of the Patrons of the Fine Arts, so prized the first effort which the President of the Royal Academy made after studying several months in the Elgin Museum, (professing it to be the result of those studies) as to present him three thousand guineas for that picture; That

the public have so seconded this patriotic spirit, as to contribute, it is said, no less than £13,000. on the exhibition of it. And that £10,000. has since been offered for a subsequent work of the same distinguished Artist.

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jury said, 'But you must first know the laws of the land do not admit a torture, and since Queen Elizabeth's time there hath been nothing of that kind ever done. The truth is, indeed, in the twentieth year of her reign, Campion was just stretched upon the rack, but yet not so but he could walk; but when she was told it was against the law of the land to have any of her subjects racked, (though that was an extraordinary case, a world of seminaries being sent over to contrive her death, and she lived in continual danger) yet it was never done after to any one, neither in her reign, who reigned twenty-five years, nor in King James's reign, who reigned twenty-two years after, nor in King Charles the First's reign, who reigned twenty-four years after; and God in heaven knows there hath been no such thing offered in this king's reign; for I think we may say we have lived under as lawful and merciful a government as any people whatsoever, and have as little bloodshed and sanguinary executions as in any nation under heaven.' The learned judge may have been mistaken when stating Campion to be the last person racked, for in Murden's state papers, as before observed, one Atslowe is mentioned to have been tortured four years afterwards. Mr. Baron Weston states that, upon a suggestion made to Queen Elizabeth of the illegality of the practice, it was discontinued in her reign; and thus we may account for Campion being racked with so little severity, as to be able to walk afterwards and to manage the conferences with protestant doctors during his confinement in prison."

We have at length brought this long article to a conclusion; but we cannot take leave of Mr. Serjeant Heywood, without unfeignedly thanking him for his truly interesting and instructive researches. His matter is curious without being tedious, his diction is chaste without being frigid; and, upon the whole, we know of no writer who, as far as we can judge from the specimen now before us, is better qualified to carry on to its completion what was so well begun by his departed friend.

ART. II. *Memorandum on the Subject of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece.* Millar. 1811.

WERE we to estimate the value of a literary publication by the extent of the work, or the ability of its execution, the subject of this article would not have obtained a place in this Review. Yet these few pages, loosely filled and badly written, with Mr. West's two Letters to Lord Elgin in an Appendix, excite reflections and hopes of no common interest. They create, at the same time, most pleasing and most painful sentiments, by bringing at once under our view the eminence and the abjectness of the arts. They present to us, however, a most interesting prospect of their revival, and of their triumphant success in Great Britain at no distant period of time.

This publication relates, that much has been performed by the exertions of Lord Elgin, in redeeming the specimens of sculpture and architecture which remained in Greece, and in transmitting them to England. On reading this splendid account, it is matter of some curiosity to know the name and character of the author. The publication is anonymous; yet, if the whole be not a fabrication, which incontrovertibly it is not, the writer, if not the hero, of the tale is some one mentally connected with his lordship; for he determines not only what Lord Elgin performed, but he presumes to specify what Lord Elgin "conceived." (p. 18.)

This folletto, or familiar of his lordship, begins by informing the public, that in the year 1799, when Lord Elgin was appointed his Majesty's ambassador extraordinary to the Ottoman Porte, he happened * to be in frequent intercourse with Mr. Harrison, an architect of eminence in the west of England; who had there given various very splendid proofs of his professional talents, especially in a public building of Grecian architecture at Chester. He proceeds to state that Lord Elgin wished to be informed by Mr. Harrison, in what manner the study of the architecture and sculpture of ancient Greece might be made most useful to the arts in England. Mr. Harrison answered, that the most exact measurement of Grecian buildings could never excite, in the young artist's mind, an adequate conception of the details, combinations, and general effect, without having before him some such sensible representation of them as might be conveyed by casts.

Mr. Harrison might better have said, that neither casts, nor even the originals in their unconnected state, could afford to an artist an adequate conception of the combinations or general effect of Grecian, or, indeed, of any other buildings.

Lord Elgin, in conformity to Mr. Harrison's advice, has executed, as far as circumstances would permit, all that was possible in this respect to serve the artists of Great Britain. When the originals could not be transmitted, he has produced the best evidence the nature of the case would admit; he has brought before the tribunal of artists attested copies—sensible representations of the works themselves. "Most of the bas-reliefs, and nearly all the characteristic features of architecture in the various monuments at Athens, have been moulded, and the moulds of them have been brought to London." (p. 6.)

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* Why expressed as a casualty?

The entire charge of this undertaking was defrayed by Lord Elgin; this we think necessary to mention, for such was not his lordship's design at the commencement: as preparatory to his own actual proceedings, he applied to government to send out English artists of known ability, capable of collecting information concerning the existing specimens of architecture and sculpture in Greece (p. 3). This the government prudently declined. We make this remark emphatically, because we have heard that application has been again made to government, to purchase the relics of the arts gleaned by Lord Elgin's industry from ruined Greece; and that the request has been partly acceded to, though the parties differ considerably respecting the equivalent—government having offered 30,000*l.* and Lord Elgin requiring to be paid *only* what they cost him, that is, double or treble that sum. Whether this report be true or not, we cannot determine; but a suspicion arises, that though the professed motive for publishing this "Memorandum" be to promote a subscription to have engravings and casts made of the various articles brought from Greece, and thus to multiply their means of serving the artists and the arts in England, the latent purpose is to excite a popular feeling in favour of Lord Elgin's claims to remuneration. That Lord Elgin should be repaid, if his fortune will not permit him to enjoy the independent glory of presenting gratuitously these riches to his country, is undoubted; but this should be performed by his opulent countrymen, who delight in contemplating works of art, or who apply them to add loveliness to luxury.

We have heard it said, indeed, that the riches of England depend on the arts; and, therefore, such collections are of public importance. The opulence of England depends, in some measure, on the arts; and all things connected with them are of public importance. But, it may be doubted whether the arts of painting and statuary, to which the epithet 'liberal' has, perhaps, been too exclusively applied, are of such political consequence, that those at the head of state-affairs can be justified in diverting a portion of the national revenue to their indirect or probable advancement. Surely he must be a dilletante of the first water, to borrow the phrase of a great man and auctioneer, 'now no more,' who would have the produce of taxes, so hardly spared by the labourer and the mechanic, applied, in these times of debt and difficulty, to purchase fragments even of Grecian art.

For these spoils of Greece, not wrested by war and violence, but fairly gained by industry and barter, the English are

greatly obliged to Lord Elgin. Without his exertions, many of the most precious specimens would have been transferred to France, whose agents had already removed some portions of Grecian magnificence to that country; and who remained at Athens, waiting the return of French influence at the Porte, to renew their operations.

Europe at large is indebted to Lord Elgin; for his efforts were not merely directed to a contest between England and France on this occasion, but between ignorance and art, between philosophy and superstition. The zeal of the early Christians in this respect co-operated with the triumphs of Mahomet; and the arms of his followers, in obedience to their religion, directly attacked every artificial resemblance of animate or inanimate nature. The iconoclastic fury of the Mahometans has not been extinguished after ten centuries of profligate indulgence in destruction. This, with other causes, has tended to make every succeeding age more deficient in the remains of ancient sculpture and architecture. To mention a single instance. When Wheler and Spon visited Athens in 1676, the temple of Minerva, called Parthenon, was entire; but in the year 1687, says Stuart (vol. ii. p. 3), "Athens was besieged by the Venetians under the Proveditore Morisini and Count Koningsmark; when an unlucky bomb falling on this admirable structure, reduced it to the state in which we saw it." Stuart reached Athens in 1751. Let us however observe, that hostility to the arts is not among the crimes of the descendants of the ancient Greeks; they rejoice in their ancestry, and in many respects show themselves not unworthy of their progenitors. They cannot sing with Pindar, nor paint with Apelles, nor carve with Phidias; yet they cherish the arts with such fondness, that it is customary with the peasants to place, in a niche over the door of their cottages, any fragment of sculpture they discover in cultivating their lands. The same retrospective affection is declared in more important matters; for though they cannot make war on the Great King, or repel the aggressions of his successor, they talk familiarly of the exploits of their ancestry in the heroical ages. Here *our* fleet lay, said a Greek to Guy, a French traveller; alluding to the confederate armament that sailed to Troy in Homer's song. The spirit of Greece *is not dead, it sleepeth.* May it be England's glory, under God's providence, to complete the miracle; and rescue from their abasement that people, whose fathers, by their celebrity in every art, exalted humanity.

It is reasonable to suppose that the account of Lord Elgin's pursuits is favourably given by the author; and though we do

not wish to detract from his lordship's merits, some remarks are made in the "Memorandum" with such extravagance, that we cannot avoid making a few strictures upon them.

We are told that Canova deprecated restoring some mutilations of the figures, saying, "that it would be sacrilege in him, or any man, to presume to touch them with a chisel." (p. 40.) From the works of that great artist, as well those that are finished, as those that are now in progress, which we have seen, we would say it was a compliment in the Asiatic lapidary style, and should not have been reported to the world. We are also told, that "one of the groups of female statues so rivetted and agitated the feelings of Mrs. Siddons, as actually to draw tears from her eyes!" We admit that the stage-effect of such a display of tears would have been good; but if our author witnessed them, we would venture to ask him, whether he ever heard of Cicero's censure of one, who said he saw with his eyes?

The author seems to be unreasonably offended with those who have called certain vases Etruscan. He asserts, that they are referable to the Grecians who colonised Italy. To substantiate this he writes, that "those (vases) found by Lord Elgin at Athens, Ægina, Argos, and Corinth, will prove the indubitable claim of the Greeks to the invention and perfection of this art: few of those, in the collections of the King of Naples at Portici, or in that of Sir William Hamilton, excel some which Lord Elgin has procured, with respect to the elegance of the form, the fineness of the materials, the delicacy of the execution, or the beauty of the subjects delineated on them." (p. 30.) This we conceive is no proof; as those in Lord Elgin's possession, known to be Grecian, are admitted, by this statement, to be inferior to those in the possession of others, and hitherto called Etruscan. Besides, where is the necessity for believing that the Etrurians derived this art through Greece? Strabo states, that Etruria was colonised by the Greeks as early as the Trojan war; a period of time when no one, we suppose, imagines that the Grecians excelled in forming ornamental vases of any kind; yet, shortly after this event, the same geographer speaks of Pisæ, a town in Etruria, in the following terms, which we give in the Latin version:—

"Civitas autem ipsa felix quondam fuisse videtur, neque hoc tempore sane ignobilis, aut obscura est propter frugum copias, sanorum opera, navalem materiam, quæ priscis armis ad maritima utebantur discrimina." (Lib. v. vol. ii. p. 405.)

A more favourable account could not be given of Athens, considering the age to which this description refers. There are also other reasons to support the propriety of the common

opinion. It is notorious that the Greeks learned the rudiments of the arts from the Egyptians; and it is reasonably proved by Count Caylus (Recueils d'Antiquités, tome i. p. 78), that the Egyptians traded with the Etrurians. If, therefore, the vases called Etrurian are to be attributed to the Grecians, because the Etrurians learned this art from the Grecians, the merit of the manufacture should be attributed to the Egyptians, who gave the first design of them to the Greeks. But it is quite whimsical to ascribe the whole merit of any production to those from whom an art may be originally derived. How absurd would it be to refer the reputation of the Silesian weavers to the Spaniards, because some of the terms of their manufacture are of Spanish derivation; or that of our silk-weavers to the Italians, for the same reason; or the tapestry of the Gobelins at Paris to the Saracens, because those formerly employed in that fabric were so denominated.

As an Appendix to the Memorandum, two Letters are added, from the President of the Royal Academy; who hints, that in consequence of Lord Elgin's endeavours, Athens has been transported to Piccadilly. The president also hopes that these specimens of the arts brought from Greece "will be the means of enlightening the public mind, and correcting the national taste to a true estimation of what is really valuable and dignified in art." That this hope will not be gratified, we suspect; and one reason for our suspicion is the use that Mr. West has made of them. It is as follows:

"From the centaurs in alto-relievo (says he), I have taken the figures of the most distinguished eminence, and formed them into groups for painting; with these, and female figures of my own, I have composed the Battle of the Centaurs.

"From the equestrian statues in relievo, I have formed the composition of Theseus and Hercules in triumph over the Amazons, having made their queen Hippolita prisoner.

"From the large figure of Theseus, I have drawn a figure of that hero. Before him, on the ground, I have laid the dead body of the Minotaur, &c.

"From the figure of Neptune, I have composed Neptune reclining, with his left arm upon the knees of Amphitrite; and with his right he strikes the earth with his trident, and creates the horse, &c."

This summary he concludes with an account of his composition of Alexander and his horse Bucephalus. We trust the president will introduce himself, according to the story of Sextus Empiricus (Pyrr. Hypot. lib. i. p.), in the character of Apelles in a rage, composing the foam with a sponge!

Then we are to conclude, that to paint minotaurs and centaurs, and Alexander and his horse, is really valuable and dignified in art. Poetry and painting have been called sister arts, and they have been employed by many writers, ancient and modern, to illustrate each other. When poetry revived in Europe, the subjects were taken from antiquity; and the different theatres of Europe represented Orestes, Jocasta, Hecuba, and heroes and heroines of that cast. This servility has ceased; and no one at this time pretending to poetry seems disposed to revive it, except John Joshua, Earl of Carysfort, who, though admitting "that heroic tales of antiquity have lost their currency," dramatises Mithridates, Polyxena, and similar stories. Indeed, so entirely is mythology banished from our poetry, that to name the powers of nature after the Pagan hierarchy has been condemned by critics. Yet now we have Mr. West prospectively announcing the improvement of English taste in his art, and giving, as specimens to ameliorate the national feeling, paintings of Neptune, and Theseus, and Hercules, and amazons, and monsters, and "chimeras dire." This is to imitate the ancients κατα ποδας; making their footsteps the measure of our motions. Such subjects are unsuited to us, either as poets or painters. What was historical to them, is worse than mythological to us. If these be the auspicious efforts which are to enlighten the public mind on the subject of painting, and if Mr. West's account of his own advance may stand for that of his brother artists (and Barry began with painting Jupiter and Juno, and ended with painting the birth of Pandora), painting is at least two centuries behind poetry in the good sense of its respective devotees. Indeed, modern painters have only reached the schoolboys class; while modern poets, we except two outrageous violators of measure and imagination, have been for some time inscribed among those who have attained manhood. What Strabo (lib. ii.) said of the Numidians, that they could not cultivate their fertile fields until the wild beasts, which infested them from the interior of Africa, "*ferarum immanium nutrix*," were destroyed, may be applied to our painters: the obtruding monsters of Pagan antiquity must be extirpated from the domain of the arts, before our artists can fulfil the destination of their genius.

How has the president availed himself, on another occasion, of the models of antiquity? He says, addressing Lord Elgin, "The subject of our Saviour receiving the blind and sick in the Temple to heal them I have conducted on those dignified principles of refined art, which I found so superior in the Athenian sculpture, with which you have enriched your country."

He speaks "of the visible signs of that internal life;" and that "it was the representation of these emotions of life which the philosophers among the Greeks recommended to their sculptors, at a period when their figures were but little removed from Egyptian statues." This is most true; but there was another object which the ancient artists represented, we mean action. This makes no part of the design of Mr. West's painting: "the subject," says this artist, "is our Saviour receiving the blind and sick in the Temple to heal them;" and not according to the directors of the British Institution, in their advertisement for subscribers to the intended engraving, "Christ healing the sick in the Temple." It is not so, nor so stated by Mr. West. The picture signifies barely their reception; for though the central figure shows hope and confidence, all the surrounding figures are inert. The painting displays nothing doing, nothing done; whereas the ancient statuaries and painters represented a scene of action; and the Italians have imitated them, as in the cartoon of Michael Angelo, which represented an event in the war between the Florentines and Pisans, mentioned by Vasari; and as in the cartoons of Raphael, in which Ananias is struck to the earth; or Elymas the sorcerer is struck blind, and seen groping his way in the dark. Love of action has been carried to excess by the French school of David, though Lenoir praises the chasteness of that artist's designs; and though Mons. Real, in his Exposition of a French Code of Laws*, praises the simplicity and severity of all the arts in modern France; and, as a specimen of the austere character of its rhetoric, stops not in his career of praising Bonaparte, till he pronounces him Hercules. The modern French school, to use a revolutionary phrase, displays its figures, on all occasions, with an imposing attitude; their models seem to have been instructed by ballad-masters of the opera. How superior, in these respects, to both the French and English artists, were the ancient masters in the art; whether we consider the retiring modesty of the Venus, or the vehement animation of the Apollo! If Mr. West had intended to express the artist's skill, or the power of our Saviour, the blind should show signs of returning sight, the frantic of returning reason, and the sick of convalescence.

* "Au moment où s'elaborait le nouveau code criminel, les idées de ce style sévère et simple; que de grands talents avaient introduit dans les beaux arts s'etaient emparées de tous les esprits." Motifs du Code d'Instructions Criminel, p. 198.—This is, however, quite mild, to the rhetoric of another orator...." Le grand et le bon peuple, fier d'avoir un monarque si grand pour l'univers et si bon pour ses sujets, qui ne veulent plus le louer que par leur amour et le récompenser que par leur bonheur." Exposé des Motifs, &c. Code de Commerce, p. 56.

Mr. West has observed, that the philosophers of Greece gave instructions to the artists of their country, and that they availed themselves of their advice. There was one canon of the art, which, though it was of the first importance with the Grecian artists, Mr. West either never heard of, or wholly despises. They held, that no expression should offend the beauty of form; they preserved grace in figures suffering the utmost anguish—as in the dying gladiator. Even in the Laocoon, the *χαλον* and the *πρεπον* are preserved, which conforms to the doctrine of philosophy in moral life. "To grieve," said Chrysippus, "may be the part of a wise man, but not to be excruciated." (*Apud Stobæum Sermo*, viii. p. 87.)

Against this rule Mr. West has transgressed, as have many moderns. Michael Angelo led the way, who drew from Dante. Not that we should conclude that he could have rivalled Phidias in statuary, who was directed by the sketches of Homer; and we have seen that Mr. West, some years since, and Mr. Fuseli last year, drew their figures of Satan without the least regard to Milton's description of that personage, which vastly transcends Homer's portrait of Jupiter in the attributes of tremendous majesty.

Michael Angelo lived at the dawn of the arts, but Mr. West has no such excuse. Indeed, he himself says, "that he has had the singular good fortune, by his lordship's liberality, to select from the first productions of sculpture which ever adorned the world in that department of art, which neither Raphael, nor any of the distinguished masters, had the advantage of seeing, much less of studying, since the revival of the art." Yet has this artist offended most egregiously against the above-mentioned principle of the ancients, in this celebrated picture. The execution of the artist must be admitted to be admirable; yet, still we cannot quite subscribe to the propriety of exhibiting the inmates of hospitals on canvas; unless, as in Raphael's cartoon of the beautiful gate of the Temple, the countenance of the patient shews that the healing principle is already on its road from the heart to the extremities, or other unequivocal symptoms of renovated life are displayed.

We cannot help thinking also, that Mr. West has exhibited his art at the expence of effect, which in a painting should be single, by introducing a multiplicity of figures. In a design of Michael Angelo on the same subject, the prominent figures are not one eighth so numerous. By this he avoided the necessity of introducing an episodical group, or any character which might disturb the harmony of the scene, as Mr. West seems to us to have done by his Jewish priests and Judas.

Michael Angelo, by treating the subject in a different manner, exhibits our Saviour at large, whereas in Mr. West's painting he seems pressed by the throng. We conceive that the leading personage in a painting should be distinguished by his station; if he appear crowded, a feeling of difficulty and incommodiousness is excited in the beholder. Crowding should not be admitted, except where difficulty and confusion are intended by the artist—as in the case in battle pieces, and similar subjects. This, however, is a small objection, compared to that which may be made to the general loathsomeness of the objects presented to us. We do not know what can be offered to excuse the artist: it was his own choice, and intended, as we have heard, as a present to his native city in America. To assimilate painting to poetry, Crabbe, one of the favourite poets of the present day, has been justly censured for indulging in that fault, which we have attributed to Mr. West, of exhibiting figures that are positively offensive: yet is the painter, (though Titian indifferently calls his painting of Perseus and Andromeda a poem,) a greater offender on such occasions than the poet; because one speaks to the imagination, and the other to the sight. Thence, what is agreeable in poetry may be the reverse in painting: and, for the same reason, a representation on the stage will please, which would displease in real life. This is admitted by Vernet in his Theory of Agreeable Sensations, c. 4, though he mistakes the cause—the true cause being, that the effect is moderated in its scenic exhibition. Thus also, that which would offend, if exposed to view, would be amusing if related.—

> Things which offend, when present, and affright,
> In memory well painted, move delight.

Lucretius has versified the plague of Athens, and other Roman poets have followed his example; but what Grecian or Roman painter would have dared to exhibit that scene to the people? If any had, we doubt whether the art of Apelles and Polygnotus would have excused him; and we know that Phrynicus, who composed the capture of Miletus, was fined a thousand drachmæ by the Athenians, on account of the sorrow he excited among them by his dramatic exhibition of that catastrophe. (Herodotus, lib. vi. c. 21). To such sentiments we must accede, believing with the ancients, that objects either odious or horrible should not be publicly exhibited, though Lord Kaimes might call this effeminacy of spirit, as he has termed the objections made to the frequent murders acted on the English theatre. (Elements of Criticism, c. 22.)

Yet we do not mean to say that the ancients never transgressed

in presenting what was offensive to taste and feeling: there are proofs of the contrary, but they were by no means so common as they have been among the moderns—for, what are all the murders of the Innocents, the martyrdoms, the flayings, the flagellations, and the crucifixions? However dignified, noble, and impressive they may be in their appropriate situations in the churches, they cannot, perhaps, be denied to be the transgressions of the art, though the greatest painters are among the offenders.

So much should painters avoid these subjects, that many legitimate passions should be excited only to a moderate degree. Herodotus (lib. iii. c. 14) relates a circumstance explanatory of this proposition. Psammeticus beheld his son pass to execution, and his daughter reduced to slavery, without emotion; but on beholding an old acquaintance asking alms, he struck his head, and shed tears. This induced the conqueror to ask, why he betrayed his feelings on the inferior occasion? He answered, "My domestic misery exceeded my power of expressing my grief; but this man's misery," &c.—What is excessive overpowers, producing astonishment, stupefaction, insanity.

There is a violation of sentiment which owes it origin to the ancients, and has been continued by some moderns, which we wish to notice,—the introduction of the Caryatides * into architecture. Vitruvius mentions, that the inhabitants of Carya, a city of Peloponnesus, had in remote times joined the Persians against Greece, and that the Greeks, after the expulsion of the Persians, having declared war against them, took and destroyed their city, slew the men, and enslaved the women; and to aggravate the infamy of this people, they made the chief women continue to wear their ornamented dress during their captivity; yet this accumulated vengeance on the unoffending women did not satiate the conquerors, as their architects placed the women of Carya as statues, instead of columns in the public edifices. That the Caryatides owed their creation to the worst of passions, we make no doubt; but where is the propriety of the imitation of them by the moderns, as in the instance by Goujon in the Louvre? This is worse than stupid; the Greeks had their revenge, and terror to plead as their excuse, and the Roman buildings were generally conducted by Grecian artists: yet so jejune is our invention, and so dull is imitation, that to load female figures with a heavy entablature has been considered ornamental in architecture. These remarks on the Caryatides seem obvious; yet at present we only recollect a single writer who has incidentally condemned the use of them. Vitruvius has not noticed it, nor Perrault his French translator, nor Duppa*, though he condemns the use of drunken men in upholding buildings. (Life of Michael Angelo, p. 198.) This however is only capricious, while the other is monstrous. Let me add, for due praise should be mingled with merited reproof, that an improvement has been lately effected in this respect. Instead of Caryatides supporting edifices, we are now treated with mermaids supporting salt-sellers. On this invention, (so active are our enterprising countrymen when they receive encouragement,) certain city artists of ardent fancy have, with surpassing taste and skill, greatly improved; we have been informed, but we do not pledge our responsibility for the fact, that they exhibited donkies with panniers of salt at the Prince Regent's fête, in opposition to the mermaids, and to the discomfiture of their rival artists with their ancillary salt-sea monsters.

* One of the Caryatides was brought over from Athens by Lord Elgin.

All things monstrous seem to us unworthy of the arts of design. Horace censures such motley forms, as man and horse, and woman and fish. Yet such incongruities are not unknown in statuary and painting, witness the sphinxs, and satyrs, and minotaurs subdued, and centaurs embattled. Why did not Mr. West imagine a battle between St. George and the Dragon, or rather between the Blefuscudians and Lilliputians? Either story is more our own, and the latter would have the additional merit of novelty on canvas, for we verily believe, that the fights between the cranes and pigmies escaped the masters of design both of Greece and Rome.

Among monstrous things, to place the wings of a bird on a human form, is not the least offence against decorum. Yet it is common to most painters of after times in their delineation of angelic forms; though not unknown to ancient artists: and Plato, in his Phædrus, (p. 1225, *opera omnia*) speaks of the soul pullulating its wings; on which occasion, he says, it feels the same prurient pain that children do when cutting their teeth. Hogarth, in his Analysis, had long since reprobated this practice; yet Mr. West has displayed angels in the last exhibition so attired. It is worse than vulgar; it is repugnant to nature, actual or imaginary; it depreciates the power of the messenger, to give him the appointment of a bird; it is useless; it is to feather an arrow directed by miraculous command—

> Chaf'd by the speed, it fir'd, and as it flew,
> A tail of following flames ascending drew.

* This author says, that M. Angelo had some strange notions concerning the coincidence between the proportions of architecture and those of the human form, for which he cannot account. May it not be referred to Vitruvius, lib. iii. c. 1.

Painters have added to this absurdity, by exhibiting the wings of their angels always unsheathed, even when those to whom they are appended tread the firm earth—thus they resemble Spenser's monster, "half flying, and half footing," in their transit. Painters should have learned from winged animals, to whom these their creatures are related by their pinions, that even ostriches, when they walk, furl their wings; for they and all birds employ their wings not for ornament, but use. Indeed, such plumed sprites are only fit for an Asiatic mythology; for the Grindouseers, who are described by Sonnerat, "as having wings, and flying in the air with their wives." Our fairies, and witches, despise such appendages; the volatile attribute of the former being, as we conjecture, a conical bonnet, and the latter being satisfied "to ride in the whirlwind" on a broomstick. At all events, painters should dress their angels with wings only on extraordinary occasions, till the happy time arrive prophesied by Bishop Wilkins, whose expectation it was that in the next age flying would become so customary, that it would be as usual to hear one call for his wings when he was going a journey, as it is now to hear one order his boots.

Many monstrous representations, we imagine, arose from allegory. Our poets dealt largely in such mysteries, so did our painters: modern poets have not followed their predecessors, though modern painters have, to whose art this fantastic extravagance is much less agreeable. Allegorical figures in painting, or poetry, may be employed as decorations, but they cannot without great offence make the principal persons of the fable. A painting, or a poem, in one continued allegory, must be obscure; and to paint in allegory is to write in cypher.

It is observable, that allegories have frequently lost their aerial character, and have after a period of probation been naturalized into the world of realities. While we resist the assertion of Chrysippus, (Cicero de Natura deorum, lib. i.) Harduin, (Apologie d'Homere, p. 306.) and Terrason, (preface to Diodorus Siculus, p. 8.) that all the Pagan fables of Orpheus, Musæus, Hesiod, and Homer, represented the powers of nature, we agree that many originally did so. By time and repetition allegories were reputed historical relations; as metaphors, by frequent use, have been received as common instead of appropriate expressions: yet this will not excuse many representations of the ancient artists; and nothing can account for moderns enduring these gross impertinences, except a superstitious and besotted submission to their remote predecessors. Similar conceits in other systems are treated with the utmost contempt. "The Kshetri," says Moore, (Hindu Infanticide, p. 2.)

"is fabled to have sprung from the arm of Brahma, and the word means protection." Callee, says Maurice, (Hindostan, vol. i. part ii. p. 184,) sprang from the eye of Durga, the warrior goddess, when oppressed in battle by the demons and giants. Such recitals strike us as absurd in the extreme, yet the same is the tale of Paganism, and their artists have added to this hideous nonsense by embodying it on marble. The author of the "Memorandum" states, "that the tympanum over each of the porticos of the Parthenon was adorned with statues; that which was over the grand entrance of the temple from the west contained the mythological history of Minerva's birth from the brain of Jupiter. In the centre of the group was seated Jupiter, in all the majesty of the sovereign of the gods; on his left were the principal divinities of Olympus; among whom Vulcan came prominently forward, with the axe in his hand, which had cleft a passage for the goddess." (p. 13.)

Many shadowy appearances, the mere creatures of unauthorized fancy, cannot be pourtrayed without offending the nature of their being. In opposition to this rule, Mr. Fuseli has committed infinite extravagances. Claude chose the evening and morning for displaying his designs; Rubens painted in the glare of mid-day; Rembrandt in the gloom, and other artists have pursued occasionally the same course. But Mr. Fuseli disdains to be classed with any artist, unless Heraclitus be reputed of this description, who was called σκοτεινος, the obscure, (Clement. Stomata, lib. v. p. 571). For Mr. Fuseli has not merely wandered into the regions of allegory, but of unmixed horror; ghosts, witches, death's heads, and all spasmodic abortions, are of the family of this artist; the proper associate of the author of the Tales of Terror.

We have thus dared to state, in opposition to the performances of artists, ancient and modern, what we conceive *not* to be "really valuable and dignified in art," and in opposition both to the practice and opinion of Mr. West. We think, that nothing can be dignified in art, which is itself deficient in dignity; and that monsters, and mythology, are peculiarly obnoxious to this rule, or rather, they are in direct hostility to it. Aristotle recommends the young to study chiefly the paintings of Polygnotus, and of those artists who are *ethical* in their designs. Such may enlighten the public mind and correct the national taste, and such are truly valuable and dignified in art. But, perhaps, our readers will think it high time to vary a little the course of our investigation.

The "Memorandum," and Mr. West's letters, call on the public to patronize the fine arts. Mr. West's words are, "you

may be assured, my lord, that unless England establishes the means of cultivating the exalted class of arts within herself, she will never be intitled to participate with Greece and Rome in the honour they acquired in the fine arts." To what means does the president allude? Does he refer to Mr. Shee's project in his Elements of Art, of having professorships of painting established in the universities? or to have public galleries furnished and upheld at the expence of the nation? Were these the means adopted by the Grecians, for, as to the Romans, their best artists were Greeks, or of Grecian education? No—but the ancient Greeks were themselves excellent models for the painter and statuary. Stuart speaks of the inhabitants of modern Greece in the following terms: "There is a great sprightliness and expression in the countenance of both sexes, and their persons are well proportioned. The men have a due mixture of strength and agility, without the least appearance of heaviness; the women have peculiar elegance of form." (Stuart's Athens, vol. i. p. 10, preface). This is a capital reason why the Grecians should excel in the arts of design; nor can any artist where these living models do not exist attain distinction in painting the human figure. The Dutch artists, to turn from history to landscape, may paint flats, and stagnant waters, and opake skies. But to represent on canvas the precipitous daring of Salvator, or to diffuse the mellow splendour of Claude, is wholly beyond their power, for their country affords no studies to direct their judgment, no scenes to inspire their imagination. The Grecians were not merely such as Stuart describes them, vigorous and elegant in their proportions; but by means of their gymnastic exercises, and the frequent and general use of the bath, they displayed their finished forms in every attitude which could indicate grace, power, or passion.

Their artists were also indefatigable in their studies: the uninterrupted assiduity of Apelles has been proverbial—"Apelli, (qui omnes prius genitos futurosque superavit) fuit alioquin perpetua consuetudo, nunquam tam occupatam diem agendi ut non lineam dicendo exerceret artem." And we are told, that the same may be said of Michael Angelo. When in the height of his reputation, says Duppa, (p. 25.) "he was indefatigable by observation and study to improve and elevate his style." Of this there is no doubt; and there is another coincidence between the greatest modern and ancient genius in the art of design. Not satisfied with their superiority to their contemporaries, they laboured to surpass their own unrivaled productions. "Apelles inchoaverat aliam Venerem Cois, superatus etiam suam illam priorem." This figure, which Apelles did not live to finish, some silly people

said that the painter had left as a defiance to posterity to complete. The same many have said of two statues of Michael Angelo in Florence; which in fact the artist, improving beyond his own productions as he proceeded in his works, abandoned in order to execute still happier efforts. In one most important point the ancient artists differed from Michael Angelo, they ultimately confined themselves to a single art; at least, none at the same time equally cultivated painting, statuary, and architecture.

The ancient artists of eminence laboured their productions for many years; Agathoreus, the Vouet of the ancients, said, he valued himself on the readiness of his execution. "I," said Zeuxis, "boast the slowness with which I execute mine." (Plutarch Pericles). Such also was the conduct of Phidias, ὁμως χρονῳ γε ἐδειτο καὶ σχολης πλειονος εις τα ἐργα. (Themistius Orat. 25. p. 309.)

The same is related of Protogenes, who employed seven years in executing the painting of Jalysus, (Plutarch Demetrius). Those artists who are hasty in their performances can only attain a transitory reputation, like the improvisiatori, who in their way left Tasso without any pretensions to poetry. Tasso, who will live longer than the whole herd, with all their imitators in Italy, France, and Britain; one of whom boasted, that he outran the press in the hurry with which he composed his vanities.

The ancients had no notion, as some moderns have, that it is practicable to paint, or write, or speak, or administer public affairs, without long preparation and perpetual study. They had no extravagant idea that the same man could indifferently suit any situation; they had no conceit that genius could perform what it pleased by a spontaneous energy; they boasted no such trifler, or if any such existed, his name has not reached our times, as De Piles, who in his Principles of Painting writes, "that in the pieces of Rubens, art is above nature, and nature only a copy of that great master's works." They knew the servitude of art to nature. Their utmost power was to observe, select, and dispose, those beauties which were lavished through the visible world. Under this impression, and by such means, they presented to their own and all future ages,

> A combination, and a form indeed,
> Where every God did seem to set his seal,
> To give the world assurance of a man.

It deserves to be everlastingly repeated to all artists and to all men, that the force of genius, to be fully effectual, depends first on education, then on the science imparted. To commence painter without science, says Leonardo da Vinci (Trattato della Pittura, lib. i. c. 23), is to navigate without a helm or compass.

Let the most creative genius give to others all those things for which he is obliged to them, and how small will be his property in his own productions! Many have been considered the authors of inventions (which, observe, are commonly accidental), because those who preceded them were forgotten. It has been said by Johnson, that we owe to Gay the ballad opera. It may be so; but it is certain that the Beggar's Opera was first acted towards the end of the year 1727, and it is equally certain that a pantomime was exhibited at Drury-lane Theatre before that period, the hero of which was the notorious John Shepherd. The scenes represented "real places of action," says the author (Select Trials at the Old Bailey, vol. ii. p. 147), and the composer was Mr. Thurmond. To this pantomime succeeded a farce, in three acts, having the same hero, entitled, The Prison Breaker; which, though printed, was not acted. Some time afterwards it was intermixed with songs and catches, and was performed at Bartholomew Fair, by the name of the Quaker's Opera.

To exemplify this position, we will offer an instance more immediately suitable to our present subject. Vasari (tom. ii. pt 262,) said that Van Eych, a Fleming, was the inventor of painting in oil; but Malvasia (Felsina Pittrice, lib. i. p. 27,) has shown that oil paintings were executed in 1407, some years before the time fixed by Vasari. Dominici (Vite de Pittori Napol. lib. i. p. 107), penetrates further into antiquity, and proves that paintings were executed in a similar substance at Naples so early as the year 1300; and Lessing quotes, from a manuscript written in the tenth or the eleventh century, certain instructions for tempering colours with oil. Invention, when not the effect of casualty, merely advances the improvement of others. Consider the equestrian statue of Peter the First at St. Petersburgh, if it be compared to the lubberly figures in our public squares, it is creation; but compare it to other statues in Europe, and Falconet will only enjoy a rational triumph. Regard the mode of supporting the horse by the hind legs and tail, as represented by an equestrian statue at Saltzburg, a work otherwise of little note; and the equestrian statue at Madrid of Philip the Fourth, cast by Pedro Tacca, of Florence, from a design of Diego Valasquez. Considering these only with the posture of Marcus Aurelius on horseback at the Campidoglio, in Rome, and the writhing serpent, which popular opinion has made familiar, and the equestrian statue of Peter the First, that prodigy of art, animation, nay, of actual flight, must be reputed, in effect, as the work of many artists combined in one form, by a single but superior mind.

Another cause, and if not the greatest, one which was blended with all others, of the superiority of the fine arts at Athens, was

the nature of the government. The Athenians, we know, excelled all other nations in oratory, in statuary, in architecture; and there are many reasons for believing that they equally excelled in painting and music. If this be true, and if it be also certain that there is a consent and harmony among all the arts, it is a problem worthy the solution of our wisest men, how the Athenian, the worst government, according to their apprehensions, should boast architects, statuaries, painters, orators, historians, &c. of such power in their respective departments, that it is the object of the enlightened to collect a few fragments of their designs from Attica, and a few pages of the works of their scholars from Herculaneum.

Having stated some of those particulars which tended to advance the arts in Greece, let us briefly mention a few causes, which have opposed their advancement in Great Britain. It may perhaps be said, that England does not afford such models as Greece; at least, in the same abundance, for the use of the statuary and painter. A celebrated artist of Italy, in a letter to Balthazar Castiglione, attributes the backwardness of the arts of design partly to the deficiency of living models; his words are:—"Ma essendo carestia di boni giudici et di belle donne, &c." (Descrit. Pitt. di Raf. p. 242.) We suspect that our judges are far less admirable for their skill, than our females for their beauty.

Without good models we repeat, that all the statuary and paintings of Greece could not make a good artist; for they could not impart that which they do not and cannot possess. Any work taken exclusively from them is only a copy of a copy. There is a freedom and spirit in a first draught, that the same artist cannot preserve in a copy, even of his own performance. It has been often affirmed and frequently felt, that those painters who make ancient sculptures their peculiar study show a monumental coldness in their pictures. Ancient statuary should be studied, as the rules of science exemplified; but the paramount study, the master of the ancients and moderns, is the living world.

It is not only necessary that there be good models in a nation, but an abundance of them. Morland's wife and sisters were almost his only female models; hence arose his want of variety in his female figures. Even had these women been beautiful and well proportioned, want of variety would have limited the reputation of this artist; besides, where good models are not numerous, there is the greatest probability that the artist will begin to copy from an inferior description, because the cheapest and most obvious. This educates a bad style and a vulgar taste,

which will never be reformed even when means and occasions may command the best. Rubens never could correct his early impressions. His Graces may receive the name with which Henry the Eighth complimented his wife Anne of Cleves on first seeing her: his Pegasus, in the Lichtenstien gallery at Vienna, is a mere Flanders draught-horse.

Admitting that human nature is in the highest degree lovely in Great Britain, how are artists to take advantage of it? how is human nature to be recognized by them? we admit no gymnastic exercises, and who can regret the circumstance, unless it be one whose moral taste yields in strength to his taste for the fine arts? The ladies, indeed, by their modern modes of dress, have done their best to remunerate the artists by models of the *female figure*, for the loss which they have sustained of *male studies*, by the abolition of gymnastic exercises. It is for the profession, however, to determine, whether the number of originals for those *ethical designs* so strongly recommended by Aristotle be not thereby diminished. The rarity in Great Britain of beholding *man as he is*, in order to enable artists to honour their profession, is acknowledged in the following passage from the "Memorandum." "From trials which Lord Elgin was induced to make at the request of professional men, a strong impression had been created that the science of sculpture, and the taste and judgment by which it is to be carried forward and appreciated, cannot so effectually be promoted as by athletic exercises practised in the presence of similar works; the distinguishing merit of which is an able, ingenious, but exact, imitation of nature." Whether the contrivance be more absurd, or the language in which it is related be more perplexed, we leave to the judgment of others; yet still this proves the want of living models in Great Britain.

Artists are also prevented from adopting national subjects on account of the national dress. They are thus placed in a miserable dilemma, either of appealing to the taste of their countrymen on subjects not interesting to their feelings and habitudes, or of exhibiting men in buckram. Survey Lord Nelson's Death, by Mr. West, in the last exhibition; the figures seem stuck into the canvas like the compartments of wainscoting, and when mingled with other figures of a picturesque description, as in Mr. West's Death of General Wolfe, they are only less offensive than William Penn, in his Quaker dress, amidst the immortals in Barry's Elysium.

Many have attributed the backwardness of the arts in England to the established religion, which is too simple in its principles, and too pure in its general character to offer to the fine arts

an opportunity to display their powers to the same extent as the latitude of the Romish churches in this respect allows. It has also been remarked in corroboration of this opinion, that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, though the dean and chapter had acquiesced, did refuse a proposal to decorate St. Paul's with subjects taken from the New Testament. But those who censure those ecclesiastics do not sufficiently observe, that Barry, who made this proposal, was, though an English artist, an Irish catholic, and perhaps it might be thought that in a matter of that kind a person of his persuasion could not be safely trusted.

Some have also imagined that the fine arts are not promoted by the constitution of the British government, which is founded on reason and experience, and wholly unlike those heady republics which so many writers from Dean Swift to Sir William Young have convicted of infinite errors without one countervailing excellency. These points have been frequently urged; we mention them, without insisting on their applicability. Yet we cannot avoid admitting, that the prudent part of our economy, as a commercial people, as calculators of profit and loss, affects in no inconsiderable degree the perfection of the arts of this country. We must however also admit, that there are splendid exceptions in both respects to this observation. It is true we read of various subscriptions for the distressed and the forsaken, general in their nature, and considerable in their amount. Yet still perhaps it may be said, that though the English are not selfish, there is something like that feeling pretty prevalent among them, at least in their encouragement of painting. Witness at every annual review at Somerset House the costly portraits of hundreds whose names have never been published, except in the shilling catalogue on that occasion. This being so, how can the artists escape the contagion? That they are so infected, we repeat; if not, to what are we to attribute the eternal claims and lamentations of artists and dilletanti, of Mr. West and Mr. Shee, of Lord Elgin and Sir R. C. Hoare, concerning schools for the arts, establishments for the arts, patronage for the arts? This theme is beneath any man who pretends to regard a liberal profession. Nor can any satisfactory reason be assigned for this querulousness, unless we consider the countenance afforded to such inglorious wailing by our charity schools and our colleges, which the law says are eleemosynary corporations, whose members subsist by the charity of their founders. Artists should know that profit and glory are seldom companions. All men pretending to elevated pursuits should know or learn the same. Let us then hear

no more of want of patrons. Johnson placed patrons among the miseries of authorship—

> Yet think what ills the scholar's life assail,
> Pride, envy, want, the *patron*, and the jail.

Let us hear no more of want of patronage. The same author thus concludes an allegory on that topic. "The SCIENCES after a thousand indignities retired from the palace of PATRONAGE, and having long wandered over the world in grief and distress, were led at last to the cottage of INDEPENDENCE, the daughter of FORTITUDE, where they were taught by PRUDENCE and PARSIMONY to support themselves in dignity and quiet."

ART. III. *Travels in the South of Spain, in Letters written A. D.* 1809 *and* 1810, *by* William Jacob, Esq. M.P. F.R.S. London: Johnson. Miller. 1811. 4to. pp. 437.

Descriptive Travels in the Southern and Eastern Parts of Spain, and in the Balearic Isles, by Sir John Carr, Knt. London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones. 1811. 4to. pp. 374.

"THE practice of emptying old musty folios," or the contents of *threadbare* pocket-books, into "new quartos*," although it has been deprecated by critics of every class for the last twenty years, seems now to be so established a right in the art of book-making, that we are not without our fears that any further opposition to the practice would be considered as the effusion of an heated imagination, or the promulgation of *new doctrines*. The endeavour of our fraternity to correct the evil, is at least an attempt not less disinterested than the noble efforts of the faculty in behalf of vaccination; for if the *reading part* of the community had any sort of security that every new publication would be confined to the quantity of original matter which its author has to impart, they would doubtless purchase the book itself, and read it through; as the mass of publications would then be within their pecuniary means, as well as within compass of their hours of study. But if (even *physically speaking*) there must be a period to a system in which the *tourist* through modern literature, having paid down his two or three guineas for the privilege of being carried through the next stage, finds himself slowly transported through an African desert, with scarcely an Oasis to refresh his sickening brain, it is not wonderful that they should have recourse to the aëronauts

* See Advice to a Young Reviewer (p. 6.), and first Number of British Review (p. 5.).

of literature, who profess to waft them with an eagle's flight far above the barren surface of the desert, and only to land them occasionally on those recreating spots, which, to do our modern authors justice, they generally contrive to scatter with more or less frequency over the provinces through which they conduct us.

A review, therefore, in honest hands, pretends not to be a substitute for all other kinds of reading," but with a reader of judgement is only a substitute for imperial, hotpressed, empty quarto. It is, in some sort, necessary to those who are desirous to avoid wasting their time and money in experimental reading; and perhaps it is difficult to point out a greater benefit to general literature in its present state than the honest application of the learning, taste, and talents of a set of gentlemen possessing those qualifications, to the object of directing the public attention to such books as really deserve it, and of extracting the quintessence of others which require to be submitted to the refining process. But in proportion to the advantages resulting from this duty when *honestly performed*, are the actual danger and mischief, where a review is so conducted as to countenance the observation, that "the secret history of reviews involves a disgusting account of party malice, commercial rivalry, personal splean, and unprovoked malignity;" and where, instead of procuring impartial and independent accounts of books, the purchasers of criticism incur the disappointment of finding only opinions dictated by party views, or the selfish motives of gain or ambition.

We have been led into these observations from the train of reflection which the two quartos before us suggested to our minds, and we shall now proceed to exemplify some of the foregoing principles from the books which we have undertaken to examine. We shall hope to do it with no rude hand, for they certainly are worthy of kind consideration, inasmuch as many interesting and amusing passages are to be found in them, particularly in Mr. Jacob's work. Both, however, are constructed upon a plan with respect to which we think it right to make a few observations for the benefit of future literary adventurers to the peninsula.

It will, perhaps, be conceded without difficulty that there cannot be a more unfavourable moment for giving a general description of the customs, habits, manners, commerce, and polity of a country, than when it is in a convulsed and revolutionary state: for at such a period there must of course be a general departure from the accustomed course and relations of society. The great interest one naturally expects to derive

Obſervations on precedency, &c. [*Harleian* MISCELLANY, iv. 485.]

— [*Miſcellanea Scotica*, iii. *See* SCOTLAND.]

* The actes and life of the moſt victorious conquerour, Robert Bruce, King of Scotland ... 1620. [*By* John BARBOUR.]

* Bruce, Wallace, and the bard. 8° Lond. 1844.

BRUCE (ROBERT).

An eminent miniſter of the Church of Scotland. B. 1554. D. 13 Aug. 1631.

Sermons preached in the kirk of Edinburgh, be M. Robert Bruce, miniſter of Chriſts Evangel there; as they wer received from his mouth; meet to comfort all ſik as are troubled, ather in bodie or minde. 8° Edinb. 1591.

The way to true peace and reſt; delivered at Edinborough in xvi ſermons, on the Lords ſupper, Hezechiahs ſickneſſe, and other ſelect ſcriptures. 4° Lond. 1617.

Sermons ... reprinted from the original edition of M.D.XC. and M.D.XCI. With collections for his life, by the Rev. Robert Wodrow ... now firſt printed from the manuſcript in the library of the Univerſity of Glaſgow. Edited by the Rev. William Cunningham, D.D. [for the Wodrow Society.] 8° Edinb. 1843.

BRUCE (THOMAS), 7th Earl of Elgin.

B. 20 July, 1766. D. 14 Nov. 1841.

Memorandum on the ſubject of the Earl of Elgin's purſuits in Greece. 4° Edinb. 1811.

— Another edition. 8° Lond. 1815.

The Elgin marbles from the temple of Minerva at Athens ... To which are added the report from the Select committee of the Houſe of Commons reſpecting the Earl of Elgin's collection of ſculptured marbles, and an hiſtorical account of the temple. fol. Lond. 1816.

Report of a Select committee of the Houſe of Commons on the Earl of Elgin's collection of ſculptured marbles. 8° Lond. 1816.

— [PAMPHLETEER, viii. 431.]

Letter to the editor of the Edinburgh Review, on the ſubject of an article in No. L. of that journal, on "the remains of John Tweddell." Third edition. 8° Lond. 1816.

View of the preſent ſtate of pauperiſm in Scotland. 8° Lond. 1830.

BRUCE (WILLIAM), D.D.

Senior miniſter of the firſt Preſbyterian congregation, Belfaſt.

Sermons on the ſtudy of the Bible, and on the doctrines of Chriſtianity, as taught by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Second edition. 8° Belfaſt, 1826.

The ſtate of ſociety in the age of Homer. 8° Belfaſt, 1827.

BRUCE (WILLIAM), M.A.

Perpetual curate of St. James's, Briſtol.

The truth of the Goſpel: a ſermon preached at the viſitation of the Venerable the Archdeacon of Briſtol, in the church of St. Auguſtine, in the city of Briſtol, on Monday, May 24, 1852. [*Gal.* ii. 5.] 8° Lond. 1852.

Salvation: a ſermon preached at the ſpecial ſervices at Exeter Hall, on Sunday, September 12, 1858. [*Eph.* ii. 8, 9.] 8° Lond. 1858.

BRUCE (WILLIAM).

Miniſter of the New Jeruſalem church.

Strictures on the Rev. W. Maſon's Earneſt addreſs to the members of the New Church in Great Britain and America, on a ſubject of paramount importance connected with the projected centenary celebration in 1857. 8° Lond. 1856.

BRUCE (WILLIAM DOWNING).

Of Lincoln's Inn, barriſter-at-law.

A letter addreſſed to R. Monckton Milnes, Eſq., M.P., on the condition and unſafe ſtate of ancient parochial regiſters in England and the colonies. 8° Lond. 1850.

An account of the preſent deplorable ſtate of the eccleſiaſtical courts of record; with propoſals for their complete reformation. 8° Lond. 1854.

An act to facilitate the proof of title to, and the conveyance of, real eſtates, (25 & 26 Vic., cap. 52), being the Act for eſtabliſhing a regiſter of title to landed eſtates ... To which is added "The declaration of titles act, 1862," (25 & 26 Vic., cap. 67), with an elaborate index to the whole work, forming an alphabetically arranged analyſis of the acts and orders. 8° Lond. 1862.

BRUCE-WHYTE (A.)

Hiſtoire des langues Romanes et de leur littérature depuis leur origine juſqu'au xiv^e ſiècle. 3 tom. 8° Paris, 1841.

BRUCHERIUS (JOANNES).

Poemata. [GRUTER, *Delitiæ poetarum Gallorum*, i. 794.]

BRUCIAD.

The Bruciad: an epic poem in ſix books. 1769. [*By* John HARVEY.]

BRUCIOLI (ANTONIO).

An Italian writer and tranſlator, a native of Florence, who lived in the former half of the 16th century.

Dialogi, libro primo: della morale philoſophia. 4° Venetia, 1537.

— Libro ſecondo: della naturale philoſophia humana. 4° Venetia, 1537.

— Libro terzo: della naturale philoſophia. 4° Venetia, 1537.

— Libro quarto: della metaphiſicale philoſophia. 4° Venetia, 1538.

— Libro quinto. 4° Venetia, 1538.

BRUCK-ANGERMUNDT (JACOBUS À).

Princeps Plinianus; ſive, aphoriſmi politici, ex C. Plinii Secundi panegyrico ad Trajanum, tetraſtichis redditi. Quibus breves diſſertationes acceſſerunt. 12° Argentinæ, 1616.

BRUCKER (JACOB).

B. at Augſburg, 22 Jan. 1696. Educated at the Univerſity of Jena. Rector of Kaufbeuren, 1724. Miniſter of the church of the Holy Croſs, Augſburg, 1744, and of St. Ulrich's in the ſame city, 1757. D. there, 26 Nov. 1770.

De vita et ſcriptis ... Eliæ Ehingeri commentatio, qua

REPORT

FROM THE

SELECT COMMITTEE

ON

THE EARL OF ELGIN'S COLLECTION

OF

SCULPTURED MARBLES,

&c.

CONTENTS.

APPENDIX.

REPORT.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed to inquire, whether it be expedient that the Collection mentioned in the EARL of ELGIN's Petition presented to the HOUSE on the 15th Day of February last, should be purchased on behalf of the Public; and, if so, what Price it may be reasonable to allow for the same,

CONSIDER the Subject referred to them, as divided into Four principal Heads;

The First of which relates to the Authority by which this Collection was acquired:

The Second to the circumstances under which that Authority was granted:

The Third to the Merit of the Marbles as works of Sculpture, and the importance of making them Public Property, for the purpose of promoting the study of the Fine Arts in Great Britain;—and

The Fourth to their Value as objects of Sale; which includes the consideration of the Expense which has attended the removing, transporting, and bringing them to England.

To these will be added some general Observations upon what is to be found, in various Authors, relating to these Marbles.

I.

WHEN the Earl of *Elgin* quitted England upon his mission to the Ottoman Porte, it was his original intention to make that appointment beneficial to the progress of the Fine Arts in Great Britain, by procuring accurate drawings and casts of the valuable remains of Sculpture and Architecture, scattered throughout Greece, and particularly concentrated at Athens.

With this view he engaged Signor Lusieri, a painter of reputation, who was then in the service of the King of the Two Sicilies, together with two architects, two modellers, and a figure painter, whom Mr. *Hamilton* (now Under Secretary of State) engaged at Rome, and despatched with Lusieri, in the summer of 1800, from Constantinople to Athens.

They were employed there about nine months, from August 1800 to May 1801, without having any sort of facility or accommodation afforded to them: nor was the Acropolis accessible to them, even for the purpose of taking drawings, except by the payment of a large fee, which was exacted daily.

The other five artists were withdrawn from Athens in January 1803, but Lusieri has continued there ever since, excepting during the short period of our hostilities with the Ottoman Porte.

During the year 1800, Egypt was in the power of the French: and that sort of contempt and dislike which has always characterized the Turkish government and people in their behaviour towards every denomination of Christians, prevailed in full force.

The success of the British arms in Egypt, and the expected restitution of that province to the Porte, wrought a wonderful and instantaneous change in the disposition of all ranks and descriptions of people towards our Nation. Universal benevolence and good-will appeared to take place of suspicion and aversion. Nothing was refused which was asked; and Lord *Elgin*, availing himself of this favourable and unexpected alteration, obtained, in the summer of 1801, access to the Acropolis for general purposes, with permission to draw, model, and remove; to which was added, a special license to excavate in a particular place. Lord *Elgin* mentions in his evidence, that he was obliged to send from Athens to Constantinople for leave to remove a house: at the same time remarking, that, in point of fact, all permissions issuing from the Porte to any distant provinces, are little better than authorities to make the best bargain that can be made with the local magistracies. The applications upon this subject passed in verbal conversations; but the warrants or fermauns were granted in writing, addressed to the chief authorities resident at Athens, to whom they were delivered, and in whose hands they remained: so that your Committee had no opportunity of learning from Lord *Elgin* himself their exact tenor, or of ascertaining in what terms they noticed, or allowed the displacing, or carrying away of these Marbles. But Dr. Hunt, who accompanied Lord *Elgin* as chaplain to the embassy, has preserved, and has now in his possession, a translation of the second fermaun, which extended the powers of the first; but as he had it not with him in London, to produce before your Committee, he stated the substance, according to his recollection, which was, "That, in order to show their particular respect to the Ambassador of "Great Britain, the august Ally of the Porte, with whom they were now and had long "been in the strictest alliance, they gave to his Excellency and to his Secretary, "and the Artists employed by him, the most extensive permission to view, draw, and "model, the ancient Temples of the Idols, and the Sculptures upon them, and to "make excavations, and to take away any stones that might appear interesting to "them." He stated further, that no remonstrance was at any time made, nor any displeasure shown, by the Turkish government, either at Constantinople or at Athens, against the extensive interpretation which was put upon this fermaun; and although the work of taking down and removing was going on for months, and even years, and was conducted in the most public manner, numbers of native labourers, to the amount of some hundreds, being frequently employed, not the least obstruction was ever interposed, nor the smallest uneasiness shown, after the granting of this second fermaun. Among the Greek population and inhabitants of Athens it occasioned no sort of dissatisfaction: but, as Mr. *Hamilton*, an eye-witness, expresses it, so far from exciting any unpleasant sensation, the people seemed to feel it as the means of bring-

ing foreigners into their country, and of having money spent among them. The Turks showed a total indifference and apathy as to the preservation of these remains, except when in a fit of wanton destruction they sometimes carried their disregard so far as to do mischief by firing at them. The numerous travellers and admirers of the Arts committed greater waste, from a very different motive; for many of those who visited the Acropolis tempted the soldiers, and other people about the fortress, to bring them down heads, legs, or arms, or whatever other pieces they could carry off.

A translation of the fermaun itself has since been forwarded by Dr. *Hunt*, which is printed in the Appendix.

II.

Upon the Second Division, it must be premised, that antecedently to Lord *Elgin's* departure for Constantinople, he communicated his intentions of bringing home casts and drawings from Athens, for the benefit and advancement of the Fine Arts in this country, to Mr. *Pitt*, Lord *Grenville*, and Mr. *Dundas*, suggesting to them the propriety of considering it as a national object, fit to be undertaken, and carried into effect at the public expense; but that this recommendation was in no degree encouraged, either at that time or afterwards.

It is evident, from a letter of Lord *Elgin* to the Secretary of State, 18 January 1803, that he considered himself as having no sort of claim for his disbursements in the prosecution of these pursuits, though he stated, in the same despatch, the heavy expenses in which they had involved him, so as to make it extremely inconvenient for him to forego any of the usual allowances to which Ambassadors at other courts were entitled. It cannot, therefore, be doubted, that he looked upon himself in this respect as acting in a character entirely distinct from his official situation. But whether the Government from whom he obtained permission did, or could so consider him, is a question which can be solved only by conjecture and reasoning, in the absence and deficiency of all positive testimony. The Turkish ministers of that day are, in fact, the only persons in the world capable (if they are still alive) of deciding the doubt; and it is probable that even they, if it were possible to consult them, might be unable to form any very distinct discrimination as to the character in consideration of which they acceded to Lord *Elgin's* request. The occasion made them, beyond all precedent, propitious to whatever was desired in behalf of the English nation: they readily, therefore, complied with all that was asked by Lord *Elgin*. He was an Englishman of high rank; he was also Ambassador from our Court: they granted the same permission to no other individual: but then, as Lord *Elgin* observes, no other individual applied for it to the same extent, nor had indeed the same unlimited means for carrying such an undertaking into execution. The expression of one of the most intelligent and distinguished of the British travellers, who visited Athens about the same period, appears to your Committee to convey as correct a judgment as can be formed upon this question, which is incapable of being satisfactorily separated, and must be taken in the aggregate.

The Earl of *Aberdeen*, in answer to an inquiry, whether the authority and influence of a public situation was in his opinion necessary for accomplishing the removal of

these Marbles, answered, that he did not think a private individual could have accomplished the removal of the remains which Lord *Elgin* obtained: and Doctor *Hunt*, who had better opportunities of information upon this point than any other person who has been examined, gave it as his decided opinion, that "a British subject not in the situation of Ambassador, could not have been able to obtain from the Turkish Government a fermaun of such extensive powers."

It may not be unworthy of remark, that the only other piece of Sculpture which was ever removed from its place for the purpose of export, was taken by Mr. Choiseul Gouffier, when he was Ambassador from France to the Porte; but whether he did it by express permission, or in some less ostensible way, no means of ascertaining are within the reach of your Committee. It was undoubtedly at various times an object with the French Government to obtain possession of some of these valuable remains; and it is probable, according to the testimony of Lord *Aberdeen* and others, that at no great distance of time they might have been removed by that government from their original site; if they had not been taken away, and secured for this country, by Lord *Elgin*.

III.

The Third Part is involved in much less intricacy: and although in all matters of Taste there is room for great variety and latitude of opinion, there will be found upon this branch of the subject much more uniformity and agreement than could have been expected. The testimony of several of the most eminent Artists in this kingdom, who have been examined, rates these Marbles in the very first class of ancient art, some placing them a little above, and others but very little below, the Apollo Belvidere, the Laocoon, and the Torso of the Belvidere. They speak of them with admiration and enthusiasm; and notwithstanding the manifold injuries of time and weather, and those mutilations which they have sustained from the fortuitous, or designed injuries of neglect, or mischief, they consider them as among the finest models, and the most exquisite monuments of antiquity. The general current of this portion of the evidence makes no doubt of referring the date of these works to the original building of the Parthenon, and to the designs of Phidias, the dawn of every thing which adorned and ennobled Greece. With this estimation of the excellence of these works, it is natural to conclude that they are recommended by the same authorities as highly fit, and admirably adapted to form a school for study, to improve our national taste for the Fine Arts, and to diffuse a more perfect knowledge of them throughout this kingdom.

Much indeed may be reasonably hoped and expected, from the general observation, and admiration of such distinguished examples. The end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, enlightened by the discovery of several of the noblest remains of antiquity, produced in Italy an abundant harvest of the most eminent men, who made gigantic advances in the path of Art, as Painters, Sculptors, and Architects. Caught by the novelty, attracted by the beauty, and enamoured of the perfection of those newly disclosed treasures, they imbibed the genuine spirit of ancient excellence, and transfused it into their own compositions.

It is surprising to observe in the best of these Marbles in how great a degree the

close imitation of nature is combined with grandeur of Style, while the exact details of the former in no degree detract from the effect and predominance of the latter.

The two finest single figures of this Collection differ materially in this respect from the Apollo Belvidere, which may be selected as the highest and most sublime representation of ideal form, and beauty, which Sculpture has ever embodied, and turned into shape.

The evidence upon this part of the inquiry will be read with satisfaction and interest, both where it is immediately connected with these Marbles, and where it branches out into extraneous observations, but all of them relating to the study of the Antique. A reference is made by one of the witnesses to a sculptor, eminent throughout Europe for his works, who lately left this Metropolis highly gratified by the view of these treasures of that branch of Art, which he has cultivated with so much success. His own letter to the Earl of *Elgin* upon this subject is inserted in the Appendix.

In the judgment of Mr. *Payne Knight*, whose valuation will be referred to in a subsequent page, the first class is not assigned to the two principal statues of this Collection; but he rates the Metopes in the first class of works in High Relief, and knows of nothing so fine in that kind. He places also the Frize in the first class of Low Relief; and considering a general Museum of Art to be very desirable, he looks upon such an addition to our National Collection as likely to contribute to the improvement of the Arts, and to become a very valuable acquisition; for the importation of which Lord *Elgin* is entitled to the gratitude of his Country.

IV.

The directions of the House in the order of reference imposes upon your Committee the task of forming and submitting an opinion upon the Fourth Head, which otherwise the scantiness of materials for fixing a pecuniary Value, and the unwillingness, or inability in those who are practically most conversant in Statuary to afford any lights upon this part of the subject, would have rather induced them to decline.

The produce of this Collection, if it should be brought to sale in separate lots, in the present depreciated state of almost every article, and more particularly of such as are of precarious and fanciful value, would probably be much inferior to what may be denominated its intrinsic value.

The mutilated state of all the larger Figures, the want either of heads or features, of limbs or surface, in most of the Metopes, and in a great proportion of the Compartments even of the larger Frize, render this Collection, if divided, but little adapted to serve for the decoration of private houses. It should therefore be considered as forming a Whole, and should unquestionably be kept entire as a School of Art, and a Study for the formation of Artists. The competitors in the market, if it should be offered for sale without separation, could not be numerous. Some of the Sovereigns of Europe, added to such of the great Galleries or national Institutions in various parts of the Continent as may possess funds at the disposal of their directors sufficient for such a purpose, would in all probability be the only purchasers.

It is not, however, reasonable, nor becoming the liberality of Parliament, to withhold, upon this account, whatever, under all the circumstances, may be deemed a just and

adequate price; and more particularly in a case where Parliament is left to fix its own valuation, and no specific sum is demanded, or even suggested, by the Party who offers the Collection to the Public.

It is obvious that the money expended in the acquisition of any commodity is not necessarily the measure of its real value. The sum laid out in gaining possession of two articles of the same intrinsic worth, may, and often does, vary considerably. In making two excavations, for instance, of equal magnitude and labour, a broken Bust or some few Fragments may be discovered in the one, and a perfect Statue in the other. The first cost of the broken Bust and of the entire Statue would in that case be the same; but it cannot be said that the value is therefore equal. In the same manner, by the loss or detention of a Ship, a great charge may have been incurred, and the original outgoing excessively enhanced; but the value to the buyer will in no degree be affected by these extraneous accidents. Supposing, again, Artists to have been engaged at considerable salaries during a large period in which they could do little or nothing, the first cost would be burdensome in this case also to the employer; but those who bought would look only at the value of the article in the market where it might be exposed to sale, without caring, or inquiring how, or at what expense it was brought thither.

Supposing, on the other hand, that the thirteen other Metopes had been bought at the Custom House sale at the same price which that of Mr. Choiseul Gouffier fetched, it could never be said, that the value of them was no more than twenty-four or twenty-five pounds a piece.

It is perfectly just and reasonable that the seller should endeavour fully to reimburse himself for all expenses, and to acquire a profit also; but it will be impossible for him to do so, whenever the disbursements have exceeded the fair money price of that which he has to dispose of.

Your Committee refer to Lord *Elgin's* evidence for the large and heavy charges which have attended the formation of this Collection, and the placing of it in its present situation; which amount, from 1799 to January 1803, to £62,440, including £23,240 for the interest of money; and according to a supplemental account, continued from 1803 to 1816, to no less a sum than £74,000, including the same sum for interest.

All the papers which are in his possession upon this subject, including a journal of above 90 pages, of the daily expenses of his principal artist Lusieri, (from 1803 to the close of 1814,) who still remains in his employment at Athens, together with the account current of Messrs. Hayes of Malta, (from April 1807 to May 1811,) have been freely submitted to your Committee; and there can be no doubt, from the inspection of those accounts, confirmed also by other testimony, that the disbursements were very considerable: but supposing them to reach the full sum at which they are calculated, your Committee do not hesitate to express their opinion, that they afford no just criterion of the Value of the Collection, and therefore must not be taken as a just basis for estimating it.

Two Valuations, and only two in detail, have been laid before your Committee, which are printed; differing most widely in the particulars, and in the total; that of

Mr. *Payne Knight* amounting to £.25,000; and that of Mr. *Hamilton* to £.60,800.

The only other sum mentioned as a money price, is in the evidence of the Earl of *Aberdeen*, who named £.35,000, as a sort of conjectural estimate of the whole, without entering into particulars.

In addition to the instances of prices quoted in Mr. *Payne Knight's* evidence, the sums paid for other celebrated Marbles deserve to be brought under the notice of the House.

The *Townley* Collection, which was purchased for the British Museum in June 1805, for £.20,000, is frequently referred to in the examinations of the witnesses, with some variety of opinion as to its intrinsic value: but it is to be observed of all the principal Sculptures in that Collection, that they were in excellent condition, with the surface perfect; and where injured, they were generally well restored, and perfectly adapted for the decoration, and almost for the ornamental furniture of a private house, as they were indeed disposed by Mr. *Townley* in his lifetime.

In what proportion the state of mutilation in which the *Elgin* Marbles are left, and above all the corrosion of much of the surface by weather, reduce their value, it is difficult precisely to ascertain: but it may unquestionably be affirmed, in the words of one of the Sculptors examined, (who rates these Works in the highest class of Art,) that "the *Townleyan* Marbles being entire, are, in a commercial point of view, the most valuable of the two: but that the *Elgin* Marbles, as possessing that matter which Artists most require, claim a higher consideration."

The Ægina Marbles, which are also referred to, and were well known to one of the Members of Your Committee, who was in treaty to purchase them for the British Museum, sold for £.6,000, to the Prince Royal of Bavaria, which was less than the British Government had directed to be offered, after a prior negotiation for obtaining them had failed: their real value, however, was supposed not to exceed £.4,000; at which Lusieri estimated them. They are described as valuable in point of remote antiquity, and curious in that respect, but of no distinguished merit as specimens of Sculpture, their style being what is usually called Etruscan, and older than the age of Phidias.

The Marbles at Phigalia, in Arcadia, have lately been purchased for the Museum at the expense of £15,000, increased by a very unfavourable exchange to £19,000, a sum which your Committee, after inspecting them, ventured to consider as more than equal to their value.

It is true that an English gentleman, concerned in discovering them, was ready to give the same sum; and therefore no sort of censure can attach on those who purchased them abroad, for our national Gallery, without any possible opportunity of viewing and examining the sculpture, but knowing them only from the sketches which were sent over, and the place where they were dug up, to be undoubted and authentic remains of Greek artists of the best time.

When the first offer was made by the Earl of *Elgin* to Mr. *Percival*, of putting the Public in possession of this Collection, Mr. *Long*, a member of your Committee, was authorized by Mr. *Percival* to acquaint Lord *Elgin*, that he was willing to propose to

Parliament to purchase it for £30,000, provided Lord *Elgin* should make out, to the satisfaction of a Committee of the House of Commons, that he had expended so much in acquiring, and transporting it.

Lord *Elgin* declined this proposal, for the reasons stated by him in his evidence: and until the month of June 1815, no further step was taken on either side; but at that time a petition was presented, on the part of Lord *Elgin*, to the House, which, owing to the late period of the Session, was not proceeded upon. Eighty additional cases have been received since 1811, the contents of which, enumerated in Mr. *Hamilton's* evidence, now form a part of the Collection. The Medals also, of which the value is more easily defined, were not included in the proposal made to Mr. *Percival*.

Against these augmentations must be set the rise in the value of money, which is unquestionably not inconsiderable, between the present time and the year 1811; a cause or consequence of which is the depreciation of every commodity, either of necessity, or fancy, which is brought to sale.

Your Committee, therefore, do not think that they should be justified, in behalf of the Public, if they were to recommend to the House any extension of Mr. *Percival's* offer to a greater amount than £5,000: and, under all the circumstances that they have endeavoured to bring under the view of the House, they judge Thirty-five Thousand Pounds to be a reasonable and sufficient price for this Collection.

Your Committee observing, that by the Act 45 Geo. III. c. 127, for vesting the *Townleyan* Collection in the Trustees of the British Museum, § 4, the proprietor of that Collection, Mr. *Townley Standish*, was added to the Trustees of the British Museum, considered the Earl of *Elgin* (and his heirs being Earls of *Elgin*) as equally entitled to the same distinction, and recommend that a clause should be inserted to that effect, if it should be necessary that an Act should pass for transferring his Collection to the Public.

It may not be deemed foreign to this subject, if your Committee venture to extend their observations somewhat beyond the strict limit of their immediate inquiry, and lay before the House what occurs to them as not unimportant with regard to the age and authenticity of these Sculptures. The great works with which Pericles adorned and strengthened Athens, were all carried on under the direction and superintendance of Phidias: for this, there is the authority of various ancient writers, and particularly of Plutarch; but he distinctly asserts in the same passage, that Callicrates and Ictinus executed the work of the Parthenon; which is confirmed also by Pausanias, so far as relates to Ictinus, who likewise ornamented or constructed the temple of Apollo at Phigalia*; from whence, by a singular coincidence, the Sculptures in high relief lately purchased for the British Museum, and frequently referred to in the evidence, were transported.

The style of this work, in the opinion of the Artists, indicates that it belongs

* The penultimate syllable should be pronounced long: Phigalia closes two hexameter verses; one of which is quoted by Pausanius, and the other by Stephanus Byzantinus, from Rhianus, a Poet of Crete.

to the same period, though the execution is rated as inferior to that of the *Elgin* Marbles. In the fabulous stories which are represented upon both, there is a very striking similarity; and it may be remarked in passing, that the subjects of the Metopes, and of the smaller Frize, which is sculptured with the battle of the Amazons, correspond with two out of the four subjects mentioned by Pliny, as adorning the shield and dress of the Minerva; so that there was a general uniformity of design in the stories which were selected for the internal and external decoration of the Parthenon. The taste of the same artist, Ictinus, probably led him to repeat the same ideas, which abound in graceful forms, and variety of composition, when he was employed upon the temple of another divinity, at a distance from Athens.

The statue of Minerva within the Temple, was the work of Phidias himself; and, with the exception of the Jupiter which he made at Elis, the most celebrated of his productions. It was composed of ivory and gold; with regard to which, some very curious anecdotes relating to the political history of that time, are to be found in the same writers; the earliest of which, from a passage in a cotemporary poet, Aristophanes, proves that the value of these materials involved both Pericles and the director of his works in great trouble, and jeopardy; upon which account the latter is said to have withdrawn to Elis, and to have ended his days there, leaving it doubtful whether his death was natural, or in consequence of a judicial sentence: but Plutarch places his death at Athens, and in prison, either by disease, or by poison.

It has been doubted whether Phidias himself ever wrought in Marble: but, although, when he did not use ivory, his chief material was unquestionably bronze; there are authorities sufficient to establish, beyond all controversy, that he sometimes applied his hand to Marble. Pliny, for instance, asserts that he did so, and mentions a Venus ascribed to him, existing in his own time in the collection (or in the portico) of Octavia. Phidias is called by Aristotle a skilful worker in Stone; and Pausanias enumerates a Celestial Venus of Parian Marble, undoubtedly of his hand; and the Rhamnusian Nemesis, also of the same material. Some of his statues in bronze, were brought to Rome by Paulus Æmilius, and by Catullus.

His great reputation, however, was founded upon his representations of the Gods, in which he was supposed more excellent than in human forms, and especially upon his works in ivory, in which he stood unrivalled *.

Elidas the Argive is mentioned as the master of Phidias; which honour is also shared by Hippias. His two most celebrated scholars were Alcamenes an Athenian of noble birth, and Agoracritus of Paros; the latter of whom was his favourite; and it was reported, that out of affection to him, Phidias put his scholar's name upon several of his own works: among which the statue called Rhamnusian Nemesis is particularized by Pliny, and Suidas.

In another passage of Pliny, Alcamenes is classed with Critias, Nestocles, and Hegias, who are called the rivals of Phidias. The name of Colotes is preserved as another of his scholars.

The other great Sculptors who were living at the same time with Phidias, and flourished very soon after him, were Agelades, Callon, Polycletus, Phragmon, Gorgias, Lacon, Myron, Pythagoras, Scopas, and Perelius.

The passage in which Pausanias mentions the Sculptures on the pediments is

* Quintilian, xii. c. 10.

extremely short, and to this effect: "As you enter the Temple, which they call Parthenon, all that is contained in what is termed the (*Eagles*) Pediments, relates in every particular to the birth of Minerva; but on the opposite or back front is the Contest of Minerva and Neptune for the land; but the statue itself is formed of ivory and gold." The state of dilapidation into which this Temple was fallen, when Stuart visited it in 1751, and made most correct drawings for his valuable work, left little opportunity of examining and comparing what remained upon that part of the Temple, with the passage referred to: but an account is preserved by travellers, who about 80 years earlier found one of these pediments in tolerable preservation, before the war between the Turks and Venetians, in 1687, had done so much damage to this admirable structure. The observations of one of these (Dr. Spon, a French Physician) may be literally translated thus:

"The highest part of the front which the Greeks called 'the Eagle,' and our architects 'the Fronton,' is enriched with a groupe of beautiful figures in marble, which appear from below as large as life. They are of entire relief, and wonderfully well worked. Pausanias says nothing more, than that this Sculpture related to the birth of Minerva. The general design is this:

"Jupiter, who is under the highest angle of the pediment (fronton), has the right arm broken, in which, probably, he held his thunderbolt; his legs are thrown wide from each other, without doubt to make room for his eagle. Although these two characteristics are wanting, one cannot avoid recognising him by his beard, and by the majesty with which the sculptor has invested him. He is naked, as they usually represented him, and particularly the Greeks, who, for the most part, made their figures naked: on his right is a statue, which has its head and arms mutilated, draped to about half the leg, which one may judge to be a Victory; which precedes the car of Minerva, whose horses she leads. They are the work of some hand as bold as it was delicate, which would not, perhaps, have yielded to Phidias, or Praxiteles, so renowned for (representing) horses. Minerva is sitting upon the car, rather in the habit of goddess of the sciences than of war; for she is not dressed as a warrior, having neither helmet, nor shield, nor head of Medusa upon her breast: she has the air of youth, and her head-dress is not different from that of Venus. Another female figure, without a head, is sitting behind her, with a child, which she holds upon her knees. I cannot say who she is; but I had no trouble in making out or recognising the two next, which are the last on that side: it is the Emperor Hadrian, sitting and half naked; and, next to him, his wife Sabina. It seems that they are both looking on with pleasure at the triumph of the goddess. I do not believe that, before me, any person observed this particularity, which deserves to be remarked: "On the left of Jupiter are five or six figures, of which some have lost the heads; it is probably the circle of the gods, where Jupiter is about to introduce Minerva, and to make her be acknowledged for his daughter. The pediment behind represented, according to the same author, the dispute which Minerva and Neptune had for naming the city; but all the figures are fallen from them, except one head of a sea-horse, which was the usual accompaniment of this god: these figures of the two pediments were not so ancient as the body of the Temple built by Pericles; for which there wants no other argument than that of the statue of Hadrian, which is to be seen there, and the marble, which is whiter than the rest. All the rest has not been touched. The Marquis de Nointel had designs made of the whole, when he went to Athens: his painter worked there for two months, and almost lost his eyes, because he

was obliged to draw every thing from below, without a scaffold."—(*Voyage par Jacob Spon; Lyons*, 1678; 2 *tom. p.* 144.)

Wheler, who travelled with Spon, and published his work at London (four years later) in 1682, says: "But my companion made me observe the next two figures sitting in the corner to be of the Emperor Hadrian and his Empress Sabina, whom I easily knew to be so, by the many medals and statues I have seen of them." And again: "But the Emperor Hadrian most probably repaired it, and adorned it with those figures at each front: for the whiteness of the Marble, and his own statue joined with them, apparently show them to be of a later age than the first, and done by that Emperor's command. Within the portico on high, and on the outside of the cella of the Temple itself, is another border of basso relievo round about it, or at least on the North and South sides, which, without doubt, is as ancient as the Temple, and of admirable work, but not so high a relievo as the other. Thereon are represented sacrifices, processions, and other ceremonies of the heathens' worship. Most of them were designed by the M. de Nointel, who employed a painter to do it two months together, and showed them to us when we waited on him at Constantinople."

Another French author, who published three years earlier than Spon, a work called "Athenes Ancienne & Nouvelle, par le S^r de la Guilletiere, à Paris," 1675,—says, "Pericles employed upon the Parthenon the celebrated architects Callicrates and Ictinus. The last, who had more reputation than the former, wrote a description of it in a book*, which he composed on purpose, and which has been lost; and we should probably not now have the opportunity of admiring the building itself, if the Emperor Hadrian had not preserved it to us, by the repairs which he caused to be done. It is to his care that we owe the few remains of antiquity which are still entire at Athens.

In the Antiquities of Athens by Stuart, vol. ii. p. 4, it is said, "Pausanias gives but a transient account of this Temple, nor does he say whether Hadrian repaired it, though his statue, and that of his Empress Sabina in the western pediment, have occasioned a doubt whether the sculptures, in both, were not put up by him. Wheler and Spon were of this opinion, and say they were whiter than the rest of the building. The statue of Antinous, now remaining at Rome, may be thought a proof that there were artists in his time capable of executing them; but this whiteness is no proof that they were more modern than the Temple, for they might be made of a whiter marble; and the heads of Hadrian and Sabina might be put on two of the ancient figures, which was no uncommon practice among the Romans; and if we may give credit to Plutarch, the buildings of Pericles were not in the least impaired by age in his time; therefore, this Temple could not want any material repairs in the reign of Hadrian."

With regard to the works of Hadrian at Athens, Spartian says, "that he did much for the Athenians†;" and a little after, on his second visit to Athens, "going to the East he made his journey through Athens, and dedicated the works which he had begun there: and particularly a temple to Olympian Jupiter, and an altar to himself."

The account given by Dion Cassius, is nearly to the same effect; adding, that he placed his own statue within the temple of Olympian Jupiter, which he erected‡.

He called some other cities after his own name, and directed a part of Athens to be styled Hadrianopolis§: but no mention is made by any ancient author, of his touch-

* Ictinus and Carpion were jointly concerned in this work, for which we have the authority of Vitruvius, lib. 7. præfat. † Folio edit. 1620, p. 6. ‡ b. 69. c. 16. § Spartian, p. 10.

ing, or repairing the Parthenon. Pausanias, who wrote in his reign, says, that "the temples which Hadrian either erected from the foundation, or adorned with dedicated gifts and decorations, or whatever donations he made to the cities of the Greeks, and of the Barbarians also, who made application to him, were all recorded at Athens in the temple common to all the gods *."

It is not unlikely, that a confused recollection of the statue which Hadrian actually placed at Athens, may have led one of the earliest travellers into a mistake, which has been repeated and countenanced by subsequent writers: but Mr. Fauvel, who will be quoted presently, speaks as from his own examination and observation, when he mentions the two statues in question; which, it is to be observed, still remain (without their heads) upon the pediment of the entrance, and have not been removed by Lord *Elgin*.

An exact copy of these drawings, by the Marquis de Nointel's painter, is given in Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, vol. iv. chap. 4. plates 1, 2, 3, and 4, which are rendered more valuable on account of the destruction of a considerable part of the Temple, in the Turkish war, by the falling of a Venetian bomb, within a short time after the year in which they were made; which, however, must have been prior to the date of 1683, which has been affixed to them.

Some notes of Mr. Fauvel, a painter and antiquary, who moulded and took casts from the greatest part of the Sculptures, and remained fifteen years at Athens, are given with the engravings of these drawings; in which it is said, with regard to these pediments, chap. iv. page 21, "These figures had bronze ornaments, at least if one may judge from the head of Sabina *A*, plate 5, which having fallen off, being much mutilated, has been brought to Mr. Fauvel, holes may still be observed, apparently to receive little gudgeons of bronze, by which the crown was fastened. The head B of the Emperor Hadrian still remains. This group has probably been supplied afterwards in honour of this Emperor: it is of a different workmanship from the other figures.

Your Committee cannot dismiss this interesting subject, without submitting to the attentive reflection of the House, how highly the cultivation of the Fine Arts has contributed to the reputation, character, and dignity of every Government by which they have been encouraged, and how intimately they are connected with the advancement of every thing valuable in science, literature, and philosophy. In contemplating the importance and splendour to which so small a republic as Athens rose, by the genius and energy of her citizens exerted in the path of such studies, it is impossible to overlook how transient the memory and fame of extended empires and of mighty conquerors are, in comparison of those who have rendered inconsiderable states eminent, and immortalized their own names by these pursuits. But if it be true, as we learn from history and experience, that free governments afford a soil most suitable to the production of native talent, to the maturing of the powers of the human mind, and to the growth of every species of excellence, by opening to merit the prospect of reward and distinction, no country can be better adapted than our own to afford an honourable asylum to these monuments of the school of *Phidias*, and of the administration of *Pericles*; where, secure from further injury and degradation, they may receive that admiration and homage to which they are entitled, and serve in return as models and examples to those, who by knowing how to revere and appreciate them, may learn first to imitate, and ultimately to rival them.

March 25, 1816.

* Paus. Att. p. 5. Ed. Xyl.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE SELECT COMMITTEE,

RESPECTING

THE EARL OF ELGIN'S MARBLES.

N. B.—*The* THESEUS *and* HERCULES *are used in the Evidence with reference to the same Statue, which was at first called* THESEUS; *and the appellation of* ILISSUS, *or* THE RIVER GOD, *is also given indifferently to another Statue, which was sometimes called* NEPTUNE.

Jovis, 29° die Februarii.

HENRY BANKES, ESQ. *in the Chair.*

The EARL of ELGIN, *called in, and Examined.*

The Earl of Elgin.

YOUR Lordship will be pleased to state the circumstances under which you became possessed of this Collection, and the authority which you received for taking the Marbles from Athens?—The idea was suggested to me in the year 1799, at the period of my nomination to the Embassy at Constantinople, by Mr. Harrison, an architect, who was working for me in Scotland, and who had passed the greater part of his life in Rome; and his observation was, that though the Public was in possession of every thing to give them a general knowledge of the remains of Athens, yet they had nothing to convey to Artists, particularly to Students, that which the actual representation by cast would more effectually give them. Upon that suggestion, I communicated very fully with my acquaintances in London. I mentioned it to Lord Grenville, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Dundas, upon the idea that it was of such national importance as that the Government might be induced to take it up, not only to obtain the object, but also to obtain it by the means of the most able artists at that time in England. The answer of Government, which was entirely negative, was, that the Government would not have been justified in undertaking any expense of an indefinite nature, particularly under the little probability that then existed of the success of the undertaking. Upon that understanding, I applied to such artists here as were recommended to me as likely to answer the purpose, in particular to Mr. Turner, to go upon my own account. Mr. Turner's objection to my plan was, that as the object was of a general nature, and that the condition I insisted upon was, that the whole results of all the artists should be collected together and left with me; he objected, because he wished to retain a certain portion of his own labour for his own use; he moreover asked between seven and eight hundred pounds of salary, independently of his expenses being paid, which of course was out of my reach altogether; therefore nothing was done here preparatory to the undertaking at all. When I went to Sicily, I met Sir William Hamilton, to whom I explained my views: he encouraged my idea, and applied to the King of Naples for permission for me to engage his painter, Lusieri, who was at that time employed in picturesque views of Sicily for the Sicilian government; who went with Mr. Hamilton to Rome,

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and, upon the plan arranged with Sir William Hamilton, engaged the five other artists, who accompanied him ultimately to Turkey: those five persons were, two architects, two modellers, and one figure painter. Lusieri was a general painter. They reached Constantinople about the middle of May 1800, at the time when the French were in full possession of Egypt, and of course no attempts could be made with any prospect of general success. I sent them to Athens, however, as soon as an opportunity offered: for several months they had no access to the Acropolis, except for the purpose of drawing, and that at an expense of five guineas a day: that lasted from August 1800 till the month of April 1801.

That limited access lasted about nine months?—Yes.

The fee of five guineas was one usually demanded from strangers?—There were so few strangers there, I do not know; but in the instances which came to my knowledge, it was so. During that period, my artists were employed in the buildings in the low town of Athens. In proportion with the change of affairs in our relations towards Turkey, the facilities of access were increased to me, and to all English travellers: and about the middle of the summer of 1801, all difficulties were removed; we then had access for general purposes. The same facilities continued till my departure from Turkey in January 1803, at which period I withdrew five out of the six artists; and having sent home every thing that was in the collection, till the year 1812 Lusieri remained, with such instructions, and such means, and such powers, as enabled him to carry on the same operation to the extent that then remained to make it, as I concluded, more perfect: but from that period of 1803 till the present day, during my imprisonment in France, and during the remaining years, he has acted without any interruption, in the enjoyment of the same facilities, with a renewal of the same authorities: he has incurred the same expenses, and done the same as before.

Where is he now?—Remaining there still: he was not there during the war, but he has obtained a renewal of the same authorities since.

Your Lordship has stated, that when the change took place in the political relations between this country and Turkey, a facility of access was continued to you, and all your artists?—Yes.

And in 1801 all difficulties were removed which applied to the erecting scaffolding, and making excavations; was the same permission to erect scaffolding and make excavations given to other persons at Athens at that time?—I do not know of any such instance: other persons made use of the same scaffolding of course. I do not know that any specific permission of this kind was applied for: I believe the permission granted to me was the same in substance and in purport as to any other person, with the difference of the extent of means, and an unlimited use of money. There was nobody there, I believe, who was doing any thing but draw.

Did the permission specifically refer to removing statues, or was that left to discretion?—No; it was executed by the means of those general permissions granted: in point of fact, permission issuing from the Porte for any of the distant provinces, is little better than an authority to make the best bargain you can with the local authorities. The permission was to draw, model, and remove; there was a specific permission to excavate in a particular place.

Was the permission in writing?—It was, and addressed by the Porte to the local authorities, to whom I delivered it; and I have retained none of them. In a letter I addressed to Mr. Long in the year 1811, I made use of these words:—"That the ministers of the Porte were prevailed upon, after much trouble and patient solicitation, to grant to me an authority to remove what I might discover, as well as draw and model."

Does your Lordship suppose this to have been the same form of permission that had been given to other people; and that your Lordship employed it to a greater extent than other people?—It was so far different, that no other person had applied for permission to remove or model.

Does your Lordship know whether any permission had been granted to any other person to remove or model?—Monsieur de Choiseul had the same permission; and some of the things he removed are now in my collection.

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He removed them while he was minister at the Porte?—Yes.

Had that permission ever been granted to excavate and remove, before Monsieur Choiseul had it?—I do not know.

There seems to be a considerable difference between, to excavate and remove, and to remove and excavate: the question was not, whether your Lordship was permitted to remove what you should find on excavation, but whether your Lordship was permitted to remove from the walls?—I was at liberty to remove from the walls; the permission was to remove generally.

Was there any specific permission alluding to the statues particularly?—I do not know whether it specified the statues, or whether it was a general power to remove. I was obliged to send from Athens to Constantinople for permission to remove a house.

That was a house belonging to the Turkish government: did not your Lordship keep any copy of any of the written permissions that were given to your Lordship?—I kept no copies whatever; every paper that could be of use at Athens, was left there as a matter of course, because Lusieri continued there: the few papers I brought away with me, were burnt on my detention in France; my private papers I mean, and all my accounts, which I had brought away from Turkey.

In point of fact, your Lordship has not in England any copy of any of those written permissions?—None.

Did the Committee understand you to say, that it is possible Lusieri has such copies?—Certainly; they will be at Athens, either in his possession, or in the possession of the authorities there.

Has your Lordship any distinct recollection of having had such copies of the authorities, and of having left them in Lusieri's possession?—I cannot speak to the fact so precisely as the Committee may wish; the authority itself was given over to the proper officer; and then Lusieri obtained from him any part of it that was necessary to be exhibited on any future occasion.

Did your Lordship, for your own satisfaction, keep any copy of the terms of those permissions?—No, I never did; and it never occurred to me that the question would arise; the thing was done publicly before the whole world. I employed three or four hundred people a day; and all the local authorities were concerned in it, as well as the Turkish government.

When your Lordship stated, that the permission granted to your Lordship was the same that had been granted to other individuals, with the difference only of the extent of means, did you mean to convey to the Committee, that permissions to remove Marbles and carry them away had been granted to other individuals?—No; what I meant to say was this, that as far as any application was made to the Turkish government through me, or to my knowledge, the same facilities were granted in all cases. I did not receive more as ambassador, than they received as travellers; but as I employed artists, those permissions were added to my leave. I am not aware of any particular application being made for a specific leave that was not granted, where a similar leave was granted to myself.

Your Lordship has stated, that no individual had applied for leave to remove?—To the best of my recollection, no application had been made to remove.

No application, either through you, or to your knowledge?—Yes; as far as I can recollect.

Of course your Lordship means to except the permission that you stated before had been long antecedently given to Monsieur Comte de Choiseul?—Yes.

Do you know, in point of fact, whether the same permission was granted to Monsieur Comte de Choiseul as was granted to you?—He exercised the same power.

But you do not know whether he had the same permission?—No.

Then, within your Lordship's knowledge, there is no instance of a private individual having obtained such permission?—I have no knowledge of any individual having applied for it, and I do not know whether it has been granted or not. I do not know that there was any difficulty in the way of removing, by anybody.

Was it necessary that those powers should be renewed after your Lordship came away, and that

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the artists already employed by you are employed ostensibly by the ministers there?—I do not know what distinction there is between Lusieri and any other artist.

Is he acting under the permission your Lordship obtained?—There has been war since.

Has it been renewed to your Lordship, or individually to themselves?—They have made the application through the channel they thought proper; what it was I do not know; but it was probably the same permission that Lord Aberdeen had, and many other travellers that have been there.

Your Lordship does not know whether it was renewed to your Lordship or to Mr. Liston, or whether they are acting under a permission granted to him, or individual permissions granted to the artists?—I do not know what the detail is; I conclude they are acting exactly as any other traveller there is: there is no advantage from the ambassadorial title that I had then, that can apply to them now, because there has been war since.

Have they power to excavate, model, and remove?—They have removed a great deal from thence.

And you do not know in what shape those powers have been renewed since the war?—No, I do not.

In the letter to Mr. Long, which you have stated, you speak as having obtained these permissions after much trouble and patient solicitation; what was the nature of the objections on the part of the Turkish government?—Their general jealousy and enmity to every Christian of every denomination, and every interference on their part. I believe, that from the period of the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, the French government have been endeavouring to obtain similar advantages, and particularly the Sigean Marble.

They rested it upon that general objection?—Upon the general enmity to what they called Christian Dogs.

That was not the manner in which they stated their objection?—No; but that is the fact; it was always refused.

Without reasons?—Without reasons assigned; every body on the spot knew what those reasons were; that they would not give any facility to any thing that was not Turkish.

All your Lordship's communications with the Porte were verbal?—There was nothing in writing till an order was issued.

The objection disappeared from the moment of the decided success of our arms in Egypt?—Yes; the whole system of Turkish feeling met with a revolution; in the first place, from the invasion by the French, and afterwards by our conquest.

Your Lordship has stated in your Petition, that you directed your attention in an especial manner to the benefit of rescuing from danger the remains of Sculpture and Architecture; what steps did you take for that purpose?—My whole plan was to measure and to draw every thing that remained and could be traced of architecture, to model the peculiar features of architecture: I brought home a piece of each description of column for instance, and capitals and decorations of every description; friezes and moulds, and, in some instances, original specimens: and the architects not only went over the measurements that had been before traced, but, by removing the foundations, were enabled to extend them, and to open the way to further inquiries, which have been attended since with considerable success.

You state, that you have rescued the remains from danger?—From the period of Stuart's visit to Athens till the time I went to Turkey, a very great destruction had taken place. There was an old temple on the Ilissus had disappeared. There was, in the neighbourhood of Elis and Olympia, another temple, which had disappeared. At Corinth, I think Stuart gives thirteen columns, and there were only five when I got there: every traveller coming, added to the general defacement of the statuary in his reach: there are now in London pieces broken off within our day. And the Turks have been continually defacing the heads; and in some instances they have actually acknowledged to me, that they have pounded down the statues to convert them into mortar. It was upon these suggestions, and

with these feelings, that I proceeded to remove as much of the sculpture as I conveniently could: it was no part of my original plan to bring away any thing but my models. *The Earl of Elgin.*

Then your Lordship did not do any thing to rescue them, in any other way than to bring away such as you found? — No; it was impossible for me to do more than that; the Turkish Government attached no importance to them in the world; and in all the modern walls, these things are built up promiscuously with common stones.

It has been stated, that in a despatch from Turkey, at a very early period after your Lordship went out, that your Lordship had an occasion to write to His Majesty's Government concerning your public appointment as a minister, and that you stated some circumstances distinctly to them at that time, which showed your understanding and their understanding, that your proceedings in Greece were entirely upon your own private account; is that statement correct, that there is a document in existence, dated in the year 1803, which will prove that fact?—There is, precisely what is alluded to in a despatch at the period of my leaving Turkey.

In point of fact, did the Turkish Government know that your Lordship was removing these statues under the permission your Lordship had obtained from them? — No doubt was ever expressed to me of their knowledge of it; and as the operation has been going on these seventeen years without any such expression, so far as I have ever heard, I conclude they must have been in the intimate knowledge of every thing that was doing.

In point of fact, your Lordship does not know that they were ever apprised of it? — It is impossible for me to have any doubt about it.

Did your Lordship ever apprise any of the Government of it in conversation? — The chance is, that I have done it five hundred times, but I cannot answer specifically when or how.

Did not the Committee understand your Lordship to say, that they must have so well understood it, that in one instance your Lordship got a special order to remove a particular thing? — There was a special permission solicited for the house: when I did excavate in consequence of getting possession of that house, there was not a single fragment found: I excavated down to the rock, and that without finding any thing, when the Turk to whom the house belonged came to me, and laughingly told me, that they were made into the mortar with which he built his house.

Then the permission was to buy the house? — To pull it down.

Since 1803 has Lusieri continued to remove things? — I can answer that question by a fact of considerable importance. When I was in Paris a prisoner, in the year 1805, living in Paris perfectly tranquilly with my family, I received a letter from an English traveller, complaining of Lusieri's taking down part of the frieze of the Parthenon. The next morning a common gens d'arme came and took me out of bed, and sent me into close confinement, away from my family. Such was the influence exercised by the French to prevent this operation.

Your Lordship attributed it entirely to the French? — Yes; the French sent me in that way down to Melun.

In reference to what was stated in a passage of your Lordship's Petition, will your Lordship be so good as to say whether you have ever heard of the Turkish Government taking any care that the works of art should not be destroyed?—Certainly not; within my knowledge nothing of the sort was ever done; the military governor of the Acropolis endeavoured to keep them, after people had appeared anxious to get them away.

So that the hesitation on the part of the Government your Lordship attributes to a dislike to the Christians? — The general apprehension of doing any act displeasing to the French operated at the time the French were in Egypt.

Has your Lordship any knowledge of any particular application made to the Turkish Government by any individual, and granted, of an equal extent with your Lordship's? — I have not any knowledge of what has passed since, except the details of Lusieri's own operations.

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From an observation in part of your Lordship's evidence, the Committee concluded that your Lordship has, since 1812, received several of these Marbles? — In the year 1812 about eighty cases arrived.

Have there been any received subsequently? — I believe there have; but I am not very certain, having been out of the country myself.

Did Monsieur Choiseul take down any of the metopes and the frieze? — One piece of the metope and some of the frieze; the metope I bought at a public sale at the custom-house. It was at the time I returned from France; my things were dispersed all over the country; and my agent told me of some packages in the custom-house, without direction; and I gave four or five-and-twenty pounds for them at a lumber sale.

Thinking those packages to be your Lordship's? — Yes.

When your Lordship heard of those cases being to be sold at a rummage sale, did your Lordship make any application to the Government, stating that they had any interest in it, and that therefore you ought not to be obliged to purchase? — No; certainly not.

It was a matter of private purchase? — Yes; these things had been left at Athens during the whole of the French Revolution. Buonaparte allowed a corvette to call and bring these things for Monsieur Choiseul, who was an intimate acquaintance of Monsieur Talleyrand. From the delay which occurred, they did not get away in time to escape our cruisers. Monsieur Choiseul applied to me to make interest with Lord Nelson, and I wrote to him, and he directed them to be sent home; and applied to Lord Sidmouth and Sir Joseph Banks, wishing Government to make such a purchase as to secure the captors, but at the same time to restore the articles to Monsieur Choiseul. When I left Paris Monsieur Choiseul remained in the belief that they were still at Malta, consequently I had no clue to guess these were his at the time of the purchase in the year 1806; but I immediately wrote to him, to state what these things were, as I had no doubt they were his by the metope; and in the year 1810 he wrote to me, stating that his were still at Malta: when I went over to Paris last year I took a memorandum with me for him, and satisfied him they were his; but he has never yet sent about them, and I do not know what he means to do at all; but there they are, marked among my things as belonging to him.

Does your Lordship know, that subsequent to your coming away, and during the time we were at war, any similar permission was applied for, and obtained by the French? — I do not know any thing about that; but in point of fact, my cases were at the harbour during the whole of the war; and if the French Government had had any thing that they could have put afloat, they would have taken them.

Did that seizure apply to the property of all English characters; or, did it apply to your Lordship's as a public character, and therefore the property of the country? — Besides the boxes at the harbour, Lusieri's magazines were filled in the town of Athens; and immediately after his flight they broke those open, and sent them to Yanana, and from thence to Buonaparte.

Was not Lusieri considered as an agent of your Lordship's in your public character? — No; certainly not.

Your Lordship had applied for him to do what he was doing; and was he not in that way considered as your Lordship's agent, and therefore subject to the same liability as your Lordship was, to have whatever was in his possession seized? — He was considered as an English subject, as far as his connection with me went; but his property was stolen in fact: his property and mine was promiscuously taken, they did not do it officially.

Was any objection made by the chief magistrate of Athens, against taking away these Marbles, as exceeding the authority received from Constantinople? — There was no such objection ever made.

Was ever any representation made of any kind? — None that I ever heard of.

Does your Lordship believe, to the best of your judgment, that you obtained, in your character

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of ambassador, any authority for removing these Marbles, which your Lordship would not have obtained in your private capacity, through the intervention of the British ambassador? — I certainly consider that I obtained no authority as given to me in my official capacity (I am speaking from my own impression;) the Turkish Government did not know how to express their obligation to us for the conquest of Egypt, and for the liberality that followed from Government, and of course I obtained what I wanted; whether I could have obtained it otherwise or not, I cannot say; Lusieri has obtained the same permission seventeen years, in the course of which time we have been at war with Turkey. Monsieur De Choiseul had permission, under very different circumstances; but, in point of fact, I did stand indebted to the general good-will we had ensured by our conduct towards the Porte, most distinctly I was indebted to that; whether Monsieur Choiseul's example could be quoted or not, is a matter of question.

In your Lordship's opinion, if Lord Aberdeen had been at Constantinople at the time your Lordship was ambassador there, could you have obtained the same permission for Lord Aberdeen as an individual, that you did as ambassador obtain for yourself? — I can only speak from conjecture. The Turkish Government, in return for our services in Egypt, did offer to the British Government every public concession that could be wished. They were in a disposition that I conceive they would have granted any thing that could have been asked: I entered upon the undertaking in the expectation that the result of our expedition for the relief of Egypt would furnish opportunities of this sort.

Then the result of the impression on your Lordship's mind would be, that other advantages granted by the Turkish Government were on the same principle as the permission to your Lordship to remove these Marbles, and rather out of public gratitude for the interference of England? — I believe it was entirely that, and nothing else; I was not authorized to make any application in the name of Government for this; but I wish it to be distinctly understood, that I looked forward to this, as that which was to enable me to execute the plan; and to that I am indebted for it. Whether under other circumstances I could have obtained the facilities Monsieur Choiseul had had before, I cannot answer.

When your Lordship received this, which you considered as a proof of the public gratitude of the Turkish Government to England, did your Lordship mention the circumstance in any of your despatches to Government? — I should suppose not in any other despatch than that which has been alluded to.

That was upon leaving Turkey, was not it? — Yes.

If your Lordship considers it as a mark of the public gratitude of the Porte to Great Britain, does not your Lordship consider that mark of gratitude essentially connected with your character of representative of the Court of Great Britain at the Porte? — I did not ask it in that character, nor did I ask it as a proof of the disposition of the Porte; but I availed myself of that disposition to make the application myself.

Does your Lordship suppose, that if that application had been made at that particular period by any other person than the ambassador of Great Britain, it would have been granted? — In my own mind I think it would, if he had had means of availing himself of it; that is to say, if he had determined to risk his whole private fortune in a pursuit of such a nature.

When your Lordship mentioned that general disposition of the Turkish Government, do you mean that it was as well to individuals in their private capacity, as to any demand made by the Government? To every body.

In short, it was a disposition of good-will towards Englishmen? — Of cordiality towards Englishmen, to an extent never known before.

In making the application to the Turkish Government for permission to remove these Marbles, did your Lordship state to them the objects you had in view in so removing them, whether for the purpose of collecting an assemblage of these things as matter of curiosity for yourself, or for the purpose of bringing them to this country for the improvement of the arts? — In explanation it must

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have been so stated; whether there was any formal application bearing upon your question, I cannot undertake to say.

Was it or not stated to the Turkish Government, that it was for the purpose of forming a private museum, or for public uses? — I am afraid they would not have understood me, if I had attempted a distinction.

In what way did your Lordship distinguish, in your applications to the Turkish Government, between your private and public capacity? — I never named myself in my public capacity, not having any authority to do so: this was a personal favour, and it was granted quite extra officially to me.

And asked as such? — Asked as such, and granted as such.

The Fermauns granted to your Lordship, were not, as the Committee collect from your statement to day, permissions to take particular pieces, one from the city and one from the citadel, and so on? — No; I had never been at Athens, and could not specify any thing.

In point of fact, the Fermaun was not so? — It was not; there could not have been an application for specific things.

Suppose the transaction had passed in this way, that your Lordship was anxious to have some of these Marbles, the Government were willing to grant you a limited permission to take one or two pieces? — Certainly it was not so; it must have been quite general.

Your Lordship has no certain recollection how it was? — No; only that I did not know any thing of the state of Athens, and consequently my application must have been general.

Veneris, 1° die Martii, 1816.

HENRY BANKES, Esq. *in the Chair.*

The Earl *of* Elgin, *again called in, and Examined.*

WILL your Lordship be pleased to state the view under which the Collection was made?

[The Earl of Elgin, in answer, delivered in the following papers, which were read.]

"A Letter dated London, 14th February 1816, signed Elgin, addressed to the Right Honourable Nicholas Vansittart."

"A Memorandum as to his Lordship's exclusive right of property in the Collection, dated February 1816."

"A Memorandum as to the delay in transferring the Earl of Elgin's Collection to the Public."

Has your Lordship any account from which you can state to the Committee the actual sums which your Lordship has paid in obtaining these Marbles, and in transporting them to this country?

[His Lordship handed in a copy of a Letter addressed to Mr. Long on the 6th of May 1811, with a Postscript dated 29th February 1816, addressed to the Chairman of this Committee; which was read.]

Has your Lordship any paper which exhibits the total? — No other than as it is stated in that letter, which I do not offer as a precise account, but it is merely to inform the Committee what was the nature of the expense.

Was any specific offer as to price, for obtaining those Marbles for the Public, made to your Lordship by Mr. Perceval, and in what year? — Yes; I believe it was a few days after the date of the above letter to Mr. Long, in the name of Mr. Perceval, he did intimate to me, as I understood,

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that Mr. Perceval would be disposed to recommend the sum of £ 30,000 to be given for the Collection as it then stood.

What passed in consequence of that offer? — I believe it is mentioned in the memorandum which I have given in, accounting for the delay — paper marked No. 3 — and which exactly states the grounds on which I declined the offer: it follows immediately after the extract from the Dilettanti publication, in these words: — "So that when Mr. Perceval, in 1811, proposed to purchase this Collection, not by proceeding to settle the price, upon a private examination into its merits and value, but by offering at once a specific sum for it; I declined the proposal as one which, under the above impressions, would be in the highest degree unsatisfactory to the Public, as well as wholly inadequate either in compensation of the outlay occasioned in procuring the Collection, or in reference to (what has since been established beyond all doubt) the excellence of the sculpture, and its authenticity as the work of the ablest artists of the age of Pericles.

Mr. Vansittart never made any specific offer on the part of the Public? — No, never, except in what passed last year, which was afterwards dropped.

What further has passed relating to the transfer of those Marbles to the Public, since 1811? — In the spring of 1815, Burlington House having been sold, Lord George Cavendish intimated a desire that I should remove the Marbles from thence in consequence. I applied to the Trustees of the British Museum to take them in deposit, considering that the circumstances of the times might not make it convenient for the Public to enter upon the transfer. In reply, the British Museum rejected my proposal, as not being consistent with their usual mode of proceedings, and they appointed three of their Members to enter into negociation with me for the transfer; which nomination, after some discussion, led to the Petition which I presented to Parliament in the month of June following.

Is there any price, in your Lordship's estimation of these Marbles, lower than which you would not wish to part with them? — No; there is no standard fixed in my mind at all.

Are there any persons by whom this Collection has been valued? — Not any one, to my knowledge.

Are the gentlemen mentioned in the list you have delivered in, designed on your Lordship's part to be examined as to the value of the Collection? — I gave in that list as thinking them proper persons, without consulting them on the occasion; they are the individuals best acquainted with the subject; and I fancy it would be satisfactory to the Public that they should be examined.

Are there any and what additional articles now offered that were not included in the offer to Mr. Perceval in 1811? — To the best of my knowledge about eighty additional cases of Architecture and Sculpture have been added, and also a collection of Medals.

The Right Honourable CHARLES LONG *(a Member of the Committee) Examined.*

Right Hon. Charles Long.

You having been referred to in Lord Elgin's evidence, do you recollect what passed on that occasion? — Early in the year 1811 I was desired by Mr. Perceval to endeavour to ascertain, as far as I could, the value of Lord Elgin's Collection. I consulted various persons upon this subject; and after having done so, Mr. Perceval asked me, Whether I was satisfied that the Collection was worth £.30,000? I told him I had no doubt it was worth that and more, from the testimony of those whom I had consulted: upon which he authorized me to state to Lord Elgin, that he was willing to propose that sum to Parliament for the purchase of the Collection, provided he made out, to the satisfaction of a Committee of the House of Commons, that he had expended a sum equal to that amount in obtaining the Collection and transporting it to this country. Upon my interview with Lord Elgin, his Lordship stated an account of his expenses amounting to double that sum, and declined the offer of Mr. Perceval.

William Hamilton, Esq. *called in, and Examined.*

William Hamilton, Esq.

Have you looked into Lord Elgin's correspondence at the Foreign Office, when he was ambassador, and do you find any correspondence on the subject of these Marbles?—I have examined the correspondence, and I have with me an extract of a despatch from his Lordship to Lord Hawkesbury, dated the 18th of January 1803. [*It was delivered in, and read.*]

Is that the only trace of reference to his Lordship's pursuits in Greece, that you can find in the public correspondence?—I have not examined the whole of the correspondence, so that I cannot precisely say whether it is the only reference, but it is that to which my attention was particularly called.

Are you enabled to throw any light upon the question, Whether these Marbles were to be considered as having been acquired by his Lordship in his public capacity as ambassador to the Porte?—I never heard any grounds whatever for that opinion until within a few years during the time that I was in Turkey: it was never, to my knowledge, mentioned by individual travellers, or by any of his Majesty's officers.

Do you recollect any circumstances that have a contrary tendency?—I particularly recollect, when I was in Egypt, asking, by desire of Lord Elgin, Sir Richard Bickerton to assist his Lordship in carrying away from the coast of Greece some part of his Collection. He asked me whether those Marbles were intended by Lord Elgin for the Public, or whether they were his sole private property: I told him, exclusively the latter.

Did you not attend Lord Elgin to Greece; and were you not acquainted with much of the detail of the means of obtaining permission to remove those statues, as well as of the circumstances attending their removal?—I attended Lord Elgin on his way to Greece only as far as Sicily; from whence I went to Rome, by his desire, for the purpose of engaging the artists who were to carry on his operations at Athens. I joined Lord Elgin at Constantinople, in May 1800; my employment in his family did not necessarily put me exactly in the way of being acquainted with his communications with the Turkish Government respecting this subject. I was more immediately employed in the public business of the embassy; and about twelve months afterwards I went to Egypt, and never returned to Constantinople during Lord Elgin's embassy.

Have you any impression on your mind as to the nature of the permission that was granted by the Turkish Government?—None, of my own knowledge.

Through whom, and with whom, were the communications upon the subject of these permissions to obtain Marbles, and objects from Greece, carried on?—All communications between the British ambassador at Constantinople, and any persons connected with the Turkish Government, were carried on through the interpreter of the embassy; and the individuals in the Turkish Government who were particularly applied to on this subject by Lord Elgin, were the Captain Pacha and the Sultan's mother.

Were you present at Athens during the removal of any part of the Marbles?—Yes, I was.

During the removal of those that were taken from the Parthenon?—Yes, I was. I cannot say that I was present at Athens when any one particular object was taken down from the Parthenon; but the operations in general were going on while I was there. I had nothing to do with them myself, being at Athens quite as a private individual.

Did it appear to create any sensation either among the principal persons or the inhabitants of Athens?—No unpleasant sensation whatever: they seemed rather to feel it as a means of bringing foreigners into the country, and of having money spent amongst them.

Can you form any opinion of the danger of destruction to which those Marbles would have been exposed if Lord Elgin had not removed them?—From the state of degradation in which they were, and the injury they had evidently suffered during the last fifty years, it was clear that there was a continued

system of destruction going on, as well from the wantonness of the Turks, who amused themselves with firing upon the objects; and from the invitation that was held out by occasional travellers to the soldiers, and other people about the fortress, to bring them down heads, legs, or arms, or whatever else they could easily carry off. *William Hamilton, Esq.*

Have you ever seen Nointel's drawings of the Parthenon, as it appeared in the year 1678?—Yes, I have.

Have not great dilapidation and degradation of the monuments taken place since that period, supposing Nointel's drawings to be correct?—Very great degradation indeed. As one instance, there was one large colossal figure, which is in the centre of the west pediment, almost entire in Nointel's time, of which Lord Elgin has only recovered, and that with difficulty, (it having been found amongst the ruins of the Temple,) a small part of the chest and shoulders.

How much, according to your best recollection, did remain of the numerous, and in many instances perfect, figures, which Nointel describes as existing in the west pediment?—There appears to be nineteen in Monsieur Nointel's drawing of the west pediment. I do not think, when Lord Elgin's artists began, that there were above seven or eight remaining: the whole of the centre had fallen to the ground long before the time that I was at Athens: I understood that one of the heads of the figures that are still left was broken off by a Turk, and dashed in pieces on the marble pavement.

Are you acquainted with the transaction relating to the purchase of the Phygalian Marbles?—Yes, I am. The best information I can give to the Committee, on the subject of the purchase of the Phygalian Marbles, is contained in a memorandum, the copy of which I put into Mr. Long's hands about ten days ago. This is the paper. [*It was read as follows.*] (*March* 8.)

"*Memorandum on the Purchase of the Phygalian Marbles, on Account of the British Government.*

"When the first intelligence of the discovery of the Phygalian Marbles, by a party of English and German travellers, in the month of ———— 1812, was received in England, I heard, owing to my intimacy with the family of Mr. Cockerell, father of one of the fortunate discoverers, frequent and detailed accounts of the beauty of these remains of antiquity, and the extraordinary state of preservation in which they had been found, notwithstanding the lapse of more than twenty centuries since they had been sculptured. In that, and the subsequent year, drawings of the bas-reliefs were received in England by various hands; particularly some very correct ones by Mr. C. R. Cockerell, brought by Mr. Frederick North, all attesting the beauty of the composition, and eminently satisfactory with regard to the age in which they had been made. These drawings I saw frequently exhibited to persons the most competent to form a judgment of the merit of the originals; and they met with universal admiration, both in general society, and particularly at the meetings of the Dilettanti Society. It was on all hands hoped that they might be purchased by the British Government, and that they would not be deterred by the bad success of the negociation for the Ægina Marbles, from becoming competitors also for these. These feelings were also expressed by several of the Trustees of the British Museum, but in such general terms, that I was not very sanguine of what seemed to be the wish of all being brought about by the efficient co-operation of a few; though I was aware that this offered the only chance of success. Perhaps the failure of the two successive attempts, which had been made for the purchase of the Ægina Marbles, damped, in some measure, the disposition of those who, from their public situation and correct judgment in all matters of taste, were qualified and entitled to interfere. However it was, the time for the public sale, announced for the 1st of May, 1814, was fast approaching, and no steps were taken for the attainment of the object, of which I was

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aware, beyond a few visits, which I received about that time from General Turner, to express the hopes of the Prince Regent, to whom the drawings, brought home by Mr. North, had been submitted by Mr. Cockerell, the father, that the Marbles in question would be purchased; and from Mr. Planta, to express the same hopes on the part of the British Museum, though unauthorized officially by the Trustees.

"With regard to the supposed value of these Marbles, as none had been seen in England, and scarcely any traveller of taste or judgment who had seen them at Corfu, except Mr. North, had given his opinion in this country as to their relative or comparative merit; the only criterions that any one could go by were, first, a comparison between the drawings of them and the original works of Phidias in the Elgin Collection: and, secondly, the price put upon them by the proprietors, below which it was formally declared that they would not be parted with; and a sum equal to which I was assured that one of the proprietors had offered to give, if the public sale could be dispensed with, or if no larger sum were offered. His price was £.15,000, or 60,000 Spanish dollars: the Collection might in fact be worth that sum, or more or less; it was not possible to anticipate. However, I felt confident, from the degree of merit which it was evident they must possess, at the sight of drawings sent home by Mr. R. Cockerell, a gentleman incapable of disguise, as well as from the interest which must necessarily be felt in every work of Grecian art executed in the age of Pericles; or, at least, in that immediately subsequent. Considering likewise the general disappointment and regret which would be felt if the moment were lost, and they should irrecoverably get into the hands of one of the Continental Sovereigns, I was convinced that it would be desirable, for the cause of the arts in England, that the purchase should, if possible, be effected.

"Lord Castlereagh being at this time absent on the Continent, I applied forthwith to the First Lord of the Treasury, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Colonial Secretary of State; and on laying before them the above considerations, I received from them severally their consent, that the Governor of Zante should be authorized to effect the purchase, at a public sale, to the amount mentioned. A messenger was immediately sent off, who arrived a few days previous to the sale, and the bargain was concluded for 60,000 dollars."

Was the purchase effected at £.15,000?—The price was 60,000 dollars; by the course of exchange it came to £.19,000.

To what circumstance was it owing a public sale could not be dispensed with?—Because the property belonged half to Germans and half to Englishmen, and they would not allow any one, even of the discoverers, to make the purchase without a public sale. Mr. Lee, one of the Englishmen, a gentleman of large fortune in Warwickshire, I was assured, offered the money if he was allowed to take them without a public sale, and I have that in Mr. Cockerell's hand-writing.

Do you know what the expense of bringing them to England was?—No, I do not; they came over in a ship of war or a transport, therefore I should think the expense would be very little.

You mentioned that the Public were disappointed respecting the Ægina Marbles; in what way was that?—They were discovered, about two years before, by two English travellers and two German travellers. Mr. Cockerell was one of the English discoverers, and he wrote a detailed account of it home to his father, and mentioned, that the value they set upon them at Athens, at that time, was £.6,000. This being communicated, and being the subject of conversation at the Dilettanti Society, Lord Hardwicke, who is a member of that society, and a trustee of the British Museum, undertook to recommend to the trustees of the British Museum, to request the authority of Government to make an offer of £.6,000. The offer was made in the first instance through Mr. Cockerell; but on these conditions, that we should be allowed to bring home the Marbles to England; and, if they were found worth £.6,000, that we should have the refusal of them; if not, they should be allowed to be exported,

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free of duty, for any other purchaser. This offer having arrived at Athens, was not accepted; for they said it was a kind of blind bargain; that they did not know what might become of them. Afterwards the British Museum sent out Mr. Combe, the superintendant of Antiquities, to Malta, to bid £.8,000, at a sale of them expected to take place on the first of November. He arrived a few days before that date: he waited the month of November, but no sale took place, and he left his commission with the Governor of the island; but in the mean time a private sale had taken place at Zante to the Prince Royal of Bavaria; but, notwithstanding they were sold to the Prince Royal of Bavaria, they were conveyed for a few months to Malta, for greater security: And there was a considerable difference of opinion, whether we ought not to have insisted upon a second sale, having been disappointed in the first sale not having taken place at Malta, as it was publicly announced; but it was ultimately determined to give up the matter.

Can you state what sum the Prince Royal of Bavaria gave for those Marbles?—I understood £.6,000.

Do you know of what those Ægina Marbles consisted?—I think there were seventeen figures with sixteen heads, which were found under the two pediments of the Temple of Jupiter at Ægina.

Of what proportions were the figures?—I should say between three and four feet.

Do you recollect what part of the Collection of my Lord Elgin was received after the year 1812?—Yes: I have here a memorandum, which I will read in answer to the question.—"I have not been able to ascertain, with precision, all the objects of sculpture and architecture which were added to Lord Elgin's Collection in the year 1812; but the following list contains the descriptions of all which are already ascertained:

A. *From the Tympanum.*

1. The neck and shoulders of the colossal central figure of the west pediment, called by Visconti, Neptune.
2. The forehead and eye-sockets of Minerva.
3. Two horses' heads in one block.

B. *Metopes.*

4. Three Metopes, called severally, in Visconti's list, Nos. 6, 9, and 13: they are three of the most perfect in the Collection.

C. *Frieze.*

5. Twenty slabs of the Procession, of which eighteen are marked 1812: the other two are not yet ascertained. Eight or ten of these eighteen are amongst the least mutilated of the Collection: six of them are very much mutilated.

D. *Detached Pieces of Sculpture, &c.*

6. Ten or twelve heads of statues from Athens.
7. A large proportion of the marble vases, with sculptures and inscriptions.
8. All the sepulchral monumental sculptures; which, however, are of later times, and of inferior merit.
9. All the earthen vases from Athens.
10. All the ex-votos.
11. The Sarcophagus, with a cover, which is in very bad taste, and worth only the marble.
12. An antique lyre, in cedar wood.
13. Two antique flutes, in cedar wood.

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14. A richly-wrought bronze urn, with a marble urn which enclosed it.
15. A variety of inscriptions, which I have not yet been able to ascertain; but which I can designate on reference to a book, in which I copied all which were received at an earlier date. The inscriptions of the greatest interest were, however, received prior to 1812.
16. The medals added here, as they were not included in the offer to Mr. Perceval."

Of what antiquity do you consider the lyre and the flutes?—I have always conceived them to be of the best times of Greece—the time of the Grecian Republic.

Have you looked at this Collection with any view to its money value?—Yes, I have: I have made a valuation, which I will read if it is desired.

Theseus	£.4,000	
Ilissus	4,000	
Female Group	4,000	
Ditto ditto	4,000	
Iris	2,000	
Three Horses' Heads	2,000	
Torso of Neptune	500	
Remainder of the Pediment	2,000	
	22,500	Pediment.
Metopes (19)	10,000	
Fifty-three pieces of at £.400	20,300	
Bacchus	1,000	
Caryatis	700	
Casts from the Parthenon	1,000	
Doric Columns and Architecture	400	
Ionic ditto, and dittó	800	
Inscriptions	2,000	
Etruscan Bas-reliefs	200	
Vases from Athens	400	
Bronze Vase	200	
Medals	800	
Drawings	500	
	£.60,800	

ARTICLES *on which no Value whatever is set in the foregoing List:*

Casts from the Temple of Theseus.
Ditto from the Choragic Monument.
Sun Dial.
Various Heads from Athens.
An unique Lyre in cedar wood.
Two Flutes in ditto.
Sarcophagus—Fragments of Architecture and Sepulchral Monuments.

Lunæ, 4° die Martii, 1816.

HENRY BANKES, Esq. *in the Chair.*

JOSEPH NOLLEKENS, Esq. R. A. *called in, and Examined.*

Joseph Nollekens, Esq.

ARE you well acquainted with the Collection of Marbles brought to England by Lord Elgin?—I am.

What is your opinion of those Marbles as to the excellency of the work?—They are very fine; the finest things that ever came to this country.

In what class do you place them, as compared with the finest Marbles which you have seen formerly in Italy?—I compare them to the finest of Italy.

Which of those of my Lord Elgin's do you hold in the highest estimation?—I hold the Theseus and the Neptune two of the finest things; finer than any thing in this country.

In what class do you place the bas reliefs?—They are very fine, among the first class of bas relief work.

Do you think that the bas reliefs of the Centaurs are in the first class of art?—I do think so.

Do you think the bas relief of the frieze, representing the Procession, also in the first class of the art?—In the first class of the art.

Do you conceive those two sets to be of or about the same date?—I cannot determine upon that.

Have you ever looked at this Collection with a view to the value of it?—No, I have not.

Can you form any sort of estimate of the value of it?—I cannot say any thing about the value.

Do you think it very desirable, as a National object, that this Collection should become public property?—Undoubtedly.

Can you form any judgment as to the date of those works, comparing them with other works that you have seen in Italy?—I suppose they are about as old; but they may be older or later.

To which of the works you have seen in Italy do you think the Theseus bears the greatest resemblance?—I compare that to the Apollo Belvidere and Laocoon.

Do you think the Theseus of as fine sculpture as the Apollo?—I do.

Do you think it is more or less of ideal beauty than the Apollo?—I cannot say it is more than the Apollo.

Is it as much?—I think it is as much.

Do you think that the Theseus is a closer copy of fine nature than the Apollo?—No; I do not say it is a finer copy of nature than the Apollo.

Is there not a distinction amongst artists, between a close imitation of nature and ideal beauty?—I look upon them as ideal beauty and closeness of study from nature.

You were asked just now if you could form any estimate of the value of this Collection; can you put any value upon them comparatively with the Townley Marbles?—I reckon them very much higher than the Townley Marbles for beauty.

Suppose the Townley Marbles to be valued at £.20,000, what might you estimate these at?—They are quite a different thing: I think the one is all completely finished and mended up, and these are real fragments as they have been found, and it would cost a great deal of time and expense to put them in order.

For the use of artists, will they not answer every purpose in their present state?—Yes, perfectly; I would not have them touched.

Joseph Nollekens, Esq.

Have you seen the Greek Marbles lately brought to the Museum?—I have.

How do you rank those in comparison with these?—Those are very clever, but not like those of Lord Elgin's.

Then you consider them very inferior?—No; I consider them inferior to Lord Elgin's; not very inferior, though they may be called inferior.

Were you ever in Greece yourself?—No, never further than Rome and Naples.

When you studied in Italy, had you many opportunities of seeing remains of Grecian art?—I saw all the fine things that were to be seen at Rome, in both painting and sculpture.

Do you remember a piece of bas relief representing Bacchus and Icarus in the Townley Collection?—I recollect all those things; I used to spend my Sundays there with Mr. Townley.

Do you happen to recollect particularly that piece?—No, I do not recollect it among the great quantity of things.

Have you formed any idea of the value of these objects in the light of acquisitions to individuals, as objects of decoration, if sold individually?—I cannot put a value upon them; they are by far the finest things that ever came to this country.

Do you mean by that, that you consider them so valuable, that you cannot put a value upon them?—No, I do not know; as to fine things, they are not to be got every day.

Do you consider part of the value of the Townley Collection to have depended upon the cost and labour incurred in restoring them?—As for restoring them, that must have cost a great deal of money: I know Mr. Townley was there for years about them.

Have the Elgin Collection gained in general estimation and utility since they have been more known and studied?—Yes.

JOHN FLAXMAN, Esq. R. A. *called in, and Examined.*

John Flaxman, Esq.

ARE you well acquainted with the Elgin Collection of Marbles?—Yes, I have seen them frequently, and I have drawn from them; and I have made such inquiries as I thought necessary concerning them respecting my art.

In what class do you hold them, as compared with the first works of art which you have seen before?—The Elgin Marbles are mostly basso-relievos, and the finest works of art I have seen. Those in the Pope's Museum, and the other galleries of Italy, were the Laocoon, the Apollo Belvidere; and the other most celebrated works of antiquity were groups and statues. These differ in the respect that they are chiefly basso-relievos, and fragments of statuary. With respect to their excellence, they are the most excellent of their kind that I have seen; and I have every reason to believe that they were executed by Phidias, and those employed under him, or the general design of them given by him at the time the Temple was built; as we are informed he was the artist principally employed by Pericles and his principal scholars, mentioned by Pliny, Alcamenes, and about four others immediately under him; to which he adds a catalogue of seven or eight others, who followed in order; and he mentions their succeeding Phidias in the course of twenty years. I believe they are the works of those artists; and in this respect they are superior almost to any of the works of antiquity, excepting the Laocoon and Toro Farnese; because they are known to have been executed by the artists whose names are recorded by the ancient authors. With respect to the beauty of the basso-relievos, they are as perfect nature as it is possible to put into the compass of the marble in which they are executed, and that of the most elegant kind. There is one statue also which is called a Hercules or Theseus, of the first order of merit. The fragments are finely executed; but I do not, in my own estimation, think their merit is as great,

John Flaxman, Esq.

What fragments do you speak of?—Several fragments of women; the groups without their heads.

You do not mean the Metopes?—No; those statues which were in the east and west pediments originally.

In what estimation do you hold the Theseus, as compared with the Apollo Belvidere and the Laocoon?—If you would permit me to compare it with a fragment, I will mention, I should estimate it before the Torso Belvidere.

As compared with the Apollo Belvidere, in what rank do you hold the Theseus?—For two reasons, I cannot at this moment very correctly compare them in my own mind. In the first place, the Apollo Belvidere is a divinity of a higher order than the Hercules; and therefore I cannot so well compare the two. I compared the Hercules with a Hercules before, to make the comparison more just. In the next place, the Theseus is not only on the surface corroded by the weather; but the head is in that impaired state, that I can scarcely give an opinion upon it; and the limbs are mutilated. To answer the question, I should prefer the Apollo Belvidere certainly, though I believe it is only a copy.

Does the Apollo Belvidere partake more of ideal beauty than the Theseus?—In my mind it does decidedly: I have not the least question of it.

Do you think that increases its value?—Yes, very highly. The highest efforts of art in that class have always been the most difficult to succeed in, both among ancients and moderns, if they have succeeded in it.

Supposing the state of the Theseus to be perfect, would you value it more as a work of art than the Apollo?—No; I should value the Apollo for the ideal beauty before any male statue I know.

Although you think it is a copy?—I am sure it is a copy; the other is an original, and by a first rate artist.

The Committee is very anxious to know the reason you have for stating so decidedly your opinion that the Apollo is a copy?—There are many reasons; and I am afraid it would be troublesome to the Committee to go through them. The general appearance of the hair, and the mantle of the Apollo Belvidere, is in the style more of bronze than of marble; and there is mentioned in the Pope's Museum (Pio Clementino) by the Chevalier Visconti, who illustrated that museum, that there was a statue in Athens, I do not know whether it was in the city or some particular temple, or whether the place is mentioned, an Apollo Alexicacos, a driver away of evil, in bronze, by Calamis, erected on account of a plague that had been in Athens: from the representations of this statue in basso-relievos with a bow, it is believed that this figure might be a copy of that. One reason I have given is, that the execution of the hair and cloak resembles bronze. But another thing convinces me of its being a copy: I had a conversation with Visconti and Canova on the spot; and my particular reason is this, a cloak hangs over the left arm, which in bronze it was easy to execute, so that the folds on one side should answer to the folds on the other; the cloak is single, and therefore it is requisite that the folds on one side should answer to the folds on the other; there is no duplication of drapery: in bronze that was easy to execute, but in marble it was not; therefore, I presume, the copyist preferred copying the folds in front, but the folds did not answer to each other on one side and the other; those on the back appear to have been calculated for strength in the marble, and those in front to represent the bronze, from which I apprehend they were copied. There is another reason; which is, that the most celebrated figure of antiquity is mentioned by Pliny and its sculptor, the Venus of Cnidus by Praxiteles; and he mentions it in a remarkable manner, for he says, the works of Praxiteles in the Ceramicus, not only excel those of all other sculptors, but his own; and this Venus excels all that he ever did. Now it seems inconceivable, that so fine a statue as the Apollo could have been executed without its name being brought down to us, either by Pliny or Pausanias, if it had been esteemed the first statue in the world.

John Flaxman, Esq.

Do you think it of great consequence to the progress of art in Britain that this Collection should become the property of the Public?—Of the greatest importance, I think; and I always have thought so, as an individual.

Do you conceive practically, that any improvement has taken place in the state of the arts in this country, since this Collection has been open to the Public?—Within these last twenty years I think sculpture has improved in a very great degree, and I believe my opinion is not singular; but unless I was to take time to reflect upon the several causes, of which that has been the consequence, I cannot pretend to answer the question: I think works of such prime importance could not remain in the country without improving the public taste and the taste of the artists.

In what class do you hold the Metopes, as compared with the Frieze?—I should think, from a parity of reasoning adopted between the Metopes and the flat basso-relievos with that adopted between the Apollo Belvidere and the Theseus or Hercules, the Metopes are preferable to the flat basso-relievos, inasmuch as the heroic style is preferable to that of common nature.

Should you have judged the Metopes to be of very high antiquity if you had seen them, not knowing from what temple they were brought?—I should certainly have taken them to be of the age to which they are attributed, the age of Phidias.

What characteristic marks do you observe of high antiquity, as compared with the other works of antiquity?—In the first place, I observe a particular classification of the parts of the body; and I have adverted to the medical writer of that age, Hippocrates, and find that the distinctions of the body, when they have been taken from the finest nature in the highest state of exercise, and in the best condition, in all respects, which might be expected from those who possessed great personal beauty, and cultivated habits of living most likely to produce it, and who were accustomed to see it frequently in public exercises. This classification, which they appeared to prefer, is conformable to the distinctions in the statues. It is well known, that in the writings of Hippocrates a great deal of attention is paid to the economy of the human body and its interior parts, but that its exteriors are not described as our modern anatomists describe them, but in a simpler manner, by a general classification of parts and muscles. What I would particularly say on the subject is this: Hippocrates describes the edges of the ribs as forming a semicircle at the bottom of the upper thorax; he describes, with some accuracy, the meeting and form of the upper part of the scapula and acromion with the collar bone: that part is particularly marked in these figures. He describes the knee-pan as a single bone; and that was their manner of making the knee in the statues of that time: and, if I remember right, also he describes the upper part of the basin bone, which is particularly marked in the antique statues. In a few words, the form of the body has a classification of a simple kind in a few parts, such as I find in the ancient anatomists, and such as are common in the outlines of the painted Greek vases: besides, as far as I can judge from our documents of antiquity, the painted Greek vases for example, those that come nearer to the time in which these Marbles are believed to be produced, are conceived in the same character, and drawn in the same manner.

Did not that classification continue much later than the time of Pericles?—Yes, it did continue later, but it became more complicated, and in some cases more geometrical.

Does the anatomy of these figures agree with the anatomy of the Laocoon or of the Toro Farnese?—They agree most with the Toro Farnese. I cannot judge very accurately of that at this time, for it was about to be removed from Rome at the time I was there, and it is very much broken. In respect to the Laocoon, I believe it to be a very posterior work, done after a time when considerable discoveries had been made in anatomy in the Alexandrian school; which I think had been communicated not only among physicians, but among artists all over Greece; and in the Laocoon the divisions are much more numerous.

Do you observe any considerable difference in the conformation of the horses, between the Metopes and the Procession?—It is to be recollected, both in the Metopes and the Procession, that

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different hands have been employed upon them, so that it is difficult, unless I had them before me, to give a distinct opinion, particularly as the horses in the metopes have not horses' heads: I do not think I can give a very decided opinion upon it, but in general the character appears to me very much the same.

Should you have judged the metopes and the frieze to be of the same age, if they had not come from the same Temple? — Yes, undoubtedly I should.

Have you ever looked at this Collection, with a view to its value in money? — I never have; but I conceive that the value in money must be very considerable, judging only from the quantity of sculpture in it; the question never occurred to me before this morning, but it appears to me that there is a quantity of labour equal to three or four of the greatest public monuments that have lately been erected; and I think it is said, either in Chandler's Inscriptions or in Stuart's Athens, that the Temple cost a sum equal to £.500,000.

Have you seen the Greek Marbles lately deposited in the British Museum? — Yes.

In what class do you place those, as compared with the basso-relievos of Lord Elgin's Collection? — With respect to the excellence of workmanship, the metopes and the basso-relievos of Procession are very superior to those in the Museum, though the composition of the others are exquisite.

Which do you think the greatest antiquity? — Lord Elgin's; the others I take to be nearly twenty years later.

In what rate do you class these Marbles, as compared with Mr. Townley's Collection? — I should value them more, as being the ascertained works of the first artists of that celebrated age: the greater part of Mr. Townley's Marbles, with some few exceptions, are perhaps copies, or only acknowledged inferior works.

Do you reckon Lord Elgin's Marbles of greater value, as never having been touched by any modern hand? — Yes.

In what class do you hold the draped figures, of which there are large fragments? — They are fine specimens of execution; but in other respects I do not esteem them very highly, excepting the Iris, and a fragment of the Victory.

Do you consider those to be of the same antiquity? — I do.

Be pleased to account for the difference in their appearance? — I think sculpture at that time made a great stride. Phidias having had the advantage of studying painting, first gave a great freedom to his designs; that freedom he was able to execute, or to have executed, with great ease in small and flat works; but as the proportions of the particular drawings of the figures were not so well understood generally as they were a few years afterwards, there are some disproportions and inaccuracies in the larger figures: the necessary consequences of executing great works when the principles of an art are not well established.

Do you recollect two figures, that are sitting together with the arms over each other? — Yes.

Is your low estimation of the draped figures applicable to those? — My opinion may be incorrect, and it may be more so by not having the figures before me; but I meant my observation to apply to all the draped figures.

Were the proportions of those statues calculated to have their effect at a particular distance? — I believe not; I do not believe the art had arrived at that nicety.

You have remarked probably those parts, particularly of the Neptune and some of the Metopes, that are in high perfection, from having been preserved from the weather? — I have remarked those that are in the best condition.

Did you ever see any statue higher finished than those parts, or that could convey an idea of high finish more completely to an artist? — I set out with saying, that the execution is admirable.

In those particular parts have not you observed as high a finish as in any statue that ever you saw? — Yes; and in some places a very useless finish, in my opinion.

John Flaxman, Esq.

Do you think the Theseus and the Neptune of equal merit, or is one superior to the other?—Chevalier Canova, when I conversed with him on the subject, seemed to think they were equal; I think the Ilissus is very inferior.

You think the Ilissus is inferior to the Theseus?—Extremely inferior: and I am convinced, if I had had an opportunity of considering it with Chevalier Canova, he would have thought so too.

Can you inform the Committee, whether the climate of England is likely to have a different effect upon the statues, from the climate from which they were brought, and whether it would be possible, by keeping them under cover, to prevent the effect of the climate?—Entirely.

You know the bas relief in the Townley Collection of Bacchus and Icarus?—Yes.

What do you consider the workmanship of that, comparatively with any of Lord Elgin's bas reliefs?—Very inferior.

Richard Westmacott, Esq. R. A., *called in, and Examined.*

Richard Westmacott, Esq.

Are you well acquainted with the Elgin Marbles?—Yes.

In what class of art do you rate them?—I rate them of the first class of art.

Do you speak generally of the principal naked figures, and of the metopes and the frieze?—I speak generally of their being good things, but particularly upon three or four groups; I should say that two are unequalled; that I would oppose them to any thing we know in art, which is the River God and the Theseus. With respect to the two principal groups of the draped figures, I consider them also of their kind very superior to any thing which we have in this Country in point of execution.

Do you reckon the metopes also in the first class of art?—I should say generally, for style, that I do.

Do you say the same of the frieze?—I think, both for drawing and for execution, that they are equal to any thing of that class of art that I remember.

Do the metopes and the frieze appear to you to be of the same age?—They do not appear to me to be worked by the same person, but they appear to me of the same age; the mind in the compositions, the forms, and consent of action, only lead me to think so; their execution being not only unequal in themselves, but very inferior to the Panathenæan Procession.

Do the general proportions of the horses appear to you to be the same?—Generally so, I think.

Should you have judged the metopes to be of very high antiquity, if you had not known the Temple from which they came?—I should consider them so from their form.

In what rate should you place the Theseus and the River God, as compared with the Apollo Belvidere and the Laocoon?—Infinitely superior to the Apollo Belvidere.

And how as to the Laocoon?—As to the Laocoon, it is a very difficult thing for me to answer the question, more particularly applying to execution, because there is not so much surface to the Theseus or Ilissus as there is to the Laocoon; the whole surface to the Laocoon is left, whereas to the other we cannot say there is more than one third of the surface left.

Which do you prefer; the Theseus, or the River God?—They are both so excellent, that I cannot readily determine; I should say the back of the Theseus was the finest thing in the world; and that the anatomical skill displayed in front of the Ilissus, is not surpassed by any work of art.

As compared with the figures that are on Monte Cavallo, how should you class those two works?—I consider them, in regard to nature and form, equal; but that in playfulness of parts, the Theseus and the Ilissus are superior.

Do they seem to approach nearly the same ages to execution?—There is not sufficient surface for me to judge of the execution in either.

Do you consider the remains of the draped female figures to be of the same excellence with the figures just mentioned?—Yes; certainly.

Probably the same hand? — Yes; I have very little doubt of it.

Richard Westmacott, Esq.

Have you ever considered this Collection, with a view to value in money? — No, I have not.

Have you any means of forming such a calculation? — I should not know how to form such a calculation, not knowing any similar works to compare them with.

In what class do you estimate the Elgin Marbles, as compared with the Townley Marbles? — Superior.

Are you acquainted with the Phygalian Marbles lately brought to the British Museum? I have seen them, and have examined them.

As compared with the Elgin bas reliefs, which are superior? — The Elgin bas reliefs.

Which do you consider most ancient? — I should think they are both of the same age, they both seem to be the effort of a great mind; but that the Phygalian Marbles do not appear to have had men to execute them of the same talents with the persons who executed the others. There are parts of the Phygalian Marbles which are equal in execution to the Elgin Marbles, (I am now speaking of the draperies,) but in proportions they are unequal to the Elgin Marbles, which possess truth united with form, which is the essence of sculpture.

Do you think it of great consequence to the improvement of art, that this Collection should become the property of the Public? — Decidedly so: from the great progress which has been made in art in this country for the last fifty years, we have every reason to think, that even the present men, as well as young men rising up, having these things to look to, are less likely to be mannered.

Do you think these Marbles are well calculated for forming a school of artists? — I have no doubt of it.

You state, that you think the Theseus much superior to the Apollo Belvidere; upon what particular view do you form that opinion? — Because I consider that the Theseus has all the essence of style with all the truth of nature; the Apollo is more an ideal figure.

And you think the Theseus of superior value, on that account? — Yes; that which approaches nearest to nature, with grand form, artists give the preference to.

Do you think there is any comparison as to the value between these and the Townley Marbles? — This Collection I consider as more a Collection for Government, and to form a school of study; the Townley Marbles have a certain decided value; you can form a better estimate of those, because you can make furniture of them; these you could not, they are only fit for a school. The Townleyan Marbles being entire, are, in a commercial point of view, most valuable: but the Elgin Marbles, as possessing that matter which artists most require, claim a higher consideration.

Do not you think they might be divided into three or four lots, that might be desirable to different countries for that purpose? — I think it would be a pity to break such a connected chain of art.

Do not you think it would answer that purpose? — No; I think each nation would regret that it had not the other part, and that it would lower their value.

Francis Chauntry, Esq. *called in, and Examined.*

Are you well acquainted with the Elgin Marbles? — I have frequently visited them.

Francis Chauntry, Esq.

In what class, as to excellence of art, do you place them? — Unquestionably in the first.

Do you speak generally of the Collection? — I mean the principal part of the Collection, that part that belonged to the Temple of Minerva.

As compared with the Apollo Belvidere and Laocoon, in what class should you place the Theseus and the River God? — I look upon the Apollo as a single statue; the Theseus and the River God form a part of a group. I think, looking at the group in general, I should say they are in the highest style of art; that degree of finish which you see in the Apollo, would be mischievous in them. I think they are quite in a different style of art from the Apollo.

Francis Chantrey, Esq.

Are they not more according to common, but beautiful nature, than the Apollo?—Certainly; I mean nature in the grand style, not the simplicity of the composition visible in every part: but simplicity and grandeur are so nearly allied, it is almost impossible to make a distinction.

Do you place the metopes, and the frieze of the Festival, in the highest class of art?—The frieze, I do unquestionably; the bas relief, I mean.

Do you think that superior, in execution and design, to the alto relievo?—I do not know, speaking of them comparatively; they are different in their style.

Do they appear to you to be of the same age?—I think they do; I never thought otherwise.

Do the horses appear to you to be treated in the same manner, and to be formed according to the same principles?—Considering the difference between basso relievo and alto relievo, I think they are; but that makes a great difference in the general appearance of them.

In what class of art do you place the draped female figures?—As applied to their situation, I place them also in the first class; but, if they were for the inside of a building, I should say they were not in the first class; those were for a broad light, consequently the drapery is cut into small parts, for the sake of producing effect; for we find through the whole of that Collection, effect has been their principal aim, and they have gained it in every point.

Have you ever looked at this Collection, with a view towards its value in money?—I really do not know what to compare them with.

In what class should you estimate these, as compared with the Townley Marbles?—In the Townley Marbles we find individual excellence, but in these we find a great deal more; we find individual excellence combined with grand historical composition.

Do you reckon these of superior value, from never having been restored or retouched?—I should certainly think them not the worse for being in their present state.

Have you seen the Greek bas reliefs, lately brought to the Museum?—Yes, I have seen them.

How do you estimate them as works of art, as compared with the Elgin bas reliefs?—I look upon them as very fine in composition; but in execution, what we must expect in works taken from the outside of buildings; works done by different people: they are very fine of their kind, but in point of execution much inferior to Lord Elgin's, and indeed inferior in design.

Which appears to you to be of the highest antiquity?—I cannot say.

As compared with the figures on Monte Cavallo, how do you rate the Theseus?—It is very much in the same style.

Do you judge they are nearly of the same age?—That I cannot say; that is a point that has been so much disputed.

Do you think it of great importance to the art of sculpture, that this Collection should become the property of the Public?—I think it of the greatest importance in a national point of view.

When you mention that these statues are rather calculated for a distant effect, do you mean they are not very highly finished?—Yes; and that is very surprising; they are finished to a high degree, but the arrangement is calculated to be seen at a great distance.

CHARLES ROSSI, Esq. R. A. *called in, and Examined.*

Charles Rossi, Esq.

ARE you well acquainted with the Elgin Marbles?—Yes.

In what class of art do you reckon them?—The finest that I have ever seen.

Do you think any figures in Lord Elgin's Collection equal to the Apollo Belvidere and the Laocoon?—I think they are superior in my judgment.

Which do you consider as superior?—The Theseus and the River God, and the Torsos also; there are one or two of them, but they are very much mutilated.

In what class of art do you reckon the metopes?—The metopes I do not think so fine as the rest of the bas reliefs.

Do you think the metopes are of the same antiquity as the frieze and other parts? — Yes, I suppose they are. *Charles Rossi, Esq.*

Do you reckon the frieze of the Procession in the highest class of art? — Yes; they are in a superior style; I should say they were jewels.

In what class do you reckon the draped female figures? — One in particular is a very fine thing, I think.

Generally speaking, in what class do you place them? — In the very first.

Have you looked at this Collection, with a view as to its money value? — Never.

Have you seen the Greek Marbles lately brought to the British Museum? — Yes.

In what class do you place them, as compared with the basso relievos of the frieze? — I consider them materially inferior to any of those of Lord Elgin's.

Do you think them of the same antiquity, or later or earlier? — I have never thought about that.

Do you think it of great consequence to the progress of art in this Country, that this Collection should become the property of the Public? — I think it is; it is the first Collection in the world, I think. I wrote a note to my friend Canova, at Paris, as an inducement for him to come over, saying, — If he had not seen Lord Elgin's Marbles, he had seen nothing yet; and when he saw them, he was satisfied they were as fine things as he had ever seen.

Martis, 5° die Martii, 1816.

HENRY BANKES, Esq. *in the Chair.*

Sir Thomas Lawrence, Knt. R. A. *called in, and Examined.*

Are you well acquainted with the Elgin Marbles? — Yes, I am. *Sir Thos. Lawrence, Knt.*

In what class of art do you consider them? — In the very highest.

Do you think it of importance that the Public should become possessed of those Marbles, for the purpose of forming a school of art? — I think they will be a very essential benefit to the arts of this country, and therefore of that importance.

In your own particular line of art, do you consider them of high importance, as forming a national school? — In a line of art which I have very seldom practised, but which it is still my wish to do, I consider that they would; namely, historical painting.

Have you had opportunities of viewing the antique sculpture which was formerly in Italy, and recently at Paris? — Very recently at Paris.

Can you form any estimate of the comparative merit of the finest of the Elgin Marbles, as compared with the finest of those works of art? — It is rather difficult; but I think that the Elgin Marbles present examples of a higher style of sculpture than any I have seen.

Do you conceive any of them to be of a higher class than the Apollo Belvidere? — I do; because I consider that there is in them an union of fine composition, and very grand form, with a more true and natural expression of the effect of action upon the human frame, than there is in the Apollo, or in any of the other most celebrated statues.

Are you well acquainted with the Townley Collection of Marbles? — Yes, I am.

In what comparative class should you place the Elgin Marbles, as contrasted with those? — As superior.

Do you consider them as more valuable than the Townley Collection? — Yes, I do.

Sir Thos. Lawrence, Knt.

Is that superiority, in your opinion, applied to the fitness of the Elgin Marbles for forming a school of art, or is it as to what you conceive to be the money value? — I mean as to both.

Are you acquainted with the Phygalian Marbles lately brought to the Museum? — Yes.

Compared with the Elgin bas reliefs, in what class do you estimate them? — I think generally, that the composition of them is very fine; that some of the designs are fully equal to those in the Elgin Marbles; but the execution generally is inferior.

Have you any thing that leads you to form any conjecture as to the age of the Phygalian Marbles, compared with the age of the Elgin Marbles? — I should guess that they must have been very nearly of the same age.

Do you consider the metopes to be of equal or inferior sculpture to the frieze? — I think that the frieze of the Panathenaic Procession is of equal merit throughout. I do not think the same of the metopes; but I think that some of the metopes are of equal value with the frieze.

Do they appear to you to be of the same age? — Yes, I think so. The total and entire difference of the character of relief appears to have arisen from the difference of situation in which they were placed.

You have stated, that you thought these Marbles had great truth and imitation of nature; do you consider that that adds to their value? — It considerably adds to it, because I consider them as united with grand form. There is in them that variety that is produced in the human form, by the alternate action and repose of the muscles, that strikes one particularly. I have myself a very good collection of the best casts from the antique statues, and was struck with that difference in them, in returning from the Elgin Marbles to my own house.

What do you think of the Theseus, compared with the Torso Belvidere? — I should say that the Torso is the nearest, in point of excellence, to the Theseus. It would be difficult to decide in favour of the Theseus; but there are parts of the Torso in which the muscles are not true to the action, and they invariably are in what remains of the Theseus.

Do you happen to know at what price that was valued in the Collection at the Louvre? — I do not.

You have seen the Hercules of Lord Lansdowne's Collection? — Yes.

What comparison does that bear to the Theseus or the Neptune? — I think it inferior.

Do you think it much inferior? — There are parts that are very inferior. There are parts in that that are very grand, and parts very inferior.

Do you think any estimate might be placed on these Marbles, by comparison with pictures? — No; it would be very difficult: I cannot do it myself.

Do you consider, on the whole, the Theseus as the most perfect piece of sculpture, of a single figure, that you have ever seen? — Certainly, as an imitation of nature; but as an imitation of character I could not decide, unless I knew for what the figure was intended.

Richard Payne Knight, Esq. *called in, and Examined.*

R. P. Knight, Esq.

Are you acquainted with the Elgin Collection? — Yes; I have looked them over, not only formerly, but I have looked them over on this occasion, with reference to their value.

In what class of art do you place the finest works in this Collection? — I think of things extant, I should put them in the second rank — some of them: they are very unequal; the finest I should put in the second rank.

Do you think that none of them rank in the first class of art? — Not with the Laocoon and the Apollo, and these which have been placed in the first class of art; at the same time I must observe, that their state of preservation is such, I cannot form a very accurate notion; their surface is gone mostly.

Do you consider them to be of a very high antiquity? — We know from the authority of Plutarch, that those of the Temple of Minerva, which are the principal, were executed by Callicrates and Ictinus,

R. P. Knight, Esq.

and their assistants and scholars; and I think some were added in the time of Hadrian, from the style of them.

Do you consider what is called the Theseus and the River God, as works of that age? — The River God I should think, certainly — of the Theseus I have doubts whether it was in that age, or added by Hadrian; there is very little surface about it, therefore I cannot tell: the River God is very fine.

Do you consider the River God as the finest figure in the Collection? — Yes, I do.

In what class do you rank the fragments of the draped female figures? — They are so mutilated I can hardly tell, but I should think most of them were added by Hadrian; they are so mutilated I cannot say much about them: they are but of little value except from their local interest, from having been part of the Temple.

In what class of art do you consider the metopes? — The metopes I consider of the first class of relief: I think there is nothing finer; but they are very much corroded: there are some of them very poor; but the best of them I consider as the best works of high relief.

Do you consider them as of high antiquity? — I consider most of them as executed at the time of the original building; the others might have been finished since.

What proportion of them do you think are of the first class? — I should think a half at least.

In what class of art do you reckon the frieze of the Procession? — I think it is of the first class of low relief: I know nothing finer than what remains of it; there is very little of it.

Do you consider that as of the same high antiquity? — Certainly; all of it I think has been executed at the first building of the Temple, as far as I can judge; they are very much mutilated.

Can you form any judgment as to what may be the money value of that Collection, or of the parts? — I have gone over them to make an estimate, and I will state the grounds on which I have done it; I have been over them three times, to form the value. I value that statue of Venus, which Lord Lansdowne paid £. 700 for, at £. 1,400; and I valued Lord Elgin's accordingly; and I put on fifty per cent, in consideration of their local interest. I valued the draped figures, which I think would be worth very little if it were not for their local interest, at £. 2000. I do not know the value of the drawings.

[The Witness delivered in a paper, which was read as follows.]

" Such of the Sculptures of the Temple of Minerva at Athens, as are of the time of Pericles, are the work of Callicrates and Ictinus, or their assistants and scholars, to which the testimony of Plutarch, the only ancient authority, is precise — τον δε εκατομπεδον Παρθενωνα Καλλικρατης εφγαζετο και Ικτινος. — Phidias only made the statue of the Goddess, and presided (επεστατει) over the works of Pericles in general." — Plutarch's Life of Pericles.

The Prices which have been paid to Roman Dealers, within my knowledge, for important Articles, in this Country, are as follow: —

By Mr. Townley, to Jenkins, for the Discobolus	£. 700
By the Marquis of Lansdowne, to D°, for a Hercules	600
By Mr. Townley, to D°, for the Relief of the Feast of Icarus	400
By D°, to Gavin Hamilton, for a large Venus	700
(I learn since, that Mr. Townley paid about £. 350 more in fees to have the Venus exported.)	
By the Marquis of Lansdowne, to D°, for a Mercury	700

The two last articles were, however, unreasonably cheap, even at that time (forty years ago) — Hamilton not having been allowed a fair competition; and the last having been clandestinely brought from Rome. I think each of them worth more than any two articles in Lord Elgin's Collection,

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especially the latter, which is, in my judgment, of better sculpture; and both are a thousand per cent better in preservation, which has always been considered as of the utmost importance.

Recumbent statue of Hercules, as on the coins of Croto, with little of the surface remaining	£. 1,500
Trunk of a male statue recumbent	1,500
Back and shoulders of a trunk, on which the head of Hadrian appears to have been	200
Fragment of the head of a horse, very fine	250
Fragments of about ten draped trunks, from the pediments of the Parthenon, most of which appear to be of the age of Hadrian	2,000
Fourteen metopes, of various degrees of merit, all corroded, and mostly much mutilated	7,000
Twelve pieces of the frieze of the cell, with parts entire	8,600
About thirty-five more, completely ruined	1,400
Three capitals, and part of a column, from the same temple	500
Plaster casts, from d° and other temples	2,500
A granite scarabeus	300
A white marble soros complete and entire, but coarse	500
Various shafts and blocks of marble	350
D° of porphyry	350
Various fragments of statuary and relief	500
Various d° of architecture	300
Caryates from the propylœa, much injured	200
Nine broken marble urns	450
One wrought brass d°	150
One inscribed earthen d°	150
Inscriptions, &c.	300
Medals	1,000
	£. 25,000
Drawings	

Do you conceive that if this Collection were to be publicly sold, it would produce the prices that are named here? — No, not near half, if sold in detail; what any of the Sovereigns of Europe might give for them collectively, I cannot pretend to say.

Do you conceive that the medals, if sold in England, would produce as much as they are valued at? — Yes, certainly; and I think the cameo would.

Upon what authority do you state, that a great part of these Marbles belong to the time of Hadrian? — From no other authority than Spon and Wheeler having thought one of the heads to be of that Emperor, and later travellers having found no symbols of any deity upon it; also from the draped trunks, which seem to be of that complicated and stringy kind of work which was then in fashion; that is mere matter of opinion; there is no authority as to the time when particular articles were made.

Upon which of the figures is it that you understand Spon and Wheeler to have recognised the head of Hadrian? — I can give no opinion on this point, having misunderstood Lord Aberdeen, from whose conversation I had formed an opinion.

Have you ever seen Nointel's drawing of that pediment, as it was at the time when Spon and Wheeler saw it? — I have seen a copy of it, but it is so long since, that I do not recollect.

Do not you recollect that Spon and Wheeler's observations were exceedingly loose, and in some cases wholly inaccurate? — Very loose, certainly.

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And in some cases wholly inaccurate?—It is a long while ago since I have adverted to them.

Do you recollect that Spon and Wheeler mistook the subjects of the Eastern for the Western pediment, and vice versa?—Mr. Visconti says so, but I have never examined it.

Do you not know that Stuart proves that fact?—I do not recollect it at all.

How would you value the Theseus, in comparison with the Belvidere Torso; how would you class it?—I should think it inferior in value; what is called the Torso Belvidere I believe to be a copy of Lysippus's Hercules.

Do you happen to know the value that was put upon it, in the Collection of the Louvre?—No.

Do you happen to know what was paid for the Borghese Collection?—I do not know what was to be paid; I know what has been paid.

Do you recollect a bas relief of Mr. Townley's, of Bacchus and Icarus?—Yes.

Do you happen to know what that cost?—Mr. Townley paid Mr. Jenkins £.400 for it.

Was not there a great deal of difficulty in removing any good work of art from Rome?—Very great; and that is the reason why that Venus, in the British Museum, was sold so low.

There was great difficulty?—The Pope had a selection always, and his judges were a little susceptible, I believe, sometimes, and were bribed.

Did not the Pope, or the Sovereign of the country, claim a pre-emption of any thing valuable?—Yes.

Therefore you would consider any good piece of sculpture brought to this country, as greatly increased in value from the difficulties of removing it from Rome?—All that was included in the price that was paid by Lord Lansdowne; every thing that is sent out of Rome, unless it is smuggled out, must have the Pope's permission.

You valued Lord Lansdowne's Marbles?—Yes.

What value did you put on the Hercules?—£. 1,000; it cost Lord Lansdowne £.600 at Rome; and I think I put the Mercury at £. 1,400. The trustees of William Lord Lansdowne let John Lord Lansdowne have the Collection at prime cost, as nearly as they could find it, which was £.7,000. I valued it at £.11,000.

How would you class the bas relief of Bacchus and Icarus in Mr. Townley's Collection, relatively to the frieze of the Temple of Minerva?—Inferior in sculpture; but so much better in preservation, that I think to an individual it is of as much value as any one of the pieces of the frieze.

Are you acquainted with the Phygalian Marbles?—Yes; very well.

In what rank do you place them, as compared with the bas relievos of the frieze?—I think they are, in high relief, next in merit to the high reliefs of the metopes: I never saw any thing so fine; and they are far superior in preservation to the frieze.

Do you think them of superior value, on account of their preservation?—They are in much better preservation; and, taking quantity for quantity, I think they are equal to the best of the metopes; they are a continued series of two stories. I think upon an average, taking piece by piece, those of Phygalia are worth more than the metopes; because they are in a state of preservation to be used as furniture, which the metopes are not.

Considering the superior preservation of one to counterbalance the superior execution of the other, you think them, foot for foot, as being of the same value?—No; I think the Phygalia are superior in value, foot by foot.

Do you consider the best in execution of the Phygalia Marble equal to the best of the metopes?—No; but very superior to the worst of the metopes.

What you have said of their value, if they came for sale, refers to their being offered for sale to individuals, but not as offered to Europe in general?—I supposed the market open to all Europe; to individuals they would not sell for much in this country; there are no collectors here.

R. P. Knight, Esq.

Have those statues which have lost the surface, suffered materially as models to artists?—Very greatly, I think.

Have you examined minutely the parts that are most perfect in the River God?—Yes; the under parts.

Do not you think that is as highly finished as any piece of sculpture you know?—It is highly finished, but it is differently finished from the first-rate pieces; there are no traces of the chissel upon it; it is finished by polishing. In the Laocoon, and the things of acknowledged first-rate work, supposed to be originals, the remains of the chissel are always visible. That is my reason for calling these of the second-rate.

Do you not consider those parts as being a perfect imitation of nature?—Yes; I think them very fine; as fine as any thing in that way.

Are the marks of the chissel visible on the Venus de Medicis?—No, they are not.

Are they visible on the Apollo Belvidere?—No, they are not; I think it a copy from brass.

In the opinion you gave as to the artists who executed the works of the Parthenon, you did not mention the name of Phidias, by whom they are most commonly supposed to have been designed?—No, I did not; and Plutarch expressly excludes him.

Does not Plutarch decidedly say, that Callicrates and Ictinus worked it?—Yes; I understand him to say they undertook the working of it.

Do you recollect the Greek expression, which is supposed to be used by the superior artists who designed, and perhaps executed, such figures as the Venus and the Apollo, to express the share they had in those compositions?—There were different expressions at different periods; the first of the time of Phidias, cited by Cicero of Milo, a cotemporary of Phidias, was simply the name inscribed in the genitive case: the word afterwards used was εποιει, in the imperfect tense, which Pliny remarks they used out of modesty,—that they were still about it. The inscription upon the Venus is in the completely past tense; and therefore it is supposed to be a copy from a Venus of Praxiteles, which I suppose it is.

Do you know any instance in which the share, which a great sculptor had in any of those works of art, is expressed the word ειργαζετο?—No; I believe no artist would describe it so himself; it is the historical expression.

Though Plutarch applied the word ειργαζετο to the share that Callicrates and Ictinus had in the works of the Parthenon, does he not state, generally, that Phidias was employed by Pericles in the superintendance or general design of the works of Pericles?—In the superintendance, certainly; of the general design I know nothing.

What do you think of the value of the River God, compared with the Torso of Belvidere?—I really can hardly speak to that; I have not perfect recollection enough of the surface of the Torso, and I never considered it in a pecuniary view; I cannot speak to the execution, not having a recollection of the surface; but, as a part of a statue, I think the River God inferior. I cannot speak to the value, but I should not put the River God at so much under as fifty per cent.

Do you consider the River God as considerably superior to the Theseus?—Yes, I do.

Then do you consider the Theseus as vastly inferior to the Torso of Belvidere?—I consider it considerably inferior, not vastly inferior; it is difficult to speak to the degrees of things of that kind, especially when the surface is so much corroded.

Do you consider the Torso of Belvidere as having any value whatsoever, but as a model or school for art?—Yes; I think it has value in every respect to collectors as well as students.

It has no furniture value?—No; a corroded, dirty surface, people do not like.

Do you think the corrosion of the surface of the Torso of Belvidere renders it, in any considerable degree, less valuable as a model or school for art?—If it is corroded, it certainly does; but I do not recollect whether it is or not; it is very much stained I know.

R. P. Knight, Esq.

Do you recollect in what degree the River God is corroded?—The upper parts that have been exposed to the weather are corroded; the under parts are entire, and very perfect. I think it is not so much corroded as the Theseus; but I think there is more than half of it corroded: the back and the side, which are very fine, are not corroded.

Have you formed any estimate of the value of these Marbles, wholly unconnected with their value as furniture, and merely in the view of forming a national school for art?—The value I have stated, has been entirely upon that consideration, of a school of art; they would not sell as furniture; they would produce nothing at all. I think my Lord Elgin, in bringing them away, is entitled to the gratitude of the country; because, otherwise, they would have been all broken by the Turks, or carried away by individuals, and dispersed in piece-meal. I think, therefore, the Government ought to make him a remuneration beyond the amount of my estimate.

The Committee observe, that in the paper you have given in of your estimate of the value, you lead to that value, by an enumeration of the prices of five different pieces of sculpture; the Committee beg to know, whether all those pieces are not fit for what may be called furniture?—Certainly.

Do you consider our own artists as proper judges of the execution of ancient works of art?—Those I am acquainted with, Mr. Nollekens and Mr. Westmacott, are very good judges.

Do you happen to be acquainted with Mr. Flaxman?—Yes; they are all good judges.

They are competent judges?—Yes.

Have you reason to think that the art of Sculpture has advanced in this country since this Collection has been brought into England?—No, certainly not; the best thing that has ever been done in this country, in my judgment, is the monument of Mrs. Howard, by Mr. Nollekens, many years ago.

Do not you conceive that the purchase of my Lord Elgin's Collection by the Nation, for the purpose of forming a great national school of art, would contribute very much eventually to the improvement of the arts in this country?—A general Museum of Art is very desirable, certainly. I dare say it will contribute to the improvement of the arts; and I think it will be a valuable addition to the Museum.

Do you think that these Statues were calculated to be seen from any particular situation; and that they have lost any thing by being removed?—I think they were calculated for being seen near, as well as at a distance; the Phygalia friezes are finished as if they were only to be seen close, and so are many of these.

WILLIAM WILKINS, Esq. *called in, and Examined.*

William Wilkins, Esq.

As an Architect, are you well acquainted with the architectural part of the Elgin Marbles?—Yes; I am pretty well acquainted with them.

In what class of art do you rank them?—I reckon them to be of the very highest order.

Do you consider it of importance to the Public that they should become public property?—I do consider it of very great importance.

Are there any considerable pieces of architectural remains, which were not known before by drawings or engravings?—None in that Collection, I believe.

Is there not some part of the roof of the Parthenon, which was not known before?—I am not aware that there is any thing relating to the ceiling of the Parthenon in the Collection of Lord Elgin; of the Temple of Theseus there is, I know.

Do you conceive the architectural remains to be of very high antiquity?—I conceive them to be of the age of Pericles.

In what year were you at Athens?—In the summer of 1802, I believe.

Were these Marbles removed from Athens at that time?—Lord Elgin was then in the act of removing them.

William Wilkins, Esq.

Is there a very great difference in the value, as the means of instruction, between the models and casts of those particular parts of architecture, and the originals themselves?—I am not aware that there are any models of them existing. I think drawings and models would convey all the information that these fragments will.

Do you think that they lose much of their value, as models of instruction, by being removed from the edifices to which they originally belonged?—I do not conceive they can possibly lose any thing; for there are so many on the spot still, that the artist who goes there will find an ample field for study.

Does each particular piece of architecture lose its value, as a model of instruction, by its being removed from the edifice?—No, I conceive not, because the means by which it is connected with the pieces adjoining are obvious.

Are the designs we have of the remains of Athens, particularly those published by Stuart, correct?—Perfectly correct I know, from having measured a great many of them myself.

Do you think the temples themselves much injured, as schools for art, in consequence of what Lord Elgin has taken from them?—Not at all.

Can you charge your recollection with the number of metopes that must have been in the original temple?—Ninety-two, I believe.

Two in each intercolumniation?—Precisely so.

Do you recollect how many of those were in existence and in place, at the time when you saw the temple?—At the time I saw the temple, Lord Elgin was in the act of removing them. I do not know how many he had taken down before I was at Athens, but I believe there might have been about fifty-four, including those in both fronts, which are twenty-eight in number.

From Stuart's Plans, it appears that sixteen intercolumniations, or thereabouts, had been totally destroyed?—That may be the number.

Of course all the metopes belonging to those intercolumniations must have fallen and been destroyed also?—Yes, certainly; at least that number.

Have you heard, or do you know from any other source, that some of the metopes had been removed, or had been attempted to be removed, by M. de Choiseul?—It was a story very prevalent at Athens, and I believe the fact was so.

It follows of course, that out of the total number of ninety-two metopes, upwards of two-and-thirty must have been already removed, and probably destroyed, before Lord Elgin commenced his operations?—That must necessarily have been the case; I do not know the number of intercolumniations, but that would set the question at rest.

Did your personal observation corroborate the statement of Stuart, that even in his time the greater part of the metopes were miserably broken on the south side, but that they were entirely defaced on the north side and the two fronts?—If that is Stuart's statement, I am tempted to believe it quite correct, because I went with Stuart's book in my hand, and some drawings of my own, and examined the buildings from them, and I was amazingly struck with the great precision and accuracy of that work.

The frieze which was in the walls of the cell was also destroyed by the destruction of the walls, to a considerable extent; do you recollect to what proportion of the whole frieze the destruction may have taken place?—I beg to state to the Committee, that I have at this time a work in the press, which I have delayed till this question should be set at rest; because I did not wish that my views should influence the disposal of the Marbles in any way; and I have only now recently put it into the hands of the printer, in the expectation that this question would be settled before the book would appear in print. There were nearly two hundred feet of that frieze then remaining, the whole being about 520 feet.

Do not you know, or have you not heard, that between Stuart's visit and Lord Elgin's, the French embassy under M. de Choiseul had already removed part of the frieze?—I have heard of it, but I have no means of ascertaining the fact.

William Wilkins, Esq.

From the general and scrupulous accuracy of Stuart's delineations, and particularly from the care with which Stuart marks any degradation of the frieze which he represents, are you of opinion that those heads which Stuart represented as entire, but which were defaced or knocked off at the time you saw them, must have been so defaced or knocked off between Stuart's visit and that time?—From my general impression of the accuracy of that work, I should be tempted to believe that every act of violence that has been inflicted on them of which he does not speak, has occurred since his visit.

Is there in Stuart any special drawing or account of any of the figures from either of the Tympanums, which have been removed by Lord Elgin?—Stuart gives very few; I think there are three or four in the western pediment, particularly the group called Hadrian and Sabina.

From the differences you must have observed between the state of the temple in the time of Stuart and when you saw it, and the knowledge you acquired on the spot, of the danger to which those objects would be subject from the wanton barbarity of the Turks, do you think that Lord Elgin may not be considered, in removing these statues, as having rescued and preserved them from imminent destruction?—By the statues, is it meant the sculpture in general?

It was meant in general, but it will be satisfactory to the Committee, to have your opinion on particular parts?—I think, that by removing the portions of the frieze, that Lord Elgin has certainly preserved that which would otherwise have been lost; for the frieze is much more easily accessible. As to the metopes and the figures in the Tympanum in the pediment, I am not quite so sure; for although they have suffered since the time that Stuart's representations were made, it may have been in consequence of their being more exposed to the action of the elements; the cornice of the building, which has been their great protection, having fallen from time to time. At the time that Lord Elgin was at Athens, there existed amongst the Turks certainly a great desire to deface all the sculpture within their reach; and I believe that that would still have prevailed, if Lord Elgin's operations in Greece had not given them a value in the eye of the Porte: for at present, I understand, from people lately returned from Greece, that the Turks show a greater disposition to preserve them from violence.

Do not you imagine, that by travellers going there frequently when the country was open to the English, the same effect would have been produced as by Lord Elgin's attention to them?—I think it is probable that would, because the Turks have since been in a way interested in their preservation.

Do you recollect about the time you were at Athens, that one of the only remaining heads on the western pediment was struck off and destroyed by the Turks?—I do not remember the circumstance.

Do you recollect that Stuart, as one of the reasons for not giving any drawings or detailed account of the figures that remained in the eastern pediment, states, that there was no place from which he could get an opportunity of seeing them and making the necessary observations?—I do not remember that Stuart makes that observation; but I think it very possible he could not get access to them.

Lord Elgin had, when you got there, cleared away any obstructions, if there were any on that side?—He had.

Are you of opinion, that the study of these originals would not be more useful to architects, than drawings and casts?—I am not aware that any artist would obtain much more information than what might be conveyed from drawings.

The Committee wish to have your general opinion as to the merit of the sculpture of the Elgin Marbles, compared with any other Collection in the country?—The sculpture of the Parthenon had very many degrees of merit; some are extremely fine, while others are very middling; those of the Tympanum are by far the best. The next in order are the metopes; some parts of the frieze in the cell are extremely indifferent indeed. I think a very mistaken notion prevails, that they are the works of Phidias, and it is that which has given them a value in the eyes of a great many people; if you divest them of that recommendation, I think that they lose the greater part of their charm.

Do you speak of the frieze alone now, or of the sculpture generally?—Of the sculpture generally. I have before stated, those of the Tympanum are far superior to the others.

William Wilkins, Esq.

Is it your opinion that none of the statues are the works of Phidias?—I do not believe he ever worked in Marble at all. Pausanias mentions two or three instances only, and those are rather doubtful. Phidias was called, by Aristotle, Lythourgas, in contradistinction to Polyclates, whom he terms a maker of statues, and this because he commonly worked in bronze. If any thing could be inferred from this distinction, it would be that Phidias worked wholly in marble, which is contrary to the known fact. Almost all the instances recorded by Pausanias, are of statues in ivory and brass. I think the words of Plutarch very clearly prove that Phidias had nothing at all to do with the works of the Parthenon.

Where he mentions Callicrates and Ictinus?—Yes.

Though two other persons appear in Plutarch to have actually worked on the Parthenon, from the general statement of Plutarch, and the common consent of all antiquity, do not you believe that Phidias was employed in giving the designs at least of the Parthenon?—That is my firm belief.

Were not those two artists, Callicrates and Ictinus, architects?—They were; but the profession of architect and sculptor were most commonly united.

But do not you think it more probable that Phidias, being merely a sculptor, should have superintended the sculpture, than the architects?—Certainly, he superintended the whole of the work, according to Plutarch; but he states him merely to have been a director and inspector.

But whoever was the director must have made designs?—I do not doubt he did.

Do not you think it more probable that Phidias made the designs, than Callicrates and Ictinus?—I believe Phidias made the designs of the sculpture.

Have you ever thought of these Marbles in point of value, with reference to the Phygalia Collection?—I have not seen the Phygalia Marbles, except by drawings.

You say you rate the merit of the statues in this order:—First, the Tympanum; secondly, the Metopes; and thirdly, the Frieze; and then you add, that the frieze is of very unequal execution. Now all the Evidence has stated, that the metopes are of very unequal execution; but that the frieze is of a very equal execution, and generally by artists, if not the same, at least of the same degree of skill: the Committee, therefore, think it fair to ask you, whether or not you may not have made some mistake between the metopes and the frieze?—When I spoke of different degrees of merit, I spoke of the sculpture generally; but at the same time, I think the sculpture of the frieze is not all the same: some of it is much better. The drawing in some part of the frieze is finer than in others.

Is not there a great difference both in the drawing and execution of several of the metopes?—Very great indeed. When I speak of the frieze, I allude to a part which Lord Elgin has not got; the western frieze is much finer and in better relief than any other part of the temple.

By better relief, do you mean higher relief?—Yes.

Do you not conceive it to be part of the great art of those sculptors, that they gave to the metopes and those parts which were exposed to a broad and even light, a high degree of relief; whereas to the frieze, which was lighted from the intercolumniations in order to avoid false effect, they gave a low degree of relief?—I think that the relief of the statues is calculated for the positions that they were each to occupy; but I attribute in a great measure the mediocrity of the sculpture of the frieze to the circumstances under which they alone can be seen, they can with difficulty be seen at all.

Do you mean by mediocrity, mediocrity in merit?—I mean in style; it was impossible to see them without approaching within thirty feet of the temple; and then the eye had to look up to a height of more than forty feet, and there was no light from above.

Did not the distance at which the statues were placed in the Tympanum from the wall, add very much to their effect by reflected light?—Very much.

Do you think the value of this Collection very considerable, as laying the foundation of a school of the fine arts in general?—In one point of view I think that they are valuable as architectural sculpture; that where a sculptor should be called on to ornament an architectural building, they would

afford a very fine school of study; but that considering them as detached and insulated subjects, I do not think them fit models for imitation, I mean taking the detached figures two or three together; but taking the whole together, the general effect is beautiful, as they add to the architecture. *William Wilkins, Esq*

Have you had an opportunity of comparing the merit of Lord Elgin's Collection with those lately in Rome? — I have very lately visited Rome; there are certainly very many things in the Collection of the Louvre very far superior to the generality of the Elgin Marbles. I think in this kingdom we have some much finer statues than in the Elgin Collection: I think the Venus of the Townley Collection is one of the finest statues in the world, and the Hercules of the Lansdowne Collection is equally fine.

Speaking of them as architectural subjects, have you attended to the finish about the River God, particularly the left leg and thigh? — I have, and as far as my judgment goes I think it a very fine figure, but certainly not equal to the figure in the other pediment, which is called the Theseus.

Jovis, 7° die Martii, 1816.

HENRY BANKES, Esq. *in the Chair.*

Taylor Combe, Esq. *called in, and Examined.*

Are you well acquainted with the Medals collected by my Lord Elgin? — I am. *Taylor Combe, Esq.*

Of what number do they consist? — 880; namely, 66 Gold, 577 Silver, and 237 Copper.

Can you ascertain the value of the Collection? — After having carefully examined the Collection, with a view to this particular object, I am of opinion, that it is worth the sum of 1000 guineas.

Are many of them excellent in point of workmanship? — Several of them; namely, one of Aetolia, one of Carystus in Euboca, some of the Coins of Thebes, Philip, Alexander, Lysimachus, &c.

Are many of them valuable on account of their rarity? — Yes; among the gold, the following coins may be considered as rare; namely, a Daric, and a didrachm of Philip Aridæus with the type of Alexander the Great, and likewise the coins of Athens, Aetolia, Argos, Carystus, Aegina, and Miletus. Among the silver, there are many rare coins of Thebes; also of Archelaus, Cos, Cyrene, Phlius, Ossa, Tenedus, Philippi, Neapolis in Macedon, and a coin of Macedon, with the legend ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΣ.

Have you duplicates of many of these already in the Collection? — Yes; I suppose about one-third of the Collection would be duplicates.

Do you know whether these are better or worse than your duplicates? — Several are better, and several are worse.

Are many of the gold, duplicates? — I think a very small proportion of the gold would be duplicates.

Which of the medals of the whole Collection do you reckon the most valuable? — There are two equally valuable — the gold Daric, and the gold Athenian.

At what price do you value the two? — At 50 guineas each.

Do you consider it of consequence to the Collection now in the Museum, that this Collection should belong to it? — I think it would form a very valuable addition to the Museum Collection.

Would these medals complete the present Collection in any one class? — Certainly not; I believe there is no Collection in the world complete in any one class.

What proportion of these Medals will fill up the chasms in the Collection already deposited in the Museum? — About two-thirds of them.

Taylor Combe, Esq.

Is the present Collection of Greek Medals in the Museum, a valuable Collection? — A very valuable one.

In what rank does it stand with the other known Collections? — It is inferior to the French Collection, and inferior, I believe, to the Vienna Collection; it is inferior also to the Collection of Mr. Payne Knight; it is, however, superior to the Collection of Dr. William Hunter, now at Glasgow, in the coins of cities, but inferior to it in the coins of kings.

Veneris, 8° die Martii, 1816.

HENRY BANKES, Esq. *in the Chair.*

The Earl *of* Aberdeen *attending, by permission of the House of Lords, was Examined.*

The Earl of Aberdeen.

In what year was your Lordship at Athens? — In 1803.

Were any part of the Marbles now in the Elgin Collection, removed at that time? — Yes, a considerable part.

Was the work of removal going on? — It was.

Did that appear to excite any sensation among the magistrates or the inhabitants of Athens? — Not much that I perceived.

In what state was the Western pediment at that time? — I believe those two figures (the second and third figures from the left in Nointel's drawing) were remaining; nothing else.

Was the head upon the second figure? — It was when I arrived at Athens, and was destroyed while I was there; I believe in the hope of selling it to some traveller, it had been knocked off, and falling on the pavement was broken to pieces.

Had your Lordship any opportunity of observing the head before it was knocked off? — I saw it frequently before it was knocked off.

Did it appear to your Lordship to resemble any particular head you had seen in antiquity? — It has been called the statue of Hadrian; but the head was so mutilated and corroded by time, that I should have thought it impossible to trace any resemblance to any head whatever.

Did the work of that head or figure appear different from the general character of the work of the Western pediment? — Not the least.

In what class of art does your Lordship place the best of the Marbles that have been brought home by Lord Elgin? — In the highest class of art. By this term, however, I beg to be understood only as expressing a very high degree of excellence, and not as, in strict language, comparing them with the most perfect specimens of the art on the Continent, or even in this Country.

Do you consider them of the antiquity that is usually attributed to them? — Unquestionably.

Does your Lordship consider the metopes as of the same age? — I see no reason for doubting it; indeed, I should say they must be of the same age, for the stones on which they are sculptured are let into the building, and must have been so let in before the roof was put on.

Does your Lordship imagine, that if those works had been left in their old places, they would have been much longer preserved? — I think they were in a state of great danger, and exposed to increasing danger, from the multitude of travellers that of late years resorted to that country.

Were the travellers in the habit of procuring fragments from the works of art? — Some travellers were in that habit; but the natives had a notion that all travellers were desirous of it, and therefore they destroyed them accordingly.

Did they destroy them for the purpose of selling them to the travellers? — I presume so.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

Does your Lordship consider the draped female figures as being in the first class of art? — I do; keeping in view the explanation which I have already given.

Did your Lordship bring home any Marbles? — Some inscriptions; some fragments; not of these.

From other parts of Greece? — Yes.

Did your Lordship obtain any particular permission to have any casts taken, or drawings made, from any part of Athens? — No.

The figure that was called Hadrian, was then not the centre figure of the pediment? — Certainly not.

Is your Lordship well acquainted with the bas reliefs of Mr. Townley's Collection? — Yes, I am.

Does your Lordship think they bear any comparison to those of my Lord Elgin? — Their preservation being infinitely better, they may be considered in some respects as more valuable; but, as works of art, I consider the best of Lord Elgin's to be quite equal, or superior.

Has your Lordship any notion of the money value of such a Collection as this? — That is certainly a question to which it is very difficult to give an answer which will be at all satisfactory: undoubtedly I have formed in my own mind a general opinion of their value, and if the Committee please, I will state it, and the grounds upon which it is formed. This Collection is very extensive, and, I think, may be generally divided into two classes: the first comprises sculpture from different parts of Greece, but particularly from the Temple of the Parthenon at Athens; this I consider to be extremely valuable, not only from the excellence of the work, but as belonging to the most celebrated Temple in Greece, and as affording undoubted specimens of the state of art at the time of its greatest perfection in that country. The other class comprises a great collection of inscriptions from different parts of Greece, which are extremely interesting from their high antiquity, and peculiarities of language; they afford historical documents of the progress and changes of the Greek language, which I think it would be difficult to find elsewhere: this, it is obvious, to private individuals would be comparatively of little value, but in a national point of view, especially where attention is paid to the study of the Greek language, I conceive them to be of considerable importance. There are also other objects of more or less value; and I would particularly mention the architectural fragments, which are members of some of the most perfect buildings in Greece. On the whole, therefore, from these considerations, if I name the sum of five-and-thirty-thousand pounds, I feel confident that the late Government of France would willingly have given a greater amount; and I am not at all certain that some of the Governments of Europe, notwithstanding the present state of their finances, might not be disposed to exceed that also.

Has your Lordship any reason to know that the late Government of France had it at all in contemplation to offer a sum? — It is from no positive knowledge of any such offer, but from the general impression and opinion among persons in Paris who were listened to, that I conceive it probable.

Does your Lordship happen to know whether there are any princes in Europe who are now collecting and will be likely to purchase such a Collection, if offered to them? — I think it extremely probable the King of Bavaria might, but I have no knowledge of that; and very possibly the Emperor of Russia; indeed the King of Prussia has bought a large collection of pictures: but this is mere conjecture.

Your Lordship has no doubt of the importance it would be to this Country, as the foundation of a national school of art, as well as from the other considerations you have mentioned, to purchase this Collection? — I have certainly a very high opinion of this Collection, both with respect to the art, and as interesting objects of antiquity.

In your Lordship's opinion, could any private traveller have had opportunities of accomplishing the removal of these Marbles; or does your Lordship imagine it would have been necessary to take advantage of the authority and influence a public situation gives? — I do not think a private individual

The Earl of Aberdeen.

could have accomplished the removal of the remains which Lord Elgin obtained. I will state a fact concerning myself: when I was at Constantinople, I happened on going there to have some interest in a question that had been a good deal discussed at the time, concerning the credibility of Homer's relation of the Siege of Troy; and I thought a very natural method of procuring some sort of illustration of that, would be to open some of the barrows and mounds which remained in that country, and which are appropriated to different heroes. I accordingly obtained permission at Constantinople to open such of those tumuli as I thought fit; and I went to the Plain of Troy in company with the Captain Pacha of the time, who gave me every sort of assistance in his power; but the natives opposed such obstacles, that I was unable to effect it: Therefore I conceive it certainly must have required very considerable influence not only with the Government, but in the country, to be able to carry it into execution.

Does not your Lordship think there would be considerable difference in point of difficulty, in removing any remains from a building in existence, and excavating and removing things under ground? — Very possibly; but it is very difficult to say what might be the conduct of the Turkish Government; it seems to be governed entirely by caprice; at one time there might be no difficulty, and at other times it might be very difficult.

Your Lordship is not aware of any permission given to individual travellers, of the same nature as that given to Lord Elgin? — No, I am not; but again I would beg to be understood, as not saying it would be refused; I obtained the permission I asked for from the Government without any difficulty.

That was a permission to excavate? — Yes.

In point of fact, your Lordship obtained all the facility from the Turkish Government which you wished for? — I certainly did.

Can your Lordship form any judgment whether a great expense was not necessarily incurred by Lord Elgin, in these operations? — Very great indeed.

Not only with regard to conducting the operations, but towards conciliating the good-will of the local authorities? — I dare say it might have been necessary, in obtaining any such permission, to conciliate those authorities by means of presents; but the difficulty of removing the objects themselves was very great indeed. I think when I was Athens, there was but one cart in the whole city, and that did not appear calculated to bear any great weight.

Can your Lordship form any estimate whatever of the probable degree of expense that Lord Elgin must have incurred there? — Indeed I cannot; but it must have been very great.

Does your Lordship conceive that the value of £. 35,000, which you are inclined to suggest, would cover all the expenses that may probably have arisen from this removal? — I have no knowledge whatever of the expenses incurred; they must have been very great, perhaps to that amount.

Does your Lordship happen to recollect that a ship belonging to my Lord Elgin, containing a considerable portion of those Marbles, was lost off the island of Cerigo, and afterwards weighed? — Yes.

Does your Lordship include in the sum of five-and-thirty thousand pounds the Medals? — No, I do not; I include nothing but the Marbles, the Inscriptions, and Sculpture.

Does your Lordship include the casts and moulds? — The estimate I have given is a very general one; it never had occurred to me to separate the Casts and the Marbles; certainly I did not consider the Casts as of any great value.

Your Lordship has alluded to the circumstance of the head of the figure called Hadrian having been broken off during the time your Lordship was at Athens, is your Lordship enabled to give an opinion as to how the Committee might estimate the service done to art, or the disservice, by the removal of the other fragments? — I think the danger the Marbles at Athens were in, arose not so

much from the destruction by the Turks, as from the frequency of travellers going to that country, and from the continued endeavours of the French Government to obtain possession of them; and therefore I think that at no great distance of time they probably might have been removed from Athens; and in that view, I certainly have always been very well pleased to see them here. *The Earl of Aberdeen.*

Was your Lordship apprised of the steps taken by Count de Choiseul for their removal? — I frequently heard of it.

In fact, not one of the figures on either of the pediments was perfect? — No, I believe not; they had suffered very much from the Turks at one time; but that violence had subsided completely; the Turks never injured them, they never thought of them.

Had Lord Elgin purchased the two houses under the Eastern pediment, at the time your Lordship was there? — He had; the temple was cleared in consequence.

It was in those houses, and in the excavations under them, that he found some considerable part of the Marbles? — I believe so.

Has your Lordship any opinion whether these sculptures are the work of Phidias? — I have no idea that any of them are the works of Phidias; but, from the testimony of ancient authors, there can be no doubt that the whole was executed under his immediate direction.

From the great difference in merit between some of these Marbles, is it not probable that they were executed by different artists? — Very probably; but in a temple of that description, magnificent, and superintended by Phidias, I have no doubt the artists were good.

Does not your Lordship consider it highly probable that Phidias may himself not only have designed, but even touched some of the heads, or the naked figures, that were in the Tympanum of the Parthenon? — I should think probably not: I have said, I have no doubt the whole was executed under his immediate direction.

From the nature of the work, your Lordship cannot judge whether that was the case or not? — The surface of most of the sculptures is so corroded, it is difficult to see the hand of a master upon it.

Is your Lordship of opinion that the designs of these pieces of sculpture were probably furnished by Phidias himself? — I think very probably, but of that I can be no better judge than the Committee; it is from ancient testimony I judge.

Is there any work so incontestably the work of Phidias, with which your Lordship can compare them, that your Lordship can form any opinion upon the subject? — I believe there is no work existing incontestably of Phidias; one of the statues on the Monte Cavallo, at Rome, has been called the work of Phidias.

Has your Lordship ever seen the Phygalian Marbles? — I have.

How do you estimate the value of those Marbles, in comparison with Lord Elgin's? — I consider those Marbles to be of the same age, and of the same scale of excellence: in many respects they are better preserved; but, on the other hand, they are in other respects not so interesting as Lord Elgin's.

In what respect does your Lordship consider them as inferior to Lord Elgin's? — In the first place, although I do not believe that any of these Marbles were touched by Phidias, I consider they receive an additional interest from being executed immediately under his direction. The Marbles of Phygalia came from a temple built by the same architect who was the builder of the Parthenon, but of the sculpture nothing is said.

By what architect was the temple of Phygalia built? — By Ictinus.

Does not your Lordship think that the manual execution of the Phygalian Marbles is extremely inferior to those of the Parthenon? — The relief is much bolder, and perhaps the workmanship may be inferior to the best of Lord Elgin's Marbles.

Does your Lordship consider that the superior preservation in which they are, at all compensates for the inferiority of execution? — It undoubtedly adds very greatly to their value.

Has your Lordship formed any relative idea of the value of the two Collections? — I think there

The Earl of Aberdeen.

is no comparison; that Lord Elgin's is greatly superior. I consider the Marbles of Phygalia to be worth about the price given for them; and I have already stated what I considered to be the value of Lord Elgin's.

Though the Marbles on the Parthenon and on the temple at Phygalia may have been designed by the same artist, does not your Lordship think the execution of the Marbles of the Parthenon are so different, not to say superior, to those of Phygalia, as to render it very unlikely that they were worked by the same hand? — I am not at all sure they were designed by the same artist: the same architect built both temples, but I will not answer for the sculpture having been designed by the same person. In fact, I think they are not very different; I think the style of work is very much the same; the difference arises from the higher relief of the Phygalian Marbles.

Is the relief of the Phygalian Marbles as high as the metopes of the Parthenon? — Very nearly; but their preservation is infinitely superior.

Does your Lordship think that the proportions of the figures in the Phygalian Marbles are short and coarse in comparison to the best of the Marbles of the Parthenon? — I think generally the style of work is the same.

Does your Lordship observe any difference in the style of drapery, or whether there was the same simplicity? — I do not think the simplicity of drapery is remarkable in Lord Elgin's Marbles; on the contrary, I have been surprised at the complicated drapery, if I may say so, that there is in both.

Does your Lordship recollect to have read, that Callicrates was employed on any other works but the Parthenon and the Long Wall? — I recollect no other.

John Bacon Sawrey Morritt, Esq. *a Member of the House, Examined.*

J. B. S. Morritt, Esq.

In what year were you at Athens? — In the spring of 1795.

In what state was the Western pediment of the Parthenon at that time? — I recollect the three left hand figures, but I do not recollect that so many of the heads remained as appear in this drawing; of the others, some of the trunks did, the centres certainly did not.

In what year did you leave Athens? — I staid at Athens nearly three months.

Did you observe the head of the second figure in the Western pediment? — The head was on at that time, I recollect.

Did it appear to you resembling any character that you knew, by reference to coins or statues? — It had been said to resemble Hadrian; the head was not very perfect, and I did not think the resemblance so strong as to enable me to decide that it was so; the antiquarians and the few people I saw there that knew any thing at all about it, had adopted that as a system probably from books which had been published.

Do you imagine, that there is any ground for supposing the heads commonly called Hadrian and Sabina, had been added to figures which were more ancient? — I did not observe any appearance of it; but at the period that I was at Athens, my own knowledge of the subject was not sufficiently matured to make my observation of the least consequence; I did not know enough of the style at that period to form an adequate judgment.

Was there in the Turkish Government and people a desire of preserving these remains, or did they seem careless about their being broken to pieces and pulled down? — When I was there, the Turkish Government totally neglected the care of such Marbles as were loose or thrown down, but certainly interfered to prevent any Marbles from being removed which were standing and in their places.

Was one of the pieces of the frieze removed by Monsieur de Choiseul, the French ambassador, prior to your being there? — I really do not know whether it was or not; it was not done while I was there, that I recollect; it was so generally understood that the Government wished to prevent any

thing from being removed, that the local governors of Athens, who were assailable by bribery, endeavoured to conduct the business as secretly as they could, whenever any thing was to be removed, even of the Marbles which were down. I myself negotiated with the commander of the citadel for the removal of one or two pieces of the fricze, that were thrown down and neglected among rubbish: he was very willing to do it for a sum of money, if he could do it without the knowledge of any person whatever. This negotiation coming however to the ear of the French agent, who wanted it for himself, he prevented my getting it, by threatening the magistrate to make it known to his superiors; in consequence of which it remained where it was. *J. B. S. Morritt, Esq.*

You understood there was always a great difference between the Marbles already thrown down, and those that were standing in their places? — I had endeavoured to include in the bargain one of the metopes which had not fallen, but which was so loose that it appeared on the point of coming down. I found him much more scrupulous on this point than with respect to those which had fallen; and I think that he would not on any consideration have allowed those that were secure to be removed. I do not know how far the Government might have relaxed afterwards; but I met with the same difficulty at Ephesus, and at Amyclæ, where I wished to procure the Marbles, Lord Aberdeen has since successfully brought over; they all were looked upon as the property of the State. The answer given to me was, that they should be extremely glad to sell them; and the magistrate told me, he valued the money more than the Marbles, but that it was as much as his head was worth.

Do you think the Greeks were anxious that those Marbles should not be removed from Athens? — They were decidedly and strongly desirous that they should not be removed.

Are you of opinion that nothing but the influence of a public character could have obtained the permission to remove these? — The different views of an arbitrary Government in Turkey change so from year to year, that I can speak to it only for the time I was there. When I was there in 1796, I certainly conceived nothing but the influence of a public character could obtain that permission.

Do you think that even the influence of a public character could have obtained it at that time? — It is impossible, so little as I know of the politics of the Court of Turkey, to answer that question.

Did you try at Constantinople to procure permission to remove any Marbles? — I did not.

Were you acquainted with any circumstances attending either the acquisitions of Monsieur Choiseul's Marbles, or their removal from Greece? — Monsieur Fauvel, who has since been the French Consul, I believe, and who for some time had been employed in collecting for Monsieur Choiseul, informed me that much influence had been used by Choiseul, in order to procure the Collection he made; and a part of that Collection, which was still in Turkey, and some of it in Fauvel's own hands, was detained by him, and by the French Ambassador for the Republic, as the property of the Great Nation, as he called it; Monsieur Choiseul having at that time become a candidate for employment under the then existing French Government.

It was considered that those Marbles which had been obtained by Monsieur Choiseul in his public character, had been obtained in a manner which constituted them the property of the French Government? — I believe they were at that time considered as the property of the French Government, under the emigration of Monsieur Choiseul, and the confiscation of his property by the Government.

Are you acquainted with the Elgin Marbles? — I am.

In what class of art do you esteem them? — I esteem them, many of them, as the purest specimens of the finest age of Greece.

Do you consider it of consequence to the welfare of art in this Country, that this Collection should become the property of the Public? — In my own judgment, I should say it was of the first importance to the progress of art.

Have you ever looked at this Collection with a view to its money value? — I cannot say that I can form any judgment upon that subject; so much of the value of works of art is ideal. I consider it as unique, certainly, in point of design, and as an undoubted specimen of the best age

J. B. S. Morritt, Esq.

of Greece; but the state of mutilation in which it is left, and, above all, the corrosion of much of the surface by the weather, must greatly reduce its value.

Do you consider that those works were in continual danger of destruction, if they had been permitted to remain in their old places?—From the manner of the people at the time I was there, I should say that the pieces that were thrown down were liable to injury; but that of those which remain standing, and in their places, I saw no reason whatever, except the state of decay in which time had placed them, to anticipate any destruction whatever.

Did the Turks ever fire at the figures of the Tympanum?—Certainly not as a practice, nor did I ever hear of such an instance.

Of the twenty figures, some of them quite perfect, which appear in Nointel's drawing, do you recollect that more than three or four remained when you saw them, and that none of those three or four were perfect?—I recollect that none of the figures were perfect; I speak from imperfect recollection; but I should say that seven or eight remained. I think that part of the car and horse remained, but a very imperfect part; and part of several of the others, I think six or seven, much mutilated.

JOHN NICHOLAS FAZAKERLEY, Esq. *a Member of the Committee, Examined.*

J. N. Fazakerley, Esq.

IN what year were you at Athens?—In 1810 and 1811.

From your observation of the state in which the remaining monuments at Athens now are, have you reason to believe that those which were removed by Lord Elgin, would have been subjected to great risk and loss if that operation had not been performed?—My impression certainly is, that all the Marbles at Athens were exposed to very considerable danger from the avidity of travellers to acquire particular objects, and the bribery which was employed with magistrates on the spot to obtain them. I should add, that at this moment the Turks have an interest to preserve the monuments which remain upon the citadel at Athens, because they obtain money by exhibiting them. It is very obvious, from the dilapidations which took place in former years, the same causes continuing in a great degree still to operate, that the Marbles were exposed to great risk.

Does your recollection of the state of the temple agree in general with the evidence which Mr. Wilkins gave?—It does.

Had you an opportunity of seeing the Ægina Marbles?—I saw them in 1811.

Will you have the goodness to give the Committee your opinion of those Marbles?—The Ægina Marbles I always understood, from persons much more competent to give an opinion than myself, as pieces of sculpture, were rather curious from the age of which they were specimens, than valuable from any particular beauty; they were in considerable preservation: And there was one particularity in them which has seldom been remarked in other monuments of antiquity; which was, that it goes to corroborate an idea that has been entertained, that the ancients painted their statues, and employed gilding on parts of the face; in the eyes of some of them there are remains of painting and gilding, which much added to their value as matters of curiosity.

In your judgment then, as specimens or models of the Fine Arts, the Ægina Marbles have very little value from their beauty?—Very little from their beauty, but very great from their antiquity and their rarity.

Of what age were they?—They were of the age commonly called that of Etruscan Art.

You were at Athens at the time the Ægina Marbles were removed?—No; I was there immediately prior to their removal.

Do you know whether the proprietors of those Marbles experienced great difficulty in removing them out of Greece?—Certainly, very great; the Ægina Marbles in 1811 were deposited in a building almost under ground, and considered there in some degree in secret; they were not generally

shown, and it was understood that the Turkish Government had opposed impediments to their removal; and Mr. Cockerell called upon me to consult with the English Consul upon the means of enabling him to remove them from Athens to Zante. The English Consul, when we consulted him on the subject, told me that he felt great embarrassment on the subject, and that they must be removed either in secret or by bribery: by the Turkish Government I mean the local Government. *J. N. Fazakerley, Esq.*

How much prior to the age of Pericles do you conceive the date of the Ægina Marbles to be?—I do not know precisely what number of years may have intervened.

Is there much of that style in Greece, called Etruscan?—I recollect hearing of one or two specimens in the Morea.

Is there any thing in that style at Athens?—No; I think not.

Do you know what value was put upon the Ægina Marbles?—Mr. Galley Knight and myself were anxious to purchase those Marbles for the British Museum; and we requested Mr. Lusieri to put some value upon them; at his suggestion we offered the sum of £.2,000; the Marbles belonging to two English proprietors, and to two Germans; the English proprietors consenting to relinquish their share of the profits, in hopes that the Marbles should come to England: so that the offer implied that the Marbles were worth £.4,000. I think it justice to those two English gentlemen, who made this liberal offer, to mention their names; Mr. Cockerell and Mr. Foster.

Lunæ, 11° die Martii, 1816.

HENRY BANKES, Esq. *in the Chair.*

Alexander Day, Esq. *called in, and Examined.*

ARE you acquainted with the Elgin Collection of Marbles?—Yes; I have had the pleasure to visit them often. *Alexander Day, Esq.*

In what class of art do you rank the best of these Marbles?—I rank them in the First Class, as I know of nothing superior to them.

Which pieces among the Marbles do you rank as in the highest class?—The Theseus and the Ilissus.

How do you rank these, as compared with the figures on the Monte Cavallo?—I think their merit seems to correspond, as if they were the production of the same master; but I make a distinction between the two figures on Monte Cavallo, ranking that which is called the work of Phidias as the highest.

Is that the figure now in the King's Mews?—Yes.

Do the horses on the Monte Cavallo seem to be of the same age and class as the Centaurs in the metopes?—Yes, I should think they do.

As compared with the Apollo Belvidere, the Torso, and the Laocoon, in what rank do you estimate the Theseus and the Ilissus?—I should judge them superior; particularly were they less mutilated, a better judgment could be formed.

In what particulars do you judge them to be superior?—I judge, from seeing those parts which are best preserved, that the style of the sculpture is superior to either the Apollo, the Torso, or the Laocoon.

Alexander Day, Esq.

Do you mean by superior in sculpture, superior in execution, or superior in design?—I mean with respect to the style and character of the workmanship.

Do you mean as they conform more to general nature, and give a more exact imitation of it?—They conform more to what the artists call Sublimated Nature; not common nature, but nature in its highest perfection.

Have you been a dealer in Marbles yourself?—No, I have not; I never bought an entire statue, but any fragments that came in my way, merely for my own study and amusement.

Have you ever looked at Lord Elgin's Collection, with a view of estimating its money price?—No, never.

Have you purchased pictures of great known merit, for sale?—I have.

And you have met with a ready sale?—Yes, I have.

Have you long resided in Rome?—Between 30 and 40 years in Italy, but mostly in Rome.

Have you directed your attention, in the greater part of that time, to the Fine Arts in general?—Entirely.

Though not a dealer in Marbles, have you not been, in a considerable degree, conversant with transactions of that nature during your residence there?—Yes, naturally.

Can you form any opinion what price might have been asked for the Theseus at Rome, supposing it to have been dug up at Hadrian's Villa, for instance?—In answer to that question, I can only say in what price it may be esteemed, because no purchaser would be allowed to take such an example of sculpture out of Rome; but I cannot take upon myself to put that estimation upon so fine an object of art; it is not capable of pecuniary estimation, having no intrinsic value, but depending on taste.

Are you not the proprietor of the cast of one of the figures from the Monte Cavallo, which is now exhibiting in the Mews?—I am.

Can you state to the Committee the prices at which any remarkable and well known statue has been sold, or offered for sale?—Yes; the statue known by the name of the Barbarini Faun, has lately been sold for the price of about £.3000 sterling.

When was it sold?—About two years ago, to the agent of the Prince Royal of Bavaria: it was not known, at the time of the purchase, for whom it was bought.

Were there any competitors for the purchase?—Yes; but as it was declared that the statue should never go out of Rome, then it was relinquished by all except the agent of the Prince Royal of Bavaria, who accepted it: after this the statue was arrested in the street, when they were removing it, and is at present deposited in the Museum at Rome.

Have you any acquaintance with any of the persons who were competitors for the purchase?—Yes, Torlonia, the banker at Rome, was one.

Do you know, if permission could have been obtained for the removal, whether as much or more would have been given by any of the competitors?—I can only say, that the price which was paid was considered very inadequate to its value.

How do you estimate the value of that statue, as compared with any of the statues in the Elgin Collection?—I consider the Elgin Marbles as of a higher class.

How do you estimate it with the Theseus?—I consider it as very inferior.

Would the different state of the preservation compensate for that difference, in your opinion?—The Faun itself is not perfect; the legs of it are restored in stucco; the hands also; the head and torso are tolerably perfect. The statue was restored in my time, by Pacchetti.

As compared with the Ilissus, how do you estimate the value of the Faun?—I consider the Ilissus to be the superior statue by far.

Is not part of the Ilissus in very perfect preservation?—Yes, the back particularly.

Mercurii, 13° *die Martii*, 1816.

HENRY BANKES, Esq. *in the Chair.*

Rev. Dr. PHILIP HUNT, LL. D. *called in, and Examined.*

Rev. Dr. P. Hunt.

IN what year were you at Constantinople, and in what character?—I went out with Lord Elgin, as his chaplain, and occasionally acting as his secretary.

Did you ever see any of the written permissions which were granted to him for removing the Marbles from the Temple of Minerva?—Yes; I found on my first visit to Athens that the fermauns which had been granted to Lord Elgin's artists were not sufficiently extensive to attain the objects they had in view, that their operations were frequently interrupted by the Disdar or military governor of the Citadel, and by his Janizaries, and other considerable obstacles thrown in their way, by sometimes refusing them admission and destroying their scaffolding: on my return, therefore, to Constantinople, in 1801, I advised Lord Elgin to apply to the Porte for a fermaun embracing the particular objects I pointed out to him; and as I had been before deceived with respect to the pretended contents of a fermaun, I begged that this might be accompanied by a literal translation: the fermaun was sent with a translation, and that translation I now possess. It is left at Bedford, and I have no means of directing any person to obtain it: I would have brought it if I had been aware I should have been summoned by this Committee before I left Bedford.

What was the substance of that fermaun?—It began by stating, that it was well known to the Sublime Porte that foreigners of rank, particularly English noblemen and gentlemen, were very anxious to visit and examine the works of ancient art in Greece, particularly the temples of the Idols; that the Porte had always gladly gratified that wish; and that, in order to show their particular respect to the Ambassador of Great Britain, the august Ally of the Porte, with whom they were now, and had long been, in the strictest alliance, they gave to his Excellency, and to his Secretary, and the Artists employed by him, the most extensive permission to view, draw, and model, the ancient temples of the Idols, and the sculptures upon them, and to make excavations, and to take away any stones that might appear interesting to them.

Was this fermaun granted after the conquest of Egypt by the British arms?—It was after their first successes.

Was the obstruction, which you mentioned in your former answer, before the success of the British arms?—It continued to be shown till I arrived with the second fermaun.

Was the tenor of the second fermaun so full and explicit as to convey upon the face of it a right to displace and take away whatever the artists might take a fancy to?—Not whatever the artists might take a fancy to; but when the original was read to the Vaivode of Athens, he seemed disposed to gratify any wish of mine with respect to the pursuits of Lord Elgin's artists; in consequence of which I asked him permission to detach from the Parthenon the most perfect, and, as it appeared to me, the most beautiful Metope: I obtained that permission, and acted upon it immediately: I had one carefully packed and put on board a Ragusan ship, which was under my orders, from which it was transferred to a frigate, and sent to England. The facility with which this had been obtained, induced Lord Elgin to apply for permission to lower other groupes of sculpture from the Parthenon;

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which he did to a considerable extent, not only on the Parthenon, but on other edifices in the Acropolis.

Was this under the authority of the same fermaun?—It was.

Was there any difficulty in persuading the Vaivode to give this interpretation to the fermaun?—Not a great deal of difficulty.

Was there any sum of money given to the Vaivode, anterior to his interpretation of the fermaun?—Presents were given to him at the time of presenting the fermaun; but I am not aware of any money being given.

Do you recollect what was the essential difference of the two fermauns?—I never saw any translation of the first, but found it had been inefficient.

Have you any idea of the difficulty and expense of obtaining the fermauns from the Porte?—I am not aware of difficulty or expense being incurred at Constantinople in obtaining that fermaun.

Did you ever hear of any negotiations with the servants of the Sultana Validè?—I recollect none; but that negotiation might have taken place without my knowledge; and, if it did, it must have been through the agency of the dragoman of the British embassy.

Have you any information to give the Committee with regard to the expense incurred in the way of bribes, either in obtaining the fermaun at Constantinople, or on acting upon it at Athens?—Nothing sufficiently precise, to enable me even to conjecture the amount.

Did Lord Elgin's local expenses at Athens pass through your hands?—No; I merely gave the presents to the local authorities on my audience.

Can you give any information to the Committee respecting the subsequent expenses incurred by Lord Elgin in the operation of removing the Marbles, and bringing them to England?—No, I cannot.

Was there any interference used by any persons to prevent the removal of these Marbles?—Not that I recollect; as the permission to lower the Metope was given me by the Vaivode, who has the highest authority at Athens.

Was any opposition shown by any class of the natives?—None.

Did you continue at Athens after the removal of the first Metope?—I remained there a few weeks, and revisited Athens subsequently.

Did Lord Elgin experience any difficulty in removing his Marbles from Turkey?—Interruptions were given by some of the Janizaries residing in the Acropolis, from fear of their houses being injured by the operations of his Lordship's artists; but those houses were bought by his Lordship and pulled down, and excavations made where they had stood: no subsequent opposition was given on the part of the Turkish Government, and I found the common inhabitants of Athens always very ready to act as labourers in removing the sculptures.

Do you conceive that a fermaun of such extensive powers would have been granted by the Turkish Government at any other period, to any British subject?—Certainly not; and if it had not been at so favourable a moment, I should not have thought of proposing many of the requests it contained.

Do you think that any British subject, not in the situation of ambassador, would have been able to obtain from the Turkish Government a fermaun of such extensive powers?—Certainly not.

In your opinion, was this permission given to Lord Elgin entirely in consequence of the situation he held as British ambassador?—I am inclined to think such a permission would not have been asked for by any person not an ambassador of a highly favoured ally, nor granted to any other individual.

Does it appear to you, that the permission under which Lord Elgin acted, was granted as a private favour to himself, or as a tribute of respect and gratitude to the British nation?—I cannot presume to explain the motives of the Porte, but I think it was influenced by great personal respect to the

ambassador, as well as gratitude for the successful efforts of our army in Egypt: but I always thought the objects so to be obtained, were to be the property of Lord Elgin.

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Did you see any particular fermaun granting authority to purchase and pull down a house?—No; I am confident no such permission was in the fermaun I took to Athens, though it contained general permission to excavate near the temples.

In what year did you return to Athens?—I was there at different times, and sailed from thence, with the ambassador, at the termination of the embassy, having procured for him, at different visits, most of the inscriptions, and many detached pieces of sculpture.

When you finally left Athens, were all the Marbles now in Lord Elgin's Collection removed or lowered from their original places?—I believe most of them were.

Were all the large figures lowered?—They had been, during my absence from Athens.

Was one of the Caryatides removed at that time?—I think it was.

Do you know whether the removal of that piece of sculpture created any discontent or sensation among the people of Athens?—I had no personal knowledge that it did; no such discontent was ever expressed to me.

Do you imagine that the fermaun gave a direct permission to remove figures and pieces of sculpture from the walls of temples, or that that must have been a matter of private arrangement with the local authorities of Athens?—That was the interpretation which the Vaivode of Athens was induced to allow it to bear.

In consequence of what was the Vaivode induced to give it this interpretation?—With respect to the first metope, it was to gratify what he conceived to be the favourable wishes of the Turkish Government towards Lord Elgin, and which induced him rather to extend than contract the precise permissions of the fermaun.

Can you form any idea of the value of the presents which you gave to the Vaivode?—I cannot now; they consisted of brilliant cut glass lustres, fire-arms, and other articles of English manufacture.

Can you form any estimate of the expense incurred by Lord Elgin in forming this Collection of Marbles, and bringing them to England?—I have no data on which to form any accurate idea of the expense of procuring them and putting them on board ship; but it must have been very considerable, both in procuring them, and the great local difficulties he met with in taking them to the Piræus.

Do you know the weekly or monthly expenses incurred on Lord Elgin's account during your stay at Athens?—I do not; but it must have been very considerable, owing to the expense of the salaries and maintenance of his numerous artists, and the continued presents that were given to the Turkish officers at Athens, and the numerous labourers employed in transporting the heavy masses of Marble.

Do you know the weekly sums paid in salaries to the artists or the labourers employed by Lord Elgin?—I do not; I believe all pecuniary disbursements on his Lordship's account at Athens were made by Signior Lusieri, his principal artist.

Can you conjecture whether, upon the whole, Lord Elgin's expenses are likely to have exceeded the sum of £. 30,000?—I have no means of forming any opinion upon that subject: his Lordship was indefatigable in his researches, not only at Athens and its neighbourhood, but throughout the Morea and Proper Greece, and the shores of Asia Minor, in endeavouring to procure whatever might tend to the improvement of the arts, particularly in sculpture, architecture, and medals, as well as ancient inscriptions, tending to elucidate the progress of the Greek language from the Βουστροφηδον mode of writing, through all its changes to the latest periods of Greece; he also procured specimens

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of the different orders of architecture, such as capitals and bases, &c. from the earliest to the latest styles.

QUESTIONS sent to the President of the Royal Academy, his Health not permitting him to attend the Committee; with his Answers thereto.

Benjamin West, Esq.

1. ARE you well acquainted with the Elgin Collection?—I am, having drawn the most distinguished of them, the size of the original Marbles.

2. In what class of art do you rank the best of these Marbles?—In the first of dignified art, brought out of nature upon unerring truths, and not on mechanical principles, to form systematic characters and systematic art.

3. Which, among the Marbles, do you consider as the most excellent?—The Theseus, the Ilissus, the breast and shoulders of the Neptune, and the horse's head.

4. In what class do you rank the draped female figures?—In the first class of grandeur.

5. Do you consider the draped female figures as of high antiquity?—At the same time of the Theseus; and the equestrian groups are of the same period.

6. In what class do you rank the metopes?—In the grand and simple style of composition.

7. Do they appear to you the work of the same artists?—One mind pervades the whole, but not one hand has executed them.

8. In what class do you rank the frieze of the procession?—The equestrian groups in this frieze or procession are without example, in the energies of the horses, the grace and beauty of the youths who sit upon them, and the life which is to be found in all. The whole does not appear to be the efforts of the human hand, but those of some magic power, which brought the marble into life.

9. Does that frieze appear to you superior or inferior in excellence to the metopes?—The metopes are superior in their finishing, and many of them are more appropriate to the studies of sculpture, than the less polished groups in the frieze; but the energy of the latter is without an example in art, excepting the two works by Raphael, in the Vatican, viz. the Expulsion of Heliodorus, and the invading Army of Rome, under King Attila. These two works of art embrace the same soul, as they sprung from the Marbles now under the consideration of the Committee, and which were communicated to Raphael by his agents sent to Athens, and other parts of the Grecian islands.

10. Does it appear, in general, to be the work of the same artists?—In this frieze I perceive one mind and one hand, in all that animated nature of which the groups are composed.

11. Does that frieze appear to be works of the same period with the metopes and the larger statues?—The same hand which produced this frieze, was capable of producing the metopes and the large figures.

12. As compared with the Apollo Belvidere, the Torso of the Belvidere, and the Laocoon, how do you estimate the Theseus or Hercules, and the River God or Ilissus?—The Apollo of the Belvidere, the Torso, and the Laocoon, are systematic art; the Theseus and the Ilissus stand supreme in art.

13. Do you consider it of importance to promoting the study and knowledge of the Fine Arts in Great Britain, that this Collection should become public property?—I think them of the highest importance in art that ever presented itself in this country, not only for instruction in professional studies, but also to inform the public mind in what is dignified in art.

Benjamin West, Esq.

14. As connected with the study of painting, do you consider that great improvement of our British artists may be expected from this acquisition?—It is in these Marbles which is seen the source from whence they grew, and that source is now as open as when they were raised into being, because it came from nature, which is eternal; and as Raphael was benefited by them, so may our British artists.

15. Can you form any estimate of the money value of this Collection; and if so, what is that value, and upon what data do you form your estimate?—To such works as these, which have appeared but once in the world, I cannot set any pecuniary value, in competition with the mental powers which are to be seen in those Marbles.

16. In what consists the characteristic distinction between the style of the best of the Marbles from the Temple of Minerva, and that of the Laocoon, Apollo Belvidere, and other works of excellence which you have seen?—The same answer as that of No. 12.

17. Does the close imitation of nature, (in your opinion,) which is observable in the statues of the Theseus, Ilissus, and some of the best metopes, take from, or add to their excellence?—The close imitation of nature visible in these Figures, adds an excellence to them which words are incapable of describing, but sensibility feels, and adds to their excellence.

18. Have you ever drawn from these Marbles; and are you sensible of any improvement from having studied them?—I have drawn from and studied the figures and groups of men and horses, which I found most excellent in those Marbles. Whether in studying them, I have added any celebrity to the productions of my pencil, I leave the Select Committee to determine, on viewing my two Works, subsequent to those studies, viz. Christ in the Temple, and Christ Rejected, which are before the Public.

19. Are not some of the metopes as highly finished as the Theseus or Ilissus?—They are, in many of their bodies, and also in some of the bodies of the Centaurs.

20. Have you seen and examined Mr. Knight's Collection of Bronzes; and in what does their character materially differ from the best of Lord Elgin's Marbles?—I have seen them, and they are of the first class, as bronzes. They, as most bronzes, are of systematic art; but there are some in that Collection of pure art; in particular, I remember a young Apollo.

21. Have you ever seen sculpture that was, in your opinion, so incontestably the work of the greatest artists as the Theseus, Ilissus, and some of the metopes, or so valuable as models for artists, notwithstanding the partial loss of surface and mutilation?—I have never seen any works of sculpture, which prove themselves to be so decidedly the works of the greatest masters, as must be seen in the Figures mentioned; and also the same powers are visible in the Barbarini Sleeping Faun.

22—27. Have you seen, and examined, the Phygalian Marbles at the Museum?—I have, and find groups and figures among them deserving of praise, but greatly deficient in the just proportion of heads, legs, and arms, and the draperies much confused in their folds; though when taken in the whole, they are an acquisition in art to this country, although inferior to those which are here from the Temple of Minerva.

28, 29. How should you class the Theseus or Ilissus, compared with the Barbarini Faun? Should you consider either of the above statues, in their present state, as equal or superior in money value to the Barbarini Faun?—These three figures are in the highest style of sculptured art, and the very able restoration of the feet, and other parts of the Barbarini Faun, renders it more agreeable to the view as a whole, but not more valuable or superior in style of art, or equal to the figures of Theseus, or the Ilissus, in the truth of nature, particularly in the knees, shoulders and backs, where time has most injured them. Respecting the money value of these three figures, I suppose they are nearly on a balance, in their mutilated state; but in the refinement of what is transcendant in art, as in the Theseus and the Ilissus, I cannot put any nominal value.

Benjamin West, Esq.

30. Can you compare, in money value, Lord Elgin's Marbles, or any part of them, with the money value of the Phygalian, or the Townley Collection? — I judge of the Elgin Marbles, from their purity and pre-eminence in art over all others I have ever seen, and from their truth and intellectual power; and I give them the preference to the Phygalian and Townley Collection, most of which is systematic art.

If the above Answers to the Questions, with which I have been honoured by the Select Committee of the House of Commons, tend in any way to assist them in their inquiries respecting the merits of the Elgin Marbles, I shall feel myself highly gratified.

With the greatest respect, I have the honour to be,

The Committee's most obedient humble Servant,

March 18th, 1816.

BENJAMIN WEST.

APPENDIX.

No. 2.—*LETTER from Lord* ELGIN *to the Right Honourable* N. VANSITTART; *accompanying his Petition to the House of Commons.*

SIR, *London*, 14th *February*, 1816.

IN pursuance of the advice you were good enough to give me at our last interview, I have the honour of transmitting to you a copy of the Petition which you last year presented to the House of Commons, in my name, for the disposal of my Collection of Athenian Sculpture, and other objects of Grecian Antiquity, to the Public.

Since that period, the relations between this Country and the Continent have afforded a fresh accession of means to the most distinguished and learned foreigners to bear their testimony of admiration to the real merit of my Marbles; which, I may venture to say, have essentially gained in the public opinion, even on a comparison with the chef-d'œuvres of ancient art, which, till lately, adorned the Gallery of the Louvre.

Within this period also, the fate of that Gallery, and the influence of the dispersion of it, have eminently exemplified, in the face of Europe, the importance of collections of this nature, in a national point of view.

I should have been most highly gratified in presenting my Collection (the fruits of many years anxiety and trouble) gratuitously to my Country, could I have done so with justice to my family. Situated, however, as I am, I can only transfer it to the Public for such a consideration as the House of Commons may judge proper to fix.

In proceeding to the appreciation of it, it will readily be admitted, under all the peculiarities of the case, that I can be possessed of no standard which could authorize me to name a price. Whereas if (as I have presumed to suggest in my Petition) a Committee of the House of Commons would enter upon the examination of the most competent evidence which can be adduced, they would, upon that evidence, be able to determine the intrinsic value to the Country of what I offer; and would, I have no doubt, arbitrate satisfactorily as well as fairly, between the Public and me. It is therefore not my wish to name any particular price, nor to enter into any statement of my own views, with respect to the value of my Collection. I leave this question entirely in the hands of the Committee of the House of Commons, to whom I shall be happy to afford all the information in my power.

In conclusion, I beg leave to express my hope and expectation, founded on the concurring testimonies of the first Authorities in this and other countries of Europe, that the fullest investigation which can be bestowed on this subject will prove, in the most unexceptionable manner, that I have been so fortunate as to confer a real benefit on my Country; and that the Collection with which I enrich it, will be eminently useful to the progress of the Fine Arts, not only in Great Britain, but throughout Europe.

The Right Honourable N. VANSITTART,
&c. &c. &c.

I have the honour, &c. &c.
(Signed) ELGIN.

No. 3.—*MEMORANDUM, as to Lord* ELGIN's *exclusive Right of Property in the Collection of Marbles.*

February, 1816.

1. BY reference to the Journals of the House of Commons, it does not appear, that, on the occasion of the transfer of Sir William Hamilton's Collection to the Public, any idea was entertained calling in question his exclusive property in what he offered to Parliament.

In point of fact, the Royal Family of Naples took a great interest in Sir William Hamilton's researches, aided him materially; and, it was understood, contributed considerably to his Collection.

It is also known that, subsequently, Sir William Hamilton formed other Collections, and disposed of these to individual collectors.

2. M. le Comte de Choiseul Gouffier, during his embassy in Turkey, previous to the French Revolution, entered upon the same plan which Lord Elgin has prosecuted; employing a number of artists at his own expense, and making every preparation for moulding, and removing sculpture, &c. from Athens. The Revolutionary Government seized some of the acquisitions which he had sent to France; but Buonaparte, in the short peace, allowed a corvette to bring away, on M. de Choiseul's account, what still remained of his property at Athens. And when, in 1803, this vessel was captured by a frigate in Lord Nelson's squadron, his Lordship, on M. de Choiseul's solicitation, considered the cargo as private property, and directed it to be preserved for him accordingly.

3. Sir Robert Ainslie, Lord Elgin's predecessor in Turkey, made considerable Collections there, his property in which was never disputed.

4. The greater part of Lord Elgin's Collection was obtained during his embassy. But from the termination of it in January 1803 till the present time, his operations have continued uninterruptedly — (excepting only during the interval of war with Turkey.) Accordingly, a very valuable addition of statuary, &c. (acquired within that period) was joined to the Collection in 1812.

5. A public despatch from Lord Elgin, dated January 19th, 1803, conveying a request on the subject of his salary, contains the following passage: "The private expense I have incurred to the extent of many "thousand pounds, in improving the advantages before me, towards procuring a knowledge of the Fine Arts "in Greece, and rescuing some of their remains from ruin; and the loss of a valuable vessel of mine, solely "employed in that service, would make any defalcation of the appointments affixed to my rank, a matter of "serious inconvenience to me."

6. On the other hand, Government not only never interfered in any way, in Lord Elgin's operations in Greece, but let it be distinctly understood, before his leaving England, that they could not authorize any expenditure, on an undertaking attended with so much uncertainty and risk; it being beyond doubt that, had they given instructions, or even any formal encouragement, they would, with the advantages, have been liable also in any loss.

7. In fact, no instance is known of the Public claiming an interest in what foreign Ministers, Governors, Naval or Military Commanders, &c. &c. may at any time have acquired by their own means, or received from foreign Sovereigns to whom they were accredited.

8. A letter from the late Mr. Townley to Mr. Harrison the architect, dated in the year 1803, will prove that the clear understanding of the Public in general, and of the Dilettanti Society in particular, was, that Lord Elgin was carrying on his pursuits at his own private risk, and without any assistance whatever from Government. A copy of this letter is hereunto annexed, enclosed in one from Mr. Harrison to Lord Elgin.

No. 4.—*MEMORANDUM as to the Delay in transferring* Lord ELGIN'S *Collection to the Public.*

February, 1816.

As it may appear to require some explanation, why this Collection is only now transferred to the Public, after a considerable part of it has been so many years in the country; Lord Elgin begs leave to state:

That on being arrested in France, and becoming apprehensive that his detention might be much protracted, he directed the Collection to be made over to Government unconditionally. But his family (with whom alone he was then permitted to correspond) from being wholly unacquainted with the object, delayed complying with this direction till the year 1806, when he reached England.

Within ten days after his arrival, while none of the packages were yet opened, though some were partially broken; a gentleman of the very greatest weight in this country on all matters of taste and ancient art, publicly declared in Lord Elgin's presence, and supported his opinion by allusions to classical authority:

"That Phidias did not work in marble: that the sculptures which decorated the pediments of the "Parthenon were executed, at soonest, in the time of Hadrian; and could not rank otherwise than as "Roman work."

The respectable quarter whence this opinion originated, imposed upon Lord Elgin the indispensable obligation of laying his Collection open to public inspection, before he could feel justified in bringing it forward as an object of national importance. Some time, however, after he had so exposed it to view, a volume published in 1809, by the Dilettanti Society of London, denominated "Specimens of Ancient "Sculpture selected from different Collections in Great Britain," not only did not advert to any of Lord Elgin's *statues*, or include any of them in its selection of specimens, but contained the following very striking passage: "Of Phidias's style of composition, the *friezes* and *metopes* of the temple of Minerva at "Athens, published by Mr. Stuart, and since brought to England, may afford us competent information. "But as these are merely architectural sculptures, executed from his designs, and under his directions, "probably by workmen scarcely ranked among artists, and meant to be seen at the heighth of more than "40 feet from the eye, they can throw but little light upon the more important details of his art. From the "degree and mode of relief in the friezes, they appear to have been intended to produce an effect like that "of the simplest kind of mono-chromatic paintings when seen from their proper point of sight, which effect "must have been extremely light and elegant. The relief in the metopes is much higher, so as to exhibit "the figures nearly complete, and the details are more accurately and more elaborately made out; but they "are so different in their degrees of merit, as to be evidently the works of many different persons, some of "whom would not have been entitled to the rank of artists in a much less cultivated and fastidious age."

So that when Mr. Perceval in 1811, proposed to purchase this Collection, not by proceeding to settle a price upon a previous examination into its merits and value, but by offering at once a specific sum for it, Lord Elgin declined the proposal, as one that, under the above impressions, would be in the highest degree unsatisfactory to the Public, as well as wholly inadequate, either in compensation of the outlay occasioned in procuring the Collection; or in reference to (what has since been established beyond all doubt) the excellence of this sculpture, and its authenticity as the work of the ablest artists of the age of Pericles.

No. 5.—*Copy of a LETTER addressed by Lord* ELGIN *to the Right Honourable* CHARLES LONG, *in* 1811;—*with a Postscript added February* 1816.

SIR, 6, *Park Lane, May 6th*, 1811.

IN requesting you to be so obliging as to offer to Parliament, in my name, a proposal for constituting my Athenian Collection national property, I feel desirous of putting you as fully as possible in possession of my ideas connected with this transfer.

The Memorandum recently published, on the subject of my pursuits in Greece (of which I did myself the honour of sending you a copy), and the inspection of my Museum, will sufficiently explain that my undertaking could have had no other object than that of endeavouring (though it never before had been found practicable) to secure, as far as it could yet be traced, a full and accurate knowledge of the School of Phidias, while he had the direction of the works of architecture and sculpture during the most brilliant period of the history of Athens.

That in the hopes, but before the existence of any favourable circumstances to which alone, however, I could look forward for a probability of success, I engaged, at my own risk, such persons as the artists in England instructed me were necessary for that object.

And that, by being thus prepared, I was enabled to complete the plan in all its details, and to an extent far beyond what could have been foreseen.

The article (Beaux-Arts) in the Moniteur of the 20th ultimo (which, giving an account of a translation now making in Paris of Stuart's Athens, calls the ornaments belonging to the Parthenon, the only undoubted works of Phidias in existence,) will, on the other hand, show in what estimation the Collection I have brought to England is held in France; and afford a ground of judging, far less exceptionably than on any assurances from me, whether, during my detention of three years there, it must not have been constantly in my option to have made the most advantageous terms for ceding them to the French Government. I state this, in proof that pecuniary emolument was not in my contemplation; and that it has ever been my steady purpose to render these acquisitions conducive to the advantage of my Country.

In this view, as soon as they could be at all arranged, I afforded every facility and encouragement for the inspection of them, in order that the Public might form their opinion without bias or restraint; and I accordingly have the satisfaction of receiving continually, from every artist without exception, from men of taste and men of literature, the most enthusiastic testimonies of the admiration which they feel in the contemplation of my Drawings, my Casts, Marbles, Inscriptions, and lesser Sculptures, representing various interesting scenes in private life. They trace in these, hitherto unknown works, the same superiority of intellect and genius, which characterizes all other productions of the best times of Greece; and they look to the establishment of such a school as this assemblage would furnish for the study of art and the formation of taste, as the means of giving to this Country those rational advantages, the importance of which has been of late so much brought into evidence, by the many valuable Collections of ancient art so studiously concentrated in Paris.

Such impressions, I have the strongest reason for believing, would have been found to be the sentiments of the persons of the description I allude to, who might have been called upon to report on the value of this Collection as a national acquisition. And while they would have awarded a fair reimbursement of my expenses, which the state of my family and my affairs would not justify me in foregoing; they would at the same time have stamped the transaction as wholly differing from a pecuniary bargain, and would have pronounced on the service I had been the means of conferring on the country, in a way to have presented a powerful recommendation and claim in my favour, for some mark of Royal approbation.

Such were my sentiments on the subject in question, when I was lately called to London, at the desire of the Speaker, for the purpose of concerting the mode of transferring this Collection to the Public. And I found the Speaker decidedly of opinion, that a statement of my expenses, with the interest upon them, should form the basis of the transaction; and that, beyond this, Parliament would take under consideration, as a separate subject of remuneration, the merit attending the procuring and offering these objects to the Public.

But a delay arose most unexpectedly, from an idea being entertained, that, as I, at the time, held a diplomatic appointment, I had not the full and uncontrolled right over my acquisitions: an idea, which would have given to Government a claim upon any acquisition, which not only ministers but governors abroad, naval and military commanders, and every person employed, &c. &c. might have opportunities of obtaining at their own risk and outlay and trouble, or be permitted to receive from Foreign Sovereigns. Independently, however, of plain reason and universal practice; and of the instances of Sir William Hamilton, who sold part of his Collections to Parliament, and part to individuals and foreigners; and of my predecessor Sir Robert Ainslie, whose entire property in his valuable Collections has never been interfered with; it is now known, that I engaged in the enterprise under review, only because the British Government would not have been authorized to undertake any thing of so doubtful an issue.

When this difficulty appeared to be removed, and the Speaker still adhered to the opinion he had before recommended as to the mode of proceeding, I could no longer hesitate in acquiescing in his advice; and I herewith transmit to you accordingly *as ample* a view of my outlay as the *materials still in my possession* enable me to furnish, of a transaction so peculiar in itself, and differing entirely from the circumstances attending every other Collection. Here the objects were not purchased, or got for fixed prices. They were not selected by the taste of an individual; nor were they, generally speaking, the results of accidental discovery from excavation. But, in the face of difficulties till then found insurmountable, a plan was under-

taken for securing one great series, the success of which depended upon unwearied patience, abundance of means, and the most prompt and uncalculating decision in the use of them. With all this, it must be recollected, the expenses are those of a person acting under no responsibility, with all the keenness and impetuosity which may be supposed to have animated the attempt to rescue inestimable treasures from oblivion and destruction.

The Collection I offer consists of

1st. The Drawings and Casts.

2nd. The Sculptures and Inscriptions now in England.

1*st. The Drawings and Casts.*

In appreciating the expenses of this article, which constituted the whole of the original plan, it must be borne in mind that the instructions I acted upon were traced by artists in England, who, on a full investigation of the existing works relating to Athens, pointed out in what respects information was further wanting from thence. Indeed, a few years before, M. de Choiseul Gouffier had taken to Turkey nearly the like establishment of draughtsmen, on a similar attempt, which, however, failed. Besides, the obstacles, the interruptions and discouragements, created by the caprice and prejudices of the Turks, even under the most favourable circumstances, are such that any undertaking in that country, when connected with their establishments, houses, &c. and requiring time, is placed in no parallel whatever with similar works carried on elsewhere. In fact, my artists were several months at Athens without being able to enter the Acropolis, unless on paying fees nearly amounting to 5*l.* sterling each visit; nor, till long after, were they permitted to erect scaffoldings.

The expense of the six artists I had, of whom four were without doubt the most eminent of their day in Italy, necessarily included their salary, board, accommodations, and attendance, and literally all their supplies, as well as the cost of all the *materials* they used; their *scaffoldings, packing-cases,* &c. &c. These charges may be supposed to have amounted, upon an average, as near as can be calculated, to 400*l.* for each, per annum. (The professional men in England, who had been applied to for this expedition, declined leaving their occupations in London, under towards 700*l.* per annum for *salary* alone, besides having all their expenses paid, and retaining a part of their works.)

The six artists remained together on this undertaking three years and a half; which, at 400*l.* each per annum, would amount to	£ 8,400
N. B.—One continued some time longer in finishing the picturesque tour in Greece. One came to England, where he remained two years, for the purpose of engraving his own drawings, an intention which my detention in France defeated, incurring a further expense of	800
The conveyance of these artists from Rome to Constantinople, thence to Athens, and their journies in general, may have been about	1,500
	£. 10,700

This sum may be considered as forming the cost of the Casts, Drawings, and Measurements; though the same persons, and in many respects the same expenses, were equally necessary, and contributed towards the other parts of the Collection.

2.—*The Sculptures and Inscriptions, and Vases, now in England.*

In alluding to some of the articles which more exclusively compose the cost attending the Marbles and Inscriptions, it is difficult, even in the most confidential communications, to enter into explanations. The case is, that the ministers of the Porte were prevailed upon, after much trouble and patient solicitation, to grant to me an authority to excavate and remove what I might discover, as well as to draw and model. It was an authority differing from those granted to other English gentlemen, then travelling in Turkey, only in the degree which the extent of the means I employed made necessary. But the plain import of such a permission in Turkey, is nothing more, than that it affords an introduction, by means of which secret negotiations may be carried on with such persons in office or in power, as have some superintendence, or immediate concern, with the objects in question. Upon such persons, it is equally undeniable, that no influence can possibly be efficient, from a Christian, excepting only *weight of gold;* and the amount of this is, in all cases, proportioned to the rank of the parties, the sacrifice to be made, and the eagerness shown for the acquisition. At the period under review I held the dignity of ambassador: I had to transact with the highest personages in the state. The objects I requested were—leave to occupy situations about the ruins, commanding the interior of Turkish houses: to remove blocks forming parts of their fortifications; and inscriptions, &c. occasionally built up in their mosques. And my perseverance under constant difficulties and disappointments, sufficiently showed to them the importance attached to my enterprise.

The above Expenses, and the numbers of Workmen employed, may be calculated at..... £. 15,000.

It may easily be conceived what extent of manual labour was required in a country, in which the habits are those of the most obstinate listlessness and indolence: which is wholly unprovided with wheel-carriages, or mechanical instruments: when great masses of ruins were to be removed in search of hidden pieces of Sculpture; large blocks of Marble to be lowered from great heights; and so many immense weights conveyed to a distance of above four miles, along a track which had barely the appearance of a road.

The removal of the Cases from Athens to England; for, though I received much very friendly assistance in this respect, from officers commanding King's ships, yet I employed two vessels of my own on that service, and several country ships: ..... £. 2,500.

The Expenses at Malta, where the cases were generally placed in deposit .....

Commission and Agency; which in all instances, especially when out of the ordinary line of business, are very considerable in Turkey..... £.

Interest on Money borrowed, which is, legally, at 12 per cent. and often much more..... £.

A great variety of minor Expenses, inseparable from so vast an undertaking..... £.

This outlay was at a time when not more than 12 or 13 piastres could be got in exchange for the pound sterling.

The charges thus stated for the Artists, the obtaining and removing the Collection, are..... £. 28,200.

There was, besides the loss of my vessel (the Mentor), an English copper-bottomed yacht, which was cast away off Cerigo, with no other cargo on board than some of the sculptures. The price and charges on this vessel (which, from the nature of her voyage, could not be insured in Turkey) and the operations, which continued three years, in recovering the Marbles, cannot be stated under £.5,000. ..... £. 5,000.

This expenditure having been incurred between the years 1799 and 1803, leaves a claim of interest from that time. ..... In^t for 14 yr^s at 5 p^r Cent. 25,240.

There has been since, the charge of landing this immense number of heavy Cases in various ports of England, transferring them to London, and placing them at the Duke of Richmond's, in Privy Gardens; removing them afterwards three times; erecting convenient and sufficient buildings where to place the Marbles; arranging the casts; attendance on the Collection, &c. &c. The expense of this part of the transaction must have been fully £. 6,000. ..... £. 6,000.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.
(Signed) ELGIN.

To the Right Hon. CHARLES LONG,
&c. &c. &c.

SIR,

London, February 29th, 1816.

THE above Statement refers altogether to the great body of the Collection, such as it had been laid open to public inspection in my house in Park-Lane, and in Burlington-House, from the year 1807 to 1812; consisting of all the large statues (excepting the Sternum of the colossal figure of Neptune, the group of two horses' heads, and the forehead of Minerva); eleven of the metopes; a large proportion, but not the best preserved groups of the frieze; various minor pieces of sculpture; all the moulds and casts; some specimens of architecture; all the drawings; and original inscriptions.

Towards the end of 1812, about *eighty* additional cases of architecture and sculpture reached England; having been collected subsequently to my departure from Turkey, and now forming part of my Collection in Burlington-House.

To these are now added a Collection of Medals.

I beg leave generally to observe, that though I had not regulated my expenses or my outlay, under any expectation of their being ever inquired into, still I brought with me from Athens an accurate and detailed journal of the daily expenditure there, down to my departure in 1803, made out by a gentleman of the strictest honour and regularity, who had the direction of all my operations, and in whom I have placed the utmost confidence. This has been lost, probably when, on my arrest as prisoner of war in France, I was under the necessity of burning my papers. But I have recently received the continuation of that journal from January 1803 to the end of 1814, together with the account current of my agent, an eminent merchant, at Malta, from October 1807 to May 1811; which documents enable me to specify the leading articles of outlay incurred since my leaving Turkey.

The Journal itself amounts to.....	Ps. 112,170	
which at 16 Piastres, the average rate of Exchange, is equal to.....	£. 7,010	12 6
M. Lusieri's salary from 1803 to 1816	2,800	— —
His personal loss, during his flight from Athens	200	— —
And that part of the Account Current of the Agent at Malta, not included in M. Lusieri's Journal	2,400	— —
	£. 12,410	12 6

Besides, the Expenses at Malta before October 1807, and after May 1811.
Interest of Money.
Presents sent from England, &c. &c.

But the principal importance of these vouchers is, to show the real nature of the expenses, to which, in point of fact, this enterprise subjected me; a subject, of which nothing but an acquaintance with the habits and practices in Turkey, and the peculiar difficulties, necessities, and charges attending this undertaking,

could possibly afford any notion. These documents show, that, even when I employed only one, instead of six artists, and my endeavours and their results were reduced out of all proportion with my former efforts; yet that during so much of this period as M. Lusieri was at Athens,

1. The cost of manual labour, was	Ps. 37,464
2. ..D°..of materials, &c. &c.	23,805
3. Presents, found necessary for the local authorities, in Athens alone	21,902

That interest on money borrowed there, was as high as 15 and 20 per cent.

And the agency at Malta, after commission and brokerage on drafts being charged, was (6,000 on 33,663) equal to 17¾ per cent.

I beg once more to repeat, that I do not offer this view of my expenses as a criterion of the intrinsic value of my Collection. I ever have been persuaded that, in justice to the Public, that should be calculated on other grounds. But it is, I trust, sufficient to prove, that in amassing these remains of antiquity for the benefit of my Country, and in rescuing them from the imminent and unavoidable destruction with which they were threatened, had they been left many years longer the prey of mischievous Turks, who mutilated them for wanton amusement, or for the purpose of selling them piecemeal to occasional travellers; I have been actuated by no motives of private emolument; nor deterred from doing what I felt to be a substantial good, by considerations of personal risk, or the fear of calumnious misrepresentations.

ELGIN.

To Henry Bankes, *Esq.*
Chairman of the Committee,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 6.—*LETTER from Lord* Elgin *to* Henry Bankes, *Esq.*

Sir,

London, 19th March, 1816.

As I have been given to understand that some Members of the Committee have expressed a wish for more detailed information with respect to my expenses in Turkey, connected with my Collection of Athenian Sculpture, &c. I have thought it might be convenient for them to be in possession of the following considerations, arising out of the Italian Journal which I left with the Committee the second time I had the honour of attending them; I hope that they will assist the Committee in forming an accurate notion of the nature of the exertions and expenses which necessarily attended the prosecution of an undertaking, which, I believe, knows no parallel; and at the same time, to appreciate the extent of what must have been expended, prior to the first date occurring in that document.

But, before I enter upon this comparison, I beg to advert to the expenses incurred in England since the Marbles began to arrive, fourteen years ago, and the loss of my ship the Mentor; two items in my expenditure, not referred to in the journal.

1. The expense of landing and warehousing the cases in England; collecting them first at the Duchess of Portland's, in Privy Gardens; then transporting them to the Duke of Richmond's; afterwards to my house in Park-Lane: and finally to Burlington House (in each of which two last places I had to erect suitable buildings for the purpose of arranging and exhibiting the Statues and Bas-reliefs;) the figure-maker's labour in putting together the moulds made at Athens, a work of great nicety, and which took up nearly a whole year; attendance for the protection of the Collection, during ten years; and various incidental charges. All these sources of expense cannot, in my opinion, be calculated at a less sum than six thousand pounds.

2. The loss of the Mentor, and the expense of weighing up her cargo, consisting of large cases of Marble, being parts of the frieze and metopes, sunk in ten fathoms water (an operation which was not completed till the third year after the shipwreck), forms my second item. Before the employment of the divers, who were ultimately successful, three unavailing attempts had been made to weigh up the ship bodily. All the cases were finally recovered, and none of the contents in any way damaged. They were forwarded successively by the consul at Cerigo, some of them to Smyrna, and some to Malta, and from thence to England. This operation, with the purchase of the Mentor, and her necessary expense, I have valued at five thousand pounds.

3. The regular accounts sent home by M. Lusieri in 1815, comprise, first, the manual labour he employed, amounting to

2. The materials he purchased for carrying on his operations	Ps. 37,464
3. Presents to the Authorities at Athens	23,805
4. Lusieri's board	21,902
5. Interest on money borrowed by him, &c.	24,000
	5,000

During these expenses, which were incurred between the commencement of 1803 and the end of 1814, excepting the interval of war, M. Lusieri was alone at Athens, and procured what has been added to the Collection since 1811: they form a total of 112,000 piastres, equal, at 16 p° to the pound sterling, to

	£. 7,000
To which are added the salary to the present period	2,800
His losses, when driven by the war from Athens	200
And the sum of	2,400
In all	£. 12,400

being what Messrs Hayes of Malta pass in account, beyond what went through Lusieri's hands.

I value, therefore, the three articles,—Expenses in England, the loss of the Mentor, and the works since the beginning of 1803,—at.....£.6,000
5,000
12,000
——£.23,000

4. Now with respect to the works prior to 1803, I have not the same data to proceed upon. The account furnished me by M. Lusieri, on my leaving Athens, has been mislaid, or destroyed in France. I must therefore arrive at an approximation by analogy.

The mass of work done, and the difficulties surmounted prior to 1803, may be described thus:—The acquisition of all the large statues of the pediments; of eleven out of the fourteen metopes; of nearly forty out of fifty-six or fifty-eight pieces of the frieze; the colossal statue of Bacchus; the bas-reliefs of the Temple of Victory; many smaller fragments of sculpture; the greatest and most interesting part of the inscriptions; many of the architectural specimens, particularly those of the Ionic order; all the casts; all the drawings; all the medals; the procuring the artists from Rome; their conveyance by way of Messina, Malta, Girgenti, to Constantinople, and thence to Athens; their salaries, board, and absolutely every expense they incurred from the winter of 1799 to the middle of 1803; their conveyance home; the maintenance of one of them (Ittar) one year longer at Malta in finishing his sketches; and of another (the Calmonk) for two years longer in England, for the purpose of his drawings; the purchase and construction of the materials required for the operations of the artists; the original breaking ground of the whole transaction, both in Constantinople and in Greece; the purchase of houses, and removal of large masses of ruins for the recovery of buried sculpture; the manual labour at all times of a great number of men, and very frequently of hundreds at a time, in transporting great weights from Athens to the sea; occasional presents to sailors engaged to assist on the embarkation; the conveyance of a part of the Collection to Alexandria or to Malta, in private vessels hired for the purpose; the exorbitant demands in these countries for interest, agency, and commission; and the whole performed under the disadvantage of a very inferior rate of exchange, from eleven to thirteen piastres only being then procured for the pound sterling; whereas the calculation subsequent to 1803 is founded upon the pound sterling producing sixteen piastres.

Under the foregoing considerations, I am confident that I should not materially err, if I were to state my expenses for the Collection, prior to 1803, at three times the amount of those incurred subsequent to that date. This calculation (even without taking into account the difference of 25 per cent on the exchange in favour of the latter period) would raise the expenditure, prior to 1803, to £.36,000; whereas in my letter to Mr. C. Long, I have rated it, on other grounds, only at £.28,000*. To which, and to the £.5,000 on the loss of the Mentor, I have added fourteen years' interest.

N. B. This sum singularly coincides with the conjecture formed by Lord Aberdeen, of the *nature* and *extent* of the operations he saw going on at Athens, in 1803.

To recapitulate the above, I calculate,
£.6,000 Expenses in England.
5,000 Loss of the Mentor, and recovery of its cargo.
12,000 Expenses, as per Account, since January 1803.
28,000 Ditto, prior to that period.
23,240 Interest on £.33,000.

But, I beg leave once more to repeat, that I do not, and never have recommended my expenses as a criterion of the value of my Collection to the Public.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, Sir,
Your obedient humble Servant,
ELGIN.

HENRY BANKES, *Esq.*
Chairman of the Committee,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 7.—*Copy of a LETTER from* CHARLES TOWNLEY, *Esq. to* J. HARRISON, *Esq. on the Subject of Lord* ELGIN'S *Marbles.*

London, 8th February, 1803.

DEAR SIR,

I FEEL myself exceedingly obliged to you, and most highly gratified, by your kind communication to me of Lord Elgin's most laudable exertions towards collecting either original Marbles, or Drawings or Casts, of the most valuable monuments of sculpture or architecture in Greece.

I have lost no opportunity of informing persons of taste and judgment in the Fine Arts, of the interesting operations which Lord Elgin is now so eagerly carrying on. His Lordship's zeal is most highly approved and admired, and every hope and wish is entertained for his final success. But our Government is universally blamed for not contributing their political influence, as well as pecuniary aid, towards these operations, for the advancement of the Fine Arts in this country.

You appear to decline Lord Elgin's invitation to supply Signor Lusieri with more documents and

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* Being the expense of the Artists, which comprises the whole of the original undertaking.... Ps. 139,000 = £. 10,700
That of obtaining and removing the Marbles..... Ps. 224,900 = £. 17,300
In all....Ps. 364,000 = £. 28,000

information, relative to his further pursuits and researches in Greece. But it is in contemplation with a few Members of the Dilettanti Society, to whom I have communicated Lord Elgin's letter, to make a handsome remittance to Signor Lusieri, and to engage him to make some researches, and execute some plans and drawings of monuments, which shall be indicated to him.

The meeting of the Society will be on Sunday next. Should any determinations be entered into, worthy of being communicated to you, you shall know them: at the same time let me entreat you to put down on paper any hints you can suggest, relative to objects in Greece, that are particularly requisite to be investigated.

My health is still in a very weak state. I will conclude this sheet by repeating my thanks for your kind communication, and expressing my hopes of receiving from you your thoughts upon the chief objects in Greece, that yet remain, and ought to be investigated and drawn by Lusieri.

I remain, dear Sir,

Your most faithful and obedient Servant,

C. TOWNLEY.

No. 8.—*Translation of a LETTER from the Cavalier* CANOVA *to the Earl of* ELGIN.

MY LORD,

London, 10th Nov. 1815.

PERMIT me to express the sense of the great gratification which I have received from having seen in London the valuable antique Marbles, which you have brought hither from Greece. I think that I can never see them often enough: and although my stay in this great capital must be extremely short, I dedicate every moment that I can spare to the contemplation of these celebrated remains of ancient art. I admire in them the truth of nature united to the choice of the finest forms. Every thing here breathes life, with a veracity, with an exquisite knowledge of art, but without the least ostentation or parade of it, which is concealed by consummate and masterly skill. The naked is perfect flesh, and most beautiful in its kind.—I think myself happy in having been able to see with my own eyes these distinguished works; and I should feel perfectly satisfied if I had come to London only to view them. Upon which account, the admirers of art, and the artists, will owe to your Lordship a lasting debt of gratitude, for having brought amongst us these noble and magnificent pieces of sculpture; and for my own part I beg leave to return you my own most cordial acknowledgments; and

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

CANOVA.

No. 9.—*Extract of a DESPATCH from his Excellency the Earl of* ELGIN *to Lord* HAWKESBURY, *dated Constantinople.*

January 19th, 1803.

"I do not demand any allowances corresponding with those of the late extraordinary embassies from Russia, although the honours and public disbursements of mine have been equally extraordinary; nor can I have a wish to make a charge of the many unusual expenses to which I have been subjected. Still, I confess that the private expense which I have incurred to the extent of many thousand pounds, in improving the advantages before me, towards procuring a knowledge of the arts of Greece, and rescuing some of their remains from ruin; and the loss of a valuable vessel of mine solely employed in that service, would make any defalcation of the appointments affixed to my rank a matter of serious inconvenience to me."

No. 10.—*TRANSLATION from the Italian of a Fermaùn, or Official Letter from The Caimacan Pasha, (who filled the Office of Grand Vizier at The Porte, (during that Minister's absence in Egypt,) addressed to The Cadi, or Chief Judge, and to The Vaivode, or Governor of Athens, in* 1801.

AFTER the usual introductory compliments, and the salutation of Peace,—"It is hereby signified to you, that our sincere Friend, his Excellency Lord Elgin, Ambassador Extraordinary from the Court of England to the Porte of Happiness, hath represented to us, that it is well known that the greater part of the Frank (i. e. Christian) Courts are anxious to read and investigate the books, pictures, or figures, and other works of science of the ancient Greek philosophers: and that, in particular, the ministers, or officers of state, philosophers, primates, and other individuals of England, have a remarkable taste for the drawings, or figures, or sculptures, remaining ever since the time of the said Greeks, and which are to be seen on the shores of the Archipelago, and in other parts; and have, in consequence, from time to time, sent men to explore and examine the ancient edifices, and drawings or figures. And that some accomplished *Dilletanti* of the Court of England, being desirous to see the ancient buildings and the curious figures in the City of

Athens, and the old walls remaining since the time of the Grecians, which now subsist in the interior part of the said *place*; his Excellency the said Ambassador hath therefore engaged five English painters, now dwelling at Athens, to examine and view, and also to copy the figures remaining there, *ab antiquo*: And he hath also at this time expressly besought us, that an Official Letter may be written from hence, ordering that as long as the said painters shall be employed in going in and out of the said citadel of Athens, which is the place of their occupations; and in fixing scaffolding round the ancient Temple of the Idols there; and in moulding the ornamental sculpture and visible figures thereon, in plaster or gypsum; and in measuring the remains of other old ruined buildings there; and in excavating, when they find it necessary, the foundations, in order to discover inscriptions which may have been covered in the rubbish; that no interruption may be given them, nor any obstacle thrown in their way by the Disdar (or commandant of the citadel), or any other person: that no one may meddle with the scaffolding or implements they may require in their works; and *that when they wish to take away any pieces of stone with old inscriptions* or figures *thereon, that no opposition be made thereto.*

" We therefore have written this Letter to you, and expedited it by Mr. Philip Hunt, an English gentleman, Secretary of the aforesaid Ambassador, in order that, as soon as you shall have understood its meaning, namely, that it is the explicit desire and engagement of this Sublime Court, endowed with all eminent qualities, to favour such requests as the above mentioned, in conformity with what is due to the friendship, sincerity, alliance, and good will subsisting *ab antiquo* between the Sublime and ever durable Ottoman Court and that of England, and which is on the side of both those Courts manifestly increasing; particularly as there is no harm in the said figures and edifices being thus viewed, contemplated, and designed. Therefore, after having fulfilled the duties of hospitality, and given a proper reception to the aforesaid Artists, in compliance with the urgent request of the said Ambassador to that effect, and because it is incumbent on us to provide that they meet no opposition in walking, viewing, or contemplating the figures and edifices they may wish to design or copy; or in any of their works of fixing scaffolding, or using their various implements; It is our desire that, on the arrival of this Letter, you use your diligence to act conformably to the instances of the said Ambassador, as long as the said five Artists, dwelling at Athens, shall be employed in going in and out of the said citadel of Athens, which is the place of their occupations; or in fixing scaffolding around the ancient Temple of the Idols, or in modelling with chalk or gypsum the said ornaments and visible figures thereon; or in measuring the fragments and vestiges of other ruined edifices; or in excavating, when they find it necessary, the foundations, in search of inscriptions among the rubbish; that they be not molested by the said Disdar (or commandant of the citadel), nor by any other persons, nor even by you (to whom this letter is addressed); and that no one meddle with their scaffolding or implements, *nor hinder them from taking away any pieces of stone with inscriptions* or figures. In the above-mentioned manner, see that ye demean and comport yourselves.

(Signed with a signet.) " SEGED ABDULLAH KAIMACAN."

N. B. The words in Italian rendered in two places " any pieces of stone," are " qualche pezzi di pietra."

No. 11.

CATALOGUE

OF

THE ELGIN MARBLES, VASES, CASTS, AND DRAWINGS.

PREPARED FROM THE MS. OF MONSIEUR VISCONTI.

PARTHENON.

A STATUES *and* FRAGMENTS *from the* EASTERN PEDIMENT.

1. Two Horses' Heads, in one block.
2. One Horse's Head.
3. Statue of Hercules or Theseus.
4. Group of two Female figures.
5. Female figure in quick motion—Iris.
6. Group of two Female figures.

STATUES *and* FRAGMENTS *from the* WESTERN PEDIMENT.

7. Part of the Chest and Shoulders of the colossal figure in the centre (supposed to be Neptune.)
8. Fragment of the colossal figure of Minerva.
9. Fragment of a Head (supposed to belong to the preceding.)
10. Fragment of a statue of Victory.
11. Statue of a river-god, called Ilissus.

FRAGMENTS *of* STATUES *from the* PEDIMENTS, *the names or places of which are not positively ascertained.*

12. Female figure, sitting (supposed to belong to group marked No. 6.)
13. Fragment of a Female figure (resembling Victory, No. 10.)
14. Fragment of a Female figure, seated (supposed to have been Latona, holding Apollo and Diana in her arms.)
15. Fragment (supposed to have belonged to a group of Female figures.)
16. Fragment of the Neck and Arms rising out of the Sea, called Hyperion, or the Rising Sun.
17. Torso of a Male figure, with drapery thrown over one shoulder.

B *The* METOPES.

1. A Centaur with a long beard; raises himself for the purpose of striking with a club a Lapitha, who attacks him.
2. A Lapitha has overpowered a Centaur, whose hands are tied behind his back.
3. A Centaur, who has thrown down a Lapitha.
4. A Centaur is carrying off a Woman.

5. A Centaur has thrown down a Lapitha, who is still defending himself, and holding up a shield.
6. A Lapitha is struggling with a Centaur, whom he holds by the hair and ear.
7. A Centaur is nearly overcoming a Lapitha.
8. A Lapitha seems to be successful against a Centaur.
9. A Centaur is throwing down a Lapitha, whom he holds by the hair.
10. A Lapitha upon the croup of a Centaur, seizes his neck, and endeavours to throw him down.
11. A Centaur successful against a Lapitha.
12. A Lapitha, with covered legs, appears to be successful against a Centaur, who is retiring, and holds a lion's skin over his left arm.
13. Combat between a Centaur and Lapitha quite naked.
14. A Centaur is rearing up; the figure of the Lapitha is detached from the marble, but the Torso is adjoining.

C *The* Frize, *representing the Procession for celebrating the Panathenæan Festival.*

The East End.

1. The Slab which formed the south-east angle; representing a Bull on the south, and a Magistrate or Director of the procession on the east side.
2. Fragments of four Male figures, moving to their right.
3. Six Female figures, moving to their right, and holding vases in their hands.
4, 5. Six Female figures, preceded by two Directors.
6, 7. Eight figures: the four which are standing supposed to be four Directors; the others are called Castor and Pollux, Ceres and Triptolemus.
8. Slab, on which are five figures: called respectively, beginning from the left, Victory, Minerva, Jupiter, two Canephoræ.
9. Slab, on which are five figures: *i. e.* a Priestess, or the Archontissa; a Boy receiving the peplum from the Archon, or one of the Directors; Hygæia, and Esculapius.
10. Two Directors.
11. Five figures, corresponding with those marked No. 6 and 7.
12. Five Females; carrying respectively, a candelabrum, vases, and pateræ.

D *From the* North Side *of the* Frize.

1. Two Scaphephori moving towards the left.
2. A Female in a car drawn by three horses, with one of the Directors.
3. A Female in a car with two horses, and one of the Directors.
4. A Female in a similar car; with two Men, one of them in armour.
5. Two Men, in a car drawn by three horses.
5. Fragment of a Car with two Horses; the point of a sceptre appears above the horses.
6. Eight young Men on horseback, clothed in tunics, which are raised above the knee.
7. Four Horses and three Riders.
8. Three Horsemen, with tunics and buskins.
9. Three Horsemen in the same costume.
10. Three Horsemen; one of them is naked, the feet of the others are uncovered.
11. Three Horsemen; one of which is almost effaced.
12. Four Horsemen; two with helmets, the others naked.
13. Four Horsemen with tunics: the last has a large Thessalian hat hung over his shoulders.
14. North-west Angle of the Frize:—It represents three Men and a Boy on the western side, and one of the Directors on the north side.

E The Western End.

The entry to

15. A single piece of the Frize, being a continuation of the foregoing No. 14: two Horsemen, the one nearly naked; the other has a breastplate: both wear buskins.

F South Side.

1. A Bull, with three Men, one of whom holds back the animal. — Animals for sacrifice.
2. Two Bulls and two Men.
3. Two Bulls and four Men; one of the men places a crown on his head, preparatory to the celebration of the sacrifice.
4. Two Bulls and four Men.
5. One Bull and four Men; one of whom holds back the animal.
6. A Car with two Horses and four Figures: among them is a young Man, whose tunic is drawn up above the knee, and who holds a shield: he appears ready to mount. — Cars.
7. A Car with four Horses: in it is a Warrior standing up, with helmet, shield, and chlamyde: the other figure is seated, and drives the car.
8. A Car with two Horses, moving in the same direction; two Figures; of which one, who is getting into the car, holds a large shield.
9. Fragment of another Car, moving in the same direction.
10. Fragment of a similar subject.
11. Two Horsemen; one, nearly naked, seems to have a Thessalian hat thrown over his shoulders. — Horsemen.
12. Three Horsemen, all clothed in tunics.
13. Two Horsemen, one with buskins.
14. One Horseman, with several Horses.

G *Detached Parts of the* Frize *of the Cella of the* Parthenon, *the exact situations of which are not yet ascertained.*

A. A Quadriga in slow motion; a Youth in the tunic, with a shield, accompanies it; another points behind him, with his arm naked.

B. Three Horses in quick motion towards the right; the Riders wear the tunic.
C. Three Horses: the Riders are all clothed in tunics.
D. Three Horsemen in armour.
E. Two Horsemen in tunics; one has his right hand on his horse's head.
F. Two Horsemen in armour: the foremost has an helmet; the other appears, from the holes which are in the Marble, to have had some ornament of metal fixed on the head.
G. Two Horsemen in tunics; part of three Horses.
H. Part of three Horses, and three Riders in cuirasses.
I. Fragment of Horsemen and Horses.
J. Fragment of four Horses and two Riders.

H *From the* TEMPLE *of* VICTORY.

1. Bas-relief, representing a Combat between Greeks and Barbarians.
2. Another, representing the same subject.
3. Another, representing the same subject.
4. Similar Bas-relief, representing a Combat between Greeks and Amazons.

I FRAGMENTS *of* ARCHITECTURE, *from the* PARTHENON, PROPYLÆA, *and other Doric Buildings.*

1. A Doric Capital from the Parthenon, in two pieces.
2. One layer of a Doric column, from the same.
3. Fragments of the Frize of the Parthenon.
4. Fragments of the Architrave of Ditto.
5. Doric Capital from the Propylæa.
6. Part of a Doric Entablature, plain.
7. Two Tiles from the roof of the Ambulatory of the Temple of Theseus.

J *From the* TEMPLE *of* ERECTHEUS *and adjoining Buildings; also Specimens of Ionic Architecture.*

1. One of the Caryatides which supported a roof, under which the olive-tree sacred to Minerva was supposed to have been preserved.
2. Part of a Column from the Temple of Erectheus, of the Ionic order.
3. Base of Ditto.
4. Capital of Ditto.
5. Detached part of the rich Frize, from the same Temple.
6. Four fragments of ornamented Ionic Entablature.
7. Three large Ditto.
8. One small Ditto.
9. One large Ditto, with inscriptions.
10. Ditto, ditto, Ionic Entablature.
11. Three upper parts of Columns of the Ionic order.
12. Three large pieces of fluted Ionic Shaft.
13. One large piece of fluted Ionic Shaft, short.
14. Two pieces of small Ionic Shaft, fluted and reeded.
15. One Capital of Ionic pilaster.
16. Two Ionic Capitals.
17. Two parts of Ionic Entablature.
18. One large Ionic Capital.

K MONUMENTS *appertaining to the Worship and the Theatre of* BACCHUS.

1. A colossal Statue of Bacchus, which was placed over the Theatre.
2. A Sun-dial, from the same.
3. A complete Series of Casts from the Bas-reliefs on the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates.
4. A Bas-relief with four figures, representing a Bacchanalian Dance.

L DETACHED HEADS.

1. Portrait, larger than nature, with long beard and deeply cut eyes, a diadem round the hair; perhaps Sophocles.
2. Portrait, somewhat similar to the preceding one.
3. Fragment of Augustus.
4. Fragment; the style, times of the Republic.
5. A bearded Hercules.
6. Same subject, smaller size.
7. Bacchus crowned with ivy.
8. Female Head.
9. One half of a Head, without any beard, with long hair, in the costume of Alexander, or of the Dioscuri.
10. Fragment of an old Head, larger than nature.
11. Fragment of a Head with a beard; it has a conical cap: perhaps Ulysses or Vulcan.
12. Female Head, smaller than nature: the head-dress of one of the Muses.
13. Female Head, smaller than nature.

M DETACHED PIECES OF SCULPTURE.

1. Small Female figure erect, in the costume of the Muse Polymnia: Found at Thebes.
2. Torso of a Male figure found at Epidauria.
3. Statue; supposed to be Cupid.
4. A Choragic Bas-relief, on which is represented a Temple of Apollo, with two figures.
5. Bas-relief of a Quadriga, in which is a Female figure; a Victory in air is approaching to crown her.
6. Female Figure, without a head; small size.
7. Figure of a Telesphore, attendant of Esculapius; without a head.
8. Fragment of a Bas-relief, on which is a young Man, who appears to be on a chariot led by Victory.
9. Fragment of a Boy in alto relievo.
10. Bas-relief, representing a young Wrestler with his Preceptor.
11. Bas-relief, representing Minerva in armour, and a young Athenian.
12. Fragment of a Bas-relief; a Sacrifice, of which a Hog is the victim.

13. Fragment of a Bas-relief; a Sacrifice, of which the victim is a Ram.
14. Two Divinities—Jupiter seated, a Goddess standing up.
15. Two Goddesses taking a young Athenian under their protection.
16. Fragment of a Bas-relief, on which are two young Greeks, one holding an instrument of sacrifice, called by the Romans *capeduncula*.
17. Small round Altar: four Female figures sculptured on the four sides of it, are dancing, holding each others' hands; the first seems to be playing on a lyre.
18. Torso of a Female figure, in drapery.
19. Figure of a Horseman, apparently an ancient imitation of part of the Frize of the Parthenon, in smaller proportions.
20. Figure of a young Divinity, probably Bacchus, taking an Athenian under his protection; the latter of smaller dimensions.

20 b. Minerva, standing up in a kind of small temple.

21. Figure of Hygeia: she is offering her cup to the serpent, which is her symbol; she is holding, in her left hand, a kind of fan in the form of leaves of ivy; her head is covered with the high dress called *tutulus*.
22. Bas-relief, on which are represented five Figures: in the midst is a Goddess on a kind of throne, the other four are smaller; three of them are imploring the Goddess on behalf of their children, whom they carry in their arms; the fourth is bringing oblations and votive offerings. This bas-relief is from Cape Sigeum, near the plain of Troy.
23. Fragments similar to Nos. 12 and 18. There are five figures, of which two are Youths preparing to celebrate a sacrifice: the last of the large figures has a basket on its head.
24. One small Bas-relief; one sitting, two standing figures.
25. One Female figure sitting (much mutilated).
26. One trunk, with drapery (a young Man).
27. Two fragments of Grecian-ornaments.
28. One Grecian fragment, with Vase in bas-relief.
29. One fragment, with two Figures in high relief.
30. One Grecian Pilaster with Corinthian Capital.
31. Fragment of a Female.
32. Fragment of a Female figure enveloped in drapery.
33. Sundry small fragments.
34. Egyptian Scarabæus, brought from Constantinople.

N URNS[a]. (*Marble.*)

1. Solid Urn, with Groupe in bas-relief, superscribed.
2. Ditto ditto ditto.
3. Ditto ditto ditto.
4. Ditto ditto ditto.
5. Ditto ditto ditto.
6. Solid Urn, with Groupe in bas-relief, superscribed.
7. Ditto ditto ditto.
8. Ditto ditto ditto.
9. One ditto ditto ornamented Sepulchral Urn.
10. Small fragment of a Vase, with figures.
11. Spherical Sepulchral Urn, broken in pieces.
N. B.—This contained the Bronze Urn (No. 12.)

URNS[b]. (*Bronze.*)

12. Richly wrought Urn, from the tomb called "of Aspasia," in the plain of Attica.
13. Two bronze Urns, of rude shape and workmanship.

URNS[c]. (*Earthen.*)

14. Some hundreds of large and small earthenware Urns or Vases, discovered in digging in the ancient Sepulchres round Athens: none of great beauty, or richly ornamented.

O ALTARS.

1. Altar, with Female figure and Child.
2. Smaller Altar, with figures and inscription.
3. Fragment of a small Bacchanalian Altar; on one side is a Bacchante, on the other a Fawn.
4. Small Altar, with inscription and figures.
5. Ditto.
6. Ditto.
7. Ditto.
8. Ditto.

P CIPPI, *or* SEPULCHRAL PILLARS.

1. One large Sepulchral Pillar, with inscriptions.
2. One smaller ditto ditto ditto.
3. One small Sepulchral Pillar.
4. Ditto ditto
5. Ditto ditto.
6. Ditto ditto.
7. Ditto ditto.
8. Ditto ditto.
9. Ditto ditto.
10. Ditto ditto.
11. Ditto ditto.
12. Ditto ditto.
13. Three fragments, with circular Pedestals and Festoons.

Q CASTS.

1. Eighteen Casts, from the Frize of the Cella of the Parthenon.
2. Twenty-four ditto, from the Frize and Metopes of the Temple of Theseus.
3. Twelve ditto, from the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates (mentioned above.)
4. One Cast, from the great Sarcophagus in the cathedral church at Girgenti in Sicily.

[Also the MOULDS of the above.]

R — Greek Inscriptions.

1. Epitaph in four lines on two brothers, Diotrephes and Demophon.
2. Sepulchral Column of Thalia.
3. Ditto of Theodotus.
4. Ditto of Socrates.
5. Ditto of Menestratus.
6. Votive Inscription of certain Sailors.
7. Sepulchral Column of an Athenian.
8. Fragment.
9. Decree of the People of Athens in favour of Isacharas.
10. Votive Inscription of Antisthenes.
11. Votive Inscription of Polyllus.
12. Sepulchral Column of Anaxicrates.
13. Votive Inscription of a Woman.
14. Agonistic Inscription.
15. Fragment of Sepulchral Inscription.
16. Choragic Inscription in the Doric dialect.
17. Epitaph in Verse, in two parts. *Vide* No. 34.
18. Votive Monument to Mercury and Hercules.
19. Sepulchral Stêle of Hierocléa.
20. Ditto of Callis.
21. Ditto of Callimachus.
22. Fragment of a Decree, probably an ancient Treaty between Athens and some other People.
23. Catalogue of Athenians who died in battle in the year 424 B. C.
24. Epitaph on Plutarchus.
25. Fragment of a Decree.
26. Ditto from Tenos.
27. Fragment of a Stêle of Euphrosynus.
28. Ditto of a Sepulchral Stêle of Musonia.
29. Fragment of an Epitaph in honour of Briseis.
30. Ditto of an Address to Hadrian.
31. Ditto of a Decree of the People of Athens.
32. Decree of the General Council of Bœotia.
33. Inscription of the Gymnasiarch Gorgias.
34. The other part of No. 17.
35. Catalogue of the Public and Sacred Treasures at Athens.
36. Ditto ditto ditto.
37. Ditto ditto ditto.
38. Ditto ditto ditto.
39. Fragment of a Treaty between Athens and Rhegium.
40. Ditto of a Column which supported the Statue of Pison.
41. Ancient Sepulchral Inscription.

42, 43. Catalogue of precious objects in the Opisthodomus.

44. Treaty between Erchomenos and Elatea.
45. Similar to Nos. 42, 43.
46. Similar to the preceding.
47. Fragment of a Decree.
48. Ditto of a Decree from Corinth.
49. Ditto with the name of Hiera Pytna.
50. Catalogue of Public Treasures, more recent than Nos. 42, 43, &c.
51. Decree in honour of Bacchus and Antoninus Pius.
52. Sepulchral Stêle, with the names of Hippocrates and Baucis.
53. Sigæan Inscription, commonly called the Boustrophedon.
54. Sepulchral Inscription on an Entablature.
55. Sepulchral Column of Biottus.
56. Ditto of Thysta.
57. Ditto of Thrason.
58. Stêle of Asclepiodorus.
59. Sepulchral Column of Aristides.
60. Eleven votive Inscriptions, consecrated to Jupiter Hypsistos, bearing respectively the names of Claudia Prepousa, Evhodus, Pædetos, Philematium, Onesimé, Isias, Eutychis, Olympias, Tertia, Syntrophus.
61. Fragment of a Decree between Athens and some other People.
62. Sepulchral Column of Botrichus.
63. Public Act of Athens respecting the Roads.
64. Epitaph, in twelve elegiac verses, in honour of those Athenians who were killed at the Siege of Potidæa, in the year 432 B. C.
65. Sepulchral Stêle in honour of Aristocles.
66. Ditto in honour of Aphrodisius of Salamis.

For a Description of the preceding Inscriptions, reference is given to the printed Catalogue drawn up by Monsieur Visconti, the numbers of which are here preserved.

S — Drawings.

1. Plans and Elevations of the Temples of Minerva and Theseus at Athens.
2. Architectural details of the Temples of Minerva and Theseus; of Minerva at Sunium; Plan of the Pnyx; Plans and Drawings of the Theatre of Bacchus.
3. Drawings of the Sculpture on the Temples of Minerva and Theseus; on the Temple of Victory; on the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates.
4. Ground-plan of Athens, marking the Walls, and the site of the existing Ruins. Drawings of the Tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes; of the Propylæa; of the triple Temple, of Minerva Polias, Erectheus and Pandrosus.
5. A series of Drawings and Plans of ancient Remains in many parts of Greece, taken in the year 1802.

Addenda.

One Lyre in Cedar wood; and
Two Flutes of the same material;—found during the excavations among the Tombs in the neighbourhood of Athens.

AUTHORITIES QUOTED IN THIS BOOK

Campaign in Egypt, 1800. Morier.

Letters of the late John Tweddale. Published 1815.

Journey through Albania to Constantinople, 1809-10. Hobhouse.

Travels in Turkey, 1799. Wittman.

Earl of Elgin's Pursuits. Published 1810.

Lord Elgin and his Collection. A. H. Smith, M.A., F.S.A.

Life of Nelson. Southey.

Travels in the Upper Egyptian Deserts. A. E. P. Weigall.

Captivity and Adventures in France and Flanders, 1803-09. Commander Boys, R.N.

Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat.

Alison's *Epitome of History of Europe.*

Landmarks of History.

Maunder's *Biographical Treasury.*

Memoirs of Baron de Marbot.

Life of 8th Earl of Elgin. Wrong.

Byron and Greece. Harold Spender.

CHAPTER VI

THE ELGIN MARBLES

(A digression)

In order to elucidate obscure references in the succeeding Letters, the following brief account of the origin of the Collection is given.

In the year 1799, Lord Elgin was in communication with a certain Mr Harrison — an architect of great eminence in the west of England, who was interested in Grecian architecture. On his appointment to the Turkish Embassy, Lord Elgin consulted this gentleman as to the benefits which might accrue to the Arts in England, should opportunity arise for studying them in Greece.

Mr Harrison's opinion was that, although we might possess exact measurements of the buildings at Athens, a young artist would never form an adequate conception of them without casts and drawings.

The engagement of artists in England for this purpose was found to be impracticable owing to expense. But on reaching Sicily, Lord Elgin was (as has been seen) fortunate enough to secure the services of Giovanni Battista—more commonly known as Don Tita Lusieri — who had the reputation of being the first general painter in Europe.

Two eminent formatori (or taker of casts) were engaged, as well as Signor Balestra, and Sebastian Ittar, architects. An engagement was also entered into with one Theodore Ivanovitch, a Calmouk,[1] who

[1] Calmouk.—The Calmouks or Kalmuks (otherwise known as the Derben Ueriats or Four Relatives) were the most numerous and

Thomas, Seventh Earl of Elgin and Eleventh of Kincardine.
(From a painting by G. P. Harding, after Anton Graff.)

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was a figure painter of great talent, but subsequently referred to as "easily wearying" of any scheme which was suggested to him, and whose idleness was "invincible." It was not, however, until April 1800, that the party actually set out.

In the prosecution of their undertaking, these artists had the mortification of witnessing the wilful devastation to which all sculpture and architecture was daily exposed on the part of the Turks, who were ruling the country, and showed no signs of leaving it.

[Athens, it will be remembered, had been under the ignominious but powerful patronage of the Kislar Aga, Chief of the Sultan of Turkey's Black Eunuchs, since the middle of the seventeenth century.]

The Temple of Minerva (Parthenon) had been converted into a powder magazine, and was completely destroyed later by a shell falling into it when the Venetians bombarded Athens at the end of the seventeenth century. Even this did not deter the Turks from applying the beautiful Temple of Neptune (Poseidon) and Erectheus to the same use.

Many of the Statues on the Posticum of the Temple of Minerva, which had been overthrown by the explosion, had been pounded for mortar.

It was well known, too, that the Turks were in the constant habit of climbing up the remaining walls and of amusing themselves by defacing any sculpture within reach — and frequently broke columns and Statues, in the expectation of some hidden treasure being inside.

Corroboration from a French source is to be found in the *Publiciste* of 4th June 1803.

Under these circumstances, Lord Elgin felt himself impelled to procure, and preserve without injury,

celebrated of the Mongol races. They were divided into four tribes, one of which settled in the plains of the Volga.

The degree of ugliness of a Calmouk was indicative of and proportionate to the purity of his descent.

any specimens which could be rescued from impending ruin, instead of confining himself to having drawings and casts made of them, as had been his original idea. For doing this, he was bitterly blamed, and by no one more vehemently than by Lord Byron.[1]

As many specimens as possible (including a few which he had also collected in the Troad), were transported to England, where they were exhibited for a time in a house purchased for this special purpose, at the corner of Piccadilly and Park Lane—amongst those who urged this being the famous Richard Cosway.

But in this process, Lord Elgin's financial resources became severely strained, and he was forced to part with the bulk of his collection to the nation, for whose benefit they were deposited in the British Museum, where they remain to this day.

Before parting with the Marbles, Lord Elgin paid a visit to Rome to consult, and, if necessary employ Canova, with regard to the restoration of the damaged statuary. The decision of this great artist proved conclusively against any such project.

Nor were these financial troubles a cause for surprise. The company of artists did not leave Athens until 1803. Lusieri himself continued there, up to the day of his death, in 1821, though he accomplished little or nothing during the last few years of his life.[2]

Added to these expenses there was the purchase of the London house, and the transport of the cases to England, no fewer than twenty-two ships having been occupied in this, up to the year of the sale which was in 1815.

Finally there was the salving of the cargo of the *Mentor*. This unfortunate vessel, which was purchased specially for the purpose, was wrecked off Cythera (Cerigo).

Mr Hamilton, who was on board, was providentially

[1] "The Curse of Minerva."—"Childe Harold."
[2] Lusieri went on a tour with Byron in Attica in 1810.

saved, and by means of employing divers from the Isles of Syme and Calymna, near Rhodes, succeeded after two years, in bringing the massive cases out of the hold of the ship where she lay in ten fathoms of water.

The following is an account of the first visit of the erratic and unfortunate Benjamin Robert Haydon[1] to the exhibition of Marbles in London. He was taken there by Sir David Wilkie:—

"To Park Lane then we went, and after passing thro' the hall and thence into a garden, entered a dirty penthouse where lay the Marbles, within sight and reach.

"The first thing I fixed my eyes on, was the wrist of a figure in one of the female groups, in which were visible, tho' in a feminine form, the radius and ulna. I was astonished! For I had never seen them hinted at, in any female wrist, in the antique. I darted my eye to the elbow and saw the outer condyle visibly affecting the shape—as in nature—I saw that the arm was in repose, and the soft parts in relaxation . . . my heart beat! If I had seen nothing else, I had beheld sufficient to keep me to nature for the rest of my life.

"But when I turned to the Theseus and saw that every form was altered by action or repose—when I saw that the two sides of his back varied—one side stretched from the shoulder-blade being pulled forward, and the other side, compressed from the shoulder-blade being pushed close to the spine, as he rested on his elbow—and again, when in the figure of the fighting Metope,[2] I saw the muscle shown under one armpit in the instantaneous action of darting out, and left out in

[1] *Life of Benjamin Robert Haydon*, published in 1853.
[2] Metopes.—Square spaces between the triglyphs in the Doric frieze. In the case of the Parthenon they were ornamented panels of the frieze.
By the "fighting Metope" Benjamin Haydon means the panel containing the fighting figures.

the other armpit because not wanted — when I saw in fact the most heroic style of art, combined with all the essential detail of actual life—the thing was done at once and for ever. . . .

"I shall never forget the horses' heads, the feet in the Metopes. I felt as if a divine truth had blazed inwardly upon my mind, and that I knew they would at last rouse the Art of Europe from its slumber in the darkness.

"I passed the evening in a mixture of torture and hope. All night I dozed and dreamed of the Marbles."

CHAPTER VII

THE CAPITULATION IN EGYPT

THE French had been eighteen months in quiet possession of Egypt before the Turks recovered from their astonishment at such conduct on their part.

At length however, the Grand Vizier collected an army at Damascus, and, at the date of the arrival of the Elgins at Constantinople, was on his march from the Syrian frontier towards Egypt. This was rendered practicable by the action of Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, who, after two years of confinement in the Temple Prison in Paris, had been appointed Commodore on the Coast of Egypt. He held S. Jean d'Acre against the repeated attacks of Bonaparte.

One of Lord Elgin's first acts on arrival was to despatch one of his secretaries, Mr J. P. Morier, to the Ottoman Camp, with the idea of his being a medium of communication between himself and the Turkish Ministry there.

Mr Morier joined the Grand Vizier's camp at El-Arish on the 31st January 1800, only to find that a Convention for the evacuation of Egypt within three weeks by the French, had been signed. This Convention, however, was never honoured, because Lord Keith, British Admiral in the Mediterranean, had received instructions from home to agree to no arrangement whereby the French did not become Prisoners of War.

This news enraged the French General Kleber so greatly, that he tore up the Convention, and attacked and routed the Turks who had been continuing their advance all along.

Nothing more of a decisive nature was to happen

for a whole year later. Sir Ralph Abercromby landed in Aboukir Bay on 1st March 1801, fought the battle of Alexandria,[1] and was mortally wounded. The Command of the British forces then devolved upon General Hutchinson, (afterwards 2nd Earl of Donoughmore), who besieged and took Cairo, and afterwards Alexandria. The French, who after Kleber's assassination, had come under the command of General Menou,[2] obtained what were considered very favourable terms of surrender, including conveyance to France in English ships.

No. 1. CONSTANTINOPLE, *May 10th* 1801.

MY DEAREST DEAR MOTHER,

I intend to begin writing and tell you all I have to say, tho' I cannot guess when this may fall into your hands. However, whenever it does, it will prove I have not forgotten my dear, very dear Father and Mother. Oh, what I felt when I fairly lost sight of your ship round the Saraglio point; I really was very ill. I had kept up as much as I possibly could before you, for you know when I once give way, I am a sad object. Poor Elgin did all he could, but nothing would do, for his poor *Dottle* had lost her Father and Mother. I trust it is the last time we shall part in so uncomfortable a manner. I have had one very bad attack of my choakings and a good

[1] It was during this campaign, at the Battle of Mandora, that Colonel Erskine (whose skeleton, ninety-three years afterwards, was so romantically identified by means of its golden locket), was mortally wounded.

He was an ancestor of the editor of these letters—vide, *Memoirs of Sir David Erskine of Cardross.*

[2] Menou.—General Menou's Orders for attacking the British, dated from his headquarters at Alexandria on 20th March 1801, were found amongst Lady Elgin's papers. In a covering letter to the Commandant de Cavallerie, he says: "J'éspere qu'avec toutes ces troupes réunies, nous ferons vigoureusement rebrousser chemin (turn back) à Messieurs les Anglais. Dites aux troupes que vous commandez, Citoyen Général, que c'est en Egypte que se fera la paix générale; que l'armée d'orient a commencée la Guerre en Europe, et qu'elle la finira en Egypte. C'est le dernier coup de collier (effort) des Anglais."

deal of fever, and I must do Dr Scott the justice to say he was very anxious and extremely attentive.

Unfortunately the two days I was the worst, I had twenty people to dinner each day, the whole lot of Russians one day, and various Hottentots the next. I was forced to let E. do the honors by himself one day. The people here are really making a fast progress upon my affection, for you cannot imagine how feeling they all seem about you. They did not come and torment me with condolence, but they all said they never regretted anybody's departure so much.

Kirico says nobody was ever so much beloved as Mr Nisbet—and old Tommy Harrow declares he loves him dearly. Madame beged I would offer you her kindest compliments, and that all her life she shall recollect with pleasure, the happy moments she has spent in your society. But I need not attempt to repeat all I am told to tell you and my Father. Let him content himself with knowing that the Belle Fonton and the fair Crackcousky are inconsolable. Crack declares he is the most delightful Monsieur she ever met with.

At Tamara's audience with the Caimacam, after all the speeches were made, and he was bowing off, the Caimacam put his hand to his breast, and pulled out a thumping Brilliant set in a ring, which he said the Sultan beged his acceptance of, as a mark of approbation of his conduct and of the pleasure he felt at finding he was to remain on here. You cannot imagine how elated he was with it, and indeed both Hamilton and the Doctor who were there, said nothing could be more flattering than the compliments that were paid him. They say the Turks would rather have Tamara here than any other Russian. I suppose the ring was in part payment pour les *Coups de pantoufle.*

May 12th.—DEAREST MOTHER, How much I regret you were never in the house we have got at Bouyouk Déré,[1] for you would have been perfectly delighted. You know we had given up the idea of taking a house there, this year, till poor old Monsieur Bratis (the Internonce's Brother-in-Law) became a bankrupt. I really cannot help feeling great pity for him as he has always had a very good character and he is 96 years old, desperately fond of his house and gardens, and has laid out about £4000 upon them. I never saw anything so neat in my life as the gardens are; old fashioned terraces filled quite full of flowers, and narrow gravel walks. You must recollect the house. It is next M. Frodings, and within three, of the Prussian's. Excepting the Russians and Baron Hübsch's[2] houses, it is, without any comparison, the best in Bouyouk Déré. The drawing room is a famous large room, and besides that, we have 8 other good rooms on the first floor, all of which I mean to take possession of for myself and Bab. Below stairs there is a very large dining room, a writing room, and plenty of room for our gentlemen.

At the top of the house are exceeding good garrets. We can put up all our people in it, as Mrs Abbott has given us her stables. Elgin and I drove over in the curricle to look at it, dined at Tamara's, and returned here in the evening. Do you recollect the house? But, no matter, for you will have it in your view of Belgrade. I think you must remember the flower pots on the top of a nice garden wall, and an odd shaped scraggy looking tree at the top of the hill, which was a marked

[1] Bouyouk Déré.—A village about twelve miles from Constantinople, where the Sultan retired to in the summer, to be entertained by rope dancers and mountebanks. It was the place of residence of several members of the Corps Diplomatique. The drawback to this otherwise delightful spot was the nocturnal serenading which took place, and occurred so frequently as to spoil the repose of the inhabitants.

[2] Baron Hübsch—Danish Chargé d'Affaires.

object from the Bosphorus; that tree, and a vineyard behind it, belongs to us. What a pity we had it not last year, for you would have been most capitally lodged; and then you would have had the amusement of seeing us make our wine. There is a back door thro' the garden into the vineyard, where there are two or three large trees with benches under them, and from thence is the most beautiful view of the Bosphorus and Giant's Mountain, I have ever seen. I will not even yield to the Russians. And then another great advantage is, one can walk away into the country without going thro' the town.

We keep the poor old gardener who has lived with his Master these 40 years. The poor creature cries all day long. We pay 2500 piastres for all this. The house is furnished into the bargain.

We shall be able to give a grand fête, the King's Birthday. We intend to go in a few days to Belgrade, and only take a few servants with us. From thence we can drive to Bouyouk Déré every day, and when our arrangements are completely made, then we can fix our servants there, and we can live snugly at Belgrade as much as we like. I am sorry to find the little Prussian has, at least for the present, given up the idea of going to Bucharest, on account of the rebels.

The Marquis di Salines positively proposed to Miss Abbott, and she, as positively, refused him. He is gone away in dispair. But who do you think has *absolutely* written to propose himself to Miss Abbott; he has not only written four letters to her, but also to Thornton?[1] No other than our friend Mr Clarke. Miss is *considering*, so I suppose it will do. We shall have to give them fêtes, but is it not curious?

[1] Thomas Thornton.—An official at the British Factory for fourteen years, a traveller and a writer, and (latterly) Consul General in Egypt. He was author of *The Present State of Turkey*.

June 5th Bouyouk Déré.—Who should arrive yesterday in the middle of our Grand Fête, but Mr Hunt! Never was traveller more heartily welcomed. He is in the highest of spirits, and gives me a most comfortable account of you and my dear Father. But pray, how came you to number your Athenian Letter No 4? I have received your Nos. 1. and 2. but no No. 3.

Mr Hunt has solved the mystery. He says No. 3. is coming by express. It is good that he is arrived first, after having flirted away at all the islands; by the bye he was at Teno, and heard a famous character of Paramana, from the Priest. He said her husband was delighted at her being with me, and says he would certainly have her go to England if I wish it.

I wish you could see Bab toddling about. I have got a nice carriage made for him by the English ship's carpenter, and you cannot imagine his joy when he gets into it. The misfortune is, he will not get out again.

I go out constantly with E. in the curricle. We drive to Pera and to Belgrade to the wonder of the Hottentots, as we sometimes dine at 3 o'clock, and the other day at 7! We have got the Internonce's yellow wigged sister next house to us. It is hard work for her to watch us, the house on the other side is Frodings; it is unfortunate the writing room looks to their windows!

June 10th.—The post goes off today, and I intend to send my gazette to Lord Minto, in case you should happen to send and find none. I think I might have kept this longer on the stocks, but Elgin advised me to send it, so it shall go.

We are going to give another ball tomorrow to Captain Briggs, the Commander of the Brig that Lord Keith sent to E, and to Hamilton who is going down to the Army.

To talk of little things after great things, I must tell you we have at last been obliged to part with Liepsh, I defended him as long as I could, but he was too great a fool, and kept the plate so dirty there was no bearing it. I really think that Liepsh was maddish. We found out he used to drink with the footmen.

Now I must tell you about Mariot. Upon his return, he was told that we had no further occasion for him. He then brought in a claim, and also desired E. would give him a present for going to meet you! Don't you think that a good one? And he made Masterman pay exactly double for a gown she bought of him, from the common price everybody here pays. This put her into a great fury.

We have now, I flatter myself, got our house on a very good establishment. Old George has charge of all the stores and linen; and Molvitz of the books, cellar, and plate. We have taken Thomas who was in the stable, for under butler, which he was used to, and it is a pleasure to look at the plate now it is so bright. Now—I have only to preach economy to François, and liberality to George who puts me amazingly in mind of old Nell!

The Spanish Minister has got Smith's house; he is ill of a fever.

Oh! think what a treat Konig is. The 3rd of June, he went to the Russians and to the Prussians to consult whether he should, or should not, come here on the Birthday! They advised him to come by all means, but no Konig arrived; so now we bow and pur like two Cats. I wish my Father was here to roast him. It is a high burlesque, his taking it up, just as England and Sweden are reconciled. Upon Hunt's arrival, he called upon him. Konig sent out his servant to desire he would come up, but Hamilton, who was with Hunt,

hollowed out "Oh non, c'est impossible, nous sommes en Guerre!"

Babs sends a kiss to Grand M. and Grand P. He can walk along famously now.

Goodbye dear dear Mother. I long to hear from you again.

BOUYOUK DÉRÉ, *June 14th* 1801.

MY VERY DEAR FATHER,

You can have no idea of the pleasure your letter and my Mother's from Athens gave us; You know *I* was always against the Formatori, and I remember you did not admire the idea of them; so I feel the greatest comfort at your aprobation of their work. After having been at such an expence it is certainly very pleasing to hear things are done in so superior and masterly a stile; I really now do not feel to grudge them. Your letter put Elgin into the greatest glee, he was quite charmed at your entering so heartily into his cause; your visit would undoubtedly renovate the Artists and make them work with fresh spirit—Elgin is going immediately to set about getting the proper Firman for Minerva's Temple. I shall write you word if it succeeds.

But now my Dearest Father prepare to hear with *extasy* what I am going to tell you! Captain Briggs, Commander of the *Salamine* Brigg has at this moment on board, one piece of Porphyry[1] 4 foot and a half long, & 3 foot and ½ round.

[1] Porphyry.—The term Porphyry is used in a more general sense nowadays. But originally, and under the designation *Imperial* Porphyry it was applied to a magnificent purple stone, found in only one place on earth, viz. in the *Gebel Dukhan*, or Hills of Smoke, which are situated in a remote part of the Egyptian desert.

It was one of the most highly prized ornamental Stones, and the great distance which it had to be brought over parched deserts and perilous seas must have sent its price up, beyond the reach of all, save the rulers of the Earth. The quarries were worked until about the fifth century, A.D.—*Travels in the Upper Egyptian Deserts.*

William Hamilton Nisbet of Dirleton and Belhaven.
(*From a miniature by Henry Bone, R.A., after the painting by Battoni.*)

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Another, 7 foot and a half long, & 3½ round.
And another—Open Your Eyes!
Eight feet long, & seven feet round! ! !
'Pon honor, fact, Dear Sir!

But as no human success is perfect, the *Salamine* Brig being so deep in the water, has been under the cruel necessity—after many fruitless attempts with the aid of the great sheers of the Arsenal—to abandon the idea of taking a fifth piece, being a Column of Twelve foot long and about two foot diameter. This is now in the Dock Yard waiting some other conveyance.

What say you to this, Dearest Dad?

I hope this letter will not be lost, as I shall forget the dimensions, which I wrote down on purpose to send you. But do not think I am so elated with my success as to forget your piece of grey granite, or a piece of the red Oriental Granite, the latter I know not where to find, but I will enquire.

Elgin is going to send off tonight, I have not time to write to my Mother, and indeed I have nothing new to say as I sent a long letter to her the 10th of June and directed it to the care of Lord Minto. I shall do the same with this, as I think he will take care of them.

Hamilton is going to Egypt in the Brig which is to sail, the first fair wind. The Captain will be a great loss for he is a smart pleasant young Beau and an admirer of Caroline. Elgin desires his best love. He will soon write to you, but begs you will excuse him tonight as he is most completely faged; he has been working like a slave for these three days past. All is going on quite comfortably without any Discompostures.

Your dutiful and most affectionate Daughter,

M. Elgin.

June 14th 1801.

2 o'clock in ye morning of ye 15th of June.

No. 2. BELGRADE, *June 23rd.*

MY DEAR MOTHER,

Here we are at Belgrade without my dear dear Mother to admire all its beauties. How much you would have enjoyed being here this year. Nothing can be more delightful than it is, tho' all the servants are in the greatest alarm for the fever.

Andrew assures us he will be very cautious of drinking the water here, as he understands it is extremely feverish. He has kept his promise and appeared very noggy the other day. Poor Bab has been unwell, dear Mother it is not a comfortable thing to see one's Bab suffer. How different I felt last year at this time, I was looking out every day for the arrival of my dear dear Father and Mother.

June 26th.—I will tell you one thing which is that Elgin is most amazingly hurt at finding a *private* letter he wrote to the Duke of York,[1] published. He wrote both to the Duke and to Lord Hawkesbury[2] yesterday very forcibly upon this subject, to say how exceedingly hurt he is to find his private letter published—particularly as he had been so much with the Army, he is always extremely cautious never to meddle with military details when he can possibly avoid it, knowing how much the least inaccuracy affects the characters of officers.

E. says he has always been accustomed to correspond with the Duke of York privately, that makes it doubly unfair, him allowing it to be published.

I hear the Opposition papers quiz E.'s intelligence.

Sunday.—I have just heard from Smyrna that you were performing quarantine at Malta. I am in great hopes I am to get a letter to-morrow, for I understand there is a box from you at Pera.

[1] Duke of York.—Frederic, Duke of York, second son of George III., was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Army in 1799.

[2] Lord Hawkesbury—Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Monday.—I shall send this letter off today, tho' I have no earthly news to send with it. Alas, no news of Alexandria yet. By the bye, I have one piece of news and that is, Mr Straton from Vienna, is appointed Secretary of Legation. Elgin is very much pleased. What will the Internonce and all his Germans say to this appointment, for they always insisted upon it to everybody, that Smith was to come back. Thornton dined here yesterday, and E. says when he told him Mr Straton was coming, he never saw anyone's countenance change so much. We have fixed to give all the English a dinner every Sunday, as that is the day they come from Pera. We have had them twice; it is a settled thing they come without invitation. I think it is a good plan, so Sunday is set apart for the English. Not one of the Hottentots are admitted.

BELGRADE, *July 2nd* 1801.

MY DEAR FATHER,

I know not when I shall have the opportunity of sending this—but no matter—I shall continue adding to it, and then it may go at a moment's warning.

We have had a sad long time without any news from Egypt. The old Internonce is giving out that there is bad news, and that all our plans have failed, because Sir Sidney Smith has retired to the command of his ship!

I have been making some enquiries for red granite, and I am told that at Alexandria, I may get some, very fine; so I think the best way is to write to Lord Keith to beg of him (when we are in possession) to get some, and put it as ballast, on board some ship going to England.

I must not forget to tell you that I went on board the *Salamine* on purpose to look at our marbles;[1] they are really handsome lumps. I made the ship's carpenter take the exact measure of them. No 1. is 8 foot, 6 inches long, and 2 feet 11 inches diameter. These porphyry columns sailed from hence the 17th of June.

Oh, by the bye, the little Prussian did not take your carriage, so it is still at Varna. She said it was too large. It provoked Elgin very much, as if one had known she would not have it, Morier might have taken it, and it would have saved him 500 piastres. I enclose a letter giving an account of the dear little Prussian's entrance into Bukharest, I think it too good not to be known. Elgin insists upon my sending you a notandum I received the other day from Mrs Hall—spare my blushes.

7th July.—A Messenger goes off tonight, so I shall send this to Vienna. I have met with a very great disappointment, they told me there was a box from you arrived, which I opened with the greatest eagerness. I found three famous cheeses, but not a line with them. I think it must be you that sent them, but I fear the letter is lost.

Elgin says he means to write to you, but I suppose he will hardly have time by this courier, he has so much to do. So I will tell you in short that he gave Pisani a most amazing rattle about the passports etc, insomuch that Pisani said that as he found notwithstanding all his endeavours, he could not please his Excellency, and as his health materially suffered by the pressure of business, he hoped E. would allow him to retire. Upon this, Hunt became mediator and explained exactly what E. expected of him, saying that E.

[1] Marbles.—These "marbles," which were really pieces of porphyry, should not be confused with the "Elgin Marbles."

insisted upon his translating literally whatever he gave him, without Pisani's taking upon himself to alter his orders, by way of pleasing the Turks.

After a long confab, Pisani thanked Hunt for his friendship and promised all that man could promise. Ali P.'s past misdemeanours were brought in a string before him, and I fancy he never got such a rattle in his life.

Hunt is going to Greece in a few days. Lord Minto[1] has been writing repeatedly to E. to say the French certainly intended to make a landing in that country—so Hunt is to go with a dragoman and presents, and examine a little the politics of Greece.[2]

Chabert was appointed to go with him, as it is really a commission of consequence; and Chabert has actually refused going, for fear of dying in that country. E. is furious, and declares he will not take any more notice of him. Hunt vows he refuses to go, on account of his love for Madame Pisani. In short, the workings of poor Chabert's mind has put him into a fever, and he is laid up at Pera. He is certainly a great fool for his pains, for going upon such an expedition as this, would have brought him into notice.

July 9th.—I am happy to tell you Pisani has succeeded à merveille in his *firman* from the Porte. Hunt is in raptures, for the *firman* is perfection, and P. says he will answer with his whiskers that it is exact.

It allows all our artists to go into the citadel, to

[1] Lord Minto was Ambassador at Vienna, and afterwards became Governor-General of Bengal. In 1794 he had been appointed Viceroy of Corsica, on the occasion of the inhabitants placing themselves under the sovereignty of the King of England.

[2] So far as the political part of his mission was concerned, this was to visit Morea, Albania, and other parts of Turkey which were known to be threatened by Bonaparte. He was to reform the rebellious, encourage the faithful, and prepare the way for the inhabitants to help in provisioning our squadrons, which might visit those seas. He was accompanied by Carlyle, and they journeyed via Mount Athos.

copy and model everything in it, to erect scaffolds all round the Temple, to dig and discover all the ancient foundations, and to bring away any marbles that may be deemed curious by their having inscriptions on them, and that they are not to be disturbed by the soldiers etc, under any pretence whatever. Don't you think this will do? I am in the greatest glee, for it would have been a great pity to have failed in the principal part, after having been at such an expence.

I think I have nothing more to say to my dear Father. Frotté is the bearer of this, he is going to London, and is in very great hopes to dine with you in Portman Square,

Your dutiful and very affectionate daughter,

M. ELGIN.

Our little Boy is quite well and is to begin sea bathing immediately. He sends his duty to his Grandpapa, and paramana desires to kiss your hands.

CONSTANTINOPLE, *July 9th* 1801.

DEAREST MOTHER,

This day year, did my very dear Father and Mother kiss my Bab for the first time, what a different day did I pass to what this is. But I must not compare.

Elgin and I drove over here in the curricle this morning, and this morning did I take leave of my favorite Belgrade. Tonight we settle ourselves at Bouyouk Déré. I was very sorry to leave Belgrade, but all the Servants are so prepossessed against it, it is nonsense staying there, and our little boy, tho' he has got rid of his complaints, looks pale and thin. His spirits are very good and I hope the sea air and sea bathing will soon strengthen him.

This letter is to be carried by little Frotté, who Elgin sends with his dispatches to London. I hope

you will see him, as he will tell you all the news of Pera since you left it and I am sure that will be interesting to you. He can tell you an odd history about himself, but I will not anticipate the pleasure you will have in hearing him tell his own story.

I have seen three Paramanas today, one is a pretty nice looking Body, the other two were hideous.

Old George recommends the pretty one.

Dear Mother, Goodbye, and Believe me, my dearest Mother,

Your dutiful and most affectionately attached daughter,

M. ELGIN.

No. 3. BOUYOUK DÉRÉ, *July 16th.*

MY DEAR MOTHER,

Your much wished for letter from Malta, dated 12th June, arrived here 14th July. Dearest Mother, how anxious I was to hear from you; the cheeses without a letter really made me exceedingly uneasy.

I was just going to an assembly at the Russians when your packet arrived; you can guess I read your dispatches quite at my leisure, and then sallied forth. There were a great many people at the Russians and every creature enquired after you and my Father with seeming interest, excepting old Mother Internonce, and she has never once asked after you, since you left us.

It is a pleasure to hear the Tamaras speak about you; by the bye, she told me that she was playing at cards with Madame L'Internonce, when somebody said we were expecting the Secretary of Legation.

Madame L'Internonce said, "Qui? M. Hamilton?"

"No, a new one who is coming from Vienna."

She then said "it is not really true that there is one coming?"

They kindly assured her that it was true, upon which she called up one of the Germans to hear what

was said, and Madame Tamara told me she turned quite pale and her hands trembled and she mistook every card she play'd. I suppose she really believed that Smith was to come back.

July 18th.—Elgin is just to send off the news that Cairo surrendered the 27th June. The terms of capitulation are that the French are to retain their arms and to be sent back to France. I shall make no remarks about this in this letter. Your opinion and ours, and I may add the opinion of our Army and Navy, will all be alike.

No. 4. BOUYOUK DÉRÉ, *July 22nd* 1801.

DEAREST MOTHER, I never write to you without wondering whether you are likely to get my letter, for I hate the idea of their being lost, you must tell me if you receive all my numbers. I wrote you a very short letter the 18th of this month, to tell you the news of Cairo, I think the conditions allowed the French will be most amazingly found fault with in England; Elgin is violently against them, and so he has written, privately, to Lord Hawkesbury. The Turks are quite delighted, and sent for E. last monday to a conference, but gave him all the same honors as at his first audience, a thing they never do. They gave him a horse richly caparisoned, invested him with a pelisse, and made him a fine speech upon his activity etc etc.

Dear Mother, I wonder where you are now, I hope in Italy—perhaps you have seen Peggy at Naples. I hear she is very comfortable. By the bye, I hope you will write me something about Mrs Locke; I hope they have not quarrelled.

Elgin is writing an amazing long letter to my Father, telling him all about the Athenian business and Hunt's Missions. You cannot think how kind

he took it of you and my Father interesting yourselves so much about the Artists. I never saw Elgin so much pleased and gratified at anything. Hunt has given me a number of different seeds that he has collected. I have got a tin box made and shall, by the first opportunity, send them to Mrs Hall, Portman Square; and then they will be ready for you to take to Scotland, and plant them where you please. I hope some of them will succeed.

I find Spencer Smith did not go to the Army; he was only on board the *Tigre*, where he distributed a few kind insinuations about E. and told people to beware of Anstruther, as he was Elgin's particular friend, bred up by E. at the Court of Berlin,[1] consequently well versed in the deepest arts of intrigue.

Lord Keith and General Hutchinson have removed Sir Sydney from the command on the Nile, saying he was wanted for a particular service. This has hurt Sir Sidney exceedingly, and he sent Hammer[2] (the Internonce's German, whom you have often heard us speak about) as his intermediate to General H. who forbid him the entrance of the Camp. That was rather violent, was it not?

I believe Sir Sidney has really disgusted many of the officers, by his partiality to foreigners.

Hammer is looked upon as a complete spy, and sends the Internonce every information he can pick up. The Internonce is now telling everybody, how amazingly ill the affairs in Egypt are going on.

Dear Mother, I am afraid Elgin will be abused, but he has nothing to do with the conditions G. H. has allowed the French, and in his private letters to Lord Hawkesbury and a Mr Somebody belonging to

[1] Lord Elgin had been Envoy Extraordinary at Berlin in 1795.
[2] Baron von Purgstall-Hammer—the great Oriental scholar and historian, at this period interpreter to the English Army.

the Duke of York, he has not concealed his opinion that the terms are infamous.

E. has three or four letters from the Army, all written in the greatest contempt of the General.

We are in the utmost allarm for fear of hearing that Alexandria has surrendered on the same terms as Cairo; I daresay it will be so; a shameful thing it would be, inglorious enough for the British arms.

The Internonce is in hourly expectation of the arrival of their eldest daughter—now Madame la Comtesse D'Athems. Everybody says she went in quest of a husband, and now she has got one, *she* says in a private letter I read of hers, that he is ugly and a great fool, but that he adores her, and she hopes to form him. He is a widower, his first wife was a Princess, by whom he has a daughter; but I forgot, you did not know her, She was gone before you arrived here.

One never sees or hears anything about the Spaniard, they say he is very stingy. I suppose he is, for he has never given anything; he is disappointed that his Lady is not received. He complained bitterly to Elgin of the Society here—the difference of it, and that where they last met.

Miss Abbott is persecuted with offers; she has not accepted Clarke; she looks cross and miserable. Old Mother Abbott came GREETING to me yesterday, to beg I would prevent her daughter marrying M. D'Arrest, the Prussian's secretary. I beged to be excused interfering. She says she has seven or eight offers, English, Germans, and Swedes. One rich banker who has written to say, if he has been so fortunate as to make money, it was totally owing to her fair image, which, ever since he saw her at Pera, has been impressed upon his heart. I think if Clarke returns and makes love, he would be successful.

The poor Prussian is quite low spirited at the absence of his wife, really he talks to me till the tears run down his cheeks. I was really half ashamed the other day, he said how very much my manner had struck him—that he was convinced I had a real affection for his dear wife—that I did not ask after her in public life, like other people, but that my countenance expressed so much feeling for her! Did I deserve that?

A most allarming fire broke out in the arsenal the other day; supposed to have been set fire to, on purpose, as it burst out in five different places at once. I hear it has done an immense amount of mischief.

Meling has finished the view of the Seraglio Point for you, nothing can be more exact than it is, tho' the colouring is very bad. However I think you will never regret having it, it is so exceedingly like.

I am still in possession of your *gold gown* money. I feel much inclined to make Préaux[1] take the view of the Fountain at Tophana, for he draws much better than Meling. Nothing can be more beautiful than his pen sketches. Masterman always enquires whether I have ever informed you that Lion has recovered the use of his broken leg. The truth is Masterman wishes Vane to know it, so pray tell her he is well. Coquette has produced three puppies. I have given one to little Hoddle, and I have two more to dispose of; have you a mind for them?

We went the other day to the Grand Signior's Echelle.[2] I felt dismal, my dear Mother, thinking with whom I was there the time before. Our little

[1] Michael François Préaux.—An artist formerly employed by the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier. Many of his drawings were placed in the Elgin portfolios at the British Museum.

[2] Echelle.—The name "Echelles du Levant" was given to the trading ports of the Mediterranean, which were under Turkish jurisdiction—such as Constantinople.

Boy is a nice companion, he was in such spirits, and so delighted with the Turks.

I had intended to have sent this letter by the German Post, but upon consideration, I thought it better not, as it is needless for the Internonce etc. to see what I have written about the Army and Smith.

I have now absolutely exhausted all my news, both public and private, so for the present Adieu, dear dearest Mother, I have one thing more to say which I know will give you pleasure and that is, that we have had letters written in good spirits from Mr Bruce[1] in March, from Poonah and Bombay. Elgin has also received letters from Lord Wellesley[2] written in a stile, that gives him great hopes his brother will meet with a favourable reception.

July 31st.—Elgin sends off to-day, so I shall despatch my packet also to Vienna. I have sent a number of commissions to Bluey and to Lady C. Durham for ornamental pieces of furniture to give to the Valida and the Pasha's Sister. If she is in London she will tell you all about it, and you will have the goodness to give me your opinion.

Mr Broughton has written to E. saying he does not know why the newspapers say he is to be recalled, as no such thing is at present in agitation. So upon this assurance, I want different presents for people here, both Turks and Greeks. You remember the old-fashioned gigish pieces of furniture we saw in the Seraglio? now what I want is little tables, a good deal ornamented, inlaid boxes and drawers: dear Mother will you see about this?

Mrs Thornton has just produced a son. Dr Scott has inoculated several children with the vacine, but

[1] Lord Elgin's brother.

[2] Lord Wellesley—Governor-General of India, and brother of the Duke of Wellington.

without success, tho' he made use of it the very day it arrived.

I have left off the little Boy's caps, four days ago, and he has not caught cold; he is bathed head over heels every morning in salt water. He now rather likes the amusement, and is particularly delighted when he can get his hands into water and fling as much as possible into his Papa or Mama's faces; you never heard such a laugher as he is grown.

I am, my very dear dear Mother,

Your dutiful & ever most affectionate Daughter,

M. ELGIN.

Dear Grandmama, pray love little George Charles Constantine Bruce.

My first writing.

August 25th.—No news from Alexandria is yet arrived. Lord Keith has embarked 12,700 men for France.

Tell my Father that the Grand Signior has given E. the pillar of Porphyry in the Sea by the Seraglio, and the two small pillars of Verd Antique[1] by the Janisary's Tower.

August 28th.—Elgin has had letters from Hunt, and all has been managed better than we could have expected at the Temple of Minerva. Free access is given to the Artists into the Citadel from sunrise to sunset.

[1] Verd Antique.—The technical term for green porphyry.

APPENDIX No. 1.

MR MORIER'S ACCOUNT OF THE TURKISH ARMY IN 1800.

The troops may be said to have been divided into two classes —the paid, and the volunteers. The latter appeared to follow the army solely for plunder, and never hesitated to loot their own Camp, if opportunity offered during a general engagement. In the first category (who received from one penny to twopence a day), were the Arnauts or Albanians, the Lesghis from Georgia and Circassia, and the Janisaries.

The Janisaries laid great store by two large copper kettles which were always placed in front of each regiment, together with a skimmer and a ladle. These caldrons were held sacred, and were always attended by a guard. They were a sure protection to anyone who should claim it, by taking refuge near. On the march, they were carried in front of the regiment, and their loss entailed great disgrace.

The Generalissimo of the Janisaries ranked as a Pasha of Three Tails. This somewhat singular title arose from the fact that every Pasha has a Standard outside his tent, with a certain number of horses' tails attached, to denote his degree of rank.

Junior officers waited upon their seniors in quite a menial capacity. But promotion followed neither seniority nor merit, and the meanest individual might rise to high rank.

Yousouf Pasha—present Commander-in-Chief, and Grand Vizier —had been formerly a Georgian slave, who had risen to be "Chief of Tobacco" and "Master of Pipes" to the late Pasha of Erzroum, whom he eventually succeeded. He had no experience or capacity either as Statesman or General.

A Turkish Army, says Mr Morier, may be compared to an armed rabble, and the practice of firing ball in camp, indiscriminately, was quite common.

The Camp itself resembled a large fair. There were tradesmen in it of all descriptions. Some kept coffee houses, others were horse dealers, and a number of public cryers were kept constantly employed in describing to the multitude, things lost, or in selling divers articles by auction.

None of the usual precautions against surprise were ever thought of.

When about to move, the hour of marching was proclaimed overnight by a cryer. The baggage moved off first, without any guard, and every man went as fast or as slow as he pleased. Infantry, cavalry, artillery, all mixed, forming one immense crowd, which resembled a colony emigrating.

The particular force to which Mr Morier was attached was 800,000 strong, but of this number about half were idlers. The retinue of the Grand Vizier alone was about 10,000. Everyone, according to his rank, had some sort of following: and even a junior clerk found it necessary to have a servant, a groom, a water carrier, a cook, and an individual to pitch and strike his tent.

Officers holding many strange appointments abounded in the Force. There was a Samsoorgis Bashi, or Principal Dog Keeper, but as the keeping of dogs had been discontinued, nothing remained for this officer excepting the rank and emoluments. The office of "Bird Keeper" to the Army had, however, recently become obsolete.

The march from El-Arish to the Egyptian Frontier commenced on 5th February,[1] many perishing on the road from thirst, starvation, and disease.

It is perhaps not surprising that an army of this description should have been put to the rout by General Kleber. Indeed it is said that this officer had not in the first instance signed the Convention, nor would he ever have done so, but for his extreme hostility to Bonaparte. Unaware of the latter's recent elevation as First Consul, Kleber's aim in signing, had been to humiliate Napoleon.

[1] A few days after this, General Mustapha arrived in Camp with despatches from Sir Sidney Smith. This remarkable officer, whose real name was Campbell, was a Scotsman by birth, who had resided upwards of fifty years in Turkey, where he had embraced the Mahommedan religion, and had, by gradual promotion, attained the rank of *Cumbaragi Bashi*, or General of Bombardiers.

A well-informed man of polished education, he had nearly reached the age of eighty years, notwithstanding having suffered (so it is affirmed) from repeated attacks of the plague.

The strangeness of General Mustapha's career, however, is quite eclipsed by that of another renegade fellow-countryman, a few years later. Thomas Keith, a native of Leith, and an ex-private soldier of the 72nd Highlanders, not content with being one of the very small band of Europeans ever to penetrate the precincts of the Sacred City of Medina, actually was appointed its Governor.

CHAPTER VIII

A SHEEP IN WOLF'S CLOTHING

THE surrender of the French in Cairo was followed by that of those in Alexandria, shortly afterwards on the 31st August 1801.

Great rejoicings took place at Constantinople, which were in no wise diminished by the severe losses sustained by the Mamelukes.

This fine body of men were originally inhabitants of the Caucasus. In the troublous thirteenth century they became enslaved, and 12,000 of them were purchased by the Sultan of Egypt and formed by him into a body of troops.

Their numbers and wealth eventually gave them such a preponderance of power in Egypt that the Turkish Pasha was reduced to a practical nonentity.

But in the present contest with the French, the Mamelukes were almost decimated, and the Captain Pasha (who now reappears upon the scene at the seat of war) considered it an opportune moment to wipe out what leaders remained.

He accordingly invited seven of their Beys to a peaceful conference at which they were to be assassinated. Fortunately General Hutchinson intervened, but unluckily not until three of them had lost their lives.

No. 6. BOUYOUK DÉRÉ, *Sept. 12th* 1801.

Oh that my dear dear Father and Mother could see the happiness of their daughter; this is the tenth day since the birth of my little girl, and both she and I are perfectly well. She is a fat little thing with black hair and blue eyes.

But dearest Mother, as I think this letter may very likely never reach you, I will tell you what I intend to do. I shall write a long letter with a minute account of myself etc, which I shall direct to you at Grosvenor Square. I have written to Lady Robert to beg of her to order her porter to take care of any letters I may send him, and to deliver them to you as soon as you arrive in London.

It is sadly uncomfortable not knowing where to write to catch you on the road; now we are more in the dark than ever. Lord Minto wrote to E. that you had been at Naples, and had desired all my letters to be sent to Malta. Your returning to Malta puzzles me; perhaps you are going home by sea? Perhaps you are coming here to take a peep at your grand-daughter?

M. Tamara begs my Father will not send him the coach he bespoke, as English carriages are prohibited in Russia.

As Mr Hunt is in Greece, our little girl is to be baptized tomorrow, by M. Konig's chaplain, we mean to defer the Christening, till Hunt's return. Kindest Love to my Father.

Sept. 19th.—DEAREST MOTHER, what would I give to show you my little Mary. She has the prettiest shaped head and the most delightful mouth you ever saw; Hall declares her ancle is perfection. She must have taken that from Bluey.

Dearest Mother, I may now open my heart to my dear dear Mother, for *I have been keeping a secret!* Now, what is this secret? Why, you know the little girl was born the 31st August, and on the 6th September, she was inoculated with the vaxine and has taken it completely in both arms. It is now quite over to my great joy, for I assure you it annoy'd me not a little, inoculating a poor little thing of seven

days old. Nothing can have succeeded better. She really did not appear to suffer in the least, she did not even cry at the operation.

Within this month some fresh vaxine was sent from Vienna which Doctor Scott tried and succeeded with, it is quite astonishing how much it has taken. There have already been seventy people and children inoculated, and the people at Belgrade have sent and begged to be vaxined. Elgin has had many letters from Smyrna intreating him to send some vaxine there; hundreds and hundreds of children are dying every day of the small pox at Smyrna, and at Pera also it is very fatal. I think we shall compleatly establish the vaxine in this country; the small pox is so dreadfully fatal here.

Sept. 21*st.*—On our return yesterday from our drive, we met a man with a letter with the news that Alexandria was taken, and that a Mr Hutchinson, the General's brother, was come with the news and was coming with his dispatches to Elgin.

In a short time arrived your friend, Colonel Graham of Balgowan[1]; he only accompanied Mr H. for his own amusement. He told us that Hutchinson could not be here by dinner time. It being Sunday, we had "All our Christian brethren here established," so to dinner we went; just as we had finished the second course, the door was flung open, and in marched a man

[1] Colonel Graham had lost his wife at Hyères in 1792. His passionate devotion to her, and the indignities to which her coffin was subjected by the French Revolutionaries, made home life insupportable to him. He joined the army at the advanced age of 42, becoming the Lord Lynedoch of Peninsula fame.

After Mrs Graham's death, her husband could not bring himself to look upon her portrait—the famous Gainsborough at the Scottish National Gallery—and caused it to be placed in a store, where it remained lost to sight for fifty years. It is recorded that Romney remarked of it, that, it was easy to make a beautiful portrait, when the lady was beautifully dressed. Thereupon Gainsborough made a sketch of her as a Dairymaid, which is now at the National Gallery in London.

in a most remarkable handsome pelisse, a chilinque[1] in his hat, and a large gold medal hanging round his neck. This medal is the first that has been given, and the Turks intend to give one to each of the Officers who have served in Egypt. The Hero you will have already guessed, was Mr Hutchinson. He instantly flung off all trappings, and appeared a young goodish looking *whack;* he made many apologies for having made his first entré in the pelisse, but that he had been charged to do so at the Porte:

Now you must know this said Christopher Hutchinson is a lawyer, who came out merely to see the operations in Egypt, without having the least idea of being employed; he says so himself: and he has not a Commission in the service, altho' he wears a red hat, sword, etc.[2] How perfectly absurd of his brother sending him with such news as this, instead of sending an Officer. It will enrage the Army still more against the General. It is a trick of the Captain Pasha's who has made General Hutchinson send his brother; and the Pasha has actually written by him to the Sultan to say that he (the Pasha) had had the influence over General Hutchinson to prevent him doing something about the Mamelukes, and that by that, the Pasha had conquered Egypt.

Instead of coming first to Elgin, he went to the Porte; the Caimacam got up to receive him, a thing that was never done to any Minister or Ambassador.

[1] Chilinque or Aigrette.—An ornament, often of great value, fastened on to the turban.

[2] The practice of civilians wearing uniform seems to have been not uncommon. Mr John Tweddell, when travelling on the Continent in 1796, was advised to do so—curiously enough, by Lord Elgin himself. "Accordingly," he says, "I have this day ordered a Military Suit, and am now, as my tailor did me the honour to call me this morning, *Monsieur le Captaine.* It will save me much money and trouble, as by this means no change is required, no lace ruffles, no distinction between winter and summer, and one is not encumbered with that grotesque invention, a bag wig. The uniform I wear is taken with a few variations from the dress of the Guards."

He also saw the Grand Signior in the Seraglio—and then came here.

E. immediately told him he had done wrong; and he appeared sensible of it, and said that he had really come as a traveller, that he was unacquainted with business, and that he felt himself in a very awkward situation. E. then told him what the Pasha had written to the Sultan. It was relative to the Mamelukes, and that General Hutchinson and the Pasha had disagreed. The Pasha, by this Hutchinson, has sent that he had got the General to settle the Mamelukes one way—the General sends word to E. that he will remain firm to what he had at first settled, as long as he had life.—A plump contradiction of what the Pasha has written to the Sultan.—Is this not curious? It is tormenting to Elgin. The Pasha is very cunning, but it was unfair making use of one brother to cut the throat of the other.

What a rage the Sultan will be in, when he knows the man he has treated with such unheard-of attention, is a lawyer, and has nothing to do with the Army.

E. said last night that H. spoke as if he felt the awkwardness of his situation, and said over and over again that he knew his brother was quite determined about the Mamelukes. The Pasha has given Mr H. his house to live in, during his stay here. He staid with us last night, and by peep of day this morning, he went to the Pasha's house at Constantinople, and the Grand Signior sent to desire he would go to a Gonte. He went without telling Colonel Graham. I saw at breakfast, he was a good deal hurt at it. E. got a boat, and has sent the Colonel to see it, as it would be a pity to miss such a shew.

I do not know what to make of this Mr H. I think he is mearly an inconsiderate Irishman that

means no harm; but after all E. said to him yesterday about etiquette, and keeping up the English dignity, away he went this morning without a servant, and without one of our dragomen; it is very improper.

Colonel Graham brought E. a private letter from Lord Keith. He says he is very sensible of all E.'s attention to him: that he means to go to Corfu with a squadron the moment the French begin to evacuate: and he ends by saying, "I will never engage in any other expedition unless I am better acquainted with its component parts."

Hamilton has also written privately to E. and he says that all the Officers are dissatisfied with the General, but that Lord Keith and himself are better friends than formerly, tho' even at present not much cordiality subsists between them.

Mr Hutchinson is to be here tomorrow. Had he only come to E. before he went to the Porte, and got some of our servants and dragomen, it would have been nothing, but he flies about without anybody. Colonel Graham is vexed altho' he has nothing to do with it.

I daresay General Hutchinson did not know of what real importance it was, to send somebody who knew what had passed in Egypt. I cannot think he did it merely on account of the presents and honor.

Your Dutiful and Very Affectionate Daughter,

M. ELGIN.

No. 7. BOUYOUK DÉRÉ, *Sept. 22nd.*

MY DEAR MOTHER,

I have just received your Nos. 8. & 9. What delight, dearest Mother, to get two such long letters from you; but still when I had done reading, I found

out a cause for discontent, and that was that Hall had received a letter from Mr Carlyle's servant some days ago from Rome, consequently ten days later date than yours to me. Your No. 6 is still missing, but I do not give up hopes of receiving it yet.

How happy I am, you are to go through France. You have not told me whether there was any misunderstanding between Mr and Mrs Locke, and I am anxious to know. I do not wonder at your admiration of the Italian ladies, you know I told you there was a famous set at Palermo; the Princess you mention having been confined four years in a convent, interested me much when I was there; I was told she was the most beautiful creature ever was seen, but detested her husband so much, she would not come out. As for all the women about court, never did I hear such histories as was told about all of them.—You would be extremely surprised if you knew all the histories of this place; and even as you knew it, you absolutely knew nothing.

My Madame Pisani, and Baroness Hübsch, *infamous, infamous;* it would take 50 pages to enumerate half, so I must leave that till we meet, and indeed I do not think it will interest you much. But are you not surprised at Madame Pisani? That is why her husband treats her with so much distant respect. She has had three or four intrigues, but who do you think was the last? You can never guess—old ——! There is hardly a woman here, there is not a history about. It is really wonderful, and then the Conversation! Indeed I should be sorry, very sorry were *my* Mary to come here some years hence, and still more so, if her brother came! I really shall begin to moralise in time!

Elgin advises me to write a letter to Paris for you, and send it to the Russian Minister there. I spoke

to M. Tamara yesterday about it, of course I shall put nothing in it of the least consequence, and if you are from Paris, the Russian Minister is to burn it. So I shall put no number on it. Elgin says my Father has behaved very shabbily not writing his private opinion of the Sicilian Marbles, as he promised. Madame Tamara told me yesterday, as a secret, that Tamara had asked for his recall, and that they expect the answer by the next post; that is the reason why they beg of you not to send the coach.

How much I should like to see Petersburgh, will you take a trip some summer with us, embark from North Berwick, or will you never leave old England again? How amazingly I shall abuse my Father if he spends the winter in Italy! It would be too bad to have left poor me for nothing, all the world would cry shame.

We have not seen Mr Hutchinson since his first arrival, but he is, I believe, to be here today; Colonel Graham stays with us. The Porte sent Hutchinson yesterday, a packet of shawls, and a snuff box. Poor Hamilton was very ill at Cairo, but is now well, the Grand Vizier has given him a Snuff Box; perhaps had the Prince in Disguise still been with him, he might have found means to have relieved him of it. You cannot imagine what very sensible letters Hamilton writes, he is exceeding clever, it is a pity he is not rather more steady.

I am exceedingly sorry to hear Carlyle is so low; you do not think him really ill? He will be a great loss to you when you separate, pray tell him I miss him sadly. I shall not forget to tell Chirico how much you were pleased with his Captain. You have no idea how kindly everybody (excepting Madame L'Internonce) enquires after you;—Honofrio particularly after my Father. We are become great friends,

he is a much better fellow than what we at first thought him, when people do not call upon him to play the fool.

Dearest Mother, you must, as soon as ever you arrive in England, write me fully upon *every subject;* tell me what *you* think, and what others think. What is said about Elgin, *good* or *bad*, and what impression Sir Sidney Smith gives, etc. etc. etc. All the letters from England come safe. Smith was 45 days going from Rhodes to Coron, from thence he sent to the Consul at Athens, desiring he would send him any medals or pieces of antiquity he had collected for him. The Consul sent him word that our Artists had taken possession of everything of the sort, so away Smith sailed without anything. I hope you will be in England before he arrives, it would be better for us.

The Turks are in the greatest glee at the taking of Alexandria, they are firing canon all day and all night, they have also begun to illuminate. I am told it is to last seven days, and that the Grand Signior is to give very fine fireworks. He has sent the Dragoman of the Porte in State to Elgin, this morning, we are all in gala; their conference lasted two hours and a half, a famous thing for the Good Folks here to talk of.

I do not know the news yet, as Elgin is gone out a riding with Colonel Graham, he had only time to tell me that when the Dragoman began reading the speech which the Grand Signior made Mr Hutchinson, he commenced by calling him *Colonel* Hutchinson, upon which Elgin said he had made a mistake, for that *Mr* Hutchinson had no rank in the Army. He says upon that the Prince's face turned all the colours of the rainbow, he asked E. who he was, or what rank he had? E. told him, he was the General's brother,

and came there as a traveller, but had nothing to do with military affairs. He seemed perfectly astonished at that. You see the Captain Pasha did not tell the Sultan that; I wonder what he will say when he knows he has chilinquied and paid such uncommon attention to a person who was not engaged in the expedition. However, all this is nothing to *us*.

By the bye, only think of my forgetting to tell you that all Morier's papers that were supposed to be in the hands of the French, arrived here three days ago. He had given them to an Arab with charge to take care of them, and he buried them in the sand; notwithstanding the immense offers the French made to anybody who would bring them, the Arab kept true to his promise. Hamilton, who knew this, sent to him and got them. Mr Tooke says there are many instances of Arabs defending papers, or any packet committed to their charge, to the very last; they would sooner lose their lives than give up. It is a very curious circumstance, is it not?

Sept. 23rd.—Mr Hutchinson came yesterday, he appeared perfectly free, we asked him again to come and stay with us. He said he certainly would, and that it was very tiresome staying by himself at the Pasha's; but that the Pasha had made such a point of his living there, he thought himself obliged to stay there, a little. The Pasha sent and ordered the house to be furnished in the European stile for him, and also got a French cook. Elgin, Colonel G. and Mr H. went off by peep of day this morning to see the sights at Constantinople; they will not be back to dinner.

Dear Mother, will you dine with me?

I have had a little touch of my choakings. Last night, I could not sleep for it, and even now I have a good deal of it. I have just had Dr Scott up to

consult. I am going in a boat with Bruce to the Prairie, how often have we been there, with my dear dear Mother. I have some thoughts of sending the little Thing out in our garden for half an hour, it is a very fine warm day; Dr S. says it cannot hurt her, but altho' I am perhaps not always prudent about myself, I am very careful of my Bratts!—

The little girl is quite well, and I am very much pleased with the Paramana.

I have just been scolding most violently, upon the stairs, I met Andrew with Bruce. Upon seeing me, he (Bruce) put out his arms, and began calling out wine, wine, in Greek! As my friend does not understand English, I was obliged to kiss him, and woeful to tell, such a whif of white wine as he treated me with, I never before met with. I immediately attacked Andrew, who of course denied the charge, I have had all the servants up, and given them such a rattle as they never had before. I am convinced it was Andrew, but it is a most unpardonable thing to give a Child wine at ten o'clock in the morning, and I always give it him after dinner with his fruit. I have given out that if any creature in the house ever give him any thing but a piece of bread, if I find it out, out of the house they go that very day. It must have been Andrew, he was roaring fou last night, but he has been uncommonly sober of late, since my famous lecture at Pera, for you know he minds nobody but me.

I must tell you a good-natured speech of the ever amiable Madame L'Internonce; she and a large party were here last night. After we had play'd at whist, the Internonce came up to me and began talking of Egypt, and said how amazingly delighted the Turks were with the taking of Alexandria etc, and then he talked of the great fireworks that they say are to be

given. Upon which Madame said that the Turks had better have delayed their rejoicings till everything was finally settled in Egypt, for that All was not over Yet! I heard her, but I pretended to be listening to the Internonce, so her remark went unanswered. She has told everybody that Sir Sidney is the person who carries the news to England, and never mentioned Colonel Abercromby. She says she hopes Sir Sidney will arrive before any other person can send the news.

Sept. 25th.—Elgin did not return to dinner; he dined with Mr Hutchinson at the Pasha's. When I was at dinner, he sent the groom, express, to tell me there was to be very fine illuminations on the Bosphorus. I could not resist the temptation, though really had not Doctor Scott said he thought I might go with the greatest safety, I would not have gone.

It was the most beautiful night you can imagine, both sides of the Bosphorus illuminated, rockets, guns, cannon going off at all corners, all sorts of music, and a sort of masquerade, and all the Turks were as merry as Christians.

The Grand Signior was at the Pera "Champs des Morts," and an immense concourse of people all in the highest of spirits, and wishing Selim to conquer "all his enemies, and to reward all his friends"; the women blessed him, and wished him a son. And he yesterday received the appelation of *Selim the Conqueror* from the Priests!

I think they might have conquered Egypt over and over again, had they but fired half the number of cannon in earnest, they are now firing in joke. We have got a famous idea for an illumination if it does but succeed, Col. Graham and Elgin are very keen about it, but I must tell you what it is to be. In the first place we have hired a Varna vessel upon which is to be placed in a very large scale, the Star and the

Crescent illuminated, and the ship is to go down the Bosphorus to Beshictache, where the Sultan is just now.

Sept. 26th.—Our illumination after all, cannot take place, as every lamp is bought up in Constantinople. The English frigate that Lord Keith was to send Elgin for money, is arrived, and with it came Bromley ;[1] he is to dine with us today, so many a lie we shall probably hear. He is come to receive his pay from the Porte. By the bye, to encourage a little scandal, I must tell you the little Prussian is coming back immediately; he came to tell me the joyful news, you never saw such glee as he is in; I wonder what he will say now that Bromley is arrived, I do not think he will like it. Do you remember their tender parting?

Colonel Graham is to leave us on Monday which I am sorry for, he is a pleasant man, at least he is an Englishman, and talks about you; he put me amazingly in mind of my Father, the night I went out to see the illuminations. He took such care of me, and really seemed quite serious, wrapped me up in two great coats, three shawls, and silk handkerchiefs, besides wollen stockings, I never was so hot in all my life, a Turkish Bath was a joke to me. I am quite well and did not catch the least cold, it was a remarkable fine moonlight night, but on arriving home the air was sharpish, and a shawl was put entirely over my face. I told Colonel Graham he would certainly suffocate me.

Oh that Morier would come and bring me news of you, it is a long time since we heard from England.

The Turks are to give Lord Keith, Sir John Hutchinson, and Elgin, the Order of the Crescent in

[1] Major Bromley—not William Bromley, the engraver of the Elgin Marbles.

Diamonds, and a chilinque. (E got his chilinque upon his audience.)

To Sir Richard Bickerton, Admiral Blanket, General Coote, and Colonel Baird,[1] they are to give pelisses and the Order of the Crescent. And to all the Officers, of which there are 1800, they are to give a gold medal, (like the one given to Mr Hutchinson) and a pelisse.

Dear Mother, I think your patience will be tried before you get through this journal. I sent the other day, by the German post, a letter to Vienna for you, just saying I was well. I did not number it, but put an "A" upon it; tell me if you ever get it. I wonder whether many of my letters to you are lost, I hope not.

Do you remember my writing to you some time ago, about a man of the name of Hammer, a German Spy, whom Sir Sidney took up so violently, and sent to General Hutchinson to make up some little difference that had arisen between them? And the General turned Hammer out of the camp with orders never to set his feet there again, Elgin having written to put them upon their guard against him, knowing that he was really a spy. Ask Mr Carlyle about him.

Upon being turned out of the camp, Hammer produced a letter from the Internonce, mentioning he

[1] Colonel Baird of Newbyth (who had been for three years a Prisoner of Tippoo Sahib's, and chained to a fellow captive) came from India with 8000 men to co-operate with Sir Ralph Abercromby. Encountering contrary winds in the Red Sea, he was forced to land at Kosseir, and it is remarkable that a traveller visiting this remote village more than a hundred years later, found those stirring events still talked of, and the English looked upon as having the prestige of conquerors.

A forced march across the desert was made, but they did not arrive until a few days after the Surrender of Alexandria. Sir David Baird headed the storming party at Seringapatam, took the Cape from the Dutch, was wounded at Copenhagen, and commanded at Corunna after the death of Sir John Moore.

Newbyth was halfway between the two homes of Lady Elgin's parents, and is in the Parish of Whitekirk. It was to this ancient shrine that Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (afterwards Pope Pius II.) made his barefoot pilgrimage, after shipwreck off the coast of Dunbar in 1435.

His Holiness was filled with astonishment on seeing the poor accept with gratitude, gifts of black stones. It was his first introduction to coal.

had some mission in Egypt, from him! Upon this, General Hutchinson not only took him into his own house at Cairo, but let him completely into his confidence, and actually sent him to negotiate a treaty with the Mamelukes. This is the treaty the Captain Pasha wishes to anul, and that the General says he will remain firm to; and the Chief of the Mamelukes says if it is not kept to, he will himself go to England, and see if the King's word is thus to be trifled with.

But to return to Hammer, Elgin has fortunately got some intercepted letters from Hammer, in which he abuses the English, finds fault with all the Officers, and criticises everything that has been done! E. has sent these letters down to General Hutchinson, to let them see it was not out of any personal pique to Sir Sidney that made him tell them to beware of Hammer. I think it a very fortunate circumstance because of course everything against the Smiths, everybody would immediately place on the score of pique; now these letters shew for themselves; E. shewed them to Colonel Graham who advised him by all means to send them down.

Sept. 28th.—This is a most complete rainy day, I cannot get rid of my suffocation, it always comes on at night, it is not exceedingly violent, but enough to be very tormenting; it is very hard upon me having it at present, because I should feel perfectly delighted at being freed from my former suffering. However, when this damp weather is over I hope I shall get well. Our poor Doctor is suffering dreadfully with the rhumatism, but he contrives to tell as long a story as ever. How does your whist go on? Dr Scott loses 50 or 60 piastres every night, and he will play, and will bet; people are not very fond of playing with him, he has such uncommon bad luck.

We hear constantly from Hunt, who is quite

delighted with his tour. Do you remember what he calls the chef-d'Oeuvre of sculpture in the Metopes of the Parthenon, which represent the combat of the Lapithae and the Centaurs, by the hand of Phidias; and one of them is supposed to be Theseus, and the other Pirithous?[1]

He says, "These admirable specimens of Grecian sculpture which have been repeatedly refused to the gold and influence of France in the zenith of her power, I have now embarked with other precious fragments of antiquity, on board the ship that brought me here."

He has been at Aulis, Chalcis in Euboea, Thebes, Labadea, Chaeronea, Thermopylae, and Delphi. He had before that, been at Marathon, Salamis, Eleusis, Megara and Sunium. Also to Ægina, Epidaurus, and Corinth, from thence to Sicyon, Mycenae, Argos and Mantinea, Patrae, Olympia, Elis, and other Cities of the Peloponnesus. Nothing can be more comfortable than his letter, we have succeeded in every one thing we wished, relative to Greece.

Elgin has just told me that he intends to send to England tonight, so I have time to copy no more of Hunt's journal. Colonel Graham stays with us some time longer, altho' he is in a hurry to get away to join his regiment at Malta, but the Grand Signior has sent to offer Elgin an audience in State, and that will be well worth staying to see.

I intend to give a ball soon; one should shew off now, I think. Mr Hutchinson is with us, he is a famous dasher; the Captain Pasha's Sultana sent

[1] Pirithöus.—The inseparable companion of Theseus. Both vowed they would marry none but the daughters of Jupiter. Theseus obtained Helen, but there was no one for Pirithöus except Proserpine, who had been carried off to the infernal regions. Hither the two friends descended. Unfortunately, they sat down on a rock and found that they had become fixed to it.

for him yesterday at her palace on this side of Constantinople, where you were when I received the chilinque. He was admitted into the Harem, the ladies peeped behind the doors at him, but did not come out; however the Sultana sent him a splendid diamond box. He says they had stacked all her diamonds in one room, and that he was going by without thinking of looking at them, when the Blacks stopped him, to show them. He says there were quantities of watches, boxes, aigrettes, and rings, and cushions embroidered all over with pearls and diamonds. The days he is not with us, he stays at the Pasha's. He is now invited to a fête that is to be given by the Dragoman of the Porte; he is very tired of their entertainments: as soon as they are over, he is to come and stay altogether with us.

Your Dutiful and Ever very affectionate Daughter,

M. ELGIN.

September 28th 1801.

CHAPTER IX

A VISIT TO THE VALIDA

No. 7. (*cont.*) *Sept. 30th.*

DEAREST MOTHER,

I do not know when this letter will go, as I do not chuse to send by any but a safe conveyance. The only way for you to do, is to read a sheet a day, by which means I shall continue my journal with less remorse of conscience. By the bye, dear Mother, my eyes pain me. I hope I shall not become blind, but our soldiers in Egypt who lost their sight, recovered it again. But I must not talk so, or else you will perhaps think me much worse than I really am; my eyes are not affected to look at, but I feel a pain in my eyelids which prevents me reading much at a time, so I have taken to my piano-forte' again. I hope Colonel Graham will stay for Elgin's audience, tho' he says he is afraid of staying for fear of his regiment getting to Malta long before him; I have copy'd the paper you gave me of the road between this and Vienna, for him, which he is delighted with.

Do you remember Beldi (our musician) and his love story with Mademoiselle Leiger?—The Father will not agree to their marrying, and Miss has been shut up ever since you were here, till the other day. Upon her promising to go out in a *Fèreige*[1] and *Mamuk* (the Muslin over the face) in company with another lady, Miss was permitted to take a walk.

[1] Fèreige or Fèragi.—An outdoor cloak.

perfectly unhappy about Elgin; Doctor Scott thinks he is better, but I want my Father and Mother very much. My only comfort is my Bratts, they are nice things indeed.

Give my best and kindest Love to my Father, pray pray write to me often.

And believe me your dutiful and most
Affectionate Daughter,

M. ELGIN.

CHAPTER XII

THE WONDERS OF GREECE

IN the spring of the previous year to this (in 1801), Lusieri had paid a visit to Constantinople, presumably to report progress to Lord Elgin, concerning the work of the Artists.

He probably was made acquainted with the Marbles which had been obtained from the Troad,[1] and which formed the nucleus of the Elgin Collection, and it is likely that on this occasion the question of safe-guarding the Grecian ones, and making a collection of them, was also discussed.

At any rate his stay was not a long one, and soon after his return to Athens, the Firman from the Porte was obtained which has already been referred to.

Now, a whole year later, Lord Elgin was at last able to visit the scene of the operations himself. He left for Athens, accompanied by Lady Elgin and the children, on the 28th March, 1802.

O. ATHENS, *April 10th* 1802.

DEAREST MOTHER,

I am now writing in the very room my own dear Mother used to write to me from. You cannot think what a feel of friendship I have for the people here,

[1] The dwellers in the Troad have, of recent years, been visited by a form of that mysterious epidemic of involuntary dancing, which raged in Europe from 1374 onwards, and which, in Italy, was known by the name of Tarantism. It is most vividly and remarkably described in the *Times* of 9th September 1911.

they seem so sincere in their professions, and then they talk all day long about you and my Father. Hunt says he never saw my Father in the spirits he had whilst he was here; but Lusieri speaks of you with raptures. He says,

"Ah Madame Nisbet was enthusiastic, she used to go almost every day to the Pnyx;[1] Monsieur Nisbet said it was very well, but he would rather have a couple of good bottles of wine." Oh the Hottentot!

I have brought the two letters you wrote to me from hence, they are in my writing desk, it is pleasant reading them on the spot.

But I must give you a description of our journey, for it was very romantic. We, our Bratts, and the Doctor went in the Ragusan vessel.[2] Colonel Murray and Hunt sailed in the English Brig which was to defend us from the pirates of which the seas abound just now, and a little ship was filled with the Maltese that Elgin is sending to Malta.

We sailed from Constantinople monday evening the 28th of March, and only passed the straights of the Dardanelles on Wednesday, we had a most dreadful blowy night. On Thursday 1st of April, the wind still blowing, we put into the Bay of Mantria; it blew so hard there was some danger in landing, but I was so ill on board I was determined at all events to get on shore, but to leave the children in the ship. We pitched a tent in a bit of a cave, and there we spent a fine stormy night; I was really extremely anxious about Elgin, for I dreaded his catching cold, but no power would persuade him to leave me and return to the ship.

Some peasants told us that there were an amazing

[1] Pnyx, a hill to the south-west of Athens.
[2] Ragusa, a seaport in Dalmatia.

number of pirates and that the night before, eighteen of them had landed at our cave and carried away a woman. However the woman returned that morning and said if she had had another woman like herself, they two could have driven away the robbers.

We had plenty of janisaries, and lighted two large fires close to our tent to drive away the damps. We passed the night unmolested, and Elgin was not at all the worse for it; it is quite astonishing how he recovered as soon as he left Constantinople.

The next morning we sent for the children on shore, but I should have mentioned that the brig stopping at Tenedos to take in wine, we dashed by and never saw more of her. This made us determined not to trust the children in the Ragusan ship, without the brig, for fear of their being attacked by the pirates; the sea ran so high, even in the Bay, that the boat was in the greatest danger of being overset, Doctor Scott was with them, and he declares he would not run such a risk with them again, for £10,000.

We had got from a neighbouring village some horses and asses, you would have laughed had you seen the party; I was mounted upon an ass, Masterman across another, Mary's Paramana upon a third; a great fat washerwoman of mine preferred walking for five or six hours to the honor of riding. When I sent for the children, I said I would only have Mary's Paramana and another woman. Your old friend Paramana and Calitza were both so ill they would not come, and I assure you Fatty is a most unconquerable traveller. Thomas rode and took Bruce up before him; Elgin and the Doctor walked. After six most tedious hours scrambling over mountains, we arrived at the much wished for village, where I expected to sleep like a Queen, but in this, alas, I was most sadly disappointed.

We got to a *Han*, the people light a large fire in the middle but not a crevice was left for the smoke to escape; I took possession of that *Han* for myself, Bratts, and damsels; Elgin and the Doctor went into another. We expected to pass a most delightful night and arranged our beds with great glee, but no sooner had we flung our weary limbs upon them, than we were assailed in such a manner by fleas, not one of us could shut our eyes. It was quite dreadful for the poor children, they were danced out of their beds every two minutes in order to catch the fleas.

The next morning we continued as before, only we contrived two baskets into which we put our Babs, well bolstered up! The people told us we were nine hours ride from Athens; we came to a village where we stopped and dined, then we deposited our little Treasures in the baskets, and off we set.

Lusieri and M. Logotheti[1] came to meet us, we were all sadly tired with this day's journey, I really thought of getting off my horse and laying down, for I never was so fagged. It was between 8 and 9 o'clock when we arrived at Athens, and perfectly dark, besides there was a great dew falling which made me very uncomfortable about Elgin; as for the children, we wraped them quite up, and they arrived as fresh and lively as possible, I never saw them look as well as they do here.

Do you remember the pictures in the room next to your bedroom here? Bruce always shews us Grand-Papa and Grand-Mama; he never fails drinking your health every day. By the bye, I must not forget to tell you that Doctor Scott has twice inoculated Bruce with the vaxine, and he is perfectly satisfied that he had it when poor Doctor White inoculated him. The

[1] The Consul at Athens.

last time he tried it, he brought a fine healthy child to the house, and took the vaxine from its arm to Bruce's, his arm inflamed a little, but the 4th or 5th day it quite disappeared; he says there now cannot be a doubt remaining but that he has had it.

I think my last letter I forgot to mark "N" it was dated 28th of November, so if I omitted it, put "N" upon it.

April 15th.—This morning I made myself as smart as possible having given some days notice that I intended honoring the Bath with my presence; I am sure there were three or four hundred women, Greeks and Turks. Altho' I had formed a very pretty idea of the amusement, I must say it very far surpassed my expectation. Had you dancers, singers, and tambourine players in the Bath? the dancing was too indecent, beyond anything—Mary shall not go to a Turkish Bath!

We had a ball here the other night like those you used to have; how I like to hear them talk of you and my Father, they are really fond of you; Madame Logotheti wears your locket constantly, it is such an old friend of mine; I think I feel rather jealous when I see it on her neck.

We have all this house to ourselves; the Logothetis have gone into another, which makes it much more comfortable to us; I have made Hammerton's room the nursery; did you ever go up the outside flight of stairs? We have repaired the long room and put my piano forte' into it, and we breakfast and sit reading, writing, or arranging medals in the gallery; I have put a gate upon the top of the stairs, so there is a fine airy run for Bruce; we dine at 2 o'clock and drive out in the curricle every day after dinner; tonight we drove to the Monastery of Daphne where you rode,

and went all over it; I feel to know everything you thought and did here.

But I have almost filled four pages without saying what I think of the Artists; I think the few things that remain (almost all having been sent to England) far more beautiful than ever I had dared imagine; but with Lusieri I own I am disappointed—not one single view finished—nothing but innumerable sketches, but too much of a sketch for me.

We expect Hamilton here every day, from Egypt, he has been away many months, I shall be happy when he returns. Colonel Murray left us last week, so our party is reduced. We intend to make a tour in the Morea, our plan is not yet quite determined, but it would be a pity to lose such an opportunity and I feel no inclination to pay a second visit to Greece. We leave the children here, dear Mother I wish you had them; we propose setting off in eight days, we are to ride and take tents with us, so we shall at least be independent.

April 19th 1802.—Did you drink Mary's health yesterday dearest Mother?—I am ashamed of beginning another long page; you will I fear, be made pay dear for it. Elgin sends to Constantinople tomorrow; in my next I shall tell you all about our tour in the Morea. We intend to set off on Monday, cross the water to Corinth; from that to Argos, back to Corinth, cross the Gulph of Lepanto to Delphi, to Lebadea and the Cave of Trophonius, from thence we shall go to Thermopylae, and from that by sea to Athens stopping at the plain of Marathon; such are our intentions.

Tomorrow, Elgin and Hunt go to Thebes, they will be back the 3rd day, I have declined being of that party, I shall remain here and study for my great tour; without joking, I am very busy brushing

up my former knowledge. I shall continue to direct all my letters to Vienna till you tell me the contrary; do not forget to send me edging for caps. M. ELGIN.

Postcript in Lord Elgin's handwriting.

It was agreed that I was to have written to Mrs Nisbet by this opportunity. But I have had so much to do in seeing and settling, that I am too late to attempt a regular letter. I therefore take advantage of Mary's leavings, to say that she and the Babs are, thank God, well. We have had very hard work to get Logotheti's house in order, for so numerous a Colony, and Mary—finding herself at last tolerably comfortable—can't be spurr'd up with any curiosity for Thebes and Platea, where Mr Hunt and I go tomorrow. I don't name Athens and my Artists. It would be a sacrilege to speak hastily of such wonders, and the justice done them. All I can say is to express a belief that the object has been attained, and that when all arrives safe in England, I shall be able to shew a compleat representation of Athens. Lord Keith has been very obliging by sending the *Diana* frigate here. Captain Stevenson has carried to Malta most of my acquisitions. In case this should reach you in London, I anxiously hope that Mr N. will assist me in having notice given and attended to at the Sea Ports, for receiving and landing safely, what may be brought home for me. I don't know in what Ships the things go, or when they sail. I wrote to my sister some time ago, *how* they left Turkey. Many of the articles would be injured by bad management or by wet.

Lady Elgin's letters resumed.

TRIPOLIZZA, *May 11th* 1802.

As I intend to make this a most interesting journal, I shall send it open to you my dear Lady Robert, that

you may be acquainted with the wonders I have seen; after you and yours have read it, lock it up in your bureau till my Mother arrives in London, and then have the goodness to make her a present of it. But I must go systematically to work, for which purpose I must take you back to the 3rd of May on which day I left my poor Bratts at Athens in perfect health and spirits.

Fortunately for us, the *Narcissus* Frigate, Captain Donnelly, arrived at Athens in order to sound along the coast; the Captain is extremely anxious to take us to Constantinople, he is amazingly civil and lent us his ten oared barge. We embarked about 12 o'clock, an extremely hot day, passed close to the Island of Salamis and Mount Aegaleus where Xerxes' Throne was placed, and dined at Eleusis, walked all about and saw the ruins of the Temple of Ceres; the Statue of Ceres which was in the town, was sent to England last year by Mr. Clarke.

We landed at Port Nisaea, and proceeded by torch-light, accompanied by a strong guard of Albanians who kept firing with balls and singing their national songs all the way to Megara, and slept in a most miserable Albanian cottage. Could you have seen us going from the boat to Megara amongst the troops firing all different ways, the wonderful noise of their songs, the darkness of the night and the glare of the torches; you would have thought we were taken prisoners by Banditti.

The next morning we rode round the walls of Megara from whence we had a very good view of Parnassus covered with snow. We embarked at 9 o'clock in the morning, and sailed by the Scironian Rocks where Sciron used to kick down the passengers, dined at Cromyon where Theseus killed the Sow, landed at Port Cenchreae upon the Isthmus about

7 miles from Corinth, and lodged in the Palace of Nowri Bey, the Governor.

Next morning we rode to the foot of the Acro-Corinthus from whence we had a view of Mount Helicon, Parnassus, the Gulph of Lepanto, the City of Sicyon, and the commencement of the wall which crosses the Isthmus, separating Greece from the Peloponnesus.

We then went to the Amphitheatre, and entered the Caverns under the seats where the wild beasts used in the combats, used to be kept; the Amphi-theatre is oval, nearly twice as long as it is broad, and hewn out of the rock; there are a few remains of very strong brick buildings near the Amphitheatre.

In returning to the Bey's Palace, we saw seven columns of the Doric Order, some say they belonged to the Temple of Venus, and others call it the Sisypheum —make it the one you like best. On our reaching the Palace, I found the ladies of Bekyr Bey's and Nouri Bey's Harems, they had arrived from their country house on purpose to see me. They came in kind of covered boxes, two of which are slung across a mule like Gypsies panniers, with a lady in each; over them are curtains of scarlet cloth to prevent the people seeing them.

The women got hold of Masterman, took her into the Harem and begged of her to persuade me to go to them. I did not feel much inclined to go, having no dragowoman with me, however I went and was most graciously received by them. I was deluged with rose-water, then perfumed, and afterwards presented by a woman upon her knees with sweetmeats, water and coffee. With my three or four Turkish words, assisted with hands and eyes I contrived to stay about twenty minutes with them. When I got up to take my leave, Nouri Bey's "Great Wife," as they

call her, escorted me to the head of the stairs, whilst two women took hold of me by the arms and led me to the door.

On the 6th of May, we left Corinth very early in the morning notwithstanding which the heat was intolerable, and the road dangerous, having to ride over rocks upon the side of hills with immense large roling stones; it is quite wonderful how the horses can keep their legs. After travelling near five hours we reached the Temple of the Nemean Jupiter, it is quite a ruin only three columns of the Doric Order remain, immense masses they are, the blocks of stone are so entire that *we antiquarians* agreed it must have been overturned by an earthquake.

The Temple is built on the spot where Hercules is said to have killed the Lion. Other ruins are scattered over the plain, among some of which we dined, under tents which shaded us from the sun. After dinner I had some beautiful yellow chintz cushions laid down in the tent, and with my faithful Knight Masterman reclining at my feet and your old friend Lion at my side, who by the bye made the tour on horseback, we had a famous sleep. We were inclined to have gone to the Cave of the Lion, but we learnt it was at least an hour's ride from Nemea, and as we had still a very long way to go before we could reach Argos, we were obliged to give up all idea of gratifying that curiosity. Some villagers and Caloyers[1] told us that the Cave still exists, but with nothing extraordinary in its appearance; it is on the side of a hill, and over it is built a Greek Monastery. It is astonishing how anxious the peasantry are to oblige and afford every information in their power.

We pursued our road and passed tremendous high Mountains, the valleys and sides of the hills covered

[1] Greek monks of the Order of St Basil.

with myrtles and other evergreens; on entering the great plain of Argos, we made about half an hour's deviation to the left, to see the ruins of the city of Mycenae; great masses of the walls of the ancient citadel still remain, they are said to be the work of the Cyclops. At a short distance from these ruins is a stupendous vault, which is supposed by some to be the Tomb of Agamemnon, and by others, the Treasury of the Kings of Mycenae. Two long walls of massive masonry lead to the door way of this subterranean building; but so much soil has been washed into it by the mountain torrents that it required no common courage to crawl through the hole by which alone it could be entered. I went in, after some hesitation, on all fours and was fully gratified by the scene.

The stone which forms the architrave of the door is of a dimension that exceeds everything in magnitude that I had seen at Athens. We measured it and found it twenty four feet long, seventeen feet thick, and near five feet high. The form of the vault is that of an immense hollowed sugar loaf, and composed of hewn stones; we lit a large fire in it and crept through a subterranean passage into another dome of much ruder work. I must tell you that young Logotheti, the hopeful son and heir of the Athens Logothetis, who had strict charge to take care of himself (tho' his Mama did allow him to go wherever *I* went) refused to follow me into the second vault—I saw the bristles on his skull were erect at crawling into the first vault, in which undertaking he knocked off his Calpack and sadly soiled his flowing robes.

We were told that the Aga of the adjoining village of Carvati, was the first who discovered the vault, and that he had found in it a sepulchral lamp of bronze suspended by a chain from the stone which

crowns the building; finding it neither gold nor silver, he made a present of it to some Gipseys.

We then rode along the plain of Argos which is the most cultivated part of Greece.

The *Voivode*[1] sent a number of horses superbly caparisoned, for Elgin and the party to ride into the city, the concourse of spectators was very great; the pompous entrance was extremely disagreable to me for what with the people firing all different directions, and the fine horses kicking, I thought myself exceedingly fortunate when I found myself safely landed at the house of our protected *Baratly*,[2] Valsopolo, where we found every possible sort of accomodation. He is rich and had entirely new furnished his house for our reception; they had even bought a quantity of new linen, everything in the English stile.

The 7th of May we remained at Argos, and the following day after dinner, we set off towards Tripolizza having received the most pressing and repeated invitations from the Pasha of the Morea. We were accompanied by the dragoman of the Morea and a very numerous Turkish and Greek Escort, as well as an Albanian guard in the dress of the ancient Macedonians. In the evening we halted at a most exquisitely beautiful village; since I left England I have never been so captivated with any spot. I know how impossible it is for me to give you by my discription, an idea of the picturesque beauties of Aklathò-Cambò. The houses are mearly mud huts covering the side of an almost perpendicular mountain, and interspersed with a profusion of every sort of evergreens and trees of every shade and form you can imagine. After walking among the rocks and

[1] Turkish Governor.
[2] Baratly, a merchant holding a patent of privilege.

groves which were filled with nightingales, we slept in a poor Albanian hut. At the bottom of the hill, and through the middle of the village runs a small rivlet which was dried up when we were there, but in winter the water rushes down the hill and must add much to the scene.

There were several uncommonly beautiful lassies in this village, but from all accounts they possess none of the native simplicity you would have expected to have met with in such an out of the way place; they are declared to be the most dissipated ladies in the Peloponnesus; I think from what I have seen that is saying a great deal of them.

Next morning the 9th of May, the villagers preceded by their Priest and the oldest inhabitants came and entreated Elgin to ask the Pasha of the Morea's permission to repair their little Church, which is now too ruinous for the performance of Divine Service, and they dare not repair it without leave. Before setting out we were joined by Chiauves,[1] Tartars, and other Officers of the Pasha, who brought a covered litter for me in which the Pasha's Sultanas are transported from place to place. It was carried between two mules and guided by six men in the manner of a Sedan Chair; in some of the very bad places the men actually took the mules up in their arms and lifted them over. I was in it once at this manoeuvre which I did not at all admire, and begged to be let out the next time.[2]

Masterman and I lay in it our full length, vis-à-vis to one another (like a sofa with fine embroidered scarlet cushions in it, covered all over with scarlet

[1] Turkish messengers.
[2] Readers of the works of R. D. Blackmore will recall an incident of a similar nature, when John Huxtable seized a horse and its rider and threw them both over a hedge into an adjoining field. The story is vouched for as being true.

cloth trimmed with gold fringe, and ornamented with large gold tassels)—with two large latice windows which I took the liberty of opening.

A Black, who was the principal manager of this tarta-a-van,[1] seeing Elgin coming up to speak to me, beckoned to him not to come up on that side because it was opened, but to go to the other where the latice was closed. Blacky took great care of me and did not allow the foxes to peep.

The method of getting into the tarta-a-van is, a man lays down and one steps on his back—would you like that? In Turkish they call him "The Step"! I assure you I found this conveyance useful and even comfortable, particularly during the violent heat in the most rugged and dangerous roads over the mountains.

We halted at the ruins of Amyclae, where 365 Churches dedicated to as many Saints are said to have existed; not a cottage now remains, and the ruins are by no means interesting being only a few ill built walls and an arched door way. The *Coffedgi Bashi*[2] of the Pasha met us here with his servants and apparatus, and made us some famous coffee in the Turkish stile. The Dragoman of the Morea hinted it would be better for me to make my publick entrance in the tarta-a-van than on horseback, I suppose he thought it more decent. I of course comply'd with his request, but was impudent enough to open both my windows, being quite determined to see the show.

We were met by all the Officers of the Pasha's Court, on chargers richly caparisoned, and accompanied by Pages and Guards who played at the

[1] Tartar-a-Van, from the Arabic word *Takkirawan*—a litter or throne for carrying a person about upon.
[2] Chief of the Coffee Makers.

dgerit[1] and other equestrian feats. I saw many of them who, after they had flung the dgerit, rode and picked it up where it was laying flat upon the ground, without getting off their horses; others had sticks with hooks at the end with which they pulled up their dgerits in the quickest manner. Their dexterity was wonderful, and the exhibition of this procession on the plain of Mantinea was one of the finest coup d'oeil in the world. I was thinking all the time how you would all have been delighted could you have seen our party, particularly, the General—; it was really a most magnificent sight. Three Parade horses were sent for Elgin, Mr Hunt, and Doctor Scott, besides a great many led horses all with the most brilliant furniture, the Lieutenant Governor and the first Chamberlain riding by their side—the Dragoman of the Morea preceding—and a train of at least six or seven hundred on horseback following. All the inhabitants of the town in their best dresses, and well armed, lined the avenues to the gate; and as we approached, the great cannon were fired from every fort round the walls of the city. One man out of a large embroidered box kept flinging money to the children and poor people on the road; there was something extremely grand in that.

In the evening we alighted at the house of the Dragoman of the Morea, which was assigned for our residence, and were waited on by the Officers of the Pasha and Bey to congratulate us on our arrival, and an immense supper of 30 or 40 dishes dressed in the Turkish stile was sent from the Pasha's Seraglio.

[1] Throwing the dgerit was a Moslem pastime. The dgerit was a straight white stick, a little thinner than that of an umbrella, and crooked at the head. It was a sport not entirely without risk, as a blow on the temple might be fatal. The Captain Pasha cut off the head of one of his officers who had hit him on the shoulder while playing at this game.

May the 10*th.*—The Ceremonies were settled for Elgin's audience of the Pasha, and two Turkish ladies were sent to me from Nouri Bey's sister to present their Mistress's compliments on my arrival. And the Pasha sent to desire I would accept of his Guard whenever I chose to ride into the country, or see the ancient ruins, etc.

The head Chamberlain was sent with a numerous guard and retinue to accompany Elgin to the Pasha's Palace, with three horses richly caparisoned for him, Mr Hunt, and the Doctor.

The little intercourse which the inhabitants of Tripolizza have with foreigners, made it impossible for me to be of the party; but Elgin told me that the Pasha received him with the utmost respect, and standing. The Grandees of his Court were not permitted to sit down in the Audience Chamber. He repeatedly said that he had endeavoured to shew the British Ambassador every possible mark of respect, and had actually done more than he would have thought necessary for three Pashas of his own rank. So now I always call Elgin the nine tailed Pasha!

Mr H. and Dr Scott had ermine pelices given them, and a handsome one of sable fur was sent to Elgin, as the Pasha said he dared not invest a person of rank at least equal to his own. The horse on which he rode home was the best in the Pasha's stable, and was presented to him with rich gilded and embroidered velvet trappings. A shawl, an embroidered handkerchief and two pieces of Indian stuffs were sent to me.

May 11*th.*—The Pasha returned Elgin's visit at a kiosk which commanded a fine view of the town; he was uncommonly polite and gave letters of permission for our Artists to make excavations at Corinth, Olympia, Elis, etc. in search of antiquities, and also

to examine the Fortress on the Acro-Corinthus, which has been uniformly refused to every person. In the evening Nouri Bey paid us a visit, he is of the most wealthy and ancient Turkish family in the Morea. He sent me a shawl and an embroidered box.

May 12*th.*—We set out on our return, the Pasha having seriously represented to Elgin the danger of proceding to Liondaria, or any farther into Arcadia which we were anxious to have seen, but the innumerable bands of robbers who infest that part of the Peloponnesus, and bid defiance to the Porte, make it extremely dangerous for travellers. We dined at Amyclae, and after a heavy shower of rain in which I was well wet, reached Argos about eight o'clock at night. In our absence, the *Voivode* of Napoli di Romania (Nauplia) had cleared the door way into the subterranean building at Mycenae. We found many fragments of vases and some ornamental marble which covered the outside; there were also some pieces of a marble fluted vase of very good workmanship. The whole of the inside of this subterranean building has been covered with bronze nails many of which remain. I fear that looks like a Treasury, and I wish to imagine it Agamemnon's Tomb.[1]

After a day's repose at Argos, off we set towards Epidauria. On the road we saw the famous walls of Tyrinthus[2] where Hercules used to reside, and which were supposed to be built by the Cyclops; they look like the work of some wonderful beings, I never saw such great massive walls. The view from the top of the Citadel is extremely picturesque. We left Napoli di Romania on our right, and passing various ruins of ancient Greek Temples and Sepulchres, reached the village of Liguris at dinner time.

About an hour farther we saw the Sacred Grove

[1] In reality, the Treasury of Atreus. [2] Tiryns.

of Esculapius, and the Theatre which is described as having been the most perfect model in Greece. The seats are still very entire, they are about 45 in number in a hollow circular range rising above each other so as to produce a fine effect; the stage and all the decorations of the front are gone, and the orchestra etc. are sown with corn. Some few of the marble seats have been taken away; and shrubs of the most beautiful foliage have grown in the place. It is a delightful situation; many other ruins are near it, such as Baths, Cisterns, and Temples.

Our ride from thence was along the bed of a torrent between very steep mountains and crags, covered with myrtles, arbutus, oleanders, olives, locust trees, brooms, and other extremely beautiful shrubs which grow there with the utmost luxuriance. I should certainly have been ruined could money have bribed the shrubs to have left the scorching sun of Greece for the cooling breezes of the Firth.[1] It undoubtedly was quite without any exception, the most enchanting ride I ever took, quite in *my stile*: the road very dangerous and the mountains perpendicular. It was a sad hot day and we were eleven hours on horseback, I do not think I was ever more compleatly fatigued, the guides lost the road so it was quite dark before we reached the village of Epidauria. From the account which even the janisaries gave of the dirt and vermin of the cottages, I preferred sleeping in our tent, which I must say is by no means an agreeable expedient, for the heat was very oppressive and the damp penetrated quite through the canvas.

After seeing the ruins next morning the 15th of May, we embarked in a Spezziota fishing boat. The wind being contrary, we were prevented landing on

[1] Archerfield was situated on the Firth of Forth.

the Island of Aegina, but we saw the ruins of the Temple of Neptune, and those of the Panhellenian Jupiter. Of the first, only two Columns remain, and of the other which is said to be the oldest in Greece, about 25 are standing; they are of the Doric Order, of common stone and of heavy proportions.

At night we reached the Piraeus, and were fortunate enough to find horses at the Quay, which brought us to Athens about eight o'clock.

CHAPTER XIII

A REBEL PASHA

P. ATHENS, *May 22nd* 1802.

MY DEAREST MOTHER,

I think I may safely say I never experienced more joy than I did at half-past five o'clock this morning, when I was awoke by a knocking at my door, and an immense packet of letters. Every one of your numbers are now in my possession, which I think wonderful. If you have received my "O" dated April 19th, you will know I set off for a tour in Greece with Elgin. I am now actually employed in writing a regular journal to you; when it is finished I intend to send it to Lady Robert. It may amuse her till you arrive in London; am I not vain, thinking my letters can amuse?

I can assure you such a journey is an amazing undertaking for a woman; think of Masterman and I riding 8 hours; one day we were 11 hours over roads you would think it impossible a horse could keep his feet, upon the side of steep precipices with immense stones.

I am much gratified I had the courage to do it, but I am extremely happy to find myself again at Athens with my dear Babs. You never saw such a great strong healthy child as Mary is. Bruce is a little torment; there is no getting him to swallow a mouthful of vegetables. Yesterday him and I had a sad quarrel; he would eat nothing but meat, and

I sent away his dinner! He was in such a passion he would not even eat his rice which he never misses. About three months ago at Pera, he was in great danger from the croup—I don't know how to spell it,—nor did I then know what it was.

Dearest Mother, I am leading a dismal life here by myself, for Elgin and Mr Hunt are gone another tour.

I persuaded him to go, as I think it will be a pleasure to him all his life afterwards; but he did not like leaving his Dot! Doctor Scott says that no man can be in better health than he is now. Elgin says one line from me will bring him back; I will not do that, I wish him to make out his tour. I think it will take him altogether three weeks—what a dismal time for me.

There are no less than two English men of war here; they have arrived since Elgin's departure; they are very pleasant men and do not annoy me for they let me do as I please, and I give them novels and dinners. Captain Hoste of the *Mutine* Brig, I was acquainted with before, which makes it more agreable for me. He was quite well at Constantinople, but he is come back here from Alexandria almost dying; both the Surgeon on board his ship and Doctor Scott think very ill of him—consumption—. I have given him the large room upstairs. They think a few days quiet will do him good; I rather think he is better since he has been here; he gets milk and whey. He is only 22, and is just promoted—a great favorite of Lord Nelson's, and talks with such delight of getting home to see his Father and Mother whom he has not seen these nine years.

The other is the *Anson* Frigate, Captain Cracraft, a famous dashing Rattle of about 35; he says he will take us all to the Islands, Constantinople, etc.—

CHAPTER XXI

HUNT ON "THE MARBLES"

THE following is an extract from a letter written to Mrs Hamilton Nisbet by Mr Hunt, while he and the Elgins were still detained at Pau, in February 1805.

. . . The commission you lately undertook with your usual goodness respecting the manuscripts collected in Turkey by Mr Carlyle and myself, appeared likely to lead to discussions I was far from anticipating: I have therefore written to Miss Carlyle in order to prevent your having any further trouble on the occasion. In attempting to express my thanks for so much goodness, I cannot forbear availing myself of the opportunity it affords, of sending you a sketch of what was done by Lord Elgin's Artists at Athens and other parts of Greece, after you left us.

The enthusiasm you felt on the spot, and which I so often witnessed in our walks on the Areopagus, the Pnyx and the Acropolis, convinces me that none of the details will appear trifling or minute, that relate to monuments you studied with so much attention; whose respective merits you appreciated with so correct a taste—and with which Lord Elgin's name is now so intimately connected. The project that has been suggested to his Lordship of forming his collection of original marbles, as well as the models, casts, drawings, and plans, into a public exhibition at London, has made us endeavour to recollect the principal objects it contains.

Our conversation on this subject has not only

beguiled many a long hour of captivity and seclusion, but it has also given much more precision and arrangement to the ideas we had formed in the hurried moments of travelling, and during the rapid succession of monuments erected at intervals widely remote from each other, and in styles of very different merit.

The names of Cimon, Pericles, Phidias, etc., to whom we owe the chefs d'œuvre of architecture and sculpture at Athens, have so strongly interested Lady Elgin, that not satisfied with the light and amusing descriptions in the Travels of Anacharsis in the Athenian Letters, or in the Thousand and one *Voyages en Grèce*, she has studied the works of Herodotus, Plutarch, and other original Historians, with an eagerness I have seldom witnessed: and I am sure you will read with interest the extracts and observations she has made on every passage that throws light on the scenes she saw with so much delight, and which she now recollects with increased fondness. . .

. . . The first ancient monument procured by Lord Elgin was the famous Boustrophedon[1] inscription from the promontory of Sigæum in the Tröad, which almost every Ambassador from Christendom to the Porte, and even Louis XIV. in the zenith of his power, had ineffectually endeavoured to obtain. It is the most ancient and curious specimen extant of Greek writing—at an epoch when the Alphabet was very imperfect, and when the lines went alternately from right to left, and from left to right; like the furrows made by oxen in ploughing, to which the word Boustrophedon alludes. This marble alone, so long a desideratum in Europe, is surely sufficient to place

[1] Boustrophedon—*i.e.*, the "ploughing of an ox" writing. Solon's Laws were written in this way, as well as the Sigæan Inscription.

Lord Elgin's name in a conspicuous rank with the Arundels, the Sandwiches and Wortleys; to whom Greek literature is so much indebted. From the ruins of the Temple of Minerva at Sigæum, his Lordship also procured a most beautiful Alto-rilievo in Parian marble, containing a procession of Trojan matrons presenting and dedicating an infant to Minerva, with the accustomed offerings. General Koehler had also obtained for Lord Elgin a statue and a bas-relief from the ruins of the Temple of Apollo Thymbrius in the Tröad; neither of which I have seen, but if the Sculpture be in a style resembling that of the Sigæan procession, they are valuable indeed. At a subsequent visit I paid to the Tröad with Mr Carlyle, we procured some interesting inscriptions and I afterwards had the good fortune to discover and obtain a Statue of Minerva Iliensis near Thymbria, the drapery of which is exquisite. . . .

. . . The first acquisition we made (at Athens) was the most perfect of the Metopes from the ruins of the Parthenon, on which I recollect Mr Nisbet and yourself rivetting your eyes with so much admiration. This was the first of them that had been so successfully lowered. M. de Choiseul-Gouffier's attempt to secure one had merely been connived at; and for want of time, and cordage, and windlasses, it fell from a considerable height, and was broken into fragments. I do not recollect to have ever felt my heart throb with greater violence, than when I saw this treasure detached from the entablature of the Parthenon, and depending on the strength of Ragusan cordage; nor did my anxiety cease till I had got it on board an English frigate at Alexandria, to be forwarded to England. The subject of the sculpture appears to be Theseus or his friend Pirithöus victorious over a Hippo-Centaur. . . .

. . . The first Metope we obtained from the Temple of Minerva on the Citadel of Athens, has been followed by the acquisition of eight or ten others, representing a continuation of the Battle between the Centaurs and Lapithae at the nuptials of Pirithöus. Each Metope contains two figures grouped in various attitudes; sometimes the Lapitha victorious, sometimes the Centaur. The relaxed muscles of one of the Lapithae who is lying dead and trampled on by a Centaur is amongst the finest productions of art; as well as the groupe adjoining it of Hippodamia, the bride carried off by the Centaur Eurythion, and struggling to throw herself from the Monster's back: while he is grasping her with brutal violence, with one hand twisted into her dishevelled tresses: the furious style of his galloping, in order to secure his prize, and his shrinking from the spear that has been hurled after him are expressed with prodigious animation. How great a misfortune it is that many of these should be so much mutilated; but even in that condition they are much superior to anything that modern restoration could effect, were the attempt made even by the hand of Canova. They are all in such high relief as to be absolutely groupes of statues, and they are in general finished with as much attention behind as before, in order that they might strike the eye of the spectator with effect, in whatever direction he approached the Acropolis, from the plain of Athens.

They originally ran all round the entablature of the Parthenon and formed ninety-two groupes. The zeal of the early Christians, the barbarism of the Turks, explosions when the Temple was used as a Gunpowder magazine, have demolished a very large portion of them, so that except those snatched from impending ruin by Lord Elgin, and secured to the

arts, it is in general difficult to trace even the outline of the original subject.

The frize which runs round the top of the walls of the Cell is full of sculpture in bas relief, designed to occupy the attention of those who were waiting in the vestibule and ambulatory of the Temple till the sacred rites commenced. This frize being unbroken by triglyphs, presents much more unity of subject than the detached and insulated groupes on the metopes of the peristyle. It represents the whole of the solemn procession during the Pan-Athenäic festival: many of the figures are on horseback; others are just going to mount; some are in Chariots; others on foot; oxen and other victims are leading to sacrifice. The nymphs called Canephoræ, Skiaphoræ, etc. are carrying the sacred offerings in baskets and vases; Priests, Magistrates, Warriors etc. etc. forming altogether a series of most interesting figures, in all the variety of costume, armour, and attitudes.

Some antiquaries who have examined this frize with minute attention, seem to think it contains portraits of many of the leading characters at Athens during the Peloponnesian war, particularly of Pericles, Phidias, Socrates, the young Alcibiades, etc.

This frize was originally near six hundred feet in length; and by being protected from the effects of weather and other injuries by the shelter and projection of the Colonnade, those parts that had escaped the explosions of gunpowder are still in high preservation, literally wanting nothing but the gilded bronze ornaments, which one may see were once fixed to them, such as reins and bits for the horses, and other minute objects that could be more easily executed in metal. The whole frize is of Pentelic marble, superior to Parian for Bas reliefs; many large blocks of it are in Lord Elgin's possession;

some taken from the wall itself, others recovered by excavating under the ruins.

The Tympanum of the two Frontispieces of the Parthenon were also adorned with groupes in alto-rilievo. That over the grand entrance of the Temple, contained the Mythological history of Minerva's birth from the brain of Jove. In the centre of the groupe was seated Jupiter, in all the majesty the sculptor could give to the King of Gods and Men. On his left were the principal Divinities of Olympus, among whom Vulcan came prominently forward with the axe in his hand, which had cleft a passage for the Goddess. On the right was Victory in loose floating robes, holding the horses of the Chariot which introduced the New Divinity to Olympus. Unlike all other statues of Minerva, she was here represented with the captivating graces of Venus; the ferocious Spartans had given the Queen of Love a helmet and a spear.

The elegant, the amiable people of Athens delighted to see the warlike Pallas with the cestus of Venus. When Athens lost her freedom she shewed her adulation and servility to the Roman Power by adding the Statues of Hadrian and Sabina to this groupe of Phidias.

One of the bombs fired by Morosini[1] the Venetian from the opposite hill of the Musaeum injured many of the figures on this fronton, and the attempt of General Königsmark to take down the figure of Minerva ruined the whole.

By purchasing the house of one of the Turkish Janissaries built immediately under it, and then demolishing it in order to excavate, Lord Elgin has had the satisfaction of recovering the greatest part of

[1] Francesco Morosini, Doge of Venice, and one of the greatest captains of his age. He took Athens in 1687.

the Statue of Victory, in a drapery which discovers all the fine form beneath, with as much delicacy and taste as the Flora Farnésé. We also found there the Torso of Jupiter, part of Vulcan, and other fragments. I believe his Lordship has also had the Hadrian and Sabina taken down and sent to England.

On the other frontispiece was the contest between Minerva and Neptune about giving a name to the city. The Goddess of Wisdom had just gained the victory by proving how much greater a benefit she should confer by the peaceful and productive olive, than the God of the Ocean by his warlike gift of a horse.

In digging beneath this pediment some beautiful pieces of sculpture have been procured; and from y^e^ ruin itself has been lowered the head of a horse, which far surpasses anything of the kind I have seen, in the truth and spirit of the execution. The nostrils are distended, the ears erect, the veins swollen, I had almost said throbbing. His mouth is open, and he seems to neigh with the conscious pride of belonging to the Ruler of the waves. Besides this inimitable head, Lord Elgin has procured from the same pediment two or three colossal groupes each containing two female figures, probably Sea Deities.

They are formed of single massive blocks of Pentelic marble, and are reclining in most graceful attitudes. From the same place has also been procured the Statue of a Sea or River God attendant on Neptune, which is in great preservation. He is in a sitting posture with one leg extended, the other bent. Their size and weight were such as to force us to construct a car on purpose to convey them to the Piraeus, and there, Captain Clarke of the *Braäkel* Man of War (brother of the Eleusinian Dr Clarke) had the goodness to make a huge float or raft to take them on

board, his launch being unequal to so heavy a freight.

From the Posticum or Opisthodomum of the Parthenon I also procured some valuable inscriptions, written in the manner called Kionēdon of columnar, next in antiquity to the Boustrephedon. The letters of each line are equal in number, without regard to the sense: even monosyllables being separated into two parts if the line has had its complement; and the next line begins with the end of the broken word. The letters range perpendicularly as well as horizontally; so as to render it almost impossible to make any interpolation, or erasure of the original text. Their subjects are public decrees of the People; accounts of the riches contained in the Treasury, delivered by the Administrators to their successors in office: enumerations of the statues, the silver, gold, and precious stones deposited in the Temples—estimates for the public works, etc.

The Parthenon itself, independently of its decorative sculpture is so exquisite a model of Doric architecture, that Lord Elgin has conferred an inappreciable benefit to the Arts by securing original specimens of each member of the Edifice—these consist of a capital of a column, and of one of the pilasters of the Antae-assises of the columns themselves, to shew the exact form of the curve used in channelling,—a triglyph, a motule from the cornice, and even some of the marble tiles with which the ambulatory was roofed. So that not only the Sculptor may be gratified by studying every specimen of his art, from colossal Statues down to Bas-reliefs, executed in the golden age of Pericles, and under the inspection of Phidias; but the practical Architect may examine into every detail of the building, even to the mode of uniting the tambours of the columns without the aid of mortar, so as to

make the shafts look like single blocks to the most scrutinizing eye.

This, Madam, is, as nearly as I can recollect a list of the original articles in Pentelic marble that have been procured from the Parthenon, and sent to London. But beside them, every detail of the Temple has been moulded into what the Italians called *Madre* forme, in a hard composition of wax and gypsum so as to enable Lord Elgin to make plaster casts at pleasure, of the sculpture and the architectural ornaments, the exact size of the original. The Temple has also been planned, and its elevations, and restorations made by Signor Balestra. You had an opportunity of appreciating his merit during your stay at Athens; but Lord Elgin's choice has received a most flattering approbation, in the Pope's having since selected that artist to superintend the works of a similar kind carrying on at Ostia and in the Forum of Rome. M. Lusieri's magic pencil will now, I trust, have finished the picturesque views of the Parthenon, which we saw commenced with so happy a choice of the points of view; and the Calmuc Theodore who had completed his drawings of the Sculpture on the Metopes, frize, and pediments, with so much truth, and in so exquisite a style, has since made a restored copy of the groupe on the Western Pediment and on the entablature, in the grand elevation.

I have thus exhausted the list of Lord Elgin's successful labours on the Parthenon, or at least of such parts of them as my memory, unaided by notes, can now recall. Is there any thing that the most enthusiastic lover of the Arts could suggest in addition, or that perseverance and munificence could hope to surpass?

The same works have been executed on the Temple of Theseus, but not a morsel of sculpture has been

displaced, nor the minutest fragment of any kind taken from the building itself. Where indeed can be found a Being endued with the least feeling or taste, who would think of defacing that exquisite structure; which after an interval of 2,200 years, still retains the beauty and brilliancy of its first days? The Metopes in mezzo rilievo containing a mixture of the labours of Hercules and Theseus have been modelled and drawn; as well as the frize representing the Battle between the Centaurs and Lapithae, some incidents of the Battle of Marathon, and some Mythological subjects.

The temple itself you recollect to be very inferior in size, and in decorative sculpture to the Parthenon; having been raised by Cimon the son of Miltiades, before Pericles had given his countrymen a taste for such magnificence and expense as he displayed in the edifices of the Acropolis.

Let me now return to that favourite Hill of Minerva, and resume the list of Lord Elgin's labours and acquisitions there. The original approach to it from the plain of Athens was by a long flight of Steps, commencing near the foot of the Areopagus and terminating at the Propylaea. That was the edifice of which Pericles was most proud, and which cost so prodigious a sum, that the Athenians hesitated about granting him the supplies he demanded for it:

"Let it then be inscribed with my name," replied the haughty Pericles, "and I will advance the money." A proposal of which he well anticipated the effect.

It's front was a hexastyle colonnade, with two wings, surmounted by a pediment. Whether the Metopes and tympanum were adorned with sculpture, cannot now be ascertained; as the pediment and entablature have been destroyed, and the intercolumniations built up with rubbish, in order to convert it into a battery of fine guns. Altho' the

plan of the edifice contains some deviations from the pure taste that reigns in the other structures of the Acropolis, yet each member is so perfect in the details of its execution, that Lord Elgin was at great pains to obtain a Doric and an Ionic capital from its ruins.

On the right hand of the Propylaea was a Temple dedicated to Unwinged Victory, an epithet to which many explanations have been given. It probably alludes to Theseus reaching Athens himself, before the news of his triumph over the Minotaur, and the abolition of the odious tribute, had got there. Or perhaps it was to flatter themselves with the notion of Victory having taken up so permanent a residence with them as to have no further occasion for wings. It was built from the spoils won in the glorious struggles for freedom at Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea. On its frize were sculptured many incidents of those memorable battles; in a style that has been thought by no means inferior to the Metopes of the Parthenon. The only fragments of it that had escaped the ravages of Barbarians were built into the wall of a Gunpowder Magazine near it, and the finest block was inserted upside downwards. It required the whole of Lord Elgin's influence at the Porte to get leave to remove them, but he at length succeeded.

They represent Athenians in close combat with the Persians; and the Sculptor has taken care to mark the different dresses and armour of the various forces serving under the Great King. The long garments and zones of the Arabians had induced former travellers from the hasty and awkward view they had of them, to suppose the subject was the battle between Theseus and the Amazons who invaded Attica under the command of Antiopé, but the Persian tiaras, the Phrygian bonnets and many other particulars

clearly point out the mistake. The contest of some warriors to rescue the body of a dead comrade is expressed with uncommon animation.

These bas-reliefs were put on board the *Mentor* which was so unfortunately wrecked off Cerigo: but they have been all recovered by expert divers from the islands of Syme and Calymna near Rhodes. I shall be most happy to hear that the Gymnasiarch's throne which you procured at Athens, and which shared the fate of these sculptures, has like them been got up again.

Near the Parthenon are three temples so connected in their structure, and by the rites celebrated in them, that they may be almost considered as a triple temple. They are of small dimensions, and of the Ionic Order. One of them dedicated to Neptune and Erectheus; the second to Minerva Polias the Protectress of Citadels; the third to the Nymph Pandrosos. It was on the spot where these temples stand that Minerva and Neptune are supposed to have contended for the honour of naming the city. Athenian superstition long shewed the mark of Neptune's trident, and a briny fountain, that attested his having there opened a passage for his horse; and the Original Olive tree produced by Minerva was venerated in the Temple of Pandrosos as late as the time of the Antonines.

This Temple of Minerva Polias is of the most delicate and elegant proportions of the Ionic Order: the capitals and bases of the columns are ornamented with consummate taste; and the sculpture of the frize and cornice is exquisitely rich. One has difficulty to conceive how marble has been wrought to such a depth, and brought to so sharp an edge; the palmetti, onetti, etc. have all the delicacy of works in metal. The Vestibule of the Temple of

Neptune is of more masculine proportions, but it's Ionic capitals have infinite merit. It was to examine the roof, that you had to climb with so much difficulty, and to creep thro' an opening made in the wall which has since been closed. Future travellers will thus be prevented from seeing the inner door of the Temple, which you so much admired, and which is perhaps the most perfect specimen in existence of Ionic ornament. Both these temples have been measured, and their plans, elevations, and views made with the utmost accuracy. The ornaments have all been moulded, some original blocks of the frize and cornice have been obtained and I believe a capital and a base.

The little adjoining chapel of Pandrosos is quite a concetto in architecture: instead of Ionic columns to support the architrave, it has six statues of Carian Women (or Caryatides). The Athenians endeavoured by this device to perpetuate the infamy of the inhabitants of Carias, who were the only Peloponnesians favourable to Xerxes in his invasion of Greece. The men had been reduced to the deplorable state of Helotes, and the women not only condemned to the most servile employments; but those of rank and family forced in their abject condition to wear their ancient dresses and ornaments.

In this situation they are here exhibited. The drapery is fine; the hair of each figure is braided in a different manner, and a kind of diadem they wear on their head forms the Capital. Besides drawing and moulding all these particulars, Lord Elgin has one of the original marbie Caryatides. The Lacedemonians had used a similar vengeance, in constructing the Persian Portico which they had erected at Sparta in honour of their victory over the forces of Mardonius at Plataea; placing statues of

Persians in their rich Oriental dresses, instead of Columns to sustain the entablature.

The architects have also made a ground plan of the Acropolis, in which they have not only inserted all the monuments I have mentioned, but have likewise added those whose position could be ascertained from traces of their foundations. Among these are the temple and cave of Pan, to whom the Athenians thought themselves so much indebted at the battle of Marathon as to vow him a temple.

It is now nearly obliterated, as well as that of Aglauros who devoted herself to death to save her Country.[1] In it the young Citizens of Athens received their first armour, enrolled their names, and took the oath of fighting to the last drop of their blood for the liberties of their Country; near this was the spot where the Persians scaled the walls of the Citadel, when Themistocles had retired with the principal forces of Athens and all her navy, to Salamis.

But how small is the portion that can now be ascertained of what the Acropolis once contained!!

Plutarch tells us that all the public structures raised in Rome from the foundation of the City till the age of the Cæsars could not be put in competition with the edifices erected on the Acropolis during the administration of Pericles; and tho' built in so short a period, they seem built for eternity.

Heliodorus had written a description of the buildings and statues on the Citadel, which took up fifteen books; but far from having exhausted the subject, Polemon Periegetes added four more as a supplement. Even after the plunder carried off by Lysander, Sylla,

[1] Aglauros or Agraulos — a sister of Herse and Pandrosos. The latter was the only one of the three, who had not the fatal curiosity to open a basket entrusted to their care. Hence the temple erected in her honour. They were daughters of Cecrops, King of Athens.

Nero, etc. there were above three thousand statues remaining in the time of Pliny.

The remains of the original walls may still be traced in the midst of the Turkish and Venetian additions, and are distinguishable by three modes of construction at very remarkable epochs:—the Pelasgic, the Cecropian, and that of the age of Cimon and Pericles.[1] It was at that brilliant period that the Acropolis in the whole extent was contemplated with the same veneration as a consecrated Temple; consistent with that sublime conception, the Athenians crowned its lofty walls with an entablature of grand proportions, surmounted by a cornice. Some of the massive Triglyphs and motules still remain in their original position, and produce a most imposing effect.

Separated as I unfortunately am from the notes I made in Athens, and on the Acropolis itself, I only venture to send this sketch as a preparation for what you are to expect when the marbles are unpacked and arranged.

I must now quit the walls of the Acropolis, and attempt a concise account of what has been done in the Town of Athens, and in other parts of Greece, and Asia Minor, during Lord Elgin's Embassy at the Porte. The ancient walls of the Town of Athens, as they existed in the Peloponnesian War, have been traced in their whole extent, as well as the Long Walls that led to Munychia and Piraeus. The Gates, so often mentioned in the Greek Classics, have been ascertained, and every public monument that could be recognised has been inserted in a General Map, as well as detailed plans given of each.

[1] The Pelasgi—a people whose origin is lost in antiquity. They founded the theology of the Greeks, and were employed by them in constructing the most ancient part of the fortifications of the Acropolis.
Cecropia was the original name of Athens, from its founder, King Cecrops.

Extensive excavations were necessary for this purpose, particularly at the Great Theatre of Bacchus; at the Pnyx where the assemblies of the people were held; where Pericles, Alcibiades, Demosthenes and Aeschines delivered their animated harangues, "those thoughts that breathe, and words that burn."

The Theatre built by Herodes Atticus to the memory of his wife Regilla, and the Tumuli of Antiope Euripides, etc. have also been opened, and from these excavations, and various others in the environs of Athens, has been procured a complete and invaluable collection of Greek Vases. The Colonies sent from Athens, Corinth, etc. into Magna Graecia, Sicily, and Etruria carried with them this art of making vases, from their Mother Country, and as the earliest modern collections of vases were made in those Colonies, they have improperly acquired the name of Etruscan.

Those found by Lord Elgin at Athens, Aegina, and Corinth will prove the indubitable claim of the Greeks to this art. I may venture to say that none of those in the collection of the King of Naples at Portici, or in those of Sir William Hamilton, can be compared to some Lord Elgin has procured, with respect to the elegance of the forms, the fineness of the materials, the delicacy of the execution, or the beauty of subjects delineated on them, and they are in perfect preservation.

A Tumulus into which an excavation was commenced under Lord and Lady Elgin's eye during their residence at Athens has furnished a most valuable treasure of this kind. It consists of a large marble vase, inclosing one of Bronze five feet in circumference, of beautiful sculpture, encircled with a wreath of myrtle wrought in gold; near it was a smaller vase of Alabaster beautifully ribbed. The position of this

Tumulus is on the road that leads from Port Piraeus to the Salaminian ferry and Eleusis.

From the Theatre of Bacchus Lord Elgin has obtained the very ancient Sun Dial, which existed there during the time of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides,—and a large Statue of Bacchus dedicated by Thrasyilus in gratitude for his having obtained the prize of Tragedy at the Pan-Athenäic Festival. A Beautiful little Corinthian Temple near it, raised for a similar prize gained by Lysicrates, and commonly called the Lantern of Demosthenes has also been modelled and drawn with minute attention; it is a most precious little bijou in architecture. Your visit to it, renders it perhaps superfluous for me to mention its vaulted roof formed of a single block of marble, or the delicate Bas-relief that runs round the frize, representing some Bacchanalian Orgies.

The elevation, ground plan, and other details of the Octagonal Temple raised by Andronicus Cyrrhestes to the Winds, have also been executed with care, but the sculpture on its frize is in so heavy a style, that it was not judged worthy of being modelled in plaster. My friendship with the Bishop of Athens, gained me permission to examine the interior of all the Churches and Convents in Athens.

This search furnished many valuable bas-reliefs, inscriptions, ancient dials, a Gymnasiarch's chair in marble, on the back of which are figures of Harmodius and Aristogiton with daggers in their hand, and the death of Leæna, who bit out her tongue during the torture rather than confess what she knew of the conspiracy against the Pisistratidae.

The fountain in the court yard of our Consul Logotheti's house, was decorated with a bas-relief of Bacchantes, in the style called Graeco-Etruscan, which he presented to his Lordship as well as a Quadriga in

Bas-relief with a Victory hovering over the Charioteer, probably an *ex voto* for some victory at the Olympic games.

Amongst the funeral Cippi[1] found in different places are some remarkable names, particularly that of Socrates, and in the Ceramicus itself Lord Elgin discovered an inscription in Elegiac verse, on the Athenians who fell at Potidaea, and whose eulogy was delivered with such pathetic eloquence in the funeral oration of Pericles. . . .

. . . If this letter has the fortune to reach you, and meets a wish for my continuing the subject, I shall be happy in furnishing such a sketch as my memory can supply, of what has been done in a similar view, at Eleusis, Sunium, Salamis, Aegina, Piraeus, Marathon, Thebes, the Cave of Trophonius at Lebadea, the isthmus of Corinth,—at Argos, at the Tomb or Treasury of Agamemnon at Mycenae, at Tyrinthus, Epidauria, Mantinea, Phigalia, Olympia, and Elis,—on the plain of Troy, on the Promontory and Isthmus of Mount Athos—In the Cyclades, and Ionian Islands; at Cnidus, Halicarnassus, etc. etc. etc.

PAU, *February 20th* 1805.

[1] Tombstones.

Lord Elgin: Defender of aristocratic adventure and national treasures

By Tim Luckhurst

17 January 2004

At Broomhall House, ancestral home of the Earls of Elgin, ancient Greek stelae or grave markers adorn the walls. The relics, decorated with carved figures, are the bits of the Elgin Marbles the British Museum did not want. They were brought home to Fife by the 7th Earl in 1816 and remain at Broomhall, now the home of his direct descendant, Andrew Douglas Alexander Thomas Bruce, the 11th Earl of Elgin and Chief of the Clan Bruce.

His Lordship will be 80 next month. He walks with a limp caused by a leg wound received in the Normandy landings of 1944. He might be forgiven for taking things easy, but when it comes to defending the family name that is not in his nature.

This week he appeared on the *Today* programme to debate the latest demand that the Elgin Marbles be returned to Greece. Asked to comment on the belief that the treasures are stolen property, Lord Elgin replied, "Totally unfair and completely untrue," before proceeding to explain that everyone in Britain "should be proud of what was done," by his ancestor. The 7th Earl had the express consent of the Ottoman Empire to remove the marbles, he said. It was an act of conservation, without parallel at the time.

The real story is a little more complex, but it does not entirely justify the allegations of theft. The 7th Earl did not set out to take antiquities from the Parthenon. In 1799 when he became British Ambassador to Constantinople, his architect persuaded him that it was an opportunity to send a team to Athens to study Greek art and architecture. This would allow his Lordship to build fashionable copies when he returned to Scotland.

Elgin delegated the task to his secretary, an energetic young man called William Hamilton. At first nobody said anything about taking antiquities, but Hamilton found it hard to ignore the reality that Turkish forces then occupying Athens were harming some of the finest works of art in the world. The chaplain to the British embassy in Constantinople, Dr Philip Hunt, was appalled and persuaded his boss to ask the Turks for permission to transport the marbles to Britain.

Lord Elgin's request was made at an opportune moment. Horatio Nelson had just fought and won the Battle of the Nile, and British influence in the eastern Mediterranean was at its apogee. To the Turks it seemed wise to grant his Lordship's request to take away relics from the Acropolis. Elgin received a Turkish imperial decree authorising him to remove material.

The only surviving version of the document is in Italian. It uses the word *qualche*, which is usually translated as "some" but can also mean "any." It is a fine distinction, but Elgin interpreted it as carte blanche. He employed 300 men to strip hundreds of pieces of sculptured marble, including columns, pediments and 17 figures, from the Parthenon. By 1803 all of these were boxed awaiting shipment to Britain where, Elgin intended, they would be used to decorate Broomhall in Grecian splendour.

Most of the marbles got back to Britain safely courtesy of the Royal Navy. Lord Elgin was less fortunate. He was captured by the French and held prisoner until 1806. When he got home his world had fallen apart. His wife had left him. His diplomatic career was dead and his precious antiquities were the subject of vicious controversy. There was a general feeling that Elgin had gone too far. Wealthy Britons had been helping themselves to bits of ancient Greece for at least a century, but pillaging the most beautiful building in the world looked a bit off. The poet Byron summed up popular fury by carving into the rock of the Acropolis 'Quod non fecerunt Gothi, fecerunt Scoti' (What the Goths spared, the Scots destroyed).

Elgin was mortified. He offered the marbles to the British government for £72,240. It was what he calculated it had cost him to bring them home. The government offered £35,000. Elgin accepted with poor grace.The controversy has echoed throughout the last 200 years. It may explain why the 7th Earl's present-day descendant has opted for a quieter existence.

The modern Lord Elgin does not need to appeal to the state for money. For many years he has farmed 1,500 acres of malting barley, one of the principal ingredients of whisky. That and a talent for rearing pedigree Aberdeen Angus bulls have generated enough revenue to keep Broomhall out of the hands of the National Trust. His Lordship believes in private property. Until the Scottish Executive passed its Land Reform Act, granting public access to private estates, he popped up occasionally in the letters pages of *The Scotsman* questioning the legitimacy of such reform.

For a man whose ancestors include Scotland's medieval hero king, Robert the Bruce, a governor general of Canada, two viceroys of India and a founding father of the Royal Society, Lord Elgin is an ostensibly low-profile character. But he has had his moments of excitement too.

He landed on the D-Day beaches days after the initial assault as a 20-year-old officer in a tank unit of the 3rd Battalion of the Scots Guards. Among his comrades were William Whitelaw and Robert Runcie. Elgin has said little about his role beyond the laconic observation that "I suppose the most terrifying thing for me was a British Royal Navy beach master with his beard and dog."

That understates things. Lord Elgin was hit by anti-tank fire while attempting to clear German soldiers out of a wood in Normandy. He was pulled from his tank unconscious and bleeding heavily. Amid the confusion, a telegram was sent to his parents reporting him missing presumed dead. The truth did not emerge until the young Duchess of Wellington, serving as an auxiliary nurse, spotted him in a clearing station and shouted "I recognise that boy!"

Elgin's family, sons Charlie, Alexander and Adam, daughters Georgina and Antonia, wife Victoria and seven grandchildren meet every August on the anniversary of their father's combat wound to celebrate his survival. The surgeon who patched him up at the time warned that his work would only last for 40 years. Exactly four decades later the leg did flare up. Mud from Normandy was still inside the wound.

Elgin's reserve is relative. He is emphatically not ashamed of his most notorious ancestor. Visitors to Broomhall are shown sketches executed by the seventh earl while he was surveying Greek sites. When the subject of Freemasonry, a cause to which he is utterly dedicated, is raised he displays fierce pride. One of the reasons is that it connects him emotionally as well as genetically to the Elgin of the Marbles.

The present Lord Elgin served for two decades as President of the Scottish Amicable Life Assurance Society. He was once Chairman of the National Savings Committee for Scotland and Lord High Commissioner of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Between 1987 and 1999 he was Lord Lieutenant of Fife, and he has dedicated time and energy to the Boys Brigade as well as the arthritis and rheumatism trust. But Freemasonry really turns him on. According to one of his sons he believes it is "part of the warp and weft of public life in Scotland, and that it does fantastic work for charity."

He was Grand Master Mason of Scotland between 1961 and 1965 and is still Provincial Grand Master of Fife and head of the Royal Order of Scotland, a position that allows him to travel the world promoting Scotland and the contribution he believes has been made by the unique Scottish rite of Freemasonry.

Elgin has even expressed irritation that conventional history does not record that his great-great-great-grandfather, the 7th Earl, was a mason too. The man who took the marbles was initiated into the Freemasons in 1819. His Lordship has confirmed that his ancestor was "exalted into the Royal Arch and held the rank of Grand Zerubabbel from 1827 until 1835."

He is passionate about Masonry and, in an interview with *Freemasonry Today*, confronted head on allegations of improper influence and secrecy. For him, neither of these attributes should have a central role in Freemasonry. He was critical of the "type of mason" who "unfortunately believes that because they've taken the oath, there is no way they are going to divulge any information, for it might cause them to be chopped up."

Lord Elgin's aristocratic credentials are enough to secure him any introduction he might want without the assistance of fellow masons. But he has travelled the world on their behalf and has enjoyed adventures which, if not quite the equivalent of being held prisoner by Napoleon, seem to meet the standards of previous generations of Elgin adventurers.

The Shah of Iran once concluded that, if his country was to become a modern state, it must have its own branch of Freemasonry. He invited Lord Elgin to explain Masonry to him. Elgin describes meeting him as a "special memory." He says "We covered every possible subject and I think he knew very well what Masonry was all about, but at the same time he was constantly looking over both shoulders, guarding himself against some form of conspiracy, which might come into Iran under the modernising ideas of the west."

The meeting lasted twice as long as the Shah's staff had allocated. Lord Elgin explains "It was the most extraordinary meeting with a crown head I've ever had. Normally, in a meeting with the Queen, she presses a button, the door opens, and you're out. When we finally got out into the street, our Iranian friends were sitting there trembling with fear. They thought we'd been done away with."

In another of his roles, as chairman of the Keepers of the Quaich, an organisation that promotes Scotch whisky, Elgin brought Ronald Reagan to a meeting and nearly persuaded the former president to dance on a table.

As his 80th birthday approaches Lord Elgin is slowing down. He spends most of his time at Broomhall on the outskirts of the village of Charlestown that was built in the shape of an E to represent the family name. His life has extended the tradition of aristocratic adventure into the 21st century without attracting the attention still focused on the seventh Lord Elgin. But when his predecessor's reputation is impugned, the modern Elgin still responds with proof that blood is thicker than water. His children intend to maintain that tradition.

Life story

Born: Andrew Douglas Alexander Thomas Bruce, 17 February 1924, to the 10th Earl of Elgin and the Hon Katherine Elizabeth Cochrane). His great-great-great-grandfather was the 7th Earl of Elgin (right).

Family: Married 27 April 1959, to Victoria Mary Usher, daughter of Major Dudley George Usher and Antonia Mary nee Wilkinson; 3 sons, 2 daughters.

Education: Eton, Balliol College, Oxford (BA, 1949).

Titles: Elgin, 11th Earl of; Kincardine, 15th Earl of; Lord Bruce of Kinloss; Lord Bruce of Torry; 37th Chief of the Name of

Bruce.

Career: Farmer, Lord Lieutenant of Fife (1987-1999), Lieutenant, Queen's Bodyguard for Scotland, President of the Royal Scottish Automobile Club, President, Scottish Amicable Life Assurance Company (1975-1994), Chairman, National Savings Committee for Scotland (1972-1978), Lord High Commissioner, General Assembly, Church of Scotland (1980-1981), President of the Royal Caledonian Curling Club (1968-1969) Grand Master Mason of Scotland (1961-1965), Provincial Grandmaster of Fife, Head Royal Masonic Order of Scotland.

He says: "There is a terrible attack on at the moment. Every single old institution is being attacked."

They say: "The current Earl appeared confident that his notorious ancestor was inspired by his Masonic membership." - interview in *Freemasonry Today*

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PAST EDITIONS - FREEMASONRY TODAY

The Future that Everybody Wanted

Matthew Scanlan interviews Lord Elgin

Few families can trace their lineage back forty generations. From Scotland's medieval hero king, Robert the Bruce, to the 7th Earl who gave his name to the famous 'marbles', Lord Elgin's illustrious line is further illuminated by figures from Britain's past imperial elite : a governor general of Canada, two viceroys of India, a.founding father of the Royal Society, and the famous African explorer, James Bruce.

The present Earl, Andrew Douglas Alexander Thomas Bruce, 11th Earl of Elgin, is the 37th chief of the family house, a status easily forgotten in his jovial presence. Lord Elgin is a true gentleman. Blessed with three sons and two daughters, he farms 1500 acres of malting barley suitable for distillation, and lives in his 18th century estate Broomhall, north of the Firth. Earlier this year, Lord Elgin celebrated 50 years in the Craft. Like his father before him, he is a past-Grand Master Mason of Scotland, holding the rank of Provincial Grand Master of Fife. Lord Elgin is also the enthusiastic head of the masonic Royal Order of Scotland world-wide.

As we settled in his basement study, I began by asking what he thought of the recent attacks made upon the Craft by the House of Commons Select Committee and elements of the media.