

LORD ELGIN AND HIS COLLECTION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE present year, 1916 A.D., is the centenary of the acquisition by the public of the Elgin Collection of ancient sculptures, inscriptions, casts and drawings. It has therefore seemed a suitable moment to print a fuller account than has hitherto been attempted of the formation and purchase of that collection.

I should state that I have been engaged on this subject for some time past, by desire of the Earl of Elgin, who has put all his papers bearing on the subject into my hands.¹ It was the wish of Lord Elgin that the episode of the marbles should appear in its due proportion in a full biography of his distinguished grandfather. The other aspects of that career are being studied by Sir Harry Wilson, K.C.M.G. But the call of other duties and the distractions of the time have made it doubtful whether the biography can be completed at an early date. The present narrative is therefore offered now, by way of a centennial commemoration.

THOMAS BRUCE, seventh Earl of Elgin, and eleventh Earl of Kincardine, was born on July 20, 1766, being the second son of Charles, fifth Earl of Elgin, who married Martha, the only child of Thomas White, a London banker. The fifth Earl died in May, 1771, and was succeeded by his eldest son, William Robert, an infant who was born in 1764, held the title for two months, and died in 1771 at the age of seven. He was succeeded by his brother Thomas, a few days under the age of five.

His mother, Martha, Countess of Elgin, who is mentioned occasionally in the course of the narrative, survived her husband till the year 1810.

Lord Elgin, the subject of this paper, was educated at Harrow (where he stayed for a short time only) and at Westminster. He also studied at St. Andrew's, and at Paris, where he acquired an excellent command of French. He entered the army in 1785, and without any active military service reached the rank of major-general in 1835. He was elected a Representative Peer of Scotland in 1790 and continued in that position till

¹ The papers at Broomhall include many that must have been handed over by Lusieri's representatives, by Hamilton or his repre-

sentatives and by others. For extracts from the papers at Biel I have to thank Mrs. Nisbet Hamilton Ogilvy and Sir Harry Wilson.

1807. He was again elected in 1820, and held the post till his death (November 14, 1841). [A peerage of the United Kingdom was first conferred on his son in 1849.]

His portrait (Fig. 1) is reproduced from a drawing by George Perfect Harding (ob. 1853), preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum. It is a study after the painting by Anton Graff, at Broomhall.

He entered on his diplomatic career in 1790, when he was sent on a special mission to the Emperor Leopold. He was made Envoy at Brussels in 1792; Envoy Extraordinary at Berlin in 1795; and Ambassador at the Porte in 1799.

In the spring of that year, March 11, 1799, he married Mary, only child and heiress of William Hamilton Nisbet of Dirleton and Belhaven, Co. Haddington. Many extracts from her lively letters from the East are given below.

The eldest child of the marriage, George Charles Constantine (Lord) Bruce, was born at Pera, April 5, 1800. His name frequently occurs in these records. He never married, and died in 1840. The second child, Mary, appears here as an infant. She married Mr. Robert Dundas, who took the name of Nisbet Hamilton. Their daughter, Mary Georgiana Constance Nisbet Hamilton, married Mr. H. T. Ogilvy, who also assumed the name of Nisbet Hamilton. Hence it comes about that 'Mr. Nisbet's throne,' which often occurs in the letters, is now at Biel, East Lothian, in the possession of Mrs. Nisbet Hamilton Ogilvy, by whose kind permission and assistance it is given below (Fig. 5).

The first marriage of Lord Elgin was dissolved by Act of Parliament in 1808. Lady Elgin married Robert Ferguson of Raith and died in 1855.

In September, 1810, Lord Elgin made a second marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of James Townsend Oswald of Dunnikeir. The letters at the time of the purchase negotiations are addressed to her. She died in 1860.

The eldest son of the second marriage, James, was born in July, 1811, at the house in Park Lane, which was for a time the resting-place of the marbles. He succeeded to the title of Lord Bruce on the death of his half-brother in 1840, and to the Earldom in 1841. He attained high distinction in Jamaica, Canada, China and India. He was made Governor-General of India in 1862, but died suddenly at Dharmsala in the following year, and was succeeded in the title and estate by his son, the present Earl of Elgin.

PART I.

The Organization of the Expedition.

By his appointment to the Constantinople Embassy and his tenure of that post during the Egyptian Expedition of Napoleon, the seventh Lord Elgin was made a leading actor in many great events. More particularly, however, his mind was turned from the outset towards those pursuits with

which his name and reputation are associated. The source of the suggestion that he should connect his term of office with the study of antiquity was



Fig. 1.—LORD ELGIN (circa 1795). (By G. P. Harding, after Anton Graff.)

explained by himself in his evidence before the Select Committee² which con-

² *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Earl of Elgin's Collection of Sculptured Marbles, etc.* (Lon-

don, J. Murray), p. 31. I refer throughout to Murray's reprint of the Report of the Committee.

sidered the purchase of his collection. He stated that it was in the year 1799, and on the occasion of his nomination to the Embassy at Constantinople, that the idea first occurred to him of making his term of office of service to the arts. Mr. Thomas Harrison, an architect (1744–1829), who was working for him in Scotland, and who had passed much of his life in Rome, represented that, though the public had a general knowledge of the remains of Athens, there was nothing that would serve as well as casts from the actual objects.

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 expence 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.

J. M. W. Turner was twenty-four years old at the time in question. He was already well known as a topographical draughtsman, whose work was engraved by the topographical publishers. He had not yet visited the Continent, but in his tour to the North of England he had made many friends of influence. It was therefore quite natural that Lord Elgin, when in need of an artist, should think of Turner. Had he engaged him in place of Lusieri, it is probable that more drawings would have been completed, but it is certain that the Elgin collection of marbles would never have been made.

One of the friends who was consulted on the question of a draughtsman was a predecessor at the Constantinople Embassy, Sir Robert Ainslie, who during the years 1776–92 had employed an artist, Ludwig Mayer, for a very similar purpose. Mayer's *Views in Egypt, Palestine, and other parts of the Ottoman Empire* (1804), being a series of pleasing, coloured aquatint sketches in Egypt, Palestine, and Asia Minor, is still a frequent item in the lists of the second-hand booksellers.³

Sir Robert Ainslie⁴ wrote to Lord Elgin to explain the terms of Mayer's engagement—namely, a salary of fifty guineas per annum, together with board and travelling expenses.

It was clearly understood that the whole of his works, drawings, pictures and sketches were to remain with me, as being my sole property I entirely agree with your Lordship in objecting to the conditions proposed by the artists who wish

³ The collection of original drawings was recently offered at forty guineas, in the Catalogue of Mr. T. Thorp, Bookseller.

⁴ Ainslie to Elgin, 'Sunday night.'

to accompany your Lordship to Turkey. To me it appears that the permission of Engraving any of the sketches, either in Turkey or elsewhere, ought to depend upon your Lordship's pleasure and ulterior determination.

Encouraged by such advice, Lord Elgin postponed the choice of a draughtsman until he had started from England.

If we put aside the more ambitious scheme of moulding antiquities, there was a long line of precedents for attaching a draughtsman to the suite of a man of wealth and station in the East. The painter, Jacques Carrey (if that was his name, for doubts have been thrown upon his identity), was in the suite of the Marquis de Nointel, French Ambassador at the Porte, and produced in 1674 the invaluable drawings of the Parthenon sculptures, and other Athenian remains, which are now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Nor was the activity of Carrey limited to the sculptures of the Parthenon (on which he worked for a fortnight only) and such few sketches of Athenian subjects as still survive. When Dr. Jacob Spon and Sir George Wheler visited Constantinople, de Nointel was able to show them a collection of four hundred drawings of bas-reliefs, buildings, and landscapes which he had caused to be made in the course of his journeyings in Greece and Turkey. 'There are few persons,' Spon⁵ remarks, 'who could have done so much in a country so hostile to painting. There were always two Janissaries beside his painter when he was drawing anything.'

In the eighteenth century it was still more the mode for a travelling nobleman or man of station to be accompanied by his draughtsman. In 1749 the young Lord Charlemont took Richard Dalton as his companion on the grand tour. The result was a folio volume of views, published in 1752, of Greece, Turkey, and Egypt. Among them is one of the most important documents that survives, for the history of the West pediment of the Parthenon.

The professional expedition of Stewart and Revett (1751-3) and that of the Dilettanti Society, led by Richard Chandler, were on a different footing. But that of Sir Richard Worsley in 1785 was again on the old lines. A draughtsman, one Reveley, was employed, whose grotesque efforts at landscapes are preserved in a splendid setting, which they cannot be said to deserve, in the second volume of the *Museum Worsleyanum*. At the same time the Count de Choiseul-Gouffier, French Ambassador at the Porte in the pre-revolution years, was employing artists making views for his sumptuous *Voyage de la Grèce*. Finally, in the years immediately preceding Lord Elgin's appointment, Sir Robert Ainslie, as we have already seen, had employed Mayer.

It was therefore in accordance with precedents that Lord Elgin sought to engage a painter as one of his suite. His originality consisted in the idea of attaching other artists to the undertaking, and of making his painter head of an artistic commission which was to include both an architect to take notes of buildings, and *formatori* to mould such sculptures as were found to be accessible.

⁵ Spon, *Voyage* (ed. 1679), I., p. 200.

Lord Elgin started on his mission in 1799.

He had appointed William Richard Hamilton as his private secretary and, as will be seen hereafter, much of the success of his enterprise was to turn on Hamilton's zeal for the objects in view and his loyal friendship for his chief. W. R. Hamilton (1777-1859) was of a good Scottish family, the Hamiltons of Wishaw,⁶ and was son of the Rev. Anthony Hamilton, Vicar of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields and Rector of Hadham. He had been educated at Harrow, where an accident made him permanently lame. He was entered both at Oxford and Cambridge, and now at the age of twenty-two was appointed private secretary to the Ambassador. His subsequent career must be briefly indicated. In 1809 he became Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and held that office through the latter part of the Napoleonic period. From 1822 to 1825 he was British Minister at Naples. In 1830 he was elected Secretary of the Society of Dilettanti. For twenty years of his later life (1838-1858) he was a Trustee of the British Museum. For his portrait in advanced life, see Fig. 19.

Arrived in Sicily, Lord Elgin opened communications, upon the recommendation of the then British Minister, Sir William Hamilton, with Giovanni Battista Lusieri, who was destined to be the agent to whose exertions the formation of the collection was, as we shall see, principally due. On October 14, 1799, Lusieri, then at Taormina, wrote to Lord Elgin explaining his position. He had found himself compelled, by the losses that he had suffered in the wars then in progress, to accept the position of King's Painter for the antiquities of Sicily, and was at present performing the duties of that post. It was therefore necessary that he should obtain superior permission, which, however, he thought would be granted without difficulty. He undertook to take steps to that end, and to go as quickly as possible to Messina to confer with Lord Elgin. The offer was cordially accepted by Lord Elgin, writing from Messina on the 15th. On October 18, the meeting took place, and an agreement was speedily reached. The following are the actual terms of the arrangement. The spelling shows that Lusieri's name was still unfamiliar.

Il est convenu entre My Lord Elgin et Mons. Luzieri que le dernier doit l'accompagner dans son Ambassade en Turquie en Qualité de Peintre et nommément pour employer son Temps et son Art sous la direction de son Excellence, bien entendu que les ouvrages que Mons^r. Luzieri fera dans ce Voyage seront à la disposition de son Excellence en Consideration de quoi il recevra a raison de deux Cent Livres Sterlings par an, vivant toujours aux depend de son Excellence.

En cas que Mons^r. Lusieri desire faire des Copies de quelques uns des ouvrages faits dans ce Voyage pour son Usage, il est convenu que le Choix en sera fait de l'accord des deux Parties.

Mons^r. Luzieri sera aussi en Liberté de retourner chez lui avant l'expiration du Terme si des Circonstances imprévues l'en obligent.

Fait à Messine, ce 18 Octobre 1799.

GIO : BATTISTA LUSIERI.

ELGIN.

⁶ He was a distant cousin of the then Lord Belhaven and Stenton, but in consequence of a failure in the direct succession, was the

grandfather of the present holder of that Barony.

The contract thus signed was highly satisfactory to Lord Elgin,⁷ who wrote next day to his mother:—

MY DEAR MOTHER,

Tho' we are under weigh, yet you will need no apologies for another hurried line. I have, I trust, been remarkably fortunate in getting the first painter in Italy to accompany me: and having thought very fully of the whole case, I have resolved on sending him with Mr. Hamilton to Rome, and Naples, for the purpose of getting a person to assist him in his paintings, and another capable of taking casts of the specimens of Ancient Architecture to be met with in Greece and Asia Minor.

The plan will be not a very low priced one. But really the object is superior to any ever attempted, and in the present state of Rome and Italy, I have reason [to think], indeed I may guess from what I have already seen in Sicily, talents are to be met with suited to the undertaking, at a reasonable rate. Of course this is no secret, still I would not wish it indiscriminately mentioned.

But among your acquaintances, Mr. Udney especially, you may hear opinions and hints, that I should be happy to have on this undertaking.

When it is on foot you shall hear more fully. At present it is only in train.

If you see Sir Robert Ainslie he might probably have some suggestions to offer. I will write him when the attempt takes any consistency, meanwhile, I should be glad to hear from him if anything does occur to him.

Giovanni Battista Lusieri (known among his friends as Don Tita), whose services were henceforth at the disposal of Lord Elgin, was a topographical draughtsman, working with infinite pains to reproduce a faithful rendering of the scene before him, stone by stone, but with little regard for atmosphere or light. His Athenian drawings, as we shall see hereafter, were almost all lost at sea. One coloured drawing alone—a view of the Monument of Philopappos at Athens—is at Broomhall in the collection of Lord Elgin, by whose permission it is here reproduced (Fig. 8) to give an idea of Lusieri's style. A considerable number, however, of his views near Naples are preserved at Broomhall, having been acquired by agreement with his representatives after his death (see p. 290). Alike in the coloured and the uncoloured drawings the main peculiarity of his art was that minute observation of detail which has now been superseded by the yet more microscopic accuracy of the photographer's lens.

The following appreciation of Lusieri's style by an eminently qualified critic, H. W. Williams ('Grecian' Williams), is of interest. In a letter from Athens, of about May, 1817, Williams discussed the drawings of three representative strangers long settled in Athens, namely, Baron Haller, Lusieri, and Fauvel. Of Lusieri's designs he observes:—

They are upon a considerable scale in length, not less than seven or eight feet, and generally they embrace the eighth of a circle; he has even one, a View of Constantinople, eighteen feet by three or four feet high, comprehending the fourth of a panorama.⁸

⁷ Elgin to Dowager Lady E., Oct. 19, 1799.

⁸ Sunday, May 29th (1813). To-day we dined with Signor Lusieri, who shewed us, nailed to the wall, an unfinished drawing of Constantinople, in five large sheets. The

view which it embraced, extended from the Seven Towers about eight miles up the Bosphorus, and was most faithfully and beautifully delineated. Unfortunately he had left it in the chancellerie of Pera, when he left

These drawings are merely careful outlines, done with a hard pencil or crow-pen, and no attempt is made at light and shade. He takes an incredible time in doing them: the outline of Constantinople alone was a study of three months; and the rest in proportion. He generally has several outlines in a progressive state, from various quarters of Athens, so that, let the wind blow as it may, he can always secure to himself a comfortable situation to proceed in colouring. As he finishes his drawings chiefly upon the spot, this precaution saves him from many interruptions. The atmosphere of Greece being very clear and luminous (except when the sultry siro[c] invests the country in an opaque and whitish mist,) the sun seeming to throw his rays unmixed from heaven to earth, the details of nature are seen even in objects removed to a great distance, and claim a consequence, to which, if seen through a British atmosphere, they would have no pretensions, and, therefore, require an accuracy of delineation suitable to the appearance which they exhibit. This Signor Lusieri has minutely attended to, but I have more than once presumed to think that he carried those details a little too far, farther, indeed, than nature seems to authorize, and without that peculiar character which is referable to her, exciting painful feelings on reflecting on the wearisome toil and trouble such outlines must have cost him. On examining the subjects from which several of his outlines have been made, I confess I could not perceive the minutiae described in them, which has led me to suppose he must have used a telescope. . . . I saw only one coloured drawing by Lusieri, and that consists of a few columns of the Temple of Minerva. It is a meritorious work of art, as far as relates to breadth of effect, and truth of light and shade, without mannerism or fallacious touching. The colouring, however, is rather heavy, and seems to be shaded with Indian ink, which loses its clearness where there is any depth of shadow. A partiality to any sort of colours often leads the eye astray, and is much against the discrimination of those delicate and tender hues which require the nicest care. In nature the subject of Signor Lusieri's drawing abounds in clear and fascinating dyes, and I regretted that an eye, which has been so highly cultivated in all that relates to form, should be so defective in perceiving justly the distinctive qualities of delightful colour. . . .

Signor Lusieri . . . makes his outlines with the intention of finishing the subject in colours on the spot. . . . It is, however, to be regretted that Signor Lusieri, in all probability, will leave the most of those extensive outlines unfinished, and therefore the want of that peculiar expression which is to be found in Baron Haller's drawings, will take much from the warmth of interest, with which we should otherwise contemplate such pleasing delineations.⁹

Lusieri's letters, from which large extracts are given below, are written in Italian to Hamilton, and in rather illiterate French to Lord Elgin. In both cases I have thought it better to give them in translation. I have also translated Lord Elgin's letters to Lusieri, which are in French. Examples of his French style will be found on pp. 334, 362.

The contract with Lusieri once signed, Lord Elgin, as shown by the letter to his mother already quoted, lost no time in making further arrangements for the expedition. Hamilton was sent at once from Sicily to Naples and Rome with instructions to engage the staff and procure materials.

A memorandum was drawn up for his guidance by Lord Elgin.

Constantinople (in Lord Elgin's time), and there it was soiled and spoilt. Turner, *Tour in the Levant*, i. p. 368; cf. Lusieri to Lord Elgin, March 24, 1810: 'They have sent me recently the drawings that I began of the

general view of Constantinople, but they are in a pitiful state. Heaven knows when I may finish them as I wish.'

⁹ H. W. Williams, *Travels in Italy, Greece, etc.* (1820), vol. ii. pp. 331-334.

1. A man for casts. }
A painter of figures. }

To be under Lusieri. Their work to be entirely my property, and their labor at my disposal—to be if possible, at the second table—a fixed salary—say about £50 per annum.

2. To procure materials for the Painters and casts.

Instructions were also given to Hamilton with respect to the engagement of musicians for Constantinople.

3. At Naples, to get a Musician capable of *perfectly* teaching and accompanying the Pianoforte—immaterial whether he plays on the Violin, or Clarinet. The latter of these instruments much preferr'd. This man to be at the second table; and at a fixed salary, £40 or £50. It would be wished that he occasionally appeared as a groom of the Chamber—And even somewhat more given on that condition—

N.B. If a second, or even a third good musician could be got very reasonably, also at the second table, it would be very desirable—The instruments to be wind-instruments. No doubt about getting these additional men if they would wear Livery—and be as servants—and even a high wage on that condition.

Particularly wished to get as much good and new musick as possible set for Harpsicord—and for a concert, if musicians are to be met with.—Also some new musick for the voice. *N.B.* Neapolitan, Venetian and other native airs.

At the same time Hamilton was instructed to make inquiries about works of art for sale in Italy, as it was possible that both pictures and sculptures of good quality might be obtained at moderate prices in the special circumstances of the time.

Hamilton left Messina for Naples and Rome on October 30, and on November 14¹⁰ he wrote from Rome reporting progress in the execution of his commissions. The engagement of the musicians was being arranged at Naples, and that of the artists at Rome.

Mr. Lusieri's acquaintance here, particularly Messrs. Day and Wallis, English Artists, have been very active in looking out for the three Characters which are the object of our Journey. Many have offered, but as yet very essential objections have presented themselves either as to Character, Age, Country, line of life, or ability—but to-morrow I hope we shall make a decision.

As regards the prospects of purchasing works of art at low prices in the general confusion of the time the report was less encouraging. It was to Hamilton that the restitution of the works of art gathered by Napoleon was chiefly due in the settlement after Waterloo. It is interesting to find him writing sixteen years earlier:—

The French have taken away from Rome almost all the valuable Statues—Sixty two choice pieces from the Vatican alone—among which are the Torso, Apollo of Belvidere, Laocoon, Meleager, etc.—besides the best from the other Musaeums—Most of the best pictures are also at Paris—During the Republic Chef-d'œuvres of the first Masters were selling for nothing—and all the Galleries but that of Doria, have lost their best oil-paintings—Luckily the works in Fresco were immoveable.

The heavy and constant contributions of the French were the cause of this distress—which among the poorer class nearly approached to a famine. Meanwhile the Artists, who had some money have made their fortunes, which is the case with the two I have mentioned, but all they have bought will be sold very high or sent to England.

¹⁰ Hamilton to Elgin, Nov. 14, 1799.

A fortnight later, Hamilton was able to report by letter that he had completed arrangements with the artists.

ROME,

Saturday, November 30th, 1799.

MY LORD,

The whole of your Lordship's Commission, as far as it regarded this place is at last completed and I trust as much as possible, that the several objects of our Choice will be to your Satisfaction, and meet with your Approbation—although in certain circumstances we have found it absolutely necessary to deviate considerably from your Lordship's Instructions, and particularly in the Article of the several Salaries.

During the late Revolution the greater part of the Artists had taken an active part as Abettors of the French. Consequently many have found it necessary to quit Rome with their friends, or shortly after—and many who remain are very suspicious Characters. We had therefore to inform ourselves of the political principles, as well as of the professional Ability of those we were to fix upon.

The first artist to be engaged was the draughtsman for figures and sculpture. The artist engaged (Theodor or Feodor Iwanovitch) was an excellent draughtsman, whose chief works are preserved in the Elgin portfolios in the British Museum, and who is commonly spoken of as 'Lord Elgin's Calmuck.' He was born in 1765, and had been trained at Carlsruhe. A criticism of his abilities, attributed by Michaelis, on what evidence I do not know, to Goethe, is given in the notes of W. K. F. (*i.e.* Weimarische Kunst-Freunde) annexed to C. A. Boettiger's German edition of the *Memorandum*. 'The Calmuck Feodor (so we used always to hear him called) is a man gifted with a great deal of talent, whose clear drawings nearly always indicate taste and mind. But, I think, he has hardly sufficient knowledge and accuracy to let one look for the highest standard of accuracy and truthfulness of style.' Hamilton writes:—

It was singular that all Rome could not afford a single desinateur de figures among its Natives, that was even of ordinary Ability. We have selected one who is on all hands acknowledged to be the best in this line, of excellent character and good Manners. Perhaps he is the only man of taste his Nation ever produced; he is a Tartar and Native of Astracan, educated in Germany, and having studied eight years in Rome. His salary £100 per annum.

A specimen of his work is given in Fig. 2. For his later career, see p. 255.

The second person to be engaged was the architect of the expedition, but in the event it was found necessary to secure the services of two.

With regard to the Architect we have also a Roman who has universally the character of being the most scientific, and of drawing with the greatest Elegance and taste of any of his profession in Rome. If the countenance of our Tartar is extraordinary from the characteristic features of his Nation, our Architect is no less a singular Object, being an extremely deformed Humpback: the head however and hand were the objects of our Search. As on talking over the Subject with him and others we found it impossible that *one* man could engage in the Undertaking, we have agreed that he shall take with him a young Man accustomed to study under him as a Scholar, and we have fixed his salary at 500 Roman Piastres, or £125 per ann.

The two architects were Vincenzo Balestra and Sebastian Ittar. There are various indications that Balestra was the first described by Hamilton. I

have not identified any of his drawings. The finished work of Ittar is of extraordinary minuteness and elegance. There is however more character in the specimen (Fig. 3) from his working drawings of the Monument of Lysicrates. (Brit. Mus. Dept. of Greek and Roman Antiqs.)

The engagement of a *Formatore* to make moulds of the sculptures was also a primary part of the scheme of the undertaking, and here also Hamilton was advised that two would be able to work more effectively than one.

It has also been necessary to agree with [Bernardino Ledus and Vincenzo Rosati] two *Formatori* or Moulders of Casts on account of the extreme slowness with



FIG. 2.—A PART OF THE FRIEZE OF THE TEMPLE OF WINGLESS VICTORY.
(From a drawing by Feodor.)

which one alone must of necessity carry on the operation. Their Salary is 50 Piastres per Month. There being but four others of their profession in Rome was the occasion of their absolute demands being so high.

It was, however, by no means easy to put such a body of artists in motion in the disturbed state of affairs.

I have been detained here these last six days by the difficulty of getting a passport for these persons to go to Naples. The General Suspicion thrown on the whole body of Artists prevented the General from giving the passport till this morning, when I at last obtained it by dint of constant application, and finally by representing in a Memoir the national Importance of the Object in Question. It is however procured contrary to the express orders of the Court at Palermo. On Monday morning (Dec. 2nd) we set out for Naples. Yesterday the General had given me so direct a refusal that I began seriously to think of being obliged to go round by Vienna, as there seemed less difficulty in allowing them to go to Florence than to Naples.

At the end of the week the party had reached Naples, and on Thursday, December 12, Hamilton sent a further report¹¹ as to arrangements for the passage to Messina.

We have fortunately found an armed English Merchantman that is going in a few days to Messina. In this we shall take our passage, and there I hope to meet with the English convoy which is not yet come into the Sicilian or Italian Ports. The weather is now too unsettled to venture to cross to Sicily in the small Vessels of the country which indeed are all laid up for the Season.

Arrangements had also been made at Naples with the musicians who were required to complete the Ambassador's train, but not exactly on the terms that Lord Elgin had previously proposed.

I have also procured at Naples a Maitre de Chapelle, with all the Qualities your Lordship had desired to find in him except the Inclination to appear occasionally as Groom of the Chamber, and as he is a very well-mannered young Man I did not think it proper to press it on him, particularly as I learned from every Quarter, that Persons of his Profession would with the natural Vanity of this people rather starve thro' Want, than stoop to such an imaginary Degradation. With regard to the two French-horns, the Clarionet, and the Violincello, it will I believe be feasible tho' difficult to prevail on them to wear a Livery, or at least a separate Uniform, which would, I suppose, answer fully as well

I am surprised not to have already heard of your Lordship's Arrival at Constantinople—but in this Corner of Europe we are almost completely excluded from communication with the rest, and what little we have is extremely slow and uncertain.

We may dismiss the musicians from the stage, with an account of them written long afterwards by Lord Elgin to Hamilton (October 15, 1820):—

At Naples, I found the leader of our little Band, in that capacity and giving great satisfaction at St. Carlo—I also saw Interlandi busy as a teacher, Damia taking his fortunes with good humor—and the Violincello looking as like a fiddle-stick as ever. His wife, who seems to have the charge of the Dss de Sangio's (?) House, also under very little softening down of her features, or solemnity, told me however in his presence, that (a *confidence* she had long labored under the impossibility of disclosing to me) she had married, exclusively for the purpose of escaping from the persecutions of the upper maid—and expressed great regret at having been driven to so painful a step.

Through the whole course of the correspondence the modern reader is continually struck by the extraordinary difficulty of communication over comparatively short distances, though recent events have brought back something of the old conditions. March, 1800, had arrived before Hamilton in Sicily had heard of Lord Elgin's arrival in Constantinople, and he was still unable to sail with the company from Sicily.

PALERMO,

Sat., March 1st, 1800.

MY LORD,

My long Anxiety to hear from your Lordship at Constantinople has at last been relieved by the Sight of your letter to Sir William Hamilton, dated January 15th, but I wish that the Pleasure I received from reading it had not been lessened by the unpleasant Account you give of your own and Lady Elgin's health, and the bad Weather we have long had in these Parts gives me but little Room to hope that it has been more

¹¹ Hamilton to Elgin, Dec. 12, 1799.

favourable with you. I was greatly astonished at your Lordship's saying that you had received none of my letters written to you from Messina, Naples and Rome. I trust that that which I wrote the first of January from Messina will have been more fortunate. I am sure however that you will have attributed your not hearing from me rather to a failure of the Post than to my neglect.

Since I arrived at Messina, the 30th of December I have been continually prevented proceeding on my Voyage by the most provoking Circumstances of dilatory Merchants and Captains, contrary Winds, and bad Weather. At that Port the only Ship in which I could hope to proceed to Constantinople was a Greek Polacca belonging to Messrs. Birch and Broadbent, and then loading corn for Malta. To accommodate me these Merchants offered to direct this ship after leaving her cargo at Malta, to go to Girgenti, there to take in a cargo of Sulphur, and carry it to Constantinople, but this on the

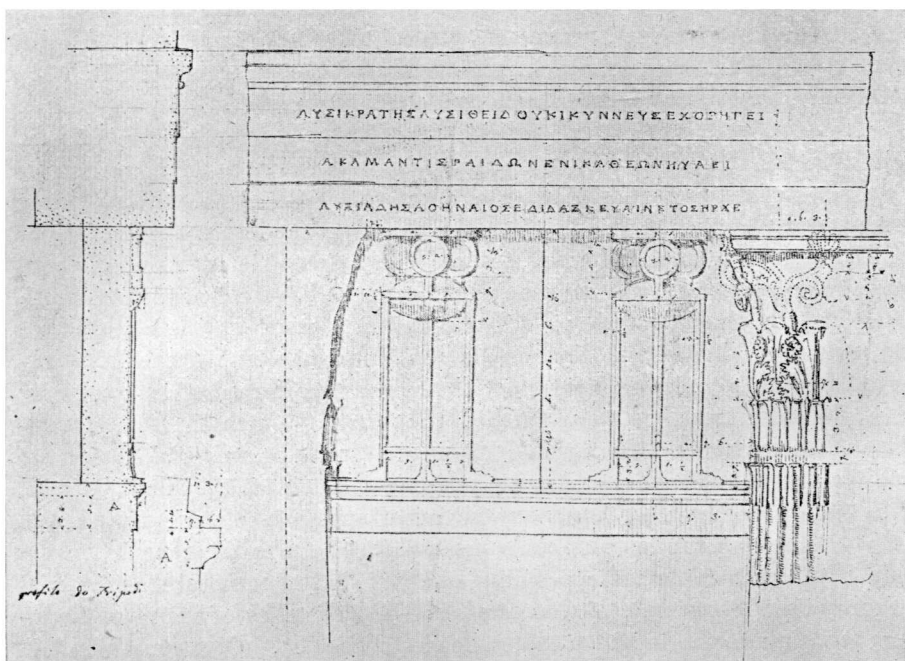


FIG. 3.—WORKING DRAWINGS FROM THE MONUMENT OF LYSCRATES BY SEBASTIAN ITTAR.

Condition that I would consent to advance Money for half the lading, as they would not embark in a new Speculation to a higher Amount. For the Object of dispatch I consented to this offer, and have advanced *on my own account* the necessary Sum. Instead however of leaving Messina in four days, we were detained there 3 Weeks by contrary Winds, which still persecuted us in a voyage to Malta of 9 days, and in another from Malta to Girgenti of 8 days. Here fine weather would have permitted us to load and sail in four days; but Winds still contrary and violent, and the intervening of three idle Holidays, on which no Sicilian would work even to procure his bread, again assured us another considerable delay. I therefore determined to come over to Palermo for a few days, where I shall procure from Mr. Jongh your Collection of Marbles, which I hope to present to you safe at Constantinople; and the continual bad weather assures me that my Absence has occasioned no delay whatever in the sailing of our Polacca. In the mean time the Architects Formatori and Painters, I have left employed among the

temples, and Sarcophagi of Girgenti, and I trust that their works will in some degree supply the Inconvenience your Lordship cannot but feel in their Absence from Constantinople.

This unexpected detention of the company at Girgenti left a permanent mark in the contents of the Elgin collection. The British Museum possesses a cast of a part of a well-known antique sarcophagus which is preserved in the Cathedral of Girgenti, with scenes from the story of Phaedra,¹² and the Elgin portfolios contain plans and drawings executed during the time of waiting.

Hamilton's statement of account for the whole of the transactions above described (October 19–April 5) is extant, and from it we learn that seven members of the company, for some reason not stated, made a journey by land from Girgenti to Syracuse, where they joined the ship. And so, at length, about April 9, 1800, after nearly six months of preparatory work in Italy and Sicily, Hamilton, Lusieri, and the other members of the expedition were able to set sail from Syracuse, for Constantinople, or for Athens. Careful instructions in twenty-two paragraphs were drawn up by Hamilton for the guidance of the Signori Artisti who were going direct to Athens. They were to start as arranged from Sicily for the Dardanelles; to proceed from the Dardanelles to Zea, and from Zea as soon as possible to Athens, where they would put themselves under the guidance of the British Consul, Logotheti. After visiting the antiquities, all would begin to work at their respective occupations. Balestra and Ittar would take measurements of the best preserved buildings, and would work out their drawings in case of bad weather; when the chief drawings were finished they would search for the ground-plans of buried ruins. They would also make careful drawings of all sorts of architectural details, and would write a description of what they had observed. If in their searches they found any pieces of ancient sculpture, they would consign them to Logotheti. Feodor meanwhile would make drawings on the scale that he thought most appropriate of all the better sculpture, and special drawings on a larger scale of the very best—also sketches of mediocre sculpture, to illustrate the progress or decadence of the art. Occasionally in bad weather the artists would draw costumes. The formatori would mould the sculpture that Feodor and Bernardino thought the best. Rosati, the second formatore, would be under the orders of Bernardino. All the company would give their best attention to the acquisition of sculpture deserving transportation. The formatori would also mould small details chosen by Balestra; the moulds, carefully packed, would be put in the charge of the Consul, and no casts would be taken from them. Necessary money would be obtained from the Consul, who should also be consulted, if they were obliged to move on account of malaria. 'It is impossible to conclude these instructions without adding that all anxiously expect the worthy fruit of the expedition of such a company of chosen artists, who have already given such great proofs of their respective talents.'

¹² *B. M. Sculpt.* No. 2714.

The voyage was delayed by contrary winds, and it was not till May 9 that Hamilton wrote from Myconos, reporting that he hoped in a few days to be able to present himself and his companions to Lord Elgin at Constantinople. Apparently the arrangements recited in the foregoing instructions had to be changed, and the company reached Constantinople about the middle of May, 1800,¹³ and were sent on to Athens as soon as opportunity offered. Lusieri remained for a time at Constantinople, the rest of the company of artists going to Athens in advance. Their interests at Athens were watched over after their first arrival by Spiridion Logotheti. They reached Athens on July 22 with letters of commendation from Lord Elgin. Ten horses brought their baggage from the Piraeus. They were introduced by Logotheti to the Voivode (paying the customary 12 piastres to the Voivode's cafetier and servants) and to the Disdar on the Acropolis, where their gratuities amounted to 14 piastres. Three more horses brought up the supply of plaster which the formatori had brought with them, and preparations were begun to erect a scaffold for moulding the sculptures of the Theseum. It was necessary, however, to obtain a part of the timber from the island of Hydra. The formatori were able to begin work on August 7, and the scaffolding was completed two days later.¹⁴

We learn from a letter of Lusieri to his friend Piale, a printseller at Rome, that he was still at Pera on August 20. Not long after he also must have left for Athens.

The Athens of 1800, the destined scene of Lusieri's activities, was a small and squalid town. It occupied an area immediately to the north and east of the Acropolis, whose boundaries can still be distinguished by the pedestrian tourist, or on inspection of a modern map, by the narrowness and intricacy of its streets and lanes. It was not yet pierced by the two chief thoroughfares, known by the names of Hermes and Aiolos respectively, which were among the earliest works of the Bavarian engineers of the new kingdom. The present Constitution Square and the Palace Garden were an accidental clear space on the borders of the town. A Turkish wall, some ten feet high and having six gates, enclosed the whole of the town, the Temple of Theseus and the Acropolis. In its then form it dated from 1780, and its principal purpose had been to protect the inhabitants from the incursion of pirates and robbers. Between the houses and the town walls was a wide pomoerium, described by Hobhouse as an open space between the walls and the city, one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards in breadth, laid out in corn grounds, while other parts served as gardens, attached to some of the principal houses. In Fig. 4 a part of the careful plan of Athens, made by Lusieri's chief rival, Fauvel, is reproduced.¹⁵

The number of houses in Athens was supposed to be between twelve

¹³ Lord Elgin's evidence, *Report*, p. 33.

¹⁴ Logotheti to Elgin, Aug. 13, Sept. 16, 1800.

¹⁵ Hobhouse, *Travels*, i. 293. Walpole's

Memoirs, i. p. 481. The plan in Walpole, here reproduced, is taken from that in Olivier's *Voyage*, Atlas Pl. 49. Olivier received it from Fauvel in June, 1798. (*Voyage* III. p. 517.)

and thirteen hundred; of these about four hundred were inhabited by Turks, the remainder by Greeks and Albanians, the latter of whom occupied about three hundred houses. There were also seven or eight Frank families, under the protection of the French Consul. None of the houses were well built or

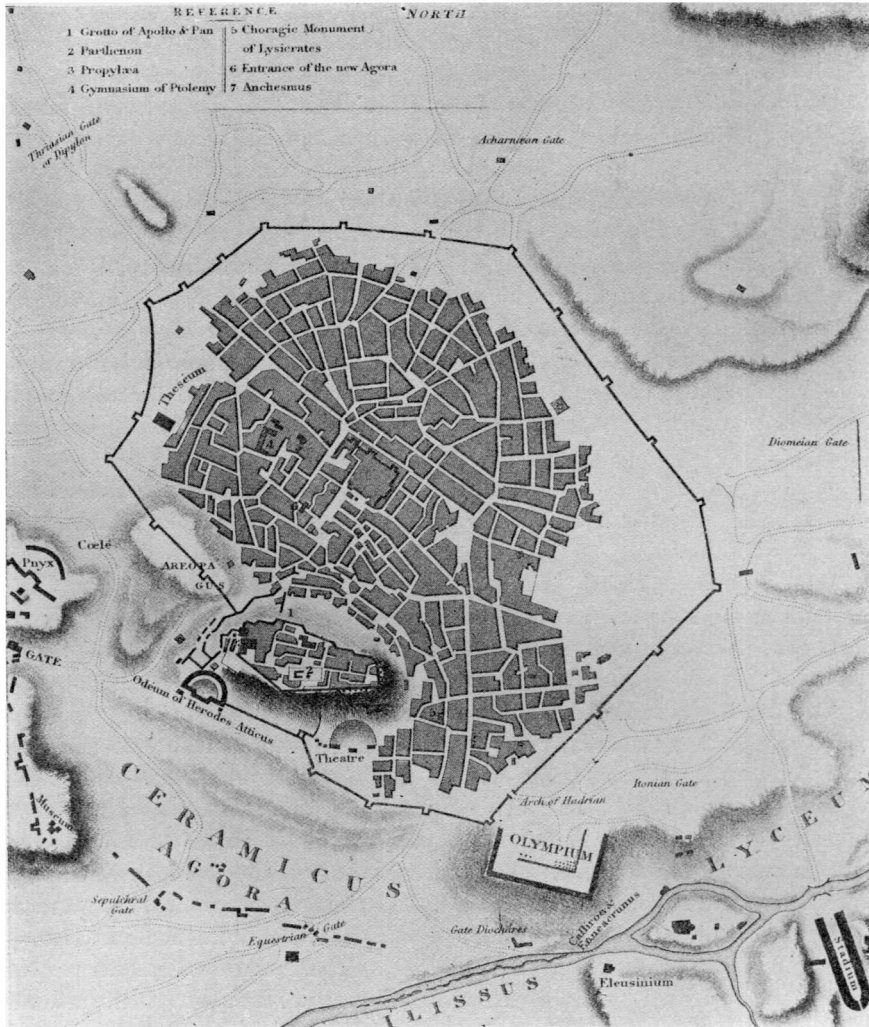


FIG. 4.—PLAN OF ATHENS, ABOUT 1798 A.D. (After Fauvel.)

commodious, and the streets were all narrow and irregular. Hotels, of course, were as yet undreamt of. Even in 1810 Hobhouse¹⁶ writes of a scheme to provide Athens with a tavern, 'a novelty surely never before witnessed at Athens,' as if it were a daring venture. The Frank traveller either hired a

¹⁶ Hobhouse, i. p. 302.

house, or enjoyed (for a consideration) the hospitality of some resident, such as Logotheti, the British Agent, described as ὁ μεγαλοπρεπέστερος, συνετώτερος καὶ πολιτικώτερος μεταξύ τῶν προκρίτων τῶν Ἀθηνῶν (*Hestia*, xxvi. p. 683), or Theodora Macri, the daughter of his predecessor in office. Rooms could also be hired at the Capuchin Monastery which stood for western civilisation. It possessed a pleasant garden, and incorporated in its buildings the choragic Monument of Lysicrates, the interior of which served the superior as a book closet and library.¹⁷

The Turkish inhabitants of the town—so at least the traveller liked to fancy—were of a more amiable disposition than elsewhere. At Athens, writes Hobhouse,¹⁸ you ‘perceive an agreeable change in the aspect of all around you: the Turk, subdued either by the superior spirit of his subjects, or by the happy influence of a more genial climate, appears to have lost his ferocity, to have conformed to the soil, and to have put on a new character, ornamented by the virtues of humanity, kindness, and an easy affability, to which he attains in no other quarter of the Mahometan world.’ Of the Greeks, less favourable reports are given. ‘The character of the modern [Greek] inhabitants of this town does not rank high amongst their countrymen, and the proverb which is to be seen in Gibbon I heard quoted against them in their own city—‘As bad as the Turks of Negroponte, the Jews of Salonica, and the Greeks of Athens.’¹⁹

As regards its government, Athens had enjoyed since the middle of the 17th century the ignominious but powerful patronage of the Kisklar Aga, or chief of the Sultan’s black eunuchs, and its chief officer, the Voivode, was his nominee. The chief military officer was the Disdar, or commandant of the citadel, who in that capacity regulated the access of strangers to the Acropolis, and lived within its walls.

‘The only houses,’ says Dodwell,²⁰ speaking of the buildings on the Acropolis, ‘which may rank above cottages, are those of the Disdar and of his lieutenant, the Assap-Agha. The others are miserable huts for the few soldiers of the garrison, and as the stones are united only with mud and earth, instead of mortar, the walls are continually falling; and a heavy rain makes nearly as much havoc amongst the Athenian cottages as fire or an earthquake in other countries.

‘The fortress is only calculated to keep the town in awe, which however is never necessary; there are but few cannons, most of which are dismounted. . . . There are few trees within the citadel, and those are of small size, consisting of some cypresses, two or three palms and some fig trees. The Disdar has a garden of very moderate dimensions containing some flowers and vines.’

By a tradition of long standing the Disdar was in a position to exact an exorbitant toll from the curious traveller and artist. The Marquis de Nointel, one hundred and thirty years before, had bought admission for his draughtsman with six ells of scarlet cloth and a gift of coffee—a donation very similar to that made by Sir Richard Worsley in 1785, ‘a present of a few yards of broadcloth to the wife of the Disdar.’²¹ Hobhouse obtained his admission

¹⁷ Hobhouse, i. p. 301; Dodwell, *Tour*, i. p. 290.

¹⁸ Hobhouse, i. p. 289.

¹⁹ Hobhouse, i. p. 298.

²⁰ Dodwell, *Tour*, i. p. 358.

²¹ A. H. Smith, *Yarb. Cal.*, p. 2.

for 'the usual present of tea and sugar.'²² Dodwell speaks of fees amounting in all to eighty or a hundred Turkish piastres. He was, however, greatly troubled by the bad faith of the Disdar, until he succeeded in stopping the importunities of that official by threatening him with the magic powers of his camera obscura.²³

He . . . looked into the camera obscura with a kind of cautious diffidence, and at that moment some of his soldiers happening to pass before the reflecting glass, were beheld by the astonished Disdar walking upon the paper : he now became outrageous ; and after calling me pig, devil, and Buonaparte, he told me that, if I chose, I might take away the temple and all the stones in the citadel ; but that he would never permit me to conjure his soldiers into my box. When I found that it was in vain to reason with his ignorance, I changed my tone, and told him that if he did not leave me unmolested, I would put *him* into my box ; and that he should find it a very difficult matter to get out again. His alarm was now visible ; he immediately retired, and . . . never afterwards gave me any further molestation.

No doubt the fee varied with the supposed ability of the travellers. Lord Elgin's draughtsmen were obliged to pay the monstrous sum of five guineas per day, and Lord Elgin speaks of it in his evidence before the Committee as a not unusual charge.

The chief buildings at Athens, about which Lusieri's operations turned, were not many in number.

On the Acropolis or citadel, the principal monument was the Parthenon, or temple of the Virgin Goddess Athena. It had been built at the crowning period of the glory of Athens (between 447 and 431 B.C.) during the administration of Pericles, and under the direction of Ictinos, the architect, and Pheidias, the sculptor. Its sculpture consisted firstly of groups in the round in the gables or pediments. In each case only a sorry remnant was left at the end of the eighteenth century in comparison with the original composition, yet such as they are they form the noblest group of ancient sculptures that time has left. Secondly, there were the square panels sculptured in high relief, the metopes, on the external order. Finally, there was the incomparable frieze, with the scene of the Panathenaic procession, which surrounded the central chamber. From the fall of Paganism to the Turkish conquest, the Parthenon had served as a church of the Virgin Mary. From the Turkish conquest onwards it had been a mosque. Its chief catastrophe had taken place in 1687 at the time of a Venetian siege, when the centre of the building was destroyed by a powder explosion. In Lord Elgin's time a small makeshift mosque was irregularly built on a part of the temple floor.

The other chief building on the Acropolis was the Erechtheum. This is a curiously complex group of sanctuaries incorporated in a single building of about 400 B.C. of great refinement and beauty. In the 18th century it served as the house of the Disdar.

The Propylaea were the famous gateways and approaches to the Acropolis. On a projecting bastion of the Propylaea the temple of Wingless

²² Hobhouse, i. p. 292.

²³ Dodwell, i. 294.

Victory (Athena Nike, or Nike Apteros) had once stood. It had been pulled down and its foundations had been incorporated in the Turkish works in the course of the preparations to resist the Venetian attack in 1687. Some of the slabs of its frieze were built into the walls of the Propylaea. The temple was reconstructed in its original position in 1835.

In the lower town the Theseum was a Doric temple, which had survived in excellent state as a church. Its sculptures consisted of metopes on and adjoining to the eastern end, and a frieze in high relief at each end of the temple.

The little monument dedicated by Lysicrates in honour of a musical victory has been already mentioned as incorporated with the buildings of the Capuchin Monastery. This list of course does not exhaust the monuments of Athens, but it includes those which appear most frequently in the course of the correspondence.

PART II.

Lord Elgin in the East.

No letters survive from Lusieri describing the opening of the campaign at Athens, but some details may be gleaned from the letters of Logotheti.

In September he wrote to Lord Elgin²⁴: 'With reference to the Temple of Minerva, your Excellency must be aware that, inasmuch as Turkish families live round it, when the scaffoldings are made all the Turkish houses and courts will be in view, and since they are very particular on that point we shall meet with difficulties.'²⁵ A letter was therefore needed, addressed to the Voivode, and commending the artists and Logotheti. This letter, accompanied by 100 piastres to the Disdar, and another hundred to the neighbouring Turks would serve. In February²⁶ he reported that he had arranged without the aid of the firman for the artists to get admission to the fortress. There had, however, just been a change of Voivode, and it would therefore still be desirable to have the firman. In March,²⁷ work was still going on, but a powerful letter of recommendation was much to be desired.

With this we may compare the account given by Lord Elgin²⁸ to the Select Committee.

For several months [my artists] 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

²⁴ Logotheti to Elgin, Sept. 10, 1800.

²⁵ This had been the experience of Chandler's Dilettanti expedition of 1765. Mr. Pars [the artist] generally had his post 'on the architrave of the colonnade, many feet from the ground, where he was exposed to gusts of wind, and to accidents in passing to and fro. Several of the Turks murmured, and some

threatened, because he overlooked their houses; obliging them to confine or remove the women, to prevent their being seen from that exalted station.' Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, 3rd ed. ii. p. 58.

²⁶ Logotheti to Elgin, Feb. 7, 1801.

²⁷ Logotheti to Elgin, March 15, 1801.

²⁸ *Report*, p. 33.

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.

The formatori were doubtless employed during this first period on the casts of the two friezes and three metopes of the Temple of Theseus, and the frieze of the Monument of Lysicrates, now in the British Museum. They would be able to make arrangements with the authorities of the Capuchin Monastery and of the Church of St. George (for the Theseum had been dedicated to the service of the saint) without being exposed to the exactions of the Disdar.

In the spring of 1801 Lusieri paid a visit to Constantinople, presumably to report progress and to consult with Lord Elgin.

On that visit he would have become aware of the beginnings of the collection of marbles. At some date between Lord Elgin's arrival and Hunt's tour in March, 1801, Lord Elgin had become possessed, by the favour of the Sultan and the Capitan Pasha, of two noted monuments from the Church of St. George at Cape Sigeum.

On the left of the door of the village church was the base with a relief of mothers and babies²⁹ placed as a seat; on the right was a low seat, consisting of the famous *boustrophedon* inscription. The relief had been seen and coveted by many travellers. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu³⁰ could have had it for a trifling sum in 1718, but the captain assured her he had neither gear nor a longboat, so her only acquisition was the important Sigeian inscription (*C.I.G.* 3595) relating to Antiochus, now in the collection of Trinity College, Cambridge. Pars drew the relief in 1764, and Sir Richard Worsley visited it in April, 1786. I give an extract from his MS. diary (destroyed by fire at Brocklesby Park).

It has been much injured by the inhabitants of the place to prevent its being taken away, as I was informed by Signor Sabatea, the British Vice-Consul at the Dardanelles, who acquainted me that he had accompanied an English gentleman to the spot, who had bid 400 Venetian sequins for this beautiful fragment. The Governor of the castle had given his consent to the sale and had sent some Turks to assist the gentleman in getting it away, but they met with a violent opposition from the Inhabitants, who immediately began to beat off the heads of four of the figures out of the five,³¹ and defacing the inscription [presumably the *boustrophedon* inscription] alleging that the reason why they would not be prevailed with to part with the fragment was that upon a former occasion they had sold a fragment, and soon after their village was infested with a dreadful plague.

The archaic *boustrophedon* inscription (*B.M.Inscr.* No. 1002) had been first found by Sherard at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was seen by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (whose husband, as might be expected, found the reading too difficult for him) and discussed by Bentley. During the century the inscription was fast becoming illegible, and when Chandler³² saw it in 1764, he

²⁹ *B.M.Sculpt.*, No. 789.

³⁰ Letter of July 31, 1718.

³¹ If the story is true the mutilation took

place before 1764.

³² Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor*, p. 39.

copied these inscriptions very carefully, and not without deep regret, that a stone so singularly curious, which has preserved to us a specimen of writing antiquated above two thousand years ago, should be suffered to lie so neglected and exposed. Above half a century has elapsed since it was first discovered, and it still remains in the open air, a seat for the Greeks, destitute of a patron to rescue it from barbarism, and obtain its removal into the safer custody of some private museum ; or, which is rather to be desired, some public repository.

These two important pieces were now in safe custody and formed the nucleus of the Elgin Collection. When Dr. Hunt visited the church at Sigeum in the course of the tour described below, a Greek priest lamented that the stones had been removed by English soldiers (then employed on the improvement of the Dardanelles defences) by the authority of the governor and the Sultan, as a gift to the Ambassador.

The sighs and tears with which the Greek Priest accompanied his story did not, however, arise from any veneration he bore to the antiquity of these marbles, from any knowledge of their remote history, or any supposed relation they bore to the tale of Troy divine, but because, as he told us, his flock had thus lost an infallible remedy for many obstinate maladies. To explain this, it may be necessary to mention, that during the winter and spring, a considerable part of the neighbouring plain is overflowed, thus afflicting the inhabitants with agues ; and such is the state of superstition at present among the Greek Christians, that when any disease becomes chronic, or beyond the reach of common remedies, it is attributed to daemoniackal possession. The Papas or priest is then called in to exorcise the patient, which he generally does in the porch of the church, by reading long portions of Scripture over the sufferer ; sometimes, indeed, the whole of the four gospels. In addition to this, at Yenicher, the custom was to roll the patient on the marble stone which contained the Sigean inscription, the characters of which never having been decyphered by any of their *Διδάσκαλοι*, were supposed to contain a powerful charm. This practice had, however, nearly obliterated the inscription.³³

That the last statement is no exaggeration will be admitted by anyone who compares the stone as it is to-day with the early readings.³⁴

No records survive as to what passed at Constantinople, but Lusieri can hardly fail to have been made acquainted with these striking acquisitions, and to have become aware of Lord Elgin's enthusiasm as a collector. He left Constantinople for Athens early in March, taking passage in a Turkish cruiser. He was accompanied by the two Cambridge travellers, E. D. Clarke, and J. M. Cripps, his pupil and companion, and also by the artist, M. F. Preaux. A firman of some sort seems to have been obtained and forwarded to Logotheti,³⁵ but it failed to reach him for a long time, and turned out to be an illusory document.³⁶ Lusieri also carried with him a circular letter, dated February 26, from the Ambassador, addressed to the 'Consuls, Vice-Consuls and Britannic agents in the Levant,' asking for their good offices. Dr. Philip Hunt and Dr. Carlyle also left Constantinople on March 3, 1801, which was about the same date as that of Lusieri's departure. Hunt was the Embassy Chaplain, and, as will be seen later, an active supporter of Lord Elgin's undertakings. Dr. Carlyle was Professor of Arabic in the University

³³ Hunt in Walpole's *Memoirs*, i. p. 97.

³⁴ See *B.M. Inscr.* No. 1002.

³⁵ Lusieri to Elgin, May 16, 1801.

³⁶ Hunt in *Report*, p. 140.

of Cambridge. He had been attached to Lord Elgin's Mission by the Government in order to investigate the supposed existence of unexplored literary treasures in Turkey.³⁷ The manuscripts purchased during Carlyle's stay in Constantinople are now in the Lambeth Library. His own Journal at Athos is in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 27, 604; cf. Hasluck, *B.S.A.* xii. p. 207). His health had suffered much during his residence in Turkey, and he felt himself unable to venture alone upon a journey to Macedonia to examine the libraries of Mount Athos, and he therefore applied to Lord Elgin for Hunt's company.

They were going, Carlyle wrote³⁸ (Feb. 29th [*sic*], 1801), to 'Mount Athos, in order to examine the libraries in the different Greek convents there; and as we go with every recommendation that we could wish, perhaps we may not be less successful in the acquirement of MSS. at the holy mountain than in other places of the same description. From Athos, we mean to go to Salonica; and from thence, if possible, to the monasteries on the Peneus. We shall then proceed, by the most celebrated spots of Thessaly, Doris, Phocis, and Boeotia, to Attica and Athens: from thence I shall cross the Isthmus to Patras; and so get *home*, either by Malta or Trieste, by sea or by land, as circumstances may admit.'

The two travellers elected to go by sea, in order to have an opportunity of visiting the Plain of Troy, Tenedos, and Lemnos. On March 3 they left Constantinople for the Dardanelles. Meeting unfavourable winds at the mouth of the Hellespont, they determined to land at Camaris or Kamir (Parium) and make for the Dardanelles by road. Hunt wrote reports of the journey to Lord Elgin, but as his journals have been printed (*Walpole, Memoirs*, i. p. 84) it is not necessary to dwell on the incidents of the tour.

They went on together to Mount Athos and both have printed their impressions.³⁹ They proceeded by way of Tenedos and Lemnos. Between Lemnos and Athos they were exposed to a very severe storm which they had reason to believe proved fatal to several vessels that had quitted Lemnos in their company. Most of April was spent in Mount Athos, and on the 27th the travellers were at Salonica, intending to start the next day for Athens. The unsettled state of the country made it advisable to take a sea route, but that also, Hunt wrote,⁴⁰ was 'not over secure, as most of the bays swarm with pirates, from whom we have already had two very narrow escapes, but as our vessel is of a pretty large size I trust we shall not be exposed to any real danger.' They appear to have been buffeted by further storms off Athos, after which they stopped for rest at Andros. After an unsuccessful attempt to reach Delos, they landed at Sunium only on their voyage to Athens.

To return to Lusieri, of whose departure from Constantinople we have heard above, he had made good use of his time in the Troad. On March 11 he wrote to Lord Elgin from Cos describing the course of the voyage to that point.⁴¹

On the second day the cruiser reached the Dardanelles and there cast

³⁷ Hunt in *Walpole's Memoirs*, i. p. 84.

³⁸ Carlyle to the Bishop of Lincoln, in *Walpole's Memoirs*, i. 177.

³⁹ *Walpole Memoirs*, i. 194, 198.

⁴⁰ Hunt to Elgin, May 22, 1801.

⁴¹ Lusieri to Elgin, March 11, 1800.

anchor to enable the party to visit the Troad. They viewed the accepted landmarks such as the tombs of Achilles and Ajax, but Lusieri was recalled on the morning of the fourth day to the cruiser. Clarke and Cripps continued their explorations for another ten days.

There seems to have been some friction and jealousy between the two parties of travellers, going over the same ground at the same time. Hunt wrote to Lord Elgin (March 22, 1801)—‘Clarke and Cripps seem to have done very little, and to have omitted many interesting spots in the tour.’ Clarke, on the other hand, wrote to Hamilton (March 24, 1801) in bitter terms—‘Thus you see how evident is the Effect of that Jealousy, which marked all their conduct to us, and which every Family in Pera noticed. It is the more remarkable as we thought they had too high an opinion of their own Talents to harbour Jealousy, for the Pursuits of any other Traveller,’ and so on.

The Elgin portfolios at the British Museum contain some characteristic views of the scenery of the Troad, which were made on the occasion of this tour by Michel François Preaux, to whom they have already been conjecturally attributed by Mr. F. W. Hasluck.⁴² ‘Preaux,’ Clarke wrote in the letter quoted above, ‘has made no less than forty drawings.’

Owing to contrary winds the cruiser in which Lusieri was making his passage was delayed, and on March 11 the party were at Scio. The unfavourable winds here caused a month’s delay, and it was not till April that Lusieri could write to Lord Elgin and to Hamilton that he was on the point of starting for Athens. To the latter he wrote⁴³—

Here I am at Myconos, after running the risk of drowning, crossing here from Patmos, in my hurry to get quickly to Athens. My bed, myself, and all my effects were entirely immersed, but the paper which was packed up with every possible precaution has not suffered at all. . . . Two sailors, from the region of Jaffa, who died just lately of plague, have not only put the inhabitants into a state of panic, but have hindered all business, even to the point of going out of doors.

The wind having suddenly become favourable he was starting to Athens that day. Athens was duly reached on April 15, and Lusieri⁴⁴ reported to Lord Elgin that he had found the company in good health, and was well satisfied with the quality of their work. The architects had finished measuring all that there was on the Acropolis and the best of what was in the town. He proposed to set them to measure all that remained in the town after they had finished their elevations of the most remarkable monuments. There had, however, been a change for the worse.

The Formatori were ready to begin work on the Temple of Minerva, in the citadel, when the commandant prevented their going on. The same cause prevents Feodor from drawing the bas-reliefs of the same temple, the architects from making new observations, and myself from taking views. That is because they lack the necessary firman for that purpose, which your Excellency sent to Signor Logotheti before my departure, and which he has never received. Everything that has been done up till

⁴² *Ann. of Brit. School at Athens*, xviii. p. 277.

⁴³ Lusieri to Hamilton, April 7, 1801.

⁴⁴ Lusieri to Elgin, May 16, 1801.

now in the citadel has been by means of presents to the Disdar, who is the commandant. He, however, has been threatened by the Cadi and Voivode if he should continue to admit us to the fortress, and has just told us that henceforth it was impossible for us to work there without a firman. I therefore beg your Excellency to have one sent to us as soon as possible, drawn up in such terms as to prevent us meeting with new difficulties in resuming and peaceably continuing our work. I also require one of the same effect in case I shall go elsewhere. In the mean time I am setting the formatori to work again at the Temple of Theseus, where they had suspended operations in order to go to the Acropolis. The necessity of watching over these gentlemen, who when they were left to themselves have not worked as they might have done, obliges me to stay here until they shall have finished. So many monuments and points of view equally interesting for their history and for their beauty will take all my attention, and I have made a beginning to colour them after nature. Good example has already begun to produce its effect, which gives me the greatest pleasure, and emulation will soon do still more.

Lusieri further reported the arrival of Mr. Nisbet, Lord Elgin's father-in-law, with Mrs. Nisbet. His letter is dated from the French Capuchin Monastery, already mentioned. He remarks that the Monastery contained a quantity of ancient sculptures hidden underground and in a chamber, these being French property.

Such was the position of affairs when Hunt and Carlyle reached Athens from Mount Athos, their arrival being briefly reported in Lusieri's letter of May 16.

A few days later Hunt⁴⁵ wrote his impressions to Lord Elgin. In the company of the Nisbets he had been able to visit the sights of Athens under favourable conditions.

They were so kind as to include Mr. Carlyle and myself in all their parties; and I am convinced that no Travellers have spent a short period on this classic soil, with more external advantages. Mr. Nisbet's connexion with your Lordship opened to us the gates of the Acropolis and every recess of the superb buildings it contains; and guided by so able a Cicerone as Lusieri, as well as by the local knowledge which your Lordship's Architects and Modellers now possess, the Athens of Pericles seemed to rise before me in all its pristine beauty.

The usual excursions were also made in the neighbourhood. Hunt and Carlyle had visited the Plain of Marathon, and had compared the site with the accounts of Herodotus and Pausanias. They had also visited the cave of Pan, Cephissia, Eleusis and Megara. Mr. Nisbet had meanwhile been engaged in procuring some porphyry from the citadel and a marble seat.

The Archbishop of Athens has given Mr. Nisbet out of the Metropolitan Church, [elsewhere 'from the Metropolitan Palace here'] an ancient Marble Throne, on which the Gymnasiarch sate at the Public Games. It has bas-reliefs of the Sacred Olive the Owl of Minerva, the Victor's Garland, the Vase of consecrated oil, a Tripod &c. The weight of it will make its transportation to the Piræus difficult.

The throne in question is well known to archaeologists from the old illustrations, although the original has been lost sight of. It is, however, as explained above, p. 164, at Biel, East Lothian, in the possession of Mrs. Nisbet Hamilton Ogilvy, the great-granddaughter of the Mr. Nisbet, to whom

⁴⁵ Hunt to Elgin, May 22, 1801.

the gift was made by the Archbishop. By her kind permission an illustration of the chair is given below (Fig. 5.)

It is a spacious seat, with voluted arms, each supported by an owl. The outer side, to the spectator's right, is plain. On the left, there is a relief of a four-legged agonistic table, designed to hold the prizes of victory in the games. This must be Hunt's 'Tripod.' We see the front sides of the two near legs, and the back sides of the two far legs, that on the left being very indistinct in the illustration. The edge of the table is decorated with overlapping leaves or scales. Beside the table is an olive tree, and upon it are three wreaths, and the amphora of oil, with a spray of olive (?). Below are three palm leaves in sunk relief.



FIG. 5.—MARBLE CHAIR AT BIEL.

This is no doubt one of the chairs engraved in Stuart and Revett iii. chap. iii. (beginning)⁴⁶ or chap. iv. (end). The editors speak of three different chairs. From the illustrations it would not be easy to determine whether we have three different chairs, or one chair, carelessly drawn, seen from the front and the two sides. It is stated, however, by Revett, as quoted by Reveley (Stuart, 2nd ed. iii. p. 92)

that one of the chairs mentioned in this page from its form, wider at the back than in front, shews that it was the outer chair of a circular exhedra: one side is as here represented, but the opposite one is plain, and it was evidently joined by others, which from their situation must have had both their sides the same, that is, plain.

⁴⁶ Compare also Michaelis, *Parthenon*, p. 29, *Der Stil*. ii. p. 270. It is also given, in for the first of the above, taken from Semper, Darenberg, Fig. 1334.

Our chair, being carved only on the left side, seems to correspond best with the first example, Stuart and Revett iii. chap. iii. leading vignette, left. Cf. text *ibid.* 'two ancient chairs, one of which is in the Metoxi of St. Cyriani near the Vescovato, or residence of the bishop.'

The breaking away of the upper volutes would account for the loose treatment of the arms in the vignette. It should, however, be remarked that the spreading bases on which the owls stand correspond better with the engraving *ibid.* chap. iv. end.

The agonistic table was an elaborate piece of ceremonial furniture. At Athens, Michaelis identifies it with the ivory table, *τράπεζα ἠλεφαντωμένη* of the Parthenon treasure-lists (*J.G.* i. 173, l. 9). At Olympia it was a piece of gold and ivory work by Kolotes (*Paus.* v. 20. 1). It became a favourite subject for representation on imperial coins of Athens, Corinth, Delphi, and many towns of Asia Minor. Our chair seems also to be a work of the early empire.

Carlyle, Hunt reported, had left on that day with the Nisbets for Malta, and he himself was about to start on the following day in a small caique for Tenos, whence he hoped to find an immediate opportunity of going on to Constantinople.

Having thus described the movements of the party, Hunt turns to the prospects of the expedition.

Of the Temples of Minerva, Theseus and Neptune, I can say nothing that would convey an idea of the effect they produce. They must be seen to know what the union of simplicity and beauty is capable of: and after having feasted the eyes with those exquisite specimens of Athenian Architecture, every deviation from them, even the edifices of Rome itself will almost disgust. Lusieri, tho' born on the banks of the Tiber, and attached as he was to the proud remains of the Mistress of the World, is now an Enthusiastic Admirer of the Doric Buildings here, and turns with disgust from the works of Hadrian or Herodes Atticus, and everything on the Roman model.

He is employing his pencil on two general views of Athens, one from the Pnyx, the other from Mount Anchesmus [*i.e.* Lycabettos] which will embrace all the monuments and classic spots of the Citadel and the Town. He has also commenced near views of the Temples of Theseus, Minerva and Pandrosos. Positive Firmans must, however, be obtained from the Porte, to enable the Architects and Modellers to proceed in their most interesting labours. Unfortunately the Temple of Minerva, called the Parthenon, and those of Neptune Erechtheus of Minerva Polias, and Pandrosos, as well as the famous Propylea, are all within the walls of the Acropolis, now a Turkish fortress, garrisoned by mercenary and insolent Janissaries, so that every obstacle which National jealousy and Mohometan bigotry, seconded by French intrigue, could produce, have been too successfully used to interrupt their labours. Till those Firmans are obtained, the bas-reliefs on the frieze, and the Groupes on the Metopes can neither be modelled nor drawn. The architects, therefore, in the mean time, are proceeding to make the elevations and ground plans, from the measures they had taken, and the Calmuc Theodore employs his almost magic pencil in copying such remains of Sculpture as are beyond the walls of the citadel.

Logotheti,⁴⁷ not less than Lusieri and Hunt, was active in urging the need for a firman. We have already seen that he was asking for it during

⁴⁷ Logotheti to Elgin, May 16, 1801.

the winter. In May, however, the difficulties he had clearly foreseen began to be felt, and Logotheti explained more in detail what Hunt had only described in general terms. The artists had finished their plans, and had erected their scaffolding for moulding and drawing, and had just begun a few days before 'when a firman arrived here which advised the governor to keep good watch, and to guard the citadel, because a French fleet has gone out of Brest, and has reached Toulon. He has put new difficulties in the way of the progress of the work on the ruins of the citadel.' Logotheti had endeavoured to meet the difficulty by a formal call, in company with Mr. Nisbet as the Ambassador's kinsman, on the commandant. The latter had promised that such facilities as had been previously granted should be renewed after a few days, but Logotheti still urged the advisability of the firman.

Hunt, as we have seen, proposed to leave Athens to return to Constantinople on May 23, and he would have returned with a conviction, shared by Lusieri and by Logotheti, that a strong firman must be obtained.⁴⁸

Up to this point, no ambitious designs of collecting the marbles had taken shape. Only proposals to draw and mould the sculptures were discussed, and the transport of Mr. Nisbet's marble chair was spoken of by Hunt as a serious undertaking.

'My whole plan,' Lord Elgin said before the Committee,⁴⁹ '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 enquiries, which have been attended since with considerable success.'

A nearer acquaintance, however, with the actual conditions soon began to influence Lord Elgin's mind.⁵⁰

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 . . . 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 anything but my models.

No doubt this change of plan was largely due to Hunt's report of the position of affairs at Athens. In part it took definite shape, as the new firman made its execution possible.

Hunt must have reached Constantinople early in June, and there he could urge by word of mouth the case for an extended firman. A

⁴⁸ Cf. Hunt's evidence, *Report*, p. 140.

⁴⁹ *Report*, p. 40.

⁵⁰ *Report*, p. 40.

written memorandum is of interest showing the points which Hunt considered of importance.

PERA, July 1, 1801. Mr. Hunt recommends that a Ferman should be procured from the Porte, addressed to the Voivode and Cadi of Athens, as well as to the Disdar, or Governor of the Citadel; stating that the Artists are in the service of the British Ambassador Extraordinary, and that they are to have not only permission, but protection in the following objects:—

(1) To enter freely within the walls of the Citadel, and to draw and model with plaster the Ancient Temples there.

(2) to erect scaffolding, and to dig where they may wish to discover the ancient foundations.

(3) liberty to take away any sculptures or inscriptions which do not interfere with the works or walls of the Citadel.

PHILIP HUNT.

The exception suggested in the last clause was obviously directed towards possible military scruples of the Turkish authorities rather than to any question as to the artistic propriety of the operations.

No records exist as to any negotiations with the Porte. Such affairs, according to Lord Elgin's evidence, were entirely verbal. 'There was nothing in writing till an order was issued.'⁵¹ Hunt, according to his evidence before the Committee,⁵² advised Lord Elgin to apply to the Porte for a firman '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.'

The terms of the new firman are published in the report of the Select Committee and elsewhere. It is in two parts, firstly reciting the prayer of the petitioner, and secondly granting it, point by point. The purport of the whole is sufficiently summarised in the evidence of Dr. Hunt.

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.

The last clause of the prayer runs '*when they wish to take away any pieces of stone with old inscriptions or figures thereon, that no opposition be made thereto.*'

The final words of the operative part of the firman,⁵³ as translated from the Italian version, are:—

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

⁵¹ Report, p. 40.

⁵² Report, p. 141.

⁵³ Report, p. xxvi.

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* (qualche pezzi di pietra) *with inscriptions* or figures. In the above-mentioned manner, see that ye demean and comport yourselves.

(Signed with a signet.)

SEGED ABDULLAH KAIMACAN.

Such was the tenor of the fateful firman. We have it on the authority of Lord Elgin⁵⁴ that the general state of political relations was an important consideration attending its issue.

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 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.⁵⁵

Lord Elgin's views at this stage are fully set forth in a letter to Lusieri of instructions which are of sufficient interest to be printed at length.⁵⁶

SIR,

Your letter of May 16th and the news which Mr. Hunt has brought us from Athens, have received my most serious attention. I have indeed felt how precious the moment is, what advantages there are to be gained or lost.

Mr. Hunt will tell you how much we have thought about the means of coming to your help, and will show you better than I can describe the proofs of the efficacious measures that we have taken—I refer to him for all the details.

When you have heard about the matter, you will feel the importance of taking all possible advantages from it. The first aim is to finish the great work well, the ensemble with which you are all busy, and I dare to flatter myself that by the means which we now have, there will be nothing that will not be brought to a satisfactory conclusion.

The progress already effected makes observations from me unnecessary as to the course to be followed. Perhaps there will be some doubt about the number of objects that you ought to undertake personally—But that will depend partly upon what others undertake and the different considerations that Mr. Hunt's journey will suggest to you.

Besides the general work (by which I mean that which had been begun at the departure of Mr. Hunt) it would be very essential that the *Formatori* should be able to take away exact models of the little ornaments, or detached pieces if any are found, which would be interesting for the Arts. The very great variety in our manufactures, in objects either of elegance or luxury, offers a thousand applications for such details. A chair, a footstool, designs or shapes for porcelain, ornaments for cornices, nothing is indifferent, and whether it be in painting or a model, exact representations of such things would be much to be desired.

⁵⁴ *Report*, p. 33.

⁵⁵ *Report*, p. 40.

⁵⁶ Elgin to Lusieri, July 10, 1801.

Besides, you have now the permission to dig, and there a great field is opened for medals, and for the remains both of sculpture and architecture. Your zeal will be kindled, I am sure, at this occasion of doing me such essential a service, as the making use of this opportunity affords; and the permission being as extraordinary as the circumstances which procured it are precarious, I charge you to take every care, and to make them work well, and carry on our undertaking in every way that you shall think useful.

The journey that Mr. Hunt is undertaking offers a field for your talent and taste that has never before been offered to any artist. The places he is going to visit, the support he will have everywhere, his zeal, his intelligence, and his knowledge being all equally favourable, promise a most happy end to this excursion. I hope that in going through these classic scenes in this manner you will see exactly what there is; and everywhere where you have not leisure for what you think interesting, you will be able easily to take measures for going back, either alone, or with some of the artists to finish the work.

Balestra has with him several drawings of my house in Scotland, and some plans of the site on which it is intended to build here. As regards the latter, it would be necessary to me to have them by the first opportunity. The plans for my house in Scotland should be known to you. This building is a subject that occupies me greatly, and offers me the means of placing, in a useful, distinguished and agreeable way, the various things that you may perhaps be able to procure for me.

The Hall is intended to be adorned with columns—the cellars underneath are vaulted expressly for this.

Would it then be better to get some white columns worked in this country, in order to send them by sea to my house? Or to look out for some different kinds of marble that could be collected together in course of time, and decorate the hall (in the manner of the great Church at Palermo) with columns all different one from another, and all of fine marble—supplementing them with agates and other rare marbles which are found in Sicily, and which are worked in small pieces?

I am inclined towards the latter plan. If each column was different, and each beautiful, I should think that the effect would be admirable, but perhaps better if there were two of each kind.

In either case I should wish to collect as much marble as possible. I have other places in my house which need it, and besides, one can easily multiply ornaments of beautiful marble without overdoing it; and nothing, truly, is so beautiful and also independent of changes of fashion.

These reflexions only apply to unworked marble. You do not need any prompting from me to know the value that is attached to a sculptured marble, or historic piece.

Farewell, Sir, keep well, and be assured of my esteem and respect.

ELGIN.

14th July.

P.S. I have just received your letter from Myconos. It has not hurried.

The letters which Mr. Hunt brings, and the advantages that he happens to have, are such that I beg you very urgently to make the trip with him, in the way that I have proposed in this letter. Everything makes me set great store by this expedition.

The firman had to be conveyed to Athens, and in the ordinary course would no doubt have been entrusted to some courier or ship-captain. It chanced, however, that the political position made it desirable that Hunt should return once more to Athens as mentioned above. The nature of his mission is explained in a letter from him to Hamilton⁵⁷ who was at that moment on a special errand in Egypt. After giving general news, he notes

⁵⁷ Hunt to Hamilton, July 8, 1801.

that the appointment of Mr. Straton to be Secretary of Embassy at Constantinople may enable Lord Elgin to visit Greece and elsewhere; that the Nisbets and Carlyle were detained in the Lazaretto at Malta ('we have not yet had any letters from them, tho' they sent us a most agreeable *souvenir* of N. Wiltshire cheeses'); that a characteristic quarrel had disturbed the diplomatic atmosphere of Pera—

D'Arrest the Prussian Secretary in his Cabriolet with Lagus, happened the other evening to meet your friend Frotté in a narrow lane and on horseback, near the Aqueduct between here and Boyukdere. Obstinacy in one of the parties, or perhaps both, brought the wheel in contact with the young Frenchman's horse; this led to an altercation and insulting language on the Quay, when the grand Monde was coming out of the Internuncio's—this was followed by a challenge from Frotté—a refusal to accept it from D'Arrest—appeals to Lord Elgin, and M. Knobelsdorff, etc. etc. At last the Prussian Minister presented a Memorial to the Porte, requesting them to punish Frotté, as an officer in their service, who had the audacity to disturb the peace of the Diplomatic Circle of Pera. To prevent any further continuation of this unpleasant business Frotté goes with letters to England from Lord Elgin. The quarrel I suspect originates in some old jealousy about our English Heiress, whom Clarke is coming to take from both these combatants . . . etc.⁵⁸

Hunt then proceeds to inform his correspondent as to the essential matter.

I have now no news, either foreign or domestic, to add to this farrago, except what you must open all your eyes and ears to attend to—it is that my Reverend Self am about to set out from hence as a kind of Diplomatian, to the Morea, Albania, and such other parts of European Turkey as we have certain information are menaced by Bonaparte. . . . Chabert was to have accompanied me—his manners, his knowledge of the Turks, and his acquaintance with the Ambassador's views, made me anticipate much from him as a colleague. Unfortunately the prospect of meeting French Invaders—apprehensions of the bad air of the Morea—or the idea of separation from the comforts and the intrigues of Pera, made him renounce the voyage, after the Ship was hired, the Firmans obtained, and every arrangement made. . . .

After enumerating the staff in attendance (a dragoman, the Greek servant who had accompanied John Hawkins, of Bignor Park, through Greece and the Morea, his own servant, one of Lord Elgin's Janissaries, 'and a *Mou Basheer*⁵⁹ from the Porte, who has been assigned me as a kind of *ad hoc* man, to see that the contents of the firman are obeyed') Hunt describes the letters with which he was provided, and goes on to explain the nature of his mission.

With such means I feel I ought to do a great deal; but it is too late for me to begin the study of Machiavel, had I even the wish. However, as my errand is not of an intriguing nature, I trust a plain tale may be told, and fair business executed, without need of finesse. The object of my Mission is, to create an impression in favour of our views, and of our power: to state to the different Agents of Government in the Morea, Albania, &c. what we have done, and what we are capable of doing, to protect Turkey

⁵⁸ In the Windham papers a letter of Lord Elgin's (Sept. 3, 1801) refers to Frotté as 'a young man who had served with distinction on board the *Tigre*' and whose 'departure had been hastened by an incident in which he

behaved very handsomely' (*Br. Mus. Add. MSS.* 37, 880, fo. 145).

⁵⁹ Mubâshir, a government commissary or agent.

against Foreign Invasion, to repress the rebellious, and encourage the faithful and Loyal subjects of the Porte—to put them on their guard against the intrigues and misrepresentations, both of French Emissaries, and of those Republicans who have been so incautiously allowed to reside amongst them—to prepare them for affording effectual aid in provisioning our Squadrons that may go into those Seas

On such Classic ground investigations into the remains of Antiquity, and an attempt to procure such as are interesting and portable will naturally come in as a secondary object; and as I shall carry a Ferman to enable our Artists to prosecute without interruption their researches in the Acropolis of Athens, I will take care to see it put properly into execution. When as many of these objects *political and classical* are attained, as I find practicable, I hope to (be) able to proceed to Rhodes, and if your Egyptian Mission be finished about the same time, it is not easy to say what delight I should have in meeting you, that we might compare notes, and return hither together; *philandering*, as we sailed along, from isle to isle in the Aegean. . . . Kutchook Mylord [i.e. 'The little Mylord,' Bruce then fifteen months old] is just recovered from a very sharp attack of fever and Dysentery, and is now doing well. The Duke of York's imprudence in publishing Lord Elgin's *private* letter on the Landing in Egypt &c. in the Gazette has much vexed his Lordship. . . . Lady Elgin in sending her best wishes, bids you not forget to procure her a quantity of the finest Ostrich Plumes.

Hunt started from Constantinople on the mission described above about the middle of July. On the 17th he wrote from the Dardanelles to acquaint Lord Elgin with his progress. At Gallipoli he had seen, but had not been able to acquire, an inscribed column⁶⁰ which stood in a bye street, and was used as a mortar for bruising wheat. 'It contains a long Greek Inscription which I could not with prudence stop to copy in a Crowd where the plague was suspected. The Turkish Mou Bashir applied to the Imaum of the mosque near which it is, and also to the Aga of the Janissaries. They both assured us that the governor alone could permit its removal, and he was too far distant for us to apply to him.' He had, however, been more successful in the purchase of a draped torso, and a small votive tablet⁶¹ dedicated by certain fellow sailors to Apollo of Tarsus as a thank offering. This tablet is now in the Elgin collection. The vessel was being detained for want of gunpowder, 'an article which our captain had unaccountably omitted,' and which it was found to be difficult to extract from the Turkish governor.

From the Dardanelles the voyage to Athens was not altogether without incident.⁶² All went well at first.

The nights were so calm, and the moon so bright that we conversed by turn with all the Ships of our little fleet. Belloli, the two Swedes, and a Neapolitan Priest, made a concert of the French Horn, Clarinet and flutes, as they sailed close alongside. On Tuesday (July 21st) we parted company, the rest of the fleet proceeding to the Adriatic, while we steered towards the Piraeus. Here the wind entirely failed us, and at night it was so dead a calm that there was not even a Steersman at the helm; nor a Sailor on the look out. M. Marcello, happening luckily to go on deck about Midnight saw a latine-sailed vessel rowing towards us, in hopes, I make no doubt, of finding us asleep or at least unprepared. In a moment all was bustle, we cleared for action, distributed Muskets, and concealed ourselves till the vessel came within hail. Our Crew including passengers, amounted to Twenty. The speaking Trumpet was given to me, as English is supposed to have more effect on the nerves of a Maniote than Lingua franca. On

⁶⁰ *Corpus Inscr. Graecarum*, 2012.

No. 59, erroneously assigned to Attica.

⁶¹ *C.I.G.* 495, *Gr. Inscriptions in the B.M.*,

⁶² Hunt to Elgin, July 31, 1801.

receiving no answer we fired a Shot at them, and about two minutes afterwards a cannon charged with Grape. This, rattling about them, produced a reply that they were Hydriotes; and on telling them we suffered neither friend nor foe to come near us at night, they rowed away.

On Wednesday evening, July 22, Hunt reached Athens, and anchored in the outer harbour of the Piraeus. 'About midnight a ship sailed past us on its way to Constantinople. I did not know till the following morning that all the French who had lately been arrested at Athens were on board this vessel, and were going to the Capital, in consequence of a Firman from the Porte.' The French residents at Athens, including Fauvel, who would have been a formidable opponent of Lusieri, had been arrested in the spring of this year by a firman from Constantinople.⁶³

Hunt and his party on landing were received by Logotheti, who made room for the visitors in his own house, since the only other available quarters in the town happened to be occupied by Dodwell and his companions. He found that Lusieri had begun work on the Acropolis about a month previously, but that the artists were paying for the permission, and exposed to continual insult and interruption. Dodwell's party were in the like case. 'Sixty Piastres had been demanded by the Disdar for admitting the English travellers to the Temple of Minerva, and they had suffered some other indignities which had irritated them extremely.' These circumstances moved Hunt to make immediate use of the powers with which he was provided. He had complete authority, granted by the Turkish Government, in gratitude for the military and political aid of Great Britain, but as Lord Elgin stated in his evidence (*Report*, p. 35) '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.' There was, therefore, nothing unusual in the fact that the bearer of a firman was obliged to put pressure of various kinds on the local official.

It must be noted also that the firman was addressed to the Voivode and the Cadi. The Disdar, whose treatment is described below, was their subordinate.

After instructing Raschid Aga, the Mubashir of the Porte (whom we have seen defined above as 'a kind of *ad hoc* man, to see that the contents of the firman are obeyed'), Hunt went with all his train to wait on the Voivode.

Raschid behaved on this occasion with uncommon energy and propriety; he entered completely into your Lordship's views, and the whole of his conduct entitles him to your warmest patronage. When the Voivode had read the letters, and perceived the determined tone with which we spoke, he became submissive in the extremest degree, and assured us he was highly mortified to find that the Disdar had presumed to treat any Englishman with disrespect, or demand money on any pretext. On wishing to see the Disdar's Son, difficulties were started about his being absent; but on declaring my resolution to know really where the blame attached, the poor miscreant came in bare-footed and trembling; attempted to deny the fact complained of by Mr. Dodwell's party; but on my repeating what had happened both to Mr. Nesbitt and myself, the

⁶³ *Revue Archéologique*, 3rd Ser. xxx. p. 196.

Vaivode and Mou Basheer told him he was exiled ; I then interceded for him on promise of his future good conduct, and he was pardoned. The Mou Basheer however hinted to him that as he was young and strong he might find employment in the Gallies of the Sultan on a second complaint. The Conference ended with repeated assurances that henceforward the gates of the Citadel are open to *all* Englishmen, from Sun-rise to Sun-Set, and to draw or measure any of the old buildings they please, and that your Lordship's Artists are to consider themselves at full liberty to model, dig, or carry away whatever does not interfere with the works. Hitherto all this has been most faithfully performed. The Citadel is now as open and free to us as the streets of Athens.

It may be supposed that this eventful interview with the Voivode took place on July 23. The next few days must have been days of feverish activity, judging from the reports sent to Lord Elgin by Hunt on July 31 in continuation of the letter already quoted, and by Lusieri in a letter of August 6. The inscriptions on the Acropolis were collected, including the treasure lists and other important Athenian documents now in the Elgin collection. The Caryatid porch of the Erechtheum was cleared of disfiguring accretions.⁶⁴ 'The Cariatids that support it, and the rich ornaments of its cornice and ceiling, are now open to the day.' 'If your Lordship,' Hunt continues, 'would come here in a large Man of War that beautiful little model of ancient art might be transported wholly to England. Nothing can exceed the exquisite beauty and delicacy of all its details.' A block of the Erechtheum cornice was taken down. On July 31 the Parthenon was first approached.

To-day the Ship-Carpenter and five of the Crew mounted the walls of the Temple of Minerva, and by the aid of Windlasses, Cordage and twenty Greeks, they succeeded in detaching and lowering down, without the slightest accident, one of the Statues or Groupes in the Metopes representing a combat between a youth (probably Theseus) and a Centaur ; it has long been the admiration of the world ; indeed nothing can equal it for beauty and grace. . . . A second which adjoins it, on the same subject, is to follow it to-morrow. . . . He [the son of the Disdar] tells me Choiseul gave his Father Eight Hundred Piastras for the Metope which adjoined these, but that it was taken down with so little skill, that the rope broke, and it was dashed into a thousand fragments.

On this latter point, tradition was already seriously at fault. The only broken metope connected with the name of Choiseul-Gouffier was one which was secured by Fauvel in 1788 on his behalf. It had been blown down by a storm, and been broken into three fragments. By a curious chain of circumstances it is now in the Elgin Collection (No. 309. See below, p. 357).

'The second Alto Relievo,' Hunt continues after a pause, presumably on the next day, 'is now lowered, and with equal success ; they are to be brought as soon as possible to the Consul's ; where the Calmuc is to design them, and then they are to be put on board. When I saw those beautiful statues hanging in the air, and depending on Ragusan Cordage, I was seized with a trembling and palpitation, which only ceased when they arrived safe to the Ground.'

⁶⁴ Dodwell, i. p. 354. 'During my first visit to Athens, the Caryatides were nearly concealed by a modern wall, the removal of which has very much improved the appearance of the monument, and was done by the

dilapidators, not with any intention of benefiting this singular edifice, but merely to examine which was the most entire of the statues, and to facilitate its removal.'

Lusieri, also, in his report referred briefly but enthusiastically to the two Metopes. 'If I said all I could, I should not say anything in comparison with their merit. I am sure that there is nothing so perfect of this kind in all the universe.'

Excavations of great importance were also begun without delay at the West end of the Temple.

'On the Western front of the Parthenon,' Hunt's report continues, 'was the celebrated groupe of Jupiter, presenting Minerva as his Daughter to the Council of the Gods. The whole has disappeared except a few fragments, but being convinced that the bodies of such massive statues could not have been transported far, we therefore procured leave to pull down an old house that has been built beneath, hiring another for the occupier. On digging to a considerable depth we found certain sculptures.'

The question of what was found in the excavations is of vital importance to the study of the pediments, since the question of the position of the torso known as J, called Victory or Iris, turns on this evidence. The letters of Lusieri and Hunt to Lord Elgin, Hunt's report to Lord Upper Ossory (see p. 296), and the abstract in the printed *Memorandum on the Pursuits of the Earl of Elgin in Greece*, may be arranged in parallel columns:—

<i>Lusieri</i>	<i>Hunt's Letter</i>	<i>Hunt's Report</i>	<i>Printed Memorandum</i>
<p>En faisant des excavations dessous le fronton du Parthenon du cote de l'ouest, nous avons trouvé plusieurs morceaux de statues, entre les quelles</p> <p>le buste de Jupiter, mais malheureusement sans tête, et avec la poitrine ruinée . . .</p> <p>Une grande partie d'une figure assise, et d'une autre qui pourroit être celle de la Victoire, ou de Minerve même, ont des draperies d'une delicatesse q'on ne peut pas assez admirer.</p> <p>Je ferai placer celleci,</p> <p>un beau torse d'homme tout nud, et quantité des autres fragments dans un magasin.</p>	<p>We found</p> <p>the Shoulders and Bust of a Naked Jupiter</p> <p>and a number of mutilated female statues,</p> <p>with drapery so light and elegant, as to resemble the finest muslin, and to show all the Contours of the form beneath. One of them Lusieri thinks superior to the celebrated Flora at Rome.</p>	<p>By purchasing the house of a Turk, built immediately under it, and then demolishing the house in order to excavate, Lord Elgin had the satisfaction of recovering</p> <p>the torso of Jupiter</p> <p>the greatest part of the statue of Victory, in a</p> <p>drapery which discovers all the fine forms beneath with at least as much delicacy and taste as that of the Farnese Flora.</p> <p>We also found there part of the Vulcan and many valuable fragments.</p>	<p>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</p> <p>the torso of Jupiter</p> <p>the greatest part of the statue of Victory, in a</p> <p>drapery which discovers all the fine forms beneath, with exquisite delicacy and taste</p> <p>part of Vulcan and other fragments.</p>

It is evident that the figure which made most impression on the explorers was a Victory. (Lusieri's suggestion of 'Minerva' was only thrown out on the first discovery, and does not occur again.) All the female draperies they found admirable, for the skill with which they indicated the underlying forms. One in particular, the Victory, recalled to the mind of Lusieri, the Farnese Flora. Among the available statues there can be no question that the torso of Nike or Iris is the one best calculated to suggest the Farnese Flora, since both have the peculiarity of a clinging drapery, indicating the underlying forms to a remarkable degree. It is also the one which would immediately be identified as Victory, by its wing sockets. Hunt's account of the general composition of the pediment is evidently based on Spon's verbal description, without knowledge of Carrey's drawing. Spon saw on the right side of Jupiter 'a statue with head and hands broken, draped half way down the leg, which might be supposed to be a Victory preceding the chariot of Minerva, whose horses she guides. . . . Minerva is seated in the car etc. . . .' Hence the identification was ready to hand of the torso of Victory. This figure, the J of Adolf Michaelis, was assigned at a subsequent date to the East pediment, through error of E. Q. Visconti, and was only moved back to the West pediment in 1909.⁶⁵

The torso of Vulcan is of course that of Hermes.

Hunt's letter of July 31 closed with a triumphant postscript: 'The most beautiful of the statues is now in the Consul's yard. We have been forced to get a gun carriage and a train of thirty men to bring it down. The other will follow to-night.'

At the same time that he reported these successes, Lusieri added that the garrison, and even the Disdar, were continually destroying some part of the Parthenon, in order to extract the lead with which its cramps were fastened. 'I am sure that in half a century there will not remain one stone on another. It would be well, my Lord, to ask for all that is left, or else to do all that is possible to prevent their going on in this fashion.'⁶⁶ The letter continues with plans for Broomhall. The details of the Ionic order are to be copied from moulds of the Erechtheum, of which also he now hopes to secure a considerable piece of the cornice; the columns of the vestibule are, if possible, to be of Pentelic marble. The writer adds that he hears from Rome of difficulties about payment of wages to the artists' families, and

⁶⁵ See the *Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon*, 1908, p. 26, for the controversy as to this figure.

⁶⁶ In justice to the Disdar, Dodwell's anecdote should be quoted. 'During my residence at Athens, the work of devastation having been begun by the Christians, was imitated in a humble manner by the Turks, and a large block of the epistylia of the Erechtheion at the south-west angle, contiguous to the Pandroseion, was thrown down by order of the Disdar, and placed over one of the doors

of the fortress! As I imagined that he intended to demolish other parts of this elegant edifice, which seemed doomed to destruction, I took the liberty of remonstrating on the impropriety of his proceedings. He pointed to the Parthenon! to the Caryatid portico! and to the Erechtheion! and answered, with a singularly enraged tone of voice, "What right have you to complain? Where are now the marbles which were taken by your countrymen from the temples?"' (Dodwell, i. p. 352).

concludes with enquiries for Lady Elgin and the expression of a hope that he may soon learn 'qu'elle ait donné au jour un autre petit ange.'

By the same messenger, Logotheti sent congratulations and protested his zeal in the cause. The arrival of Hunt, armed with such powerful documents as the firman and the rest had untied every difficulty in the way of progress. Even previously, he asserts, he had arranged for access to mould and draw. The two metopes, now in Logotheti's courtyard, were being drawn by the Calmuck; 'I offer besides to your Excellency, four other pieces of marble, with bas-reliefs. One of them was in my house from the time of Athenian Stuart, and I beg you to receive the offering, as a sign of my devotion.' The relief last-mentioned was the archaistic Bacchanalian relief (Brit. Mus. No. 2154. See Cockerell's drawing, Fig. 10) found by Stuart in the theatre of Herodes Atticus, and removed by him to the house of Logotheti, where it served as part of a fountain.⁶⁷ Another of the four can be identified as the relief with Victory driving a chariot (Brit. Mus. No. 814).

During this period, matters had not been going well with the company of artists. Not only had there been difficulties about the advances to the families left in Rome, but the men themselves had not been giving satisfaction. Lusieri had not as yet reported his difficulties to Lord Elgin, but to his friend Piale at Rome he writes ⁶⁸ :—

I have been here since the 15th of May [*sic*, for April], with instructions to go on to Olympia, but the reports that had previously reached me of Messrs. my companions turning out only too true, I have been obliged to do otherwise. No education, no religion, very great pretension, especially on the part of the Maltese. In spite of my Lord's intentions I have put off their dismissal, expecting that my example would have some effect, but I have been mistaken. Vincenzo, the formatore and Ledus work better than the rest. I have doubled the wages of the former, in consideration of his activity.

He adds, 'In ten days I shall start for the Morea and get as far as Olympia. The season is unfavourable, but I cannot hold out against the pressure of My Lord, whom I hope to see here on my return.'

Meanwhile, Hunt had left Athens on August 2, in pursuance of his mission. He first visited the Negropont, and then went by way of Thebes to Livadia, whence he sent a report to Lord Elgin, on August 8. The heat had been so intense that foot-passengers had expired in the roads, and had made it necessary to travel by night and rest by day. He was able, however, to give a detailed report as to the position of the Negropont, as a possible source of supply of corn and other provisions. As to antiquities he added: 'At a village near Thebes, I saw an exquisite cameo of a female Centaur suckling her infant, but the peasant to whom it belongs refused 600 Piastres which I offered. Indeed I believe 2,000 would not tempt him, as he supposes the welfare of his family and flocks depends upon keeping it.'

⁶⁷ 'The fountain in the courtyard 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.' (Hunt to Mrs. Hamilton Nisbet, Feb. 26, 1805).

⁶⁸ Lusieri to Piale, Aug. 6, 1801.

This cameo was the subject of much subsequent correspondence, and the influence of the Bishop was solicited to no purpose, but the cameo was ultimately secured (*Memorandum*, p. 22).

At Athens, Hunt and Lusieri had arranged for the immediate shipping of a part of the collection, and particularly of the two metopes, but the work took longer than had been anticipated, and Hunt was thus able to prolong his tour.⁶⁹ He learnt by letter that so many difficulties had occurred in casing the marbles, and transporting them to the Piraeus, that it would be useless to return to Athens for some days. He employed the interval in excursions to Chaeronea, Thermopylae and Delphi.

On the 22nd of August, Lusieri was able to leave Athens in company with Hunt on his further tour.⁷⁰ 'After having placed in a store all that I have found in the excavation below the pediment of the temple of Minerva, sent on board the two metopes and other sculptures and inscriptions, and several boxes filled with moulds, and having given the necessary orders I embarked on the 22nd of last month with Mr. Hunt.' They visited the temple at Aegina, Corinth, Sicyon, Nemea, Mycenae, Argos, and other places. From Tripolitza, Hunt wrote a full report of their travels to Lord Elgin.⁷¹ He began with a summing-up of his impressions at Athens:—

During the whole of my residence at Athens, I am happy to inform Your Lordship that there was not an individual, either among the Officers of the Porte, or the Greeks of the City, who did not seem to vie with each other in gratifying your wishes, particularly the Voivode, the Archbishop, and our Agent Logotheti, who conjointly possess all the power of the place. On taking my final leave, I recommended Your Lordship's Artists to the Voivode's protection, and he assured me that you might rely on his hearty compliance with the spirit of the Caimakam's instructions, both as to their pursuits, and with respect to the removal of any of the ancient sculptures that interest you. He sent me continual presents of provisions and fruit, and gave me Government Post-horses for all my excursions.

Hunt's account in the same letter of the then condition of Mycenae is interesting:—

We made a short excursion to the left to the famous city of Mycenae. No description can convey an adequate idea of the massive stones which compose its walls. The Ancient Greeks supposed them to have been the work of the Cyclops, as well as two Colossal Lions in bas-relief over the Gate Way; and which still remain in their original situation. The block on which they are sculptured is too gigantic, and too distant from the Sea to give any hopes of being able to obtain so renowned a monument of the Fabulous ages. Near this gate is a most stupendous conical subterraneous building, quite entire, called by some antiquaries the Tomb of Agamemnon, by others the Royal Treasury of Mycenae. The door has been opened; and unfortunately floods of rain have carried in so much soil, that the entrance is now difficult, and the whole dimensions of the building cannot be ascertained. 31 courses of masonry are apparent above the soil . . . there is a triangular niche within over a second Door Way, which being closed up with rubbish, we cd. not penetrate.

⁶⁹ Hunt to Elgin, Aug. 21, 1801.

⁷⁰ Lusieri to Elgin, Sept. 4, 1801.

⁷¹ Hunt to Elgin, Sept. 3, 1801.

During the month of September the two travellers continued their tour in the Morea, reaching Patras on September 19.

Lusieri wrote thence⁷² that the fort at the Narrows of the Gulf had no military value. Hunt was proceeding to Corfu, Lusieri to Corinth, Nauplia and Tripolitza, and so back to Athens.

I hope that no further difficulties will be raised, as to continuing the diggings at the Temple of Minerva, and I shall be able to get possession of all the fragments I find. Mr. Hunt wrote to your Excellency on my behalf to send a dozen marble saws of different sizes to Athens, as quickly as possible. I should require three or four, twenty feet in length, to saw a great bas-relief [the central slab of the East frieze] that we could not transport unless we reduce its weight. I await your Lordship's instructions, with reference to the departure of the artists from Athens. I have found nothing so far that needs a formatore, still less a figure painter. The remains of the temple at Aegina and of that of the Phigaleian Apollo at Andrizzina like the others, do not require an architect to be sent. They are all of the Doric order and it is well known that the true models and all the refinements of this order are met with in the temple of Minerva at Athens.

He had found much beauty in Arcadia and Elis, and several points where excavation ought to be undertaken—more particularly Olympia.

Ten days later,⁷³ Lusieri reported the further progress of his tour from Tripolitza. He had reached Corinth, had visited the citadel of Acrocorinth, and had made note of its military resources and deficiencies. He had done the same at Nauplia, and had made representations on the subject to the local authorities. At Nauplia he had been dissatisfied with the zeal shown in preparation of quarters for troops. The Greeks were all ill-disposed, and the French allowed to remain at Nauplia and Coron were a hostile influence. He was starting next day for Athens. He adds a postscript that the Pasha has sent for him, and has given him a complimentary present of a fine pelisse. With the letter was enclosed a memorandum as to the military condition of the Morean fortresses. The troops were five years in arrear with their pay, and there was a general lack of artillerymen and of competent instructors.

The report sent to Constantinople in the beginning of August had given great satisfaction to Lord Elgin, who wrote in reply, from Constantinople⁷⁴:

You are sufficiently acquainted with my zeal, and with the interest I take in your occupations, not to doubt the infinite pleasure that I have felt on the receipt of your letter and of that of Mr. Hunt, of the beginning of August. The object that I had in view, and that seemed to meet with so many difficulties, now seems to promise a success beyond our most ardent hopes. I venture to flatter myself that my purpose will be attained in a fashion to put the names of my artists on an elevation that no one has approached since the time of the originals whose perfection you are about to revive.

After stating that he has taken steps through his banker at Vienna to continue the allowances to the families of the artists at Rome, he continues:—

I do not go into details as to what you have obtained. I cannot express all the satisfaction I feel. On my part, I am trying in every way to help your work, and I hope

⁷² Lusieri to Elgin, Sept. 30, 1801.

⁷⁴ Elgin to Lusieri, Oct. 8, 1801.

⁷³ Lusieri to Elgin, Sept. 30, 1801.

that some English ships will soon be at Athens with orders to take on board what you will have got. Like you, I am very sorry for your departure from Athens, but the object was assuredly worth while : and if you have been able to take measures so that the time was not lost, and your acquisitions were not taken or diverted, I am sure that the result will have been so satisfactory that you do not regret the step you have taken. I await further news of you with great impatience.

P.S. Nov. 21st. This letter has had to be delayed, and during this time all my plans have had reference to Athens. I refer you to Mr. Hunt for the details. I have the saws. Dr. Scott sends you a fresh supply of medicine.

Lusieri returned to Athens on October 4, travelling by way of Megara and Eleusis. At the latter place he had examined the well-known colossal bust of Demeter (now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge) and reported it as deserving of consideration for Lord Elgin's collection although considerably injured.

On October 5, excavations were begun on the South side of the Parthenon in the hope of finding some of the fallen metopes, but on the 26th, Lusieri reported that he had only found some tolerably fine fragments of the frieze, which awaited the saws. 'With a single saw that I have got from the convent, they have sawn a precious fragment of the cornice of the Temple of Neptune Erechtheus (the Erechtheum) and with the same saw they are now sawing a bas-relief, a part of the frieze of the Parthenon.' It must of course be understood that the sawing here spoken of was the operation of cutting off the backs of the architectural sculptures, if their thickness made them inconveniently heavy for any methods of transport then available.

He was also on the point of securing two more of the metopes of the same merit as the others, though not so well preserved.

Meanwhile the artists were not giving satisfaction.

I have no reason to be pleased with the conduct and works of the architects, and not at all with Feodor who has not worked, and does not want to do what he ought. He is a man who does not care to stop long in one place, and has long been anxious to go off. I am afraid I may have to dismiss him, after having employed all possible means to bring him to reason. But I see I must send him away as soon as possible as his example will make the others still worse. I will draw all that he has not done. . . . I hope that in three months at most the most necessary work will be finished. I must send them to do their quarantine at Malta, and thence to Rome.

The formatori, on the other hand, had been working well during his absence. Hunt's report a little earlier (July 31) had run :—

Of Lusieri's indefatigable zeal I cannot speak in terms of sufficient praise. His conduct ought to make some of his Colleagues blush. The first modeller is a very decent man ; but his subaltern has uniformly worked with such unremitting assiduity, that the labouring oar may be said to have fallen on him. In consequence of Lusieri's repeated requests, I have ventured to double this man's little stipend. Of the Architects and the Calmuc, I cannot speak in terms of approbation, except as to the execution of their works—they proceed extremely slowly, and have associated so much with Fauvel, that they are even *suspected* of intentions of concealing Copies and measures with an intention to carry them to Paris. They are strictly watched, and if they have not yet found means to smuggle any packets, it will now be difficult to accomplish it. Before they depart from hence they will be strictly searched in presence of Janissaries.

Lusieri also observed in the letter of October 26, quoted above that for the full enjoyment of the fragments of sculpture they must be restored at Rome. The work might be done by one of the formatori, Ledus, 'but he would have to work under the direction of Mr. Canova, the most famous sculptor of our age.'

It is probable that Lord Elgin felt the need of a responsible English agent on the spot at Athens to make the necessary arrangements for the shipment of the marbles and so forth, and during this autumn and the following spring a certain Captain Thomas Lacy (an officer of Engineers who had been attached to the staff of General Koehler for the purpose of modernizing the Turkish army) makes a rather ineffective appearance on the stage. We first hear of him at the Camp before Alexandria whence he writes⁷⁵ stating that he is about to embark on board the *Cynthia*, sloop of war, Captain Dick, bound to Athens, where he hoped to meet with detailed instructions. Hamilton, who was at that time on an Egyptian mission, to which we must return later, had already explained the general nature of his duties, and had given him the necessary introductions. 'In fact, My Lord,' Captain Lacy exclaims, 'I am so elated with my new office of Antiquarian, which Mr. Hamilton has contrived for me, that prudence urges me to wait a more composed moment for communicating further.' The *Cynthia* left Alexandria on October 10, and put in to Smyrna to refit on the 23rd. This operation was a cause of nearly a fortnight's delay, and Captain Lacy wrote from Smyrna⁷⁶ that he would willingly have proceeded thence in a boat of the country, but that the Consul had deterred him from so doing on account of pirates. It had been intended that the *Cynthia* should remove a portion at least of the marbles, but even before she left Smyrna it became clear that her commander was disinclined to undertake the duty. Captain Lacy wrote⁷⁷ that in the opinion of Captain Dick the vessel was unable to take on board any heavy sculptures. This was confirmed when the *Cynthia* had reached the scene, and Lacy had to write from Athens⁷⁸ with evident vexation: 'Captain Dick declares that his ship is too small, and that his orders but allow him to remain here two or three days; a space in which it is not possible to embark all that is required; it is his opinion, moreover, that without taking all, it is better to take none. He sails immediately, after anchoring about six and thirty hours.' Three weeks later⁷⁹ Lacy wrote enthusiastically of the merits of the collection of drawings (which he had just been allowed to study, through the instance of Hunt), and of the marbles. He was eager that the Caryatid porch should be secured entire for the collection. He adds that he is starting for Olympia, and that Clarke [E. D. Clarke, the Cambridge traveller, whom we have already met in the Troad] has secured the Ceres at Eleusis and a 'bust of Euclid with an inscription' for the University of Cambridge. The last item is less

⁷⁵ Lacy to Elgin, Oct. 6, 1801.

⁷⁶ Lacy to Elgin, Oct. 25, 1801.

⁷⁷ Lacy to Elgin, Oct. 30, 1801.

⁷⁸ Lacy to Elgin, Nov. 17, 1801.

⁷⁹ Lacy to Elgin, Dec. 8, 1801.

appropriate to the University of Cambridge than might appear. It is merely a sepulchral cippus, with a figure carved in a niche, and the inscription *Εὐκλίδας Εὐκλίδου Ἑρμονεύς* (*C.I.G.* 839; Michaelis, *Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum*, No. 21).

That Lacy's relations with Lusieri at this moment were not cordial may be inferred from a paragraph in a letter from the latter to Lord Elgin of the previous day:⁸⁰ 'I have not thought it fair to the company to take advantage of the accomplishments of Captain Lacy, because all our operations have succeeded well, and we can transport the heaviest weights without the aid of anyone whatever.' He too speaks of the Pandroseum, but with less enthusiasm. The five Caryatids are like each other, and not of such fine sculpture as the metopes and relief.

To trace briefly the further movements of Captain Lacy, he spent some time in the Morea, but not to much purpose. He wrote from Zante⁸¹ that he rejoiced to be on the point of leaving the Turkish dominions, of which he was thoroughly weary.

Mr. Hunt, a few of whose footsteps I have been tracing, collected for your Lordship the harvest of all that was interesting; and in truth I have been too idle for a gleaner. The object to which I aspired was a draught of Lethe. I neither measured columns, nor sought to fill a journal-book. My observations, merely superficial, amount only to the unpleasing spectacle of corruption and abuse. . . . My jaunt too has been unseasonable and ill-applied. . . . Under these circumstances, therefore, I simply illustrate my travels by the following list of hallowed names:—Thebes, Parnassus, Marathon, Athens, Eleusis, Megara, Corinth, Nemée, Argos, Tyrinthe, Mycene, Sicyone, Elis, Olympia; presuming that it will be excused me any comment on them when I declare they sound not half so well in my present temper, as Dover, Canterbury, Chatham, London. . . .

At Athens it was impossible to interfere in your concerns, without creating jealousies that would have been injurious to them. Mr. Lusieri, offended at the most distant notice of it, seemed to fear a competition, his idea of which, though it did not flatter me, it was necessary to obliterate by every mode of tenderness and forbearance. Gentlemen of his class, I find, are extremely delicate, and will only be excited to exert themselves by the kindest encouragements: they must be treated in some manner like sick children or capricious women, for when once they admit the smallest disgust, there is nothing but mischief to be expected from them.

At Olympia he had not been more successful, and he was satisfied that nothing could be usefully attempted without much leisure and no ordinary means.

The small stream there, which flows into the Alpheus, has encroached upon an ancient cimetière, from whence in times of heavy rains, relics of antique armour are frequently washed down the current, and afterwards discovered on the sands when the waters subside. I made large offerings for a specimen of these, but could not procure one.

In compliance with an urgent letter from Lord Elgin Captain Lacy paid a second visit to Olympia, but again reported⁸² that the conditions were altogether unfavourable, and that what masonry remained was being

⁸⁰ Lusieri to Elgin, Dec. 7, 1801.

⁸² Lacy to Elgin, Mar. 18, 1802.

⁸¹ Lacy to Elgin, Feb. 15, 1802.

rapidly demolished, and that any campaign of excavation would need to be supported by ample resources. In a final letter⁸³ from Zante, Captain Lacy quits the scene. 'Your Lordship is already informed of the issue of my researches . . . and I have no inclination to renew so sad an account.' After calling attention to certain inscriptions, mentioning the cost of his journeys and other expenses, Captain Lacy concludes that he is careful to reimburse himself by drawing a bill on Consul Strane, 'lest the omitting it be ascribed to a motive of pride or something worse.' Captain Lacy thus disappears from the enterprise to which his contribution would seem to have been very small.

It is time to return to the movements of Hunt, whom we last saw at Patras. He embarked on September 21 in a trabacolo (small coasting vessel) bound for Trieste in order to reach Corfu, but found his progress so slow against contrary winds, that he changed vessels at Cephalonia and reached Corfu on October 2. While there he learnt the news of the birth of a daughter to Lord Elgin, and wrote in the style of a famous contemporary divine:—

I beg leave to assure Lady Elgin that my fervent prayers are offered for her safety and that of her little girl. It will give me heart-felt pleasure to admit into the Church the offspring of two families so highly respectable for the attention they shew to their Religious duties; and where the women, under whom her mind will be formed, are so remarkable for all that is virtuous, and all that is amiable.

He reached Janina on October 21, and was received with high honour by Ali Pasha, with whom he had two long conversations on the politics of the time. Nor were Lord Elgin's special pursuits forgotten.

Ali Pasha has promised me that whatever statues busts etc he finds hereafter shall be sent to Your Lordship, and had he sooner known your taste for such objects he could frequently have gratified it. Particularly when he repaired the fortresses of Previsa, some statues were found which he says only seemed to want breath. Ignorance and barbarism destroyed them.

Hunt left Janina on October 24 for Corfu, where he heard of the opening of the negotiations which resulted in the Peace of Amiens in the following March.

On reaching Corfu I heard of peace being established between Great Britain and France, but on such vague authority, that I ventured to open the letters addressed to Your Lordship from Malta, in order to ascertain so interesting a fact. I hope the terms are not so odd as Lord Keith has been induced to believe from French Reports. At all events I congratulate Your Lordship on an event so interesting to the whole world.

At Corfu Hunt was struck with a violent attack of fever,⁸⁴ and while in that state received messages that Lord Elgin was very anxious to meet him at Athens that they might go together to Alexandria. He travelled with much distress to Patras (being kept thirteen days at sea by adverse winds) and thence by land to Athens. At Athens, however, he learnt that Lord Elgin's plans were changed, and he decided to sail alone to Alexandria.

⁸³ Lacy to Elgin, Mar. 28, 1802.

⁸⁴ Hunt to Pisani, Dec. 8, 1801.

On December 9 he left Athens 'much recovered, with good spirits and favourable wind'⁸⁵ by the Ragusan brig *Costanza*, for Egypt. All went well as far as Cos. There the wind became unfavourable.

We were therefore forced to put into a port of Asia near the ancient Halicarnassus ; from whence I carried off a votive altar, with sculptured festoons and an Inscription.⁸⁶ After Twenty days stay in that miserable deserted Port (during which time my Fever and Ague &c perpetually tormented me,) we reached (Capo Créo) the ancient Cnidus. There contrary winds gave me an opportunity to carry off some beautiful fragments of Ionic and Corinthian Cornices, Freezes &c but others which I was forced to leave from their bulk may be had on my return, particularly an inscription relative to Artemidorus,⁸⁷ who would have saved Cæsar's life if his letter had been read. . . .

I sincerely trust your Lp. has not experienced the terrible weather we have had. I have been in plaguy frights for the Antiquities on board.

The vessel reached Alexandria on February 3, 1802, and unloaded the cargo, which was taken in charge by Major Bruce of the Royal Engineers, and placed in the ordnance stores, to be sent towards England on the first convenient man-of-war. The consignment included eighteen cases of moulds, two metopes of the Parthenon, two cases of reliefs, a marble chair, a marble sundial, and seven inscriptions.

Another small brig, the *Mentor* (whose untimely fate must be recorded a few months later), commanded by Captain Eglen, had been purchased by Lord Elgin, with a view to a voyage which he was himself contemplating to Athens. This, however, as we have seen, he was obliged to postpone. The vessel was sent from Constantinople in the middle of December, reached the Piræus on the evening of December 27, and sailed on January 5 with ten boxes of moulds and sculptures. Six of the boxes contained moulds from the Parthenon, while the other four contained three marble torsos from the excavations under the West end of the Parthenon, and a piece of the frieze. The *Mentor* reached Alexandria on February 13, her orders being to take Hamilton (then on a detached mission to Egypt and Syria) on board, for Cyprus, Greece and Constantinople.

Finding himself obliged to postpone his proposed voyage, Lord Elgin wrote to Lusieri on December 23, in full detail, with reference to the new embassy buildings at Constantinople. In a letter⁸⁸ of December 26, he returned to the affairs of the Greek mission. After congratulating Lusieri on his successes, he adds that he is sending a very good telescope for the Voivode, by the best maker in London—'Make good use of it. I still hope that you will find the means to procure for me the colossal bust of Ceres at Eleusis'—already, as we have seen above, the capture of Dr. Clarke. He was sending a marble saw as requested, and a supply of drawing paper. As regards the collection of antiquities which Lusieri had reported to be in the Capuchin monastery, it was no longer possible to think of a seizure, but he

⁸⁵ Hunt to Elgin, Jan. 8, 1802.

⁸⁶ This is probably the altar of Caius Castricius in the Elgin Collection. *B.M. Sculpt.* No. 2287, *Gr. Inscr.* in *B.M.* 1123A.

⁸⁷ There are two inscriptions connected

with Artemidoros of Cnidus in the *Brit. Mus.* (Nos. 787, 792). One of them may be the inscription seen by Hunt.

⁸⁸ Elgin to Lusieri, Dec. 26, 1801.

authorizes him to proceed by way of purchase, if Fauvel or anyone else should appear who was able to treat. On the understanding that the mission of the artists was nearly completed, he proposed to send a Ragusan vessel in a few days to receive the artists on board, for Malta and Italy, together with such of the collections as could conveniently be sent by that route. Balestra would be needed at Constantinople for the new embassy building. The other architect would only be required at Constantinople, failing Balestra. The Calmuck should return to Italy. Nothing was to be done either as regards the restoration of the metopes at Rome, or the making of casts in England, before he was himself on the spot. It would therefore be best for the formatori to be dismissed, and for the moulds to be sent to England by some ship of war. The metopes might be sent either to Constantinople, Malta, or some safe place beyond Italy. As to the movements of Lusieri himself, it would be a subject of regret if he should quit Greece a day sooner than he could do it on the conscience of an artist, of a man of taste, or in friendship to the writer. After suggesting various subjects, such as the fortress of Phyle, the letter proceeds :—

In particular you have, I fancy, to excavate at Olympia. It is one of the most interesting and curious pieces of work—a place that has never been touched—where revolutions and devastations have (left us?) completely free—a place where the arts of Greece had been advanced to the highest degree of perfection. In the same way at Athens itself the diggings ought still to be continued. So much so that if it was necessary to have somebody to watch over them and conduct them, without interrupting you, it would be worth while to keep one of the formatori for that special purpose. I mention them because they are capable and you would have confidence in them. I name very specially the temple of Pandrosos. I flatter myself that you have already thought of ways of transporting it. If Captain Lacy is with you, with the means that Mr. Hamilton will have supplied, such as levers and so forth, perhaps you could get down the statues one after another, and put them on my brig, and by degrees transport the whole to Zea.

After urging Lusieri to follow up his previous successes, since each part of the collection gains importance from its neighbours, Lord Elgin continues :—

I should wish to have, of the Acropolis, examples in the actual object, of each thing, and architectural ornament—of each cornice, each frieze, each capital—of the decorated ceilings, of the fluted columns—specimens of the different architectural orders, and of the variant forms of the orders—of metopes and the like, as much as possible. Finally everything in the way of sculpture, medals and curious marbles that can be discovered by means of assiduous and indefatigable excavation. This excavation ought to be pushed on as much as possible, be its success what it may. At Olympia, assuredly excavation is of the greatest consequence. You would be the first, and history assures us that there are statues, riches, monuments of all sorts in such abundance, that this dig is deserving of any effort that can be made there.

Possibly Captain Lacy, with the aid of one of the formatori, and of the Voivode and Consul at Patras, might ascertain whether Olympia is really worth while. (But as we have seen, Captain Lacy's report on Olympia was of very little service.)

A list of the presents which were sent with this letter is interesting.

The list is annotated by Lusieri with the names of the recipients. Those marked 'to Milord' were presumably returned when Lord Elgin visited Athens in person.

- Three silver telescopes. [One to the Voivode, another to Cadi, another to Milord.]
- Three telescopes in yellow mounting. [Two to Milord.]
- One with a foot to rest on a table. [This one also to Milord.]
- A green narghile [to Milord] with a yellow foot, and also with a foot of green crystal, which are exchanged.
- One ditto, white—with a yellow foot, and also one of white crystal.
- A small green ditto.
- A gold watch. [Given to the Voivode of Athens.]
- A compass. [To Milord.]
- Two crystal bottles, to hold ice and cool the water.
- Two crystal covered glasses.
- Four yellow cups etc. porcelain. [To Mr. Logotheti of Egina.]
- Three covered cups.
- Two covered Wedgewood cups.
- Three little pieces of Wedgewood, together forming an inkstand.
- A box of instruments with one handle which serves for all the pieces.
- A gun, that you must have cleaned.

I beg you to be careful as to the distribution of these articles. I shall regret nothing that assists my acquisitions in Greece.

The proposed ship was not sent, and Lord Elgin writes a few days later (January 3, 1802) with further directions as to the voyage of the artists by way of Malta. Lusieri is instructed to urge the Royal Commissary at Malta to send a King's ship to embark the marbles. Another letter (January 9, 1802) was to the effect that in addition to the King's ship, asked for from Malta, Lord Elgin was sending orders thither for a bigger vessel than the *Mentor* to be purchased. The new ship might come either direct from Malta to Constantinople, or might call, if Lusieri thought well, at Athens on the way. The brig, meanwhile, would proceed on the course prescribed in previous letters, and the new suggestion is thrown out that one of the artists, preferably Ittar, might sail with it, to make a selection of objects for the collection, and to make sketches of things seen. The letter again concludes with urgent injunctions to dig at Athens, and to organize diggings at Olympia.

Such were the views and plans of Lord Elgin at the beginning of the New Year. Lusieri's next report of progress (January 5, 1802) was written before either of Lord Elgin's last two letters can have reached him. Immediately after the expiration of Bairam he would keenly continue the excavations at the Parthenon, and would proceed with the sawing of the bas-reliefs.

If I cannot get the Pandroseum entire, I do not despair of one of the Caryatids. The monument of Philopappus is of poor architecture, it is very big and the sculpture is not of the best kind, nor well preserved. The artists, my colleagues, continue their work. The unfavourable season partly stops them, but they do what they can. We must go on, getting everything moulded that we cannot have in the real thing. Ledus is still needed here. . . . Vincenzo, the formatore, who works in the open air, is often unable to continue his work, being prevented by bad weather and cold. The Calmuck can stay here

another two months, with constant employment. I have won him over by the hope of being engaged on the new building [at Constantinople], or of receiving a present. As for the young architect I think it is best for him to go. So I will seize some opportunity to put him on board, as soon as he shall have finished another drawing or two. . . .

According to what Captain Lacy writes from Patras, where he has been for more than a month, he is starting for Malta. Before he left, I gave him the plan of Olympia, urging him to make excavations there. But such matters are the province of an artist.

A few days later Lusieri⁸⁹ again urged the desirability of having the metopes restored at Rome, and proposed to take them thither, and to obtain thence at the same time some good master masons for the embassy buildings.

The formatori are engaged on the temple of Neptune Erechtheus, of Minerva Polias, and the Pandroseum [i.e. on all parts of the Erechtheum]. The details of these various little monuments are masterpieces. Without a special firman it is impossible to take away the last. The Turks and the Greeks are extremely attached to it, and there were murmurs when Mr. Hunt asked for it. Also I do not think it would be worth while, on account of its bad condition. The five Caryatids are exactly similar, and the base, the cornice, and the upper part are in a pitiful state. It will not be difficult, by means with which I am acquainted, to get the best of these Caryatids, to have it restored at Rome, and afterwards to have it moulded. In this way your Excellency might have this little monument quite complete. In pursuance of this idea I am having moulded the few details that remain.

The bust of Ceres, which was at Eleusis, has been taken by Messrs. Clarke and Cripps for the University of Cambridge. This fragment which is very much injured is more interesting to antiquaries than to artists.

Two more consignments of antiquities were despatched during the spring. The frigate *La Diane* (Captain Stephenson) left Athens for Malta on March 16, having on board the objects which the *Costanza* and the *Mentor* had taken to Alexandria, and five cases in addition, including two Parthenon metopes, a case of fragments, and two cases of moulds. At the end of May, as we shall see more fully below, the sloop of war *Mutine* left for Malta, with nine cases, including three metopes, three slabs of the frieze, the horse's head from the east pediment, and a part of the Erechtheum cornice. The dispersion of the collection was already beginning to make difficulty, and a notice was issued: 'If any of the articles require being cased, it would much oblige Lord Elgin to make cases for them similar to the others; and if any of the cases etc, are without Direction, it will be esteemed a great Favour to mark them in strong letters with the Name of His Excellency The Earl of Elgin, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Porte, Downing Street, London.'

It was in the spring of this year (1802) that Lord Elgin was at length able to carry out his plan of visiting the scene of operations in person, and helping on the work by his influence and authority. The letters which passed between Lord Elgin and Lusieri in the intervals which separated their meetings during the Greek visit, are somewhat irregular and are apt to be undated. They do not in themselves supply a connected story of the tour. This, however, is fortunately furnished by some lively letters written

⁸⁹ Lusieri to Elgin, Jan. 11, 1802.

by Lady Elgin to her mother, Mrs. Hamilton Nisbet, and now in the possession of Mrs. Hamilton Ogilvy at Biel.

From Lady Elgin's letters⁹⁰ we learn that the party left Constantinople on Sunday evening, March 28. It consisted of Lord and Lady Elgin, the children, and the doctor (Dr. Scott) in a Ragusan vessel; Colonel Murray and Hunt in the English brig which was to give protection from pirates; and there was also a 'little ship filled with the Maltese that Elgin is sending to Malta.' The passage was rough—'I believe Bruce was almost the only person on board who was neither sick nor frightened.' The Dardanelles were passed on the 31st. On April 1 it was still blowing hard, and Lady Elgin insisted on going ashore in the Bay of Mandria [i.e. Porto Mandri, or Thoricus, in the south-east of Attica]. The children were left in the ship, and the night was passed in a tent pitched in a cave.

Some peasants told us that there were an amazing number of Pirates, and that the night before, 18 of them had landed at *our cave* and carried away a Woman. However the Woman returned that morning, and said that 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.

But the brig, which had stopped at Tenedos to take in wine, had been quite lost sight of, and it was therefore determined that the children should not remain in the Ragusan ship, unprotected from the pirates. With considerable difficulty, owing to the roughness of the sea, they also were brought ashore.

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 [i.e., wet-nurse] upon a third, and [there was also] a great fat washer-woman of mine who preferred walking to the horror of riding.⁹¹ . . . 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 sadly disappointed. We got to a *Han*, the people lighted 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 flees 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 Flees. The next morning we all mounted 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 Monsieur Logothetté 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

⁹⁰ Lady Elgin to Mrs. Hamilton Nisbet, April 10, 1802.

⁹¹ Elsewhere Lady Elgin speaks of 'Both the Paramanas, Calitza and Fatty,' whose real name seems to have been Helena (p. 275). One may conjecture that Bruce's Paramana

was no longer needed in that capacity. There is a picture at Biel of the children with their Greek nurses. The latter were sent home by way of Malta and Smyrna, in the spring of 1807.

so faged. 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 wrapped them quite up and they arrived as fresh and lively as possible, I never saw them look so well as they do here.

On the 15th Lady Elgin wrote again.⁹² She had paid a sort of state visit to the Bath.

This morning I made myself as smart as possible, and 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. . . . We have all this house⁹³ to ourselves. The Logothetties 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-forti 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 two o'clock, and drive out in the *Curricie* every day after dinner. Tonight we dr(ove) to the Monastery of Daphné, 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 Artist. I think the few things that remains, almost all having been sent to England, far more beautiful than ever I 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 every day from Egypt, he has been away many months. I shall be happy when he returns.

The letter continues with plans for the contemplated tour in the Morea, and concludes with a postscript by Lord Elgin:

It was agreed that I was to have written Mr. 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 a 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 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 show a compleat representation of Athens. Lord Keith has been very obliging, by sending the Diana frigate here: Capt. 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.

A further letter from Lady Elgin,⁹⁴ dated from Tripolitza, describes the beginning of the tour in the Morea. The party had taken leave of the children, who were left at Athens on May 3, and made their start in

⁹² Lady Elgin to Mrs. Hamilton Nisbet, April 15, 1802.

⁹³ A view of the courtyard of the house of Nicolas Logotheti, the Consul of Stuart's time, is given in Stuart and Revett, i. chap. v. pl. i. We know that the house was the same, since

Spiridion Logotheti gave Lord Elgin the Bacchant relief, placed in it by Stuart in the time of Nicolas.

⁹⁴ Lady Elgin to Lady Robert [Manners] for Mrs. Hamilton Nisbet, May 11, 1802.

a ten-oared barge, lent for the purpose by Captain Donnelly of the *Narcissus*, who had arrived for survey work.

We embarked about 12 o'clock an extremely hot day, passed close to the Island of Salamis and Mount Aegaleos 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 Nisea, 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 a Banditti.

On the 4th the party re-embarked, and coasted along the shore to the Isthmus, '(We) sailed by the Scironian Rocks where Sciron used to *kick* down the Passengers! and dined at Cromyon where Theseus killed the sow, landed at Port Cenchræ,' and stayed in the house of Nouri Bey, the governor. On the 5th a visit was paid to the foot of Acro-Corinthos and the site of Corinth. On returning to Nouri Bey's house:—

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 a 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, 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 called 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.

In the course of this day⁹⁵ Lord Elgin also wrote to Lusieri, describing his progress. He was sending back by a boat some vases and an inscription presented to him at Corinth; some small vases found at Megara, and an Ionic capital which he had seen 'in a little Greek Church on the coast, where we dined.' He begged Lusieri to have some work done at Eleusis, and to trace the temples, especially that of Ceres.

The monuments never seem to have been taken, nor the site determined. It would be necessary to take a couple of saws for the finds. There is already a metope lying on the surface, with two torches crowned with an inscription, pretty much as follows, Σ ΑΙΟΙ.⁹⁶ A little further is an *enormous* triglyph, good to measure, or to take. Undoubtedly sculptures etc, will be found.

After mentioning other antiquities he proceeds:

The whole therefore would give materials for *measuring*, for *sawing* and for *digging*, and I should like Ittar to be there as soon as possible. If you started early in the morning, on Sunday, for instance, taking Ittar with you, and the necessary permissions of the Voivode and of the Archbishop of Athens, you could easily examine everything and return the same evening. Perhaps Don Bernardino would be good for the excavations,

⁹⁵ Elgin to Lusieri, May 5, 1802.

⁹⁶ See *Unedited Antiqs. of Attica*, chap. iv. pl. 7.

always supposing that you are not obliged to employ him in the citadel—which is always the *greater* object.

It would also be necessary to have the Dafne Columns [Br. Mus. Nos. 2564, 5] or at least the capitals. When you see them you will make up your mind. In either case have them ready at the Piræus.

I recommend the Acropolis to you!!!

(P.S.) Embrace the children for me, and take good care of them.

From Corinth a rough ride brought the party, on May 6, to Nemea.⁹⁷ After dining and resting,

We pursued our road and passed tremendous high Mountains, the valleys and sides of the Hills covered with Myrtles and other Ever Greens. 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 Mycenæ. 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 Mycenæ. Two long walls of massive masonry lead to the doorway of the subterraneous 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 with 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 stone. We light[ed] a large fire in it, and crept through a subterraneous passage into another Dome of much ruder work. I must tell you that young Logotheti,⁹⁸ the hopeful son and heir of the Athens Logotheti's <who> had strict charge to take care of himself, but his Mama did allow him to go wherever *I* went, but he 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 Bronze⁹⁹ 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 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 disagreeable 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 at the house of our protected Baratly, Valsopolo, where we found every possible sort of accommodation. He is rich and had entirely new furnished his house for our reception.

On the 8th the party left Argos for Tripolitza, leaving instructions with Vlassopolo (as he should be spelt) to carry out excavations at the Treasury

⁹⁷ Lady Elgin to Mrs. Hamilton Nisbet (continued).

⁹⁸ Young Logotheti is one of the chief figures in the view of the Bazaar, in Dodwell's *Views in Greece*.

⁹⁹ Schliemann, writing in 1877, says that by local tradition it is agreed 'that the excavation took place in 1810, and that the sole objects found in the Treasury were some half-columns and friezes, a marble table, and

a long bronze chain suspended from the top of the dome, at the end of which was hanging a bronze candelabrum. I have heard this account repeated so many hundred times by the old people of the Argolid that I believe it to be perfectly correct, except of course, as to the candelabrum.' *Mycenæ*, p. 50. Lady Elgin's letter of 1802 shows that tradition confused Lord Sligo's excavation of 1810 (cf. p. 281) with some older enterprise.

(cf. p. 261). The night was passed at Akhladokampos, of which Lady Elgin writes with enthusiasm. On the 9th a deputation of the villagers entreated Lord Elgin's influence with the Pasha to give them leave to repair their church. An escort sent by the Pasha here met the party, bringing a covered litter (Turkish *takht-i-ravān*) for Lady Elgin, which she describes as follows, under the name of 'Tartar-a-van': '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.' A brilliant entry was made into Tripolitza.

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 Dgerit [throwing the lance], and other equestrian feats. I saw many of them who after they had flung the Dgerit rode and picked it up when 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'Oeils in the world. Three Parade Horses were sent for Elgin, Mr. Hunt and Dr. Scott, besides a great many led Horses, all with the most brilliant furniture, the Lieutenant-Governor and 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 style was sent from the Pasha's seraglio.

A ceremonial audience took place on the 10th, and presents were given—ermine pelisses for Hunt and Scott, and sable fur and a horse with rich trappings for Lord Elgin, a shawl, an embroidered handkerchief, and two pieces of Indian stuffs for Lady Elgin. On the day following the Pasha returned the Ambassador's visit.

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-Corinthos which has been uniformly refused to every person.

The return journey was begun on the 12th, the travellers having been warned against proceeding any further on account of bands of robbers. Argos was reached at 8 o'clock the same evening.

In our absence the Voivode of Napoli di Romania had cleared the doorway into the subterranean building at Mycenae. We found many fragments of Vases, and some ornamental Marble which had covered the outside. There were also some pieces of a marble fluted vase of very good workmanship. [No doubt fragments of the pillars from the doorway, afterwards removed by Lord Elgin, and now in the British Museum. Two small fragments from the tomb are in the Elgin collection, and presumably they were obtained on this occasion.] 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.¹⁰⁰

The tour was continued by way of Tiryns and Epidaurus.

We reached the village of Ligurio at dinner time. About an hour farther we saw the Sacred Grove of Aesculapius, and the Theatre which is described as having been the most perfect Model in Greece. . . . 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. It undoubtedly was without any exception the most perfectly enchanting ride I ever took, quite in *my style*; 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 completely fatigued. The guides lost the road, so it was quite dark before we reached the village of Epidauria. From the account 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 the next morning, the 15th of May, we embarked in a Spezziota Fishing-Boat. The wind being contrary we were prevented landing on the Island of Aegina, but we saw the ruins of Temple of Neptune and those of the Pan-hellenian Jupiter. Of the first only two columns remain, and of the other which is said to be 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 Piræus, and were fortunate enough to find Horses at the Quay, which brought us to Athens about eight o'clock.

Communication had been maintained meanwhile between Athens and the party on tour. From Argos¹⁰¹ Lord Elgin had written to Lusieri, making inquiries about the rumoured arrival of a man-of-war, and continuing

I would like you to buy the statue at the jeweller's house, which came from Thebes.¹⁰² Ships and travellers coming to Athens will raise the price, and perhaps will carry it off—but you will find a way of securing it at a reasonable price. I hear that French frigates will soon be coming into the archipelago. Every moment is therefore very precious in securing our acquisitions. Adieu—Keep well, and take good care of my dear little children.

On the same day Lusieri wrote from Athens¹⁰³ as to the children and the operations :

Your children, My Lord, are quite well. They are taking walks, they are always playful, and I am delighted to receive their caresses. I hope this evening to get the 3rd bas relief of the Temple of Victory into the store, and the 4th to-morrow. Preparations are going forward for the pediment of the Parthenon.

Three days later Lusieri wrote again.¹⁰⁴ The children continued in

¹⁰⁰ For drawings of the nails see Gell's *Argolis*, Pl. 7.

¹⁰¹ Elgin to Lusieri, May 7, 1802.

¹⁰² Perhaps the torso of a Muse, *Br. Mus.*

Sculpt. No. 1688.

¹⁰³ Lusieri to Elgin, May 7, 1802.

¹⁰⁴ Lusieri to Elgin, May 10, 1802.

excellent health. The supposed frigate was only a small Hydriote vessel taking on board a cargo of oil.

Since Saturday evening we have the four reliefs belonging to the Temple of Victory in the store. To-day I have also brought in the vase and the little relief,¹⁰⁵ which were at the school, and the horse's head which was on the Parthenon pediment, and which is a real chef-d'oeuvre. I hope to be able to lower the figures in the course of the week, and will not fail to advise your Excellency. The excavation in the house of the old Turk has so far yielded nothing.

The house of the old Turk is no doubt the one referred to in Lord Elgin's evidence before the Committee (*Report*, p. 42).

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 anything, 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.

The *Memorandum*¹⁰⁶ tells the same story, and continues, '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.'

On May 15, as we have seen, the party returned to Athens from the Morea, and on Wednesday, May 19, Lord Elgin left Athens for a tour to Boeotia in the first instance, but with the intention of continuing for three weeks, and perhaps visiting Ali Pasha at Janina. Lady Elgin remained at Athens, and messengers passed at frequent intervals between Athens and Thebes. For some reason, not on record, the longer tour was given up, and Lord Elgin returned to Athens on May 26, after a week's absence.

Immediately after he had started the *Mutine* (Capt. Hoste) arrived with dispatches, and the letters from Lady Elgin to her husband are largely filled with the comings and goings of naval officers:—

After dinner, as the Doctor, Lusieri and I were musing over the vicissitudes of human life, who should dash in at the door but Dicky Johnstone! dear fellow. How do [you] do My Lady, How is my Lord?—I saw by his face there was no answer necessary to those *Queries*, so says I, have you dined Mr. Johnstone? No My Lady says he moping a most profuse quantity of human Nature off his red face and still redder hair—But I have brought Mr. *Tinker* and Mr. *Blinker* with me, I thought my Lady you dined at three o'clock, but a bit of Bread & Cheese is all we want!—My Lady—I am sorry *Sir*, you have asked for the only thing I cannot give you *viz.* Cheese—(A notorious Lye by the bye for to Day we made the first incision into the last of the Conee's [?] cheeses) but I can give you Soup, fish, Beef stakes, Veal, Mutton, Lamb, Ducks, Turkeys &c &c &c Upon which I got trusty Maraask, & really produced dinner enough to fill the beasts. The Doctor you may be sure did not fail to do y^e honors! I had to Overtalk him once or twice, *no easy matter p'on honor!*

Lady Elgin reported with glee how she was using feminine arts to secure the shipment of cases too large for the ship.

¹⁰⁵ The relief of Aristocles (*Brit. Mus. Sculpture*, 638) had been seen by Chandler 'fixed in a wall at the door of the Greek

school.' I cannot identify the vase.

¹⁰⁶ *Memorandum*, p. 10.

In the morning I sent a *very civil* message to Capt. Hoste saying I was sorry to hear he was so ill & if there was anything I c^d send him it w^d give me great pleasure. I then coaxed over the Lieut. to prevail upon the Captain to take the Three, large Cases you saw in the Magazine. I told him they were seven feet long, he gave me little hopes, as it was impossible to put any thing above three feet long in the hold. I then found it necessary to use my persuasive powers, so I began by saying as the Capt. was going straight to Malta & there being no Enemies to encounter, I ventured to propose his taking them. It would be doing me a very great favor as you were extremely anxious to get them off, & I sh^d feel so proud to tell you how well I had succeeded during your absence—*Female* eloquence as *usual* succeeded, the Capt. sent me a very polite answer, & by peep of Day I send down the 3 Cases!

On the following day Captain Hoste who was seriously unwell was fetched by the carriage.

The Capt. is reading his Novel on the Sopha and the Doctor is reading Herodote Nothing can be more obliging than he (the Captain) is, he saw the 3 cases at y^e water side when he came up; having got them safely off my Hands, I next set to work to see if I could not contrive to get away something *more*. What say you to Dot? [her pet-name]. This is a Holliday nobody will work, but I have offered *Backchases*, Lusieri is all astonishment at me, he says he never saw anybody so keen as me.

I have made him set to work to pack up the Horse's head, the Urn and the stone that is in this house a head, & the Capt. will take that also for me, he says he will stay to-morrow if it is any use—This is my grand Dinner day, the Count and his friend, the two Consuls, the Captain & Doctor, Lusieri & I—Dicky & three other officers came in this morning, but I took no notice of them & they are gone. I have ordered the dinner & told Marco only to give *two Bottles* of Port, all the rest Zea; he told me with a long face that yesterday Dicky and his two friends drank three bottles of wine. They shall have as much Zea as they like, but no White wine, two Bottles of Port, no Porter and not *a bit* of Cheese! Thomas, Piere & Marco wait at Table, three Boys run *to* and *fro* with the Dishes to the Kitchen, but are not to put their Noses in at the Door! I hear Dicky and his three Companions are above stairs, it is odd if they stay unasked by me. I have dinner enough—Have I not arranged all my affairs famously? Capt. H. says he will take the packages he has got on board the Madras with him. He did not know he was really appointed till I sent him word. [He was not.]

11 o'clock at night—

Now for some news that will please you. I have got another large case packed up this Day, a long piece of the Baso Relievo from y^e Temple of Minerva, I forget the *proper term*, so I have by my management *got on board* 4 immense long heavy packages, & to-morrow the Horse's head &c. &c. is to be carefully packed up and sent on board; this is *all* that is ready for going. If there were 20 ships here nothing more could be sent for some time.—The *two* last Cases is *intirely* my doing, and I feel proud, Elgin!

The *Anson* (Captain Cracraft) arrived next day, but could not enter the Piraeus. Captain Cracraft was willing, if required, to take either the Ambassador or his cases.

By the bye I must tell you one thing, you know in my last I told you I supposed Captain Cracraft was about 45! After he was gone I asked Capt. H. who burst out a laughing & said he was 35—But three days ago he took it into his head to shave and put on a Wig!!! which has made him look so old even H. hardly recognised

his old friend, & Capt. C. says he has got a cold and headach ever since—He was constantly looking in the Glass to see if his Wig was crucked!—Beware!—

Tuesday 25th of May.

But in hopes that I shall be the *first* to tell you what I have done for you—Know that besides the 5 cases I have already told you of I have prevailed on Capt. Hoste to take *Three* more, two are already on board, & the third will be taken when he returns from Corinth. How I have faged to get all this done, do you love me better for it, Elgin?

And *how* I have pushed Lusieri to get Cases made for these last three large packages!

I beg you will shew delight (Lay aside the Deplomatic Character) to Capt. Hoste for taking so much on board. I am ^{now} *satisfied* of what I always thought; which is how much *more* Women can do if they set about it, than Men. I will lay any bet had you been here you would not have got half so much on board as I have.

As for getting the other things you wished for down from the Acropolis it is *quite impossible* before you return. Lusieri says Capt Lacy was upon his *first* coming here against the things being taken down, but at last he was keener than any body & absolutely wished you to have the whole Temple of the Cari—something, where the Statues of the Women are—Mind Elgin you do not drop this letter out of your pocket. I wonder whether you will be at the trouble of reading it all when you have two English people to talk to? You will like Capt. Cracraft, at least *I do*.

Lord Elgin returned to Athens from the Isthmus of Corinth on board Captain Hoste's vessel, the *Mutine*, and a few days were spent at Athens.

The *Mutine* left for Zante and Malta, whence Captain Hoste wrote (June 12) that it was uncertain by what ship the cases on the *Mutine* could be forwarded; that he had ascertained that the *Scampavia* (Lord Elgin's store ship) had plenty of cheeses on board—and that he owed his life to Lady Elgin's milk diet.

The Birthday of King George the Third was, as Etonians have reason to remember, on June 4, and a note dated "ce jeudi soir" was no doubt written on Thursday, June 3, 1802. "Do me the pleasure of inviting all your company to come to dinner to-morrow, on the occasion of the King's Birthday—the Consul—All the artists—and Father Urban.¹⁰⁷ We will dine at three o'clock."

As an immediate result of the tour in the Morea, arrangements were made for Ittar to go on much the same route, to draw the monuments. Careful instructions were drawn up (June 6, 1802) for his guidance. He was to go by way of Eleusis, the Isthmus of Corinth, and Corinth, to Acrocorinth. He was to pay special attention to the vases found near Corinth. Thence he would go to Sicyon and Argos. "In the plain of Argos, at a short distance from the little village of Carvati, he will examine the subterranean buildings in which it is supposed that the ancient kings of Mycenae kept their treasures. His Excellency has had the largest excavated. This building, on account of its irregularity, deserves both plan and detailed drawings. The enormous architrave of the door, the triangular

¹⁰⁷ Father Urban, of Genoa, head of the Capuchin Monastery, detected in 1806 in an intrigue with the wife of a Greek servant, and

sent in disgrace to Constantinople. Legrand, in *Rev. Arch.* 3rd ser. xxx. p. 387.

window, and the stone that covers the summit of the monument, are extraordinary. It is necessary to give an idea of the bronze nails fixed in the interior, of their distance one from another, and of the size of the holes, where were the hinges to support the doors—and it is also necessary to make a plan of the citadel, and a sketch of the door of the same, where are two Lions.” The journey was to be continued by way of Argos, Tiryns, Mantinea, Epidaurus, and Aegina.

Ittar's progress on this tour can be traced in the Elgin portfolios, and in his statement of expenditure. He left Athens for Eleusis on July 10, 1802, doubtless in company with Hamilton and Leake (see below p. 226). He spent four days at Eleusis, fifteen days at Corinth. He remained several days at Argos, making excursions to Mycenae and Tiryns. He remained two days at Mantinea, and went thence to Mistra (where he made a present to the Bishop of sugar and coffee). From Mistra he made expeditions to Sparta. He returned by way of Tripolitza, where he was attacked by fever, and was detained twenty-two days. Thence he went to Argos, and was again attacked by fever and detained twelve days. He stayed a day at Nemea, and ten days at Corinth. An expedition to Sicyon took fifteen days. At Sicyon he employed two diggers for six days, 'for diggings made round the gymnasium, stadium, theatre, and other investigations,' returning to Nemea for three days and then to Corinth, where another twelve days were spent. He then went to Ligurio (four days), Epidaurus (three days), and Biada or Piáda (four days). He crossed to Aegina, remained there eight days, and thence returned to Athens, which according to the statement of days given above he would have reached in the middle of November. The time actually taken was longer. On December 22 Hunt wrote: 'Ittar, I fear, is really a *mauvais sujet*. He has now been absent six months, and only set out a few days ago from Corinth to Epidauria and Egina.' He acquired in the course of his tour some minor antiquities, some silver and copper coins, some gold leaf, two engraved gems, two small vases, and a basrelief at Corinth. But none of these objects can be identified, and the tour is only memorable for the fine series of measured drawings of sites in the Morea, which (together with the rough working drawings) are now in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum.

The middle part of the month of June was spent in preparations for embarkation and departure. It is worth noting that the only examples earlier than the following of the word Donky (as it was formerly spelt) given in Murray's *English Dictionary* are dialectal.

'On Tuesday the 15th of June 1802'—to resume our extracts from Lady Elgin's letters—'we left Athens between 11 and 12 o'clock at Night, drove in the curricle by Moonlight to the Piraeus. The boats of the "*Narcissus*" frigate were waiting for us, and a couple of hours after we had been on board a breeze sprung up and we sailed.' Sunium was visited on the next day, and Zea on the 17th. 'In the afternoon we anchored in the Harbour of Zea and immediately went on Shore, but we only found a few Huts and were told that the English Consul lived about an hour distant in the City, and not in sight of the Port. A Greek whom we met on the beach joined us and gave us his

own family history, shewed us a well of fine water and some gardens where we walked an hour or two. 18th. We mounted Donkys and rode to the town of Zea, the road almost impracticable for the city is built on the summit of an almost perpendicular Mountain, and in many places we rode up a regular stair cut out in the Rock, and hanging over a precipice, where there was hardly room enough for a Man to walk on the side of the Donky.'

After arrival, and a musical fête and ball at the English Consulate, the party slept at the house of the Neapolitan Consul, being the best in the place.

There we heard the history of the Greek who accosted us upon our landing on the Island. He was brought to prison that very night for the most atrocious act that ever was committed. Only a couple of hours before he joined our Party he had murdered a Woman who lived with him . . . His conduct seems to have been watched by the people of Zea and on missing the Alexandrian Woman and finding her Veil on the shore, suspicions were formed of his having murdered her. On being questioned, he refused giving the Greek Primates any answer, but went to the Russian Consul's and claimed protection, as a Subject of the Emperor. He then assured his Consul that from the jealousy of his first Wife he had been forced to send this woman away, and that she had sailed the morning before in a boat bound for Samos. On investigating the fact it was found that no such boat had sailed; he then confessed that she had requested him to accompany her to the Sea in order to bathe, and that while he remained on the shore to protect her, she fell dead in the water, and that his fear of the suspicious appearance of such an event, had induced him to bury her in the Sand. Upon being asked where the spot was he pointed it out, and the body was found stabbed in four places. He was then delivered up to the Turkish Officers to be sent to Constantinople. He offered the Consul a Watch set with diamonds and a box of Pearls, but the Russian Consul refused to implicate himself in so villainous a business. Perhaps he will find the Turks not so proof against a bribe.

After enjoying the energetic hospitality of the Neapolitan Consul's nine daughters ("they sang Greek, Italian, and French songs, danced minuets and all sorts of dances, in short, they did everything they thought could amuse us"),

On Sunday the 20th we went to the beach in order to embark, but the wind was so contrary we remained in a most beautiful Garden full of Oranges, Lemons, Pomegranates, Almonds etc, and slept in the Garden House. On the 22nd we embarked and sailed towards Marathon. The 24th we came in sight of Marathon, and saw the Barrow on the shore under which it is supposed the Athenians who fell in the battle against the Persians were buried, and the next day Capt. Donnelly had a Tent pitched for us on the plain. The sailors had surrounded it with pillars which they found scattered over the ground.¹⁰⁸ After dinner we visited the mound of earth which Fauvel had partly opened,¹⁰⁹ our Ship's Crew dug in another direction and discovered a few fragments of pottery and some silver

¹⁰⁸ The legend soon sprang up that these were the pillars mentioned by Pausanias in memory of the fallen in the battle of Marathon. 'We now rode to the west and saw the small columns (about three feet high) which were placed to the memory of the heroes who fell in the battle. Of these there are six standing, and six thrown down; one of the former has the appearance of an altar; near them are some stones which look as if they had

belonged to some edifice. It is necessary to remark that these are not in their proper place, having been unclassically moved to make a tent for Lord and Lady Elgin by the captain of the frigate which brought that nobleman from Constantinople to Athens.' (W. Turner, *Tour in the Levant*, i. p. 347). The writer was at Marathon in May, 1814.

¹⁰⁹ For Fauvel's excavation in Oct. 1788, see *Rev. Arch.* 3rd ser. xxx. p. 55.

rudely melted into a small Mass Elgin examined the plain with great attention and in every direction he found the marsh, in which so many Persians perished in their flight and the temple of Nemesis where the Athenians had placed her statue made of the Marble of Paros which the Persians secure of victory had brought with them to erect a Trophy of their conquest over the Athenians.

We were joined at Marathon by Mr. Hamilton, Capt. Leake¹¹⁰ and Capt. Squire who came over from Athens having just arrived there from Egypt. On the 29th we sailed from Marathon, landed Mr. Hamilton etc, at Port Raphti on the 30th, and made for the Island of Teno.

The reappearance of Hamilton on the scene at Marathon makes a suitable opportunity for tracing his progress on his detached mission to Egypt and Syria. In the previous summer he had been sent on a mission to the British Headquarters in Egypt, where he had acted as Lord Elgin's correspondent and representative. He had gained distinction by the part he took in the negotiations for the capitulation of Alexandria,¹¹¹ which secured the Rosetta stone and other monuments for the British Crown.¹¹² The winter of 1801-2 was devoted to a voyage up the Nile, with William Martin Leake, and Charles Hayes, and in the early spring he returned to the coast.¹¹³

We have already seen that the *Mentor* left the Piraeus on January 5 with the intention of embarking Hamilton at Alexandria, and visiting the East Mediterranean ports. The vessel must have left Egypt in April, 1802, having on board Hamilton, Leake, and John Squire. The latter was an officer in the corps of Royal Engineers of some distinction, who died in Spain in 1812. The movements and adventures of the party in Syria are vividly described in the published journals of Squire (Walpole's *Memoirs*, II. pp. 293-352), and therefore only need be briefly mentioned. On April 15 the *Mentor* anchored in the Bay of Tripoli. From thence the travellers went by way of Djebail, Baalbec, and Damascus to Aleppo, which was reached on May 12, and quitted on June 3 for Scanderoon. On the 8th, "After supping with the Imperial Agent, we went on board the brig *Mentor*, lying about a mile distant from the town. We were happy to find ourselves independent, and in our own

¹¹⁰ This eminent topographer, perhaps with designed obscurity, mentions a rising ground 'in which I found several cippi or sepulchral columns standing in a certain regular order, together with the remains of a sarcophagus, the fragments of a female statue seated in a chair, some shafts of columns and a Corinthian Architrave.' Leake, *Demi of Attica*, 2nd ed., p. 88. Cf. Squire in Walpole, i. p. 336.

¹¹¹ Aug. 31, 1801.

¹¹² Hamilton's obituary notice in the *Annual Register*, 1859, p. 430, contains a statement adopted in the *Dict. of National Biography*, doubtless based on an inaccurate family tradition, that he rowed out with a small escort to recover the stone from a fever-stricken French ship, where it was concealed. A contemporary account is given by E. D. Clarke, *The Tomb of Alexander*, 1805, pp. 38,

40. The Rosetta stone was surrendered in Alexandria to Hamilton, Cripps and Clarke by a Member of the Institute, from the warehouse in which they had concealed it covered with mats. The famous sarcophagus of Nekht-heru-heb (formerly called the Tomb of Alexander) the same persons found 'in the hold of a hospital ship, in the inner harbour' 'half filled with filth, and covered with the rags of the sick people on board.' Compare Hamilton's less detailed account of the affair in *Aegyptiaca* (see note 113), p. 402.

¹¹³ Hamilton's account of the journey (with an obituary notice of Hayes) is published in his *Remarks on several Parts of Turkey, I. Aegyptiaca*, 1809 (with etchings from Hayes's drawings). Leake's papers were lost in the *Mentor*.

ship, relieved from the impositions and villainy of Syria: we had been exposed to dangers arising from the plague, earthquakes, plunderers, and suspecting Agas; and it may be readily concluded that we rejoiced not a little at our emancipation." ¹¹⁴

Hamilton's special object at Aleppo, to which no reference is made in Squire's journals, was a commission from Lord Elgin to purchase horses, and he found five which he thought would be satisfactory. ¹¹⁵

We shall have a little trouble in keeping them in good order on board Ship, but I hear all is ready for their Reception by way of Bars &c. and we have here prepared Ropes bandages coverlids and whatever else is necessary. The Great Consumption of Water makes Captain Eglin say we must go to Ciprus, but as this would delay us very much, and the Season is already far advanced I hope we shall be able to provide ourselves with sufficient to carry us on to Rhodes. Indeed My Lord I never had an idea of the nature of Delays, Expence, &c, to which travelling in Syria was subject. I really wonder if any Man in his Senses ever ventured to encounter them a second time. I hardly think it possible.

The *Mentor* with the horses must have reached the Piraeus about June 22. The horses were evidently sent ashore to recover from their voyage, and Hamilton went, as we have seen, with Leake and Squire to join Lord Elgin, and met him at Marathon.

The return of the brig now made it necessary to arrange her further service, in connexion with the transport of the marbles, and Lord Elgin wrote to Lusieri proposing to ship marbles, grooms and horses to Smyrna, special preference being given to the boxes from Athens.

From Marathon the frigate (as related by Lady Elgin) made for Port Raphthi, on the east coast of Attica, where Hamilton and the others were landed. Tenos was reached on July 1, and the party made a stay at the house of Vitali the English Consul.

The Russian Consul M. Vincenzo gave us a Ball. He illuminated his house and made a transparency of my Cypher. I was quite surprised to see so many smart and *fine* dressed ladies with Manners very superior to what one could have expected in such an out of the way place. In point of manner and dancing they certainly beat the Constantinople Belles; perhaps you don't think that is saying much for them. We were detained at Teno a considerable time longer than we intended on account of the contrary winds, which made it impossible to sail in an open boat. We therefore took a Martigan [? = Martingane, a Sicilian craft] which was in Port, commanded by a Frenchman who had emigrated from Toulon, when Lord Hood evacuated it. We were in a good deal of danger even in this ship, and Capt. Donnelly said he would not have had us risk such a thing on any account.

At Mycone we were received by our Vice Consul M. Cabani on the 6th of July but as the poor man had lately lost a favourite Daughter of about 17 years of age we found all his Family in the deepest dejection, it was quite shocking to see them. I there learned some very curious ceremonies belonging to the Greek Church, one in particular which struck me as horrible. When any person dies, three or four times during the mourning the Relations get a number of Priests into the house. They have some composition which they set fire to, and all the friends form a ring round it, and bewale and cry over it, as if it were the body. They also get crying Women into the House who cry and scream. When the stuff is consumed the ashes are carefully collected and carried to the Church.

¹¹⁴ Walpole II. p. 352.

¹¹⁵ Hamilton to Elgin, June 3, 1802

I think for any Person in real affliction, that sort of ceremony is enough to turn their heads. The youngest daughter of Cabani's, a girl about twelve years old seemed more deeply affected than the rest. She refused all kinds of nourishment, tho' her Mother used to entreat her upon her knees to swallow something. By their account she did not take three or four spoonfuls of food in a day. They consulted Doctor Scott but the Girl declared she would take nothing more for she was determined to die. I own I could not help suspecting it was the Priests who had told her she would become a Saint, were she to die, a victim to grief.

The wind obliged us to remain in this melancholy abode and most barren and wretched of islands till the — of July when we sailed in the Frigate for Delos at day break, and reached Great Delos about 6 o'clock in the morning. On turning the first point of the island we perceived a Latine Sail Boat giving chase to a large English Ship, and on being fired upon by our Frigate she ran off, and putting out twenty two sweeps got safe to shore. Captain Donnelly then got as near as the heavy gale of Wind would allow him, and tacking and retacking fired about 300 shot at her: the Pirates returning the salutation by firing musquetry at the Frigate, but without killing or wounding any of our Crew, though many Balls struck the Deck, Guns, &c. At length the Pirate Galley was so severely shattered that she sunk. We then sent a party of Marines and Sailors on shore who brought her off. A boat full of Mycone sailors came to us on hearing of the Engagement and offered to send us next morning any assistance we might want. Accordingly the following day they joined us and the party scoured the Island in different directions, and took prisoner the Captain of the Pirates, Zachary, and twenty three of the crew which consisted originally of thirty four. The Chief was a young man of about twenty six of an open countenance, and bold but by no means impudent, manners. The others however gave one a complete idea of a horrid set of Banditti. On being interrogated they confessed themselves Mainiot Pirates but asserted that their only object was plunder and that they had never wantonly killed or wounded any of the Prisoners they had taken. 400 Piastres were found by a Diver belonging to the Frigate when the Pirate had run his Galley on shore. This prize was given up by the Officers and Crew to the Widow of a sailor who had unfortunately been killed by the blowing up of a Cartridge during the firing.

From thence Elgin and his party visited the ruins of ancient Delos and the opposite island of Rhenea. All the temples and other public buildings are totally demolished and strewed over the ground. . . . That island is full of beautiful marble altars and sarcophagi. Elgin brought an altar on board. It is round and ornamented with festoons of fruit and flowers pendent from bulls' heads.¹¹⁶

From Delos we sailed to Paros and anchored at the only spot I have yet seen in the Archipelago which has any claim to picturesque beauty. To me it afforded great delight, for we had been in a storm and I had suffered much from the motion of the ship so you may easily conceive my joy in getting to Orange Groves, Myrtles fountains and Cascades; the Quarries of Paros are still open and their sides in some places ornamented with very rude sculpture of nymphs and Bacchanalians dancing From Paros Elgin went to the famous grotto of Antiparos,¹¹⁷ it was too great an undertaking for me, I regretted extremely not seeing it, for from all accounts it was most beautiful. They said the whole interior is as white as Alabaster and the Pillars which nature has formed for its support are in most fantastic shapes, but the descent into the Grotto was most extremely difficult and dangerous. They took a great number of Torches with them, and some Bengal lights which the guides said threw a much finer light than any they had seen

¹¹⁶ There are two altars in the Elgin Collection, hitherto assigned to Delos, Nos. 2480, 2481 in the British Museum. The former seems to answer best to the description. The small sepulchral altar, No. 2287, to which no place of origin is assigned, is of

a more suitable size, but being inscribed, we have already appropriated it to Hunt, p. 206 *supra*.

¹¹⁷ Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage Pittoresque* I. Pls. 36, 37, 38.

upon former occasions. The description they gave me of the Grotto was that it was rather a suite of Caverns, than a single Grotto. Some looked like Churches with Organs and altars, and others like gardens with Trees and Shrubs covered with snow.

From Antiparos the party reached Smyrna, where a stay of some length was made. No sea passage could be obtained in a Man-of-war, and on August 10 Lady Elgin wrote to her mother that it had been necessary to decide on the land route, by means of the 'Tartar-a-vans.'

As soon as ever they come we shall set off, Masterman and I in one, and the Children and their Paramanas in the other. What an undertaking it will be. We are to carry tents with us and must travel as soon as it is daylight and lay by in the middle of the day. Captain Cracraft and other Officers say they never felt heat in India more oppressive than this.

The return over-land was not accomplished till September 4.

BOUYOUK DÉRÉ, 8th Sep^r, 1802 ¹¹⁸

I am sure you will be very anxious for the arrival of this letter. I assure you I am extremely thankful the journey is over. I am now quite well settled in the old house you were in when you were here—I left Smyrna the 18th of August, and what will amaze you, I left Elgin at Smyrna! The case was that he had written to General Stewart to say he would wait for him at Smyrna. As they had some business of very great importance for Elgin to settle I would not let him go with me. But I took such an antipathy to Smyrna I could not make up my mind to being confined there. The heat would have killed us all, and the number of Children that were dying every day [of the plague] made me determine to set off, with my Bratts altho' the good people did all they could to dissuade me from thinking of such a journey. My party consisted of Doctor Scott, Hunt, Capt. Henniker, Antonaki Pisani, another Dragoman, and a large escort, for some of the Days' journey they said was dangerous on account of Robbers. However we met with none, I and Masterman travelled in one Tartar-a-van,¹¹⁹ the children in another. The Asiatics do not drive them as well as my friends in the Morea, for they contrived to overturn us two or three times. I was not the least hurt, but I was most amazingly disappointed in the *beauty* of the *views* &c which you know we used to hear admired prodigiously. Pray tell my Father I manœuvred the troops consisting of 50 people for 5 days. The fifth day Elgin joined our party, having seen the General. I used to be up at 4 o'clock in the morning and ordered every earthly thing myself. Hunt will tell you I am the best General ever was seen. On the 27th we arrived at Brusa. We left it on the 29th and were caught in a violent storm of wind rain thunder and lightning. The wind remained so high and contrary that we were obliged to stay at Moudania four days. I was taken very ill there. Luckily we got to the Greek Bishop's house and had a room without *vermin*. On the 1st of Sep we embarked, and at 2 o'clock in the morning we arrived at the Island of Prinkipo (one of the Prince's Islands). Antonaki Pisani took us to his Father-in law's house, and on Saturday the 4th of Sep. we arrived at Bouyouk Déré. We had not been in the house two minutes before it was full of visitors.

Having followed the movements of the travellers as far as Constantinople, and the end of their tour, we must now turn to events in Greece.

Before he left Marathon, Lord Elgin sent a last letter of instructions to Athens.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Lady Elgin to Mrs. Hamilton Nisbet. ¹¹⁹ See p. 214. ¹²⁰ Elgin to Lusieri, June, 1802.

It only remains for me to repeat my urgent desire for the departure of the brig. I have explained to Mr. Hamilton a plan which would give a horse to the Voivode, instead of the cloth. The groom will decide on the choice, if this arrangement seems to you desirable. Having had so little means of giving details to Mr. Hamilton as to his course, I put him entirely into your hands for all his ideas, and I particularly request you to shew and explain to him your sketches in Greece, as well as the works of the artists. I hope to have your news by the brig.

Early in July the store-ship, the *Scampavia*, put in at the Piraeus, but too heavily laden to take on board either antiquities or horses.

ATHENS, July 6th, 1802.¹²¹

MY LORD—

Three days ago the *Scampavia* arrived with Mr. Riley, and as he tells me She is already loaded with a great Supply of Wine Rum, Cheese &c for your Lordship, it has been impossible to put on board her any of the cases or Horses. But Francois has sent almost all the Servants, and I have directed Riley to touch at Tino in his way, and on not finding your Lordship there, to proceed to Smirna. Don Bernardino must, as Lusieri says, wait for the *Mentor*, as his assistance is necessary to complete the Packages and transport of the Statues and cases to the Piraeus, which I hope will be all embarked in three or four Days—together with the Horses.

I send by Mr. Riley my report on Egypt which would probably have been more complete, had I written it in any other place than Athens. In order to avoid continual visits &c which threatened to interrupt me, I pitched my tent on the hill of Philappus, where I remained till the wind levelled it to the Ground.

I have not yet called on the Voivode, as I wished to get everything off, before I began to make any Arrangements for my Journey, in which I shall follow the route pointed out to me by your Lordship.

Next day (July 7) Hamilton reported further progress.

I called this Morning on the Voivode who received me with great civility, and expressed himself desirous of cultivating your Lordship's Friendship. The Horse has been also presented to him in your Name, and Raschid Aga [the Mubashir] will this Afternoon carry to him the Green Benische [Turkish, *Binish*, a cape], and mention our Intention of carrying off the statue of Bacchus over The Monument of Thrasyllus.

The three Cases containing the two Basreliefs of the Temple of Victory and one other were to be embarked on board the *Mentor* this Morning, and all the Horses are now gone down to take up their Berths there in Stalls which have been fitted up for them. I trust they will suffer as little in their voyage from hence to Smyrna, as they did in that from Scanderoon to Athens.

It is impossible to put on board the *Mentor* the large cases; which must therefore be left for some large Ship of war, which may call here in her way from Constantinople or from Smyrna.

I have had little time as yet to run over the Antiquities of this place but have been here long enough to feel in them the most lively Interest. The Situation is delightful, The Air Excellent, and I look forward with pleasure to visiting every remarkable Spot more than once before I quit this country. Immediately on the departure of the Brig I shall set out for Thebes and Plataea—on which Scenes something new may be done by the assistance of Mr. Pink's¹²² Instruments, all of which he has delivered over to Mr. Squire: he is himself going to Patrass by the first Occasion but is still weak and complaining.

Ittar writes word from Corinth that he is unwell, and has not been well received by your Agent Mr. Notara. The one Lusieri intends to remedy by directing him to remove

¹²¹ Hamilton to Elgin.

¹²² A topographical draughtsman, who had been attached to General Koehler.

to Argos—and the other must be guarded against in future by a Gentle Philippic from Me.

Your plans of Athens and the Acropolis seem very exact for the general Situation of the Buildings, but the Names attached to them seem to me to be put down a little too hastily: perhaps with the assistance of Pausanias and Herodotus on the Spot we may be able to make some correction.

I took the Liberty to take from the Provisions on board of The *Scampavia* 3 lbs. of Tea—and four Gallons of rum.

On board the *Mentor*, Port of Piræus—July 7th.

All is now on board and the brig will be under weigh about midnight—I cannot close this, My Lord, without repeating in the strongest terms the conviction I have of the Exertions made by Mr. Eglon Master of the *Mentor* to forward to his utmost your Lordship's Interest and Service. He has had to contend with Seamen who have frequently shown a Discontent with the Service they are employed on, and he has got through all most successfully.

Lusieri had also written on the same day,¹²³ that work was in active progress on the Acropolis, in spite of the great heat. Several of the marbles brought from Egypt had been disembarked at the Piræus¹²⁴ to make room on the brig, and for these he proposed to make cases.

The horses were re-embarked and despatched on the *Mentor* with the omission of the one which had been presented to the Voivode. The Armenian groom in charge carried with him a letter of commendation from Hamilton:—

This will be given to Your Lordship by Gherabit, the chief of the two Armenian Ostlers, who have had the charge of your Horses from Aleppo.

I have had every reason to be perfectly satisfied with their conduct throughout. . . .

As they differed with Thomas about the treatment of the horses, he wishing to manage them *à l'Anglaise*, and they *à l'Arabe*, I took upon myself to desire that untill you had seen the horses, they alone might be considered as having the Charge of them. Without some strong lessons of Dr. Scott to Thomas as to a little less liberal use of the Brandy or wine Bottle, I do not think he is a safe man to whom to trust horses on a long journey.

With the departure of the *Mentor* Hamilton could begin to think of his tour in Greece. On the 9th, forwarding a mail to Lord Elgin by way of Smyrna, he reported:—

I have nothing to add to my last by the *Mentor* than that the Voivode has given us liberty to take down the Bacchus, for whose removal the Machines are now fixing—and that tomorrow I set out with the Sun to Eleusis, Plataea, Thebes, and perhaps Livadia, Thermopylae &c. The Voivode is exceedingly civil, and says we may take away any thing we please, but Lusieri says there is nothing worth the trouble.

Hamilton, Leake and Squire quitted Athens on July 10¹²⁵ and spent the remainder of the month visiting Eleusis, Plataea, Livadia, Thermopylae. Thence their route took them to Delphi, Salona and Livadia again, and so by Oropos and Marathon to Athens.

Squire, the officer of Engineers, had as we have seen taken over the instruments of Mr. Pink, whose health did not allow him to make use of

¹²³ Lusieri to Elgin, July 7, 1802.

extant.

¹²⁴ A list of the marbles disembarked is

¹²⁵ Hamilton to Elgin, Aug. 1, 1802.

them, and had been busy with them at Plataea, Leuctra, Thermopylae, the fortresses in Phocis, Delphi and Marathon. His surveys were made with a chain-measured base, and theodolite observations of the angles. An example of his work, a plan and memoir on the site of Marathon, has been published in Walpole's *Memoirs* (I. page 329).

From Marathon the party returned by way of the quarries of Pentelicus to Athens, which they reached on August 7. Lusieri was still full of his plan for sending the marbles to Rome to be restored, but Hamilton's clear discernment was opposed to any such scheme.¹²⁶

I congratulate you on the late Discovery of a very valuable Groupe, which formed part of the Procession on the North Frieze of the cell of the Parthenon. Lusieri speaks to me frequently of his Expectation that you intend to send the mutilated originals which are carried away from Athens, to Rome to be restored—I cannot think it will ever be worth while to risque such valuable monuments in a place where all that is precious is every moment in danger of falling into other hands: besides the Expence—the time such an operation would take and many other considerations, among which it may be said that few would be found who would set a higher value on a work of Phidias or of one of his Scholars, with a modern head and modern arms than they would in their *present state*.

* * * * *

Tomorrow we go to Phylé, and I shall reconnoitre the foot of Mount Parnes from thence to Acharnae: and in three or four days we shall set out for Aegina, Corinth, Argos, Tripolizza, and Patrass. Captn. Leake will quit us there: but it is at present Mr. Squire's intention and mine to pass over from thence to Lepanto, and come upon the Troad by way of Salona, Zeitoun, Larissa and Saloniki, and probably along the coast of Macedon and Thrace—But the season is so far advanced that I cannot yet say anything positive on this last plan—I trust however we shall be able to execute it.

On the same day Lusieri wrote¹²⁷ that Ittar was now arrived at Argos, and that soon eight very heavy cases would be ready to embark. 'I would remind you, My Lord, of the Monument of Lysicrates. Possibly with money your Excellency will find means of getting it from that French Capuchin who resides at Constantinople, and is head of the monastery.'

Lord Elgin was now at Smyrna, and had time to review his whole position:—¹²⁸

After having carefully considered all the circumstances that can affect my operations in Greece, I have determined to send my brig again to Athens, to take thence absolutely every thing that the captain can put on board his ship. He will transport them to Malta whence he will go to Egypt, if the objects that Mr. Hunt took to Alexandria are not yet shipped for England.

It seems clear to me, according to many ideas that I have collected here, and on the way, that the French have it in their minds to occupy themselves immensely with Greece, both in the matter of the arts and in politics. I do not know if any public steps have yet been taken in this respect. But I have reason to believe that from the moment that the Ambassador and the Consuls go to their posts in these countries, artists will be sent into Greece, not without the hope of preventing the completion of my work, and of my collections, and not even without the hope of presenting the same subjects to the public before my works can appear. These ideas are so positive, that for that reason I am

¹²⁶ Hamilton to Elgin, Aug. 8, 1802.

¹²⁸ Elgin to Lusieri, Aug. 9, 1802.

¹²⁷ Lusieri to Elgin, Aug. 8, 1802.

sending off my brig before I leave Smyrna—whence I have been very much tempted to use it for the voyage to Constantinople. I beg you to weigh these considerations carefully. You know only too well the jealousy that my acquisitions have occasioned, and the jealousy that many artists have felt, because they are not in your place, and occupied with these objects, whose importance has never been appreciated, on account of the impossibility hitherto of studying them. You know too well, I say, how much it concerns us to transport the property, and to pursue our arranged plan with energy, for it to be necessary for me to insist upon it. It is enough for me to assure you seriously that I attach the greatest importance to the transport of these effects, and I beg you to put everything in train to finish all that is specially interesting as soon as possible, in order to be independent of anything that may follow.

I reckon that the brig will reach Malta in time to allow these objects to go on by the warships. The evacuation is bound to follow without delay. [By the terms of the Treaty of Amiens, Malta should have been evacuated in the summer of 1802.] I think, therefore, that it is desirable, that besides the statues & other things in the store, you should also ship the drawings, so far as they are finished. I send some waxed linen for this purpose, begging that you will pack them with the greatest care, and that after fastening the box with paper and sealing it with your seal, you will put on an envelope of waxed linen, nailed, fastened, and sealed in the most careful manner possible.

It will remain for you to number each article, to give the captain in writing a description of each box—and to mark the drawings separately, in order that he may put the parcel into the hands of the Admiral himself, to whom I am writing, to take special charge of them.

I have just heard that M. de Choiseul is at Paris, busy with the publication of the second volume of the *Voyage Pittoresque*, which should contain the part relating to Greece.

I commend the inscriptions to you, both in the store, and at the quarters of the guard, at the entrance to the citadel. My observations in the islands incline me to attach a quite special importance to the acquisition of a capital of the Temple of Minerva. Amongst so many examples of the Doric Order, we have seen nothing that can compare with the capitals of the Parthenon. I should like to have one, complete.

I also commend to you in the same degree the Ionic columns & capitals of the monastery of Daphne as well as the capitals of the churches near the Stadium.

In short, convinced as I am that this opportunity will be the last for making secure my property from Greece, and certainly the last for getting it transported to England by ships of war, I expect from our friendship that every thing that can be transported will be put on board my brig on this occasion, and with the utmost expedition. . . .

Miladi bids me send her regards. She suffers much, unfortunately, from the heat, and from the necessity in which we are of going by land to Constantinople. The frigate has left for Alexandria, and the north wind makes the passage of the Dardanelles very uncertain.

I see with the greatest satisfaction that you have the statue from the Monument of Thrasyllus. Continue your acquisitions, and add to my obligations—the lantern of Demosthenes!!! [The monument of Lysicrates.]

Continue the labours of Vincenzo and Theodore. They can always be transported. My best compliments to them. I do not despair of seeing you at Athens in the autumn, but it is quite uncertain. You shall know as soon as I can.

If Ittar has finished, and wants to go by my brig to Malta, it is at his disposal. I am curious to know whether he has succeeded in his tour. . . .

A word from you, to be sent to Thebes, to be given to the couriers who pass from the Morea would let me know your news, especially after the arrival of the brig—and what you have embarked.

If it is absolutely necessary, or if you think it advisable, it is at your discretion to tell Captain Eglen to come back by Athens, if, that is, he does not go from Malta to Egypt. That would be in the event of your expecting to have more things about that time ready to be shipped, which he might bring to Constantinople.

The letter of instructions to Captain Eglen is dated from Smyrna August 11, 1802.

I wish you to proceed with all expedition to Athens; and there to take on board all the cases and marbles which Mr. Lusieri can get ready for you, and which you are to carry to Malta.

2. You will deliver the letter to M. Lusieri, and in case of Mr. Hamilton not being at Athens, you will request of Mr. Lusieri to send those for Mr. Hamilton by an Express, in hopes of an answer from him before you sail. Tho' you ought not to delay your departure for anything except what M. Lusieri may have to put on board.

3. On your arrival at Malta you will have the letters immediately delivered to Sir Richard Bickerton and to Capt. Hoste. Should the latter not be there, Capt. Briggs of the *Madras* will open Capt. Hoste's letter. I hope Sir Richard Bickerton will receive under his care what you take to Malta, and in particular a box containing drawings, which M. Lusieri will point out to you, to be kept, while on board the *Mentor* in the driest part of the ship.

4. You will use all diligence in disembarking your cargo, wherever you may be directed to land them—whether they are to go to England along with the publick property, or to be kept at Malta, till I can send for them.

5. I have requested Sir Rd. B. to decide whether it will be necessary for the brig to proceed to Alexandria, for the purpose of bringing off my cases and marbles, which Major Bryce has under his charge—and in case the Admiral should so direct you will act accordingly, and convey them without loss of time to Malta.

6. Should Sir Rd. Bickerton not direct you to go to Alexandria, you will then ask Mr. Cameron's advice on the propriety of your returning immediately to Constantinople with or without a cargo of Malta stones, or returning by the way of Alexandria, where there may be some porphyry columns and other objects, which are not to go home in the King's ships—At all events you would do well to ballast the brig with Malta stones.

(7. Letters enclosed.)

Hamilton as we have seen, had reached Athens on August 7, and after ten days at Athens prepared to start on a second tour, intending after a visit to Aegina and the Morea to make for the Dardanelles by land, and visit Troy—but his plans were interrupted by an attack of fever, and he did not leave Athens for the Morea till the 26th.

Meanwhile things were not going smoothly at Athens during the month of August, to judge from Lusieri's report.¹²⁹ A Prince Dolgorouki had arrived, the Calmuck had been constantly in his company, was doing no work, and seemed to have ambitious schemes of his own in his head. Lusieri judged that it might be well to send him to Rome, to execute his proposed engravings there, where he would have all facilities, and might if necessary get assistance, as his work, if he abandoned it, could be continued by others.

Hamilton and his friends, after their fever, seemed to be thinking of going in the brig to Malta and so to England. This might be a good opportunity for sending the drawings to Piale at Rome, and the Calmuck with them.

'Prince Dolgorouki,' Lusieri continues, 'had a firman to enable him to enter the Acropolis, but as he wanted to draw within it, and as that was not stated in the firman,

¹²⁹ Lusieri to Elgin, Aug. 30, 1802. Lord Elgin had previously warned Lusieri (July 7) of Prince Dolgorouki's intended visit. He was a deserving young man, to be received with all courtesy, but it would be well to keep watch on his relations with the Calmuck.

the Disdar refused. He obtained permission, however, by means of the Voivode. The refusal greatly annoyed the Prince, his compatriot, and Pangalo, and the latter believed that it was a sure thing, that through their reports the Disdar would have his head cut off. As, very unjustly, this device might be carried into effect, it would be desirable that your Excellency should put him under your protection in advance.'

The *Mentor* had arrived on the 22nd, but Captain Eglen had examined the cases and found that his ship would not take them, since the hatchways were not large enough, a breadth of at least seven feet being needed. Attempts had been made to charter a Hydriote vessel, but the amount asked was excessive.

There were also difficulties of a more domestic kind.

The insolent conduct of that French M. Mertrout,¹³⁰ a doctor and merchant who enjoys Danish protection, stopping and cutting the water which should come to our store, to wash continually the different carts, and for the convenience of those who work there, and of ourselves, and allowing even the servants to speak impertinences, obliges me at length to have recourse to your Excellency, to get satisfaction. I have done all I could with Logotheti, but it is his relation and friend and family doctor, and so he has not been able, or been willing to do the least thing. I have even been to see the Voivode several times on this business, but, he, after having tried to arrange it, has told me finally that he cannot act on a house that enjoys such protection. This man lives beside the store, he is one of the Frenchmen who were expelled. It is he who has made and continues to make efforts to stop our acquisitions by sowing foolish ideas in the weak minds of the Turks.

I hope that the brig will be able to set sail at the end of this week.

Ten days later Lusieri wrote again.¹³¹ The *Mentor* could not take the large cases, and the demands of the Hydriotes were excessive. He had also failed at Zea. He therefore proposed to embark ten or twelve of the smallest cases, containing fragments of the frieze, and so far as he was concerned the brig might start. He thought Captain Eglen seemed to be waiting for the return of Hamilton from the Morea.

The French had received news of the imminent return of Gaspari, the expelled Vice-Consul, as Commissary, and of Fauvel as Under Commissary, which did not promise to make matters easy.

As the Calmuck has not been doing much for a long time past, and as he would be entirely spoilt when these gentlemen arrive, I have proposed to him that he should go off to Rome to engrave everything that he has drawn here. He easily wearies of any scheme that is proposed to him, he is in a state of indecision, and his head has been quite turned since the arrival of Prince Dolgorouki. He would like to fix a price for the work as a whole. I know him too well to be able to make up my mind to speak of it to your Excellency. I have told him that the best plan would be to fix so much for each plate, and I am quite sure that it is the only arrangement to be made with a man of his kind. If Mr. Hamilton is about to start for Italy, I will give him all the Calmuck's drawings, to put into Piale's hands. In any event, they might be engraved at Rome under the direction of Mr. Camuccini and of Piale himself, and the work would gain further merit. I will keep the drawings of the architects by me, to send with those that Balestra will have finished. I have had no news of Ittar for a long time. I know

¹³⁰ Presumably André Mertrude, who is mentioned as dead in 1816. *Rev. Arch.* 3rd Ser. xxx. p. 385.
¹³¹ Lusieri to Elgin, Sept. 8, 1802.

that he has been at Sparta. The conduct of that M. Mertrout (who enjoys the protection of Denmark), of which I have written in my previous letter, is still the same. It is a shame to protect such people. He ought at least to get a snub (*mortification*).

Lusieri's last two letters would have prepared Lord Elgin for a complete change in Hamilton's intentions. On September 12 he wrote himself from Athens, explaining the position. Although considerably improved in health, he did not feel fit to carry out his plan of returning by way of Troy to Constantinople, and had therefore determined to embark on the *Mentor* for Malta:

Mr. Lusieri will have informed your Lordship of our fruitless attempts to hire a Hydriote vessel to take the large cases which cannot be put on board the *Mentor*. There will however only be four left of this Size, that is The Bacchus, The two Groupes from the Fronton, and one of the long Bas-reliefs. Mr. L. however has been so successful in his Researches at the Acropolis, that he will probably have several other valuable Pieces ready for the next vessel which arrives. He proposes to give me the Calmuck's drawings to carry to Rome, and put them into Camuccini's hands to be engraved: If he does so, I shall take all possible care of them, and of course recommend them to be executed in the best manner, and to be as little shewn as possible.

I should have been happy before I quitted Greece to have known of your Lordship's and Lady Elgin's safe arrival at Constantinople, and it would have given me still greater pleasure to have been able to have rejoined you there. But a Voyage thither by Sea is so uncertain, and I am so perfectly unable to attempt it by land, that I must give up the Idea, and look forward to meeting you either in Italy or England: the sooner this happens the better—that I may relieve myself from the load of obligations that I owe to your Lordship for your uninterrupted Kindness and Friendship towards me.

The lading of the *Mentor* was completed. The larger sculptures were fortunately left behind, since Captain Eglen would not enlarge his hatchways. The following is the list of cases embarked, which it is worth while to print in full, since the legend of Lord Elgin's sunken treasures is curiously persistent. The numeration of the boxes is continued from previous shipments.

Sept. 14, 1802.

LIST OF CASES EMBARKED ON THE *Mentor*, Capt. Eglen for Malta.

33. Two reliefs, Temple of Victory.
35. Part of Parthenon frieze.
36. Two other reliefs, Temple of Victory.
43. Part of statue, and piece of column.
44. Part of Parth. frieze.
45.
46. and fragment of Persichino column.
47. & of porphyry column.
48. & 3 small inscriptions.
49. & part of a small male torso found in Parthenon.
50. & part of an arm found in digging beneath the Parth. pediment.
51. & 2 other pieces of frieze.
52. Angle piece of frieze, 2 inscriptions, part of a shoulder belonging to one of the pediment groups.
53. Part of Parthenon frieze.
54. Part of the great relief taken from the modern wall of the Acropolis.
55. The other part of ditto.
56. Box with marble chair taken from the Archbishop's palace, and belonging to Mr. Nisbet. G. B. L.

The vessel stood out of harbour on September 15, and sailed on September 16. On the same day Lusieri reported to Lord Elgin:¹³²

Yesterday morning I gave Captain Eglen the note of 17 cases which I have shipped on board his brig, and which he is taking on this voyage to Malta. He takes a letter for Sir [A] Ball, to whom I have recommended, on behalf of your Excellency, that he should take all possible care of them, as works that cannot be replaced in all the world. This morning early with a favourable wind the brig set sail, and disappeared in a moment. Mr. Hamilton, Captain Lik [Leake] and Mr. Squayer [Squire] have gone with him. I have sent a message to Captain Eglen, that if he was not obliged to go to Egypt to take the other boxes, he should return here to take on board others, and then to go up to Constantinople. He has not found on board the waxed linen, that your Excellency sent me from Smyrna. There now remain at the Piraeus only seven big cases that are waiting for a vessel able to take them; some inscriptions taken from the Acropolis, and some Egyptian figures, that Mr. Hamilton brought from Egypt, are there still for want of time to pack them—which is being done at this moment.

I have, my Lord, the pleasure of announcing to you the possession of the 8th metope, that one where there is the Centaur carrying off the woman. This piece has caused much trouble in all respects, and I have even been obliged to be a little barbarous.¹³³

Mr. Logotheti of Livadia has just written to me that I should send someone able to take the inscriptions at Orchomenos. I will send him a master marble worker, and a master mason, the latter to diminish their thickness. At the same time I will indicate to him another marble with inscriptions, that is at Thavlia [Daulis]. Mr. Hamilton says that they are very well preserved and interesting. I hope that they will be able to bring them, by means of horses, to be packed properly and sent with the rest.¹³⁴

The Calmuck, seeing me determined to send the drawings to Rome with Mr. Hamilton, and making threats that the engravings would be executed by other artists, if he did not make a proper resolution to engrave them himself, was so shaken that after a few minutes he promised to begin as soon as he should receive the plates, and other things necessary for this purpose. However, I have been obliged to promise to take him with me, in the event of my making any interesting tour.

The Disdar would like to have the same bit, that the horse which your Excellency has given him, had before. He has tried several others, but cannot hold the horse in with them as he would like.

When the Commissary and Fauvel arrive they will claim the big cart which has been of such assistance, and steps ought to be taken at Naples.

¹³² Lusieri to Elgin, Sept. 16, 1802.

¹³³ This probably refers to the incident described by Clarke, who was at Athens at the time. 'After a short time spent in examining the several parts of the temple, one of the workmen came to inform Don Battista that they were then going to lower one of the Metopes. We saw this fine piece of sculpture raised from its station between the triglyphs; but the workmen endeavouring to give it a position adapted to the projected line of descent, a part of the adjoining masonry was loosened by the machinery; and down came the fine masses of Pentelican marble, scattering their white fragments with thundering noise among the ruins.' (Clarke, *Travels*, ii. 2. p. 483.) Clarke supplements

this with the additional detail 'The Disdar who beheld the mischief done to the building, took his pipe out of his mouth, dropped a tear, and in a supplicating tone of voice said to Lusieri Τέλος. I was present at the time.' Letter of E. D. Clarke to Byron, in Prothero's ed. of Byron's *Letters and Journals*, ii. p. 130. Quoted by Byron in a note to *Childe Harold* II. xii.

¹³⁴ The Elgin Collection contains two important inscriptions from Orchomenos (*B.M. Inscr.* 158, 159). They were shipped in November by Consul Strane from Patras. For others, less fortunate, cf. p. 238. The inscription from Daulis is no doubt the long inscription (Boeckh, *C.I.G.* 1732) which was copied by Leake, but was not acquired.

Lusieri would be very glad of an English saddle, the Calmuck would like another, and the Cadi would like a telescope.

Among the boxes that Captain Eglon has taken there is the great bas-relief that was on the Acropolis walls. Not being well sawn, for want of sufficiently fine saws, and being a little weak in the middle it parted in two in course of transport, in spite of all the precautions taken. Happily it broke in the middle, in a straight line, at a place where there was no work, so that the accident has helped us to transport it quickly and put it on board.

The relief in question was the great central slab of the East frieze, which had been removed from its place many years before, and was at this time built into a wall of the Acropolis. It is 14 feet 8 inches long, and the line of fracture is, as Lusieri states, very near its centre. We shall see shortly that the accident of the fracture was an aid to salvage.

Before we turn to the *Mentor*, bound on her luckless voyage, we may mark Lusieri's further progress at Athens. On October 4 he reports permission to take one of the Doric capitals from the Propylaea.¹³⁵

I will also take one from the Parthenon, but it is necessary to saw it in two. The Propylaea cap is fairly large, but this is enormous. The gates of the citadel are not wide enough to let it pass. The three capitals, one Doric of early style, and two Corinthian, of a different date, and very early, which were in the old chapel near the Stadium, are in the store.

Other inscriptions, capitals, and bases had been obtained. Another metope (making the ninth) had been secured. Ittar was not yet returned from the Morea. He had had an attack of fever at Sparta.

That Mons. Mertroud, under Danish protection, and said to be going to pass immediately under French protection, still continues taking all the water that belongs to us. He always allows those rascals to cut it, and even to speak the greatest impertinences. Since the beginning of the summer, Logotheti has spoken to him several times about this affair, but as a kinsman, as a friend, and as with his physician. The Voivode himself, to whom I have made my complaint three times, has promised much, but has never done anything. . . . The state of humiliation in which I find myself does not encourage me. All the town knows about it, everybody knows the man's bad character, and that I have been unable to do anything.

I advise you, my Lord, to procure a firman for the Disdar, in which everything that he has done for your Excellency is approved. It is a paper that you promised him before you left Athens.

A long despatch from Lord Elgin, of October 8, crossed that of Lusieri, with the information that he was making application to Captain Maling, of the *Diane* frigate, to assist with the transport of the heavy pieces. If that officer found any difficulty in complying,

the Captain's authority will suffice for Captain Eglon to open the brig sufficiently to receive all the boxes. His conduct in that respect has been unpardonable. The officers of the frigates at Smyrna assured him that this opening might be made without injury to the vessel. It is troublesome, it is true, but nothing in comparison with the object. . . . It is only his obstinacy that would have found the difficulties that he raised at Athens. My brig is come from England for my acquisitions. That is its purpose.

¹³⁵ Lusieri to Elgin Oct. 4, 1802.

I do not discuss the political intentions that France may have against the Morea. They are causing infinite uneasiness to the Porte, at a moment at which considerable armaments are preparing at Toulon, without avowed object, and very similar to those which preceded the invasion of Egypt. I can only repeat to you, therefore, the observations that I wrote from Smyrna. The moment is precious. Rivalry is ready to show itself in all shapes. The annoyance that you experience from your neighbour, M. Mertroud is but a prelude to an infinity of similar steps preparing both by individuals, and by the Powers. . . .

Your commissions are partly completed, and partly in progress.

These included timber, passports, and firmans—a letter to dispose of M. Mertroud's obstructions, two saddles, waxed cloth, a telescope for the Cadi, an orange shawl and bit for the Disdar. Materials for the Calmuck were *en route* by way of Vienna and Salonica.

I am much vexed to have such annoying news about the Calmuck. I feel the greatest interest in seeing him finish everything. But the essential part being done I don't want you to trouble yourself about him. The engravings can be finished by plenty of people, and there is no hurry about it. Only I would not by any means have him take them from Athens to finish elsewhere, nor would I have you trust them to any artist away from Athens, without my being able to take them, and superintend the work myself.

The Disdar has nothing to fear on the part of P[rince] Dol[gorouki]. I have had some conversation with the ministers on these subjects since my return, and if the least threat is made (which I altogether doubt) be sure that the result will be favourable to him. The new ministers have spoken to me with much interest about my occupations and pursuits at Athens. I have the means of watching over his interests. So long as he is my friend he will have solid proofs of my friendship.

As to my general ideas and plans:—In the first place you know too well the objects that I desire to make it necessary to repeat them here. But one reflection that I am led to make from my observations in the islands and in Asia is that the least little things from Athens are invaluable. If I had still three years, and all the resources I have had, I would employ them all at Athens. I beg you to convince yourself fully of this impression—especially in relation to objects that can be transported. The first on the list are the metopes, the bas-reliefs, and the remains of the statues that can still be found. In particular I mention the figures on the pediment of the Parthenon, on the side towards the Propylaea—or at least the figure of the man—as many metopes as you can obtain—to pursue as far as you can the digging all round the temple, to find some further fragments of frieze, and some ornaments. Would it be permissible to speak of a Caryatid? I leave the decision to you, if you have the possibility. Do not forget some capitals on the Acropolis. Nowhere in the world, where we have seen Doric capitals, have we felt the impression that these fine shapes do not fail to produce. I beg you therefore to put some on board ship. To sum up, the slightest object from the Acropolis is a jewel—all the details of the different orders of Architecture. Further, some fragments of Minerva Polias—a capital from these if possible.

He goes on to urge the like zeal in collecting in the neighbourhood of Athens, and also for medals and ancient jewellery.

As for what may happen later, my plans are as follows—Milady having, thank God, been happily delivered of a daughter, a fortnight ago, I see nothing to prevent our going from here by sea, to reach Italy. I do not know when we shall be able to leave, nor indeed whether I shall be allowed to make this journey now that tranquillity is established in Wallachia and Roumelia. Be my destiny (which depends more or less upon others) what it may, my principal object is to make the Greek work as perfect as possible—and

to give you all my ideas, either personally or in writing, while you are upon the spot. This desire has greatly increased in my mind, since I have been able to examine and compare other ruins on my journey, and since I have reflected at leisure on the operations at Athens—and also on the works which the French have published on Egypt, where the details are wanting that exactness and precision on special points, which only would make them useful to the arts.

The first thing then that I should like, is to have here all the measures and all the drawings of the architects, and everything that the Calmuck no longer needs. I also want Stuart on Athens. As to the other books and the things that the Calmuck requires, be so good as to mark them for me on a list. My intention is to study all the architectural books with Balestra, and also the various authors whose works are all here, with the exception of that of Stuart. I also beg you to send me a detailed note of all that has been moulded.

I should also like to have the plans and drawings of my own house in England, which may be at Athens. A whole set of these drawings, and especially of those relating to the internal details of the rooms, and of the hall in particular, are wanting.

Would it be best for Don Bernardino, after finishing his work here, to go to Athens, to revise the ornaments of the temple of Erechtheus, under your supervision, to the scale of my hall? Should we have them executed in stucco? or in marble at Rome?

Lastly, and this is the point that interests me most, what is the plan that you yourself reckon on following? I hope that the weather will have been favourable, in order to let you occupy yourself with the big views of Athens, and of the temples, as you had meant to do this summer. I still fancy that these subjects will scarcely be finished in time for the Vale of Tempe, and Delphi this autumn. Let me know in detail your ideas as to your own drawings. The French Government has published the work on Egypt with such display, and its views are turning in so marked a fashion towards Greece, that it becomes of the first importance both for the facilities that you may need, and in order not to be anticipated, that the chief objects should be finished as soon as possible.

In the rest, pray believe that *everything* of Athens is of the highest interest, no less for its fame, than for its perfection. Stay therefore, as long as you feel inclined to do so at Athens. Moreover you would oblige me infinitely, if in bad weather, and when you have leisure, you would execute some of the sketches that you have in wash, and if you would send me a few of these pieces this very winter. I am without one drawing of Greece and of Athens!

After explaining that the Neapolitan Minister has, so far as it lies with him, approved of Lusieri's further stay, Lord Elgin adds that a delay in sending the letter enables him to send documents for the protection of the Disdar and the Voivode. These included letters from the Vizier for each official, and other documents: 'You will make what use of them you like—you will be able either to shew them, or to present them—and to do either one thing or the other when you think suitable.'

To this despatch, one of equal length was sent in reply by Lusieri from Athens on October 28 in addition to a letter of October 24. He sent thanks for the firmans and other documents, and would give the shawl and telescope at the first suitable opportunity. The Calmuck was doing fairly well, but still working slowly. He had finished drawing the frieze of the Parthenon, and would make experiments in engraving as soon as the copper plates arrived. Ittar was still away, making four months of absence. A ninth metope had been acquired. All the architectural drawings were being sent except two of the largest—namely, that of the West pediment, where the Calmuck had not yet finished the Birth,

of Minerva [the subjects were still assigned to the wrong pediments], and the other long drawing of the side of the temple, where he had not finished the metopes. The ornaments of the Erechtheum had all been moulded, and the casts might be sent to Rome with Balestra's drawings, and so a beginning might be made in working the marbles for Broomhall. As for the future:—

Here My Lord is my plan! It is to execute here the best works of my life, and to devote myself to them with all my strength, in order to succeed. I must do more still, and I much want to try it, so that some barbarisms that I have been obliged to commit in your service may be forgotten. I must work quietly. When the work of collecting is going on so furiously, how can I find the time to draw, or have the head for it?

The Voivode and the Disdar have been much pleased with the letters that your Excellency has procured and sent to them, and I have thought it necessary to give them to them today, in order to encourage them. . . .

All that remains for me to wish, My Lord, is to see the drawings of the figures in the hands of an artist of delicate taste, and engraved under his direction, and to be able to employ myself as I ought and as I wish. Too many objects and preoccupations have made it impossible to manage without my continual presence everywhere—or else, with people of the utmost indolency who never stir themselves, we should still be at the beginning.

During October, Lusieri reported, he had leave to take two 'heads of philosophers,' much damaged, but capable of restoration, from the high walls of the citadel. These may be supposed to be the hitherto unidentified Elgin heads, Nos. 1956, 1957, in the British Museum. He had also obtained an Ionic capital and pilaster capital, both belonging to 'the little temple of Aglaurus.' These no doubt are the two fragments of the temple of Wingless Victory now in the Museum,

A note dated Oct. 28, gives the complete list of objects moulded to this date:—

The entire frieze of the Monument of Lysicrates. [In B.M. One figure could not be reached.]

The whole of the West side of the Parthenon Frieze. [In B.M., except two slabs in original marble.]

Other portions of the best preserved parts of the North side. [Lost.]

Two metopes of the Parthenon. [In B.M.]

Bust of a Caryatid. [Lost.]

All the different ornaments of the portico [of the Erechtheum] and of the temple of Erechtheus, and of the Pandroseum. [Lost.]

The whole frieze of the Theseum on the East side. [In Brit. Mus., but portions are lost.]

The West frieze will soon be finished. [In Brit. Mus.]

Four metopes, the best preserved on the South side. [In Brit. Mus.]

This formidable list of sculptures moulded represents the two years' work of the formatori and their assistants, and proves the zeal and liberality with which Lord Elgin pursued a part of his enterprise which critics are apt to overlook.

Hunt, who was now at Constantinople, was sent to Greece on a special mission to watch and report upon the movements of Colonel Sebastiani, an emissary from Napoleon to the Levant. At the same time.

he was able to report progress at Athens, and to give what help he could towards the salvage of the *Mentor*.

He left Constantinople on the 15th of November, and reached the Piraeus in the *Victorieuse* (Captain Richards) on November 21. To that part of his proceedings that concerned the *Mentor* we return later. As regards progress at Athens, he wrote¹³⁶ :—

There are twelve or fifteen cases of Sculpture at the Piraeus, ready for embarking, but many of them are too large for the hatchway or Stowage of such a Ship as the *Victorieuse* : but Captⁿ Richards observed that if his decks had not been so encumbered by the spars he has on board for weighing the *Mentor*, he could have taken some of the Smaller ones. It is not easy to describe how much our Commander required being humoured. His Hobby horse seems to be, that every action of his life shall appear to originate from himself ; and he is more jealous than can be conceived, of the most trifling request or even suggestion coming from anyone but such as the strict rules of service authorize a Superior Officer to give him. On my first hinting to him the danger your acquisitions here were in on any change of Interests in Turkey ; he mentioned a number of difficulties, and concluded by saying he had been unable even to take Lady Elgin's chest on board at Constantinople, but after a walk with me among the ruins of Athens, he melted into good humour, and has taken two cases on board, containing parts of the Frieze of the Parthenon in good preservation, and which Lusieri ranks with the most valuable in your Lordship's possession. The Consul Logotheti, Mr. Lusieri and I are to dine on board the *Victorieuse* today : Capt. Richards is to sail tonight with the Land breeze, which generally begins about Eleven or Twelve O'clock.

Vincenzo is finishing his labours at the Temple of Theseus. The workmen are sawing the last bas-reliefs that are transportable from the Parthenon. Lusieri is as usual superintending the operations at the Magazine &c—and is to set out tomorrow for the Monastery at Daphne, in order to get the three beautiful Ionic Capitals formerly belonging to the Temple of Venus. The Calmuc is to begin his excavation of a Tumulus near Ye Piraeus tomorrow.

I never experienced a more delightful transition than from the glooms, physical and moral, which hung about Pera at the moment of my departure, to the mild and May-like climate of this place. I hope your Lordship's family is equally happy in the climate of Belgrade.

Nov 24th Seven O'clock in the morning.

P.S. After dining with Captⁿ Richards yesterday I found him in so good a disposition as to prevail on him to hoist out his launch, and give a birth to a third Case of Sculpture which had just come down from Athens, and was very valuable. He then immediately weighed—and this morning is out of sight.

Capt Richards has also taken the marble ornaments found in Agamemnon's Treasury at Mycenae, and I believe makes room for the third case he has taken in his own Cabin.

Towards the end of November¹³⁷ Hunt reported that the Turks were seriously considering the question of renewing the fortifications of the Acropolis, and had sent an Engineer and a Mubashir to report and send estimates.

It is supposed here by the Turks that as the English and French have lately shewn so much interest about the Antiquities of Athens, as if it were like Mecca to the Mahometans, or Jerusalem to the Crusaders, this will be the first place of Attack in

¹³⁶ Hunt to Elgin, Nov. 23, 1802.

¹³⁷ Hunt to Elgin, Nov. 28, 1802.

case of a War with either the French or us.—The Greeks, on the contrary, think, that as so many Franks visit Athens, who go to no other part of the Turkish Empire, it is intended to repair this Fortress to strike Travellers with a grand Idea of their Military Establishments.

Lusieri¹³⁸ reported during November the acquisition of a continuous run of six slabs of the Parthenon frieze. The two large Parthenon drawings were ready to be sent off, together with one of the Monument of Thrasyillos.

The Calmuck has drawn on that of the pediment, the dispute between Minerva, and Neptune, making use of the position of the figures that were extant, and which are now in your possession. The figures in the drawing are a little heavy, and though well understood, they are wanting in that delicacy that always marks the works of the ancients.

Hunt gave a less satisfactory account¹³⁹:—

The Calmuc Theodore is employed in doing nothing—his idleness seems invincible: the sooner Your Lordship gives Passports to him and Co with the exception of Lusieri, the sooner you will be freed from an useless embarrassment.

There were also signs of a coming change in the political situation. A firman had come from the Porte to restore to the protected French subjects their sequestered property, and 'the Chief of the Capuchin Monastery, Père Hubert, has written very threatening letters to his Friar here, for having suffered Your Artists to use the Carriage, &c., and model the Choragic Monument in his Monastery.'

Mr. Logotheti of Levadea has made himself very unpopular amongst the Boeotian peasantry, by procuring the Berat or protection of Muktar Pasha, the Heir Apparent of Ali Pasha of Yannina, for which he pays 500 Piastres per annum: In consequence of this they have broken into morsels, some Inscriptions at Orchomenos which Logotheti had wished to procure for Your Lordship. When a Tartar presented himself lately before this Muktar Pasha with the news of the birth of a Brother, he shot the bearer of the news, the moment he had told him.¹⁴⁰

An opportune accident, immediately after the dispatch of this letter, brought a ship of war to the Piraeus, well disposed to assist as required.

No. 8.

ATHENS, Dec 24th 1802

(Interpolated) The Braakel is safe in the Piraeus.

MY LORD,

A few hours after I had dispatched a Postillion to Levadea and my No. 7 of Dec 22^d to be forwarded by the first opportunity; a large Ship of War was discovered under Egina, apparently making for Athens: but as it was so different in its form from all the English men of war I had seen on this station; and as its flag was formed of the peculiar Turkish Red, and some other colours I could not ascertain; I left the Pnyx at Sun-Set, under an impression that it was the Cornelia French Frigate, which had sailed from Zante on the 4th Inst. with M. Sebastiani on board. In that state of suspense I went to bed, but was waked before Dawn, by an Officer who informed me that the Braakel Man of War, in making for Port Piraeus, had run ashore among the rocks, on the promontory that separates the Piraeus from Port Phalerum; that she was in imminent danger of being lost; and that he had been sent up hither to procure such aid in men, boats, &c as the country could furnish; adding that the Braakel (being a Troop Ship) had but a small Complement of men on board.

¹³⁸ Lusieri to Elgin, Nov. 16, 24, 28, 1802.

¹⁴⁰ Hunt to Elgin, Dec. 22, 1802.

¹³⁹ Hunt to Elgin, Dec. 11, 1802.

I immediately repaired to the Vaivode ; and on observing the phlegmatic slowness with which he was going to execute my request of sending down a hundred men, I spoke in the name of His Majesty, and insisted on the gates of His residence being instantly closed by the Arnaout Guards, and the requisite number pressed for the service out of the gaping multitude of Greeks and Albanians who were in the courtyard.

This manoeuvre completely succeeded, and I left the Consul, and my Interpreter M. Diodati, to conduct them to the Braakel with a guard of the Vaivode's Tartars, to keep them from deserting, and to superintend their working. I then galloped down to the Sea, and beheld a most distressing scene :—The Braakel with her Bowsprit almost touching the land, and her hull on a hard rock. Captain Clarke's exertions during the night, and his mental agitation, had reduced him to a most pitiable state. Above a hundred Greeks, independent of the guard, soon came on board ; and they were followed by the Vaivode and his Cortège ; but all the efforts that were used during that day proved ineffectual. In this dilemma, I repaired to a Polacre [polacca] Ship in the Piræus, belonging to one Pantaleone of Santa Maura, (well known to M. Pisani,) and under Russian Colours ; but he refused stirring, without a formal contract signed by the Captain of the Braakel, by the Consul, and myself, stipulating that he was to be paid One hundred and five Purses (52,500 Piastres) in case of losing his Ship &c, tho' Logotheti estimated her at 25 Purses only : To this shameful condition we were going to accede, taking care to keep attentive persons on board him, to see he did not scuttle his ship for so exorbitant an indemnification : when he added, that, independent of this guarantee, he must have 1,500 Spanish Dollars advanced for the price of his services, which was merely to repair along side and take the Braakel's provisions, and stores, &c on board : we therefore declined his assistance, (after in vain tempting him with 1500 Piastres), sending the provisions &c on shore, and sinking the Cannon with buoys, to shew how to fish them up again. She still remained fixed.—The men therefore worn out with fatigue were sent to repose a few hours. About midnight the wind shifted a little ; broke her cable, and she swung off ; but tho' afloat, the night was so dark, and the rocks surrounding us so numerous, and so close, that we could only attempt to secure her where she was till dawn.—At half past one, the wind changed eight points, and blew a gale ; she parted again from her Anchor, and run close on Shore amidst the rocks, in a worse situation than before. Here the swell of the Sea became very great, and she began to thump and rock very violently on many parts of her bottom. In this awful state we were forced to remain till dawn, (6 o'clock a.m.) the rain pouring, and the gale threatening to increase, and to come more on shore, in which case she must go to pieces. Our presence was so useful in interpreting, and in animating the Greeks, &c, that we resolved to stay by the Ship to the last. The Consul was terribly alarmed, but I must do him, and M. Diodati the justice to say that they behaved with uncommon zeal and activity. At length the wished-for dawn came, the wind fell, and tho' the swell increased, she was warped off by the exertions of the Crew ; and the very essential aid of the Athenians. She is now in the inner harbour of the Piræus, close to the Magazine, Monastery, &c with no injury to her hull or rigging, and the comparatively small loss of some Anchors and Cables—The Stores are safe, and the guns can be weighed by Country Craft.

The Vaivode became very active, offering more men &c, and actually drew the Ship's horoscope, or some magical or astrological diagram, from the result of which, he assured us, there was no doubt, she would be saved. Among the Greeks who were pressed, there were some Albanian Priests, who on applying to me were suffered to go on shore, as they had to celebrate mass today in honour of the great Saint Spiridion, whose festival is kept with great devotion at the adjoining Convent of the Piræus : These good Pastors assured me with great Fervency, that their Patron Saint would not suffer the Ship to be wrecked on his own territory, particularly on so auspicious a day, and with so many Christians on board. At one great thump of the Ship on the Rock, Logotheti vowed fifty Piastres to his Patron Saint, his own Christian name is Spiridion. The poor Greeks really did wonders.

Captain Clarke seems disposed to take on board everything that is ready for him,

and the stay he must now necessarily make, to recover his guns, &c, will give Lusieri time to get not only the Ionic columns from the Temple of Venus at Daphne ; but every other marble in the Magazine.

Your Lordship has been fortunate in thus getting so roomy a Ship, and a Captain so disposed to serve you. He desires me to say that if any difficulties should arise about your Lordship's being accommodated with a passage in the *Diana*, he would be most happy to resign to you his Cabins, which are handsome and commodious. He seems a worthy creature ; and unless I have formed a wrong judgement from having seen him under peculiar distress, he will leave you more a freeman on board his Ship, than I have hitherto seen your Lordship. A Naval person can hardly believe, that the *Braakel* ran smack on a boldish shore, with a wind *off* the land—in a clear night, and fine weather. It is attributed to a terrible obstinacy on the part of the Master, who had the Midnight watch when it happened. [Interpolation] Captⁿ Clarke begins taking the cases on board today the 25th. Xmas Day.

I have the honour to be,
With the utmost respect and deference
etc

PHILIP HUNT.

But we must leave the *Braakel*, safely moored in the inner harbour of the Piraeus, and beginning to take in her cargo, and return to the *Mentor*. She had started on her voyage, as we have seen, on September 15, and Lord Elgin, on October 12, in confident expectation of her safe return to Athens, was preparing fresh instructions for Captain Eglen.

On your return to Athens, you must positively receive on board everything which M. Lusieri wishes to embark : and bring any marbles etc. which are not already packed to be packed at Constantinople. I am very much disappointed that you did not take on the Deck, or open the Hatchway to receive the large cases which M. Lusieri had ready for you, when at Athens in September. Captain Cracraft informed you in my presence that the opening could be made without materially damaging the vessel, and certainly without danger. I therefore expressly direct that (in case M. Lusieri wishes it) you have the Hatchway opened sufficiently to receive on board all the cases.

Any Maltese stone or the like was to be put ashore at Athens to make room for the marbles.

But had news been more quick in transmission, the Ambassador would have known that the *Mentor* had long previously been wrecked. No account of the voyage and shipwreck seems to have survived among the Elgin papers. The deposition, however, which was made by Captain Eglen before the British Vice-Consul Emmanuel Caluci of Cerigo, has become accessible, with other papers relating to the wreck and salvage. They were presented by a descendant of Caluci to the Greek Historical and Ethnological Society, and have been printed for the most part by A. Myliarakis in the Greek periodical *Hestia* xxvi. (1888), pp. 681-799, in the course of a general study of the history of the Elgin Collection.¹⁴¹ The story as told here is constructed from the Elgin and Caluci papers in combination. References in the following pages to Caluci's *Letterbook*, refer to an abstract of his letter-book for several years, which is among the Elgin papers.

¹⁴¹ Svoronos, *Athener National Museum*, p. 85, refers also to *Elpis*, No. 1323 (Feb. 18, 1901). Apart from the Caluci papers the

materials used by Myliarakis are for the most part already accessible to Western readers.

On September 18, 1802, William Eglon, son of James Eglon of Wigton,^{141a} Scotland, aged 42, made deposition in Aulemono Harbour, before the British Vice-Consul. The ship's company of the *Mentor* consisted of twelve persons, including the captain, Peter Macpherlan the purser, and Manoles Malis, of Melos, a pilot. At Athens he had taken on board seventeen cases of antiquities, three passengers with three servants, and a Gibraltar seaman. He started on September 15, and reached Cape Taenarum at 6 p.m. on the 16th. A strong West wind blew during the night, which changed in the morning to West-North-West. Tacking, the vessel was driven 40 miles to the South. Much water was being made at the bows, and two men were continually employed to keep it down. For this reason, and because the wind increased during the morning of the 17th it was necessary to make for some harbour. On the advice of the pilot, it was determined to make for Cerigo. They reached Aulemono or S. Nikolo Bay at 2 p.m. and cast two anchors. As the anchors did not hold, they cut the cables, and hoisted sail. The ship, however, drifted, struck on the rocks and sank. For a wonder all were able to jump ashore, though somewhat hurt by the rough rocks. In the first instance they were hospitably received on board an Austrian ship that happened to be in the bay, and were given clothing, etc. Nothing had been saved, not even the passports, log-books, and bill of health. Nothing had since been recovered so far except some oars and sails. Eglon hoped to recover the anchors.

This deposition was confirmed by Hamilton, Macpherlan (? Macfarlane), and the pilot.

Immediately after the wreck, on September 17, Caluci sent out a circular to the leading inhabitants, asking them to appoint persons 'according to the laws,' for purposes of salvage—*διὰ τὸ ρικούπερο, ἂν εἶνε δυνατόν τοῦ μπαστιμέντου*. The notables replied, on the following day, with a high-flown resolution of willingness to help.

In order to understand the exact situation of the wreck it is sufficient to compare the annexed Fig. 6, from a sketch plan in Hamilton's hand of the position of the wreck, with Fig. 7, taken by permission of the Hydrographer from the Admiralty Chart No. 1685. In order that the orientations may agree, Hamilton's sketch is inverted. His note '12 & 13 fathom where the *Mentor* lies' shows that the position must have been between the figure 13 and the dotted 5-fathom line on the chart, between Port S. Nikolo and Mothoni Point.

Hamilton's statement of expenses opens 'Cloathing of Captain Leake and Mr. Squire 300 Turkish Piasters. Do. of myself and Captain Eglon 200 do.' That when the vessel foundered the Englishmen had no time to save their personal effects, is also stated by Leake, in the preface to his *Researches in Greece* (1814), p. x. 'In his passage by sea from Athens to Malta, the ship in which they were embarked was cast ashore on the coast of Cerigo, where, the passengers having hardly had time to gain a footing upon the

^{141a} So Myliarakis (p. 714), but perhaps by error, as one of the seamen was called Wigton.

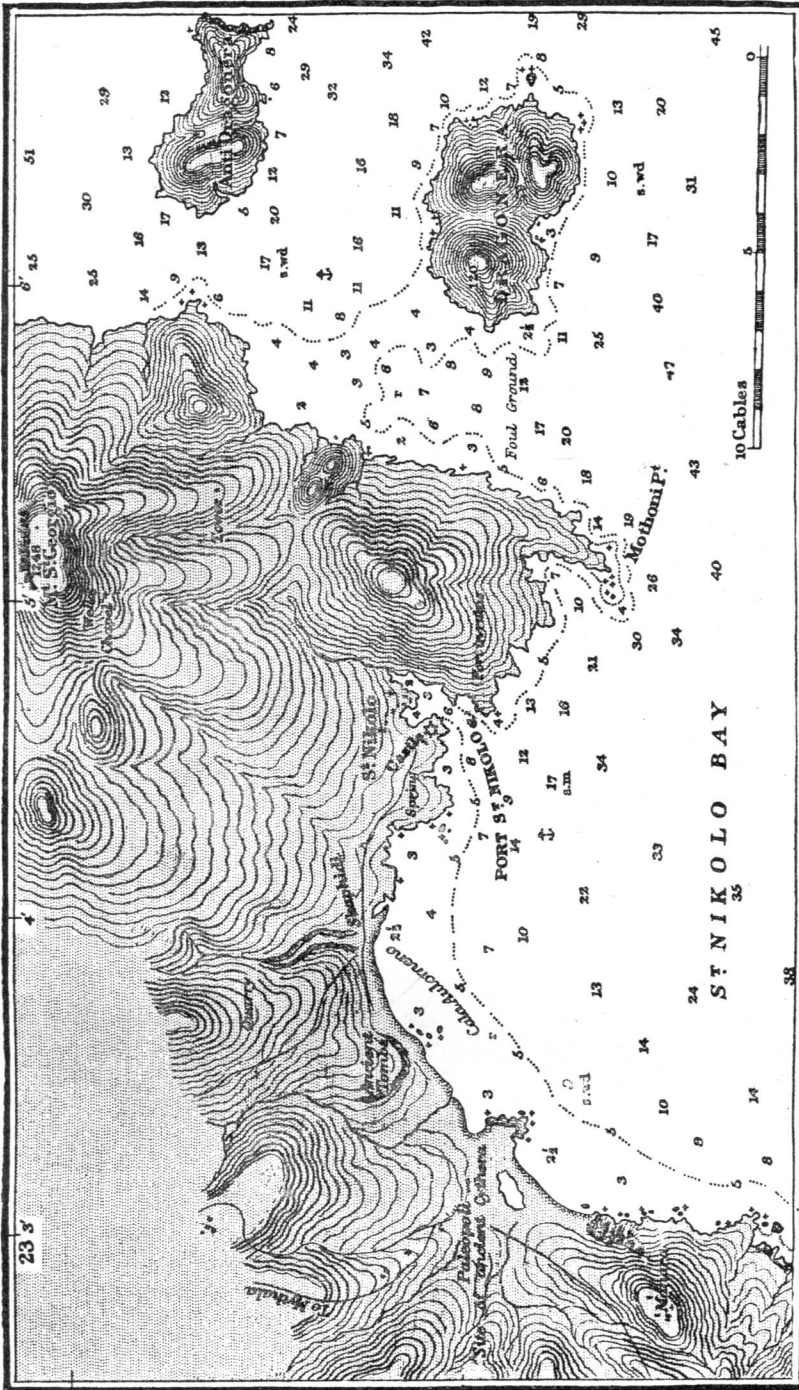


Fig. 7.—S. NIKOLO BAY. (From the Admiralty Chart.)

rocks, before the extremity of the masts was the only part of the vessel visible above the water, he lost the greater part of the memoranda of his former journeys—a misfortune little to be regretted in regard to his travels in Egypt and Syria, as he had the advantage of accompanying Mr. Hamilton, whose papers upon those countries have since been recovered and in part published.¹

Among the effects lost were several hieroglyphic papyri.¹⁴²

A testimonial by Leake and Squire dated September 29, 1803, appears in the *Letterbook* of Emmanuel Caluci, and runs to the effect that he 'treated us with the utmost kindness and hospitality during our stay in this Island since the 17, and has shewed the greatest activity in rendering us the assistance our unpleasant situation required.' On leaving Cerigo, Leake travelled home by way of Trieste, Venice and Mont Cenis, reaching London in January, 1803.¹⁴³

An entry of Captain Eglen in the *Letterbook* shows that the crew were dispersed—some left on September 28 for Spezzia, others on October 5 for Constantinople, and on October 6 for Melos—John Wigton alone was left with the captain.

On September 20 Hamilton made an agreement with the Austrian, and a Spezziote vessel to raise the *Mentor*, and tow her into harbour, for 15,000 piastres each, but nothing came of this attempt. On October 8, he made an agreement with Calymniote divers to salve the cargo for 7,000 piastres. So writes Myliarakis, *Hestia, l.c.* p. 716. Hamilton, *infra*, speaks of 2125 piastres as a quarter of the total, which implies 8500 piastres. The next day they recovered one box belonging to Leake, and in November they recovered the four boxes with the slabs of the frieze of Wingless Victory. These were sent to Smyrna.

Lusieri, at Athens, apparently did not receive the news till after October 4, since the packet sent to Nauplia had for some unexplained reason remained there with the Vice-Consul, and had not been forwarded. He did not think it would be of any use to go to the scene himself, or to interrupt the operations at Athens, then at a critical stage, for that purpose.

The news reached Lord Elgin at Constantinople about October 25, and he immediately took active measures in all directions. One Peter Galvallo,¹⁴⁴ Hamilton's servant, was instructed to proceed to the Dardanelles, with a letter now barely legible, asking the help of Captain Richards of the *Victorieuse*. In the event of Captain Richards being able to go to Cerigo he was to beg a passage on the *Victorieuse*. That failing, he was to ascertain the best way of reaching Cerigo independently, and go on at once. If he went by way of Melos, he might, if possible, also secure the help of the British Agent, Michele. Having carefully ascertained the position as to the salving of the *Mentor*, he was to consult with Strane,

¹⁴² Hamilton, *Aegyptiaca*, p. 407.

¹⁴³ Marsden, *Memoir*, p. 12.

¹⁴⁴ The name is variously spelt, but the owner signs thus.

Consul at Patras, and Foresti, Consul-General at Corfu and Zante, as to further steps. If he had authentic information at any point on his journey that the *Mentor* was salvaged, from any person actually belonging to the brig, and in that case alone, he might return to Constantinople. On arrival at Cerigo, if the brig was recovered, or if further stay at the island would be useless, he might return. In any case he was to write, by all possible routes. The letter to Captain Richards was delivered to the care of Israel Taragano, the British Consul at the Dardanelles, and reached its addressee on October 29. Taragano¹⁴⁵ reported that Captain Richards found some difficulties in the way of immediate action as to which he had written to Lord Elgin in a letter which does not seem to have survived. Taragano had also communicated with Captain Riley of the *Scampavia*, then in reach, but had found that that craft was unprovided with the necessary tackle for salvage service. Gavallo had continued his voyage on board the ship in which he had come from Constantinople. He had also been entrusted with a memorandum of instructions for Captain Eglen in the following terms:—

Memorandum for Captain Eglen or the person left in charge at Cerigo.

1. I am informed that the *Mentor* foundered in the entrance of the harbour of Cerigo about the 20th Sept. and that Mr. Hamilton took measures to endeavour to get her up.

2. I trust that you as well as Mr. Hamilton will make every exertion to recover the Brig and the cargo. I set the highest value on every article she has on board.

3. I now send Mr. Hamilton's servant to make enquiry into the misfortune and assist in procuring all aid that may be further wanting.

4. If the Brig is recovered and requires much repair, before she can put to sea again I desire you may consult with Mr. Strane, British Consul at Patras and follow his advice.

5. If she can proceed with her cargo to Malta, that should be done, and she should afterwards return to Constantinople.

6. If she cannot be again put into repair you must let me know every particular, and not dispose of her till my orders come.

7. If you cannot proceed with her cargo you must have every article that can be saved put into a place of safety, under charge of Mr. Strane or Mr. Consul Foresti. If any King's Ship comes to Cerigo, you must apply for assistance in my name to the Commander and follow his directions.

This letter was sent to Werry at Smyrna, who replied¹⁴⁶ (November 1) that Captain Maling of *La Diane* had arrived at Smyrna, and confirmed the news of the loss. It was his intention to send the *Victorieuse* to Cerigo as soon as she returned to Smyrna. In the meantime there was every reason to hope that the cargo would be saved, but the recovery of the ship was hardly possible.

Three days later Werry could send more detailed news, but to the like effect. The *Mentor* was said to be sunk in ten fathoms of water.

Gavallo also carried a letter from Lord Elgin to Caluci, stating that the salvage was very important. 'The cases contain stones of no great value in themselves, but it is of great consequence to me to save them.' (*Hestia*, *L.c.* p. 717, retranslated.)

¹⁴⁵ Taragano to Elgin, Oct. 29, 1802.

¹⁴⁶ Werry to Elgin, Nov. 1, 1802.

Meanwhile, an elaborate contract was drawn up and signed at Constantinople (November 3) between Basilio Menachini, of Spezzia (or Spetsae), and Lord Elgin in which a Vice-Consul's nomination was made dependent on Menachini's zeal in the work of salvage. The contract recites that Basilio having represented 'that being able from his experience in naval affairs, and the quantity of vessels at his disposal to render service in the neighbourhood of Greece to any British vessels or British Subjects, who may stand in need of such aid' he solicited nomination as Vice-Consul, with liberty to transfer the firman of British protection which he had previously enjoyed to one Demetrio, who was to become his assistant for the purposes specified. The Ambassador assents to the nomination of Menachini as Vice-Consul at Spezzia. It was further agreed that, if on arrival at Spezzia he should find the brig had not been raised, Menachini should proceed to Cerigo to give such help as might be required. He was subsequently to proceed to Athens to consult with Lusieri as to further transport, and to send suitable vessels to Porto Leone (Piraeus) for such service. Any expenses incurred by direction of Hamilton, or of a naval officer, or which were otherwise reasonable would be reimbursed; thirty piastres per ton would be paid for all effects taken to Malta, sixty to Gibraltar.

It is therefore stipulated that the conduct of Mr. Basilio for the recovery of the Brig *Mentor* and her cargo, and for transporting the effects of the Ambassador from Greece, shall be the test of his ability and willingness to render those services to the British Nation, for which the ambassador grants to him the appointment of Vice-Consul, and the disposal of his Firman of protection—and that if in these instances he does not give satisfaction within the space of two or three months from this date, the whole of the arrangement now made for the Vice-Consulship and his Firman shall be null and void.

All these steps had been taken by Lord Elgin upon very insufficient information. On November 11 he wrote to Lusieri:

It would be needless for me to express my profound sorrow for the misfortune that has occurred to the Brig *Mentor*. It is only in the last three days that I have had certain information, and that from the sailors themselves who have arrived here. Previously the rumour had been spread, but having no news, either from you, or from Mr. Hamilton, or from anybody, I could not believe that which is only too true. However my news only go, as far as the 4th of October. Mr. Hamilton was then remaining alone with the Captain at Cerigo, not having received any answers to the applications which, so they assure me, had been made to Napoli di Romania, nor to those which Captains Leake and Squire would not have failed to make at Zante, and at Patras, they having started from Zante at the end of September. Finally, I know nothing except the verbal report of the sailors, as I have had no letters either from Hamilton, or from you.

He goes on to state that Peter Galvallo, Hamilton's servant, had been despatched with such instructions as his lack of accurate information allowed him to give, and he also explains the arrangement with Basilio, of Spezzia, already recited above. He adds that Basilio had been strongly recommended by Lord Nelson and other English admirals, and owned a considerable amount of shipping. Turning to affairs at Athens, he congratulates Lusieri on the successes reported in his letter of October 28.

I hope in no long time to testify my gratitude. In token of it, seeing that your watch is a bad one, and wishing to assure you how valuable your time is to me, I beg you to accept a Breguet watch, that I have used for some years, and to whose merit I can certify. It being a repeater, you will judge that I want you to repeat as much as you have done for me, and as much as you can—I will send the money for the Calmuck to Rome.

Hunt, as we saw above, reached Athens on November 22. At the Piraeus he heard a circumstantial report that the *Mentor* had been raised at a cost of 80 purses, and was now on the way to Malta,¹⁴⁷

but I am sorry we have not been able to authenticate the rumour further than that it came hither from Hydra. Dalmar of Napoli [Nauplia] had sent an express to Pangalli, which reached the Convent here this morning; but he did not accompany it with a single line to Lusieri or Logotheti respecting the Situation of the *Mentor*. His conduct appears to have been uniformly most culpable; as well in not forwarding Mr Hamilton's letters, as by thwarting every service in which he has been concerned for the recovery of Your Lordship's Brig.

Bazilio, the New Consul of Spezzia sailed at Daybreak this morning in a country-boat for his own Island; from whence he is to proceed in a large Ship of his own to Cerigo. He seemed inclined to think that a Slavonian Ship (which is said to be still waiting at Cerigo, to take on board any of the cases that may be saved) would be sufficient for weighing the *Mentor*, with the *Victorieuse's* aid; but I insisted on his fulfilling literally his contract, and he set out with much apparent zeal and promptitude on the service. Nobody here has yet had any information respecting Mr Hamilton's Servant Pierre.

ATHENS Nov 24th 1802

An Express has reached me from Hamilton at Cerigo, an extract of which I send. It gives me much satisfaction to think how great the probability now is, of recovering both the Cargo and the Brig herself, and that most of our unfortunate friend Hamilton's difficulties and sufferings will cease by Captⁿ R's arrival.

Pierre reached Cerigo on the 18th inst—and has set out for Spezzia to procure additional ropes and cables. The Maniot Pirates threaten an attack on Cerigo. Eglen has sailed in the Slavonian (with four cases recovered from the *Mentor*) to Smyrna. The approach of winter had begun to alarm Hamilton, for tho' She had held out against two Gales from the S. yet a repetition of them, might break her up, and the Divers cannot bear the cold under water after ye middle of December—Hamilton has recovered his Travelling notes on Egypt and Syria and his Arabic MSS. but they are much injured by the wet—his notes on Greece and his few Greek medals have not yet been got up. He has however rough sketches of Marathon, Plataea and Thermopylae. Leake and Squire had reached Corfu on their route by Trieste and Venice home.

The full history of the rumours of a Pirate attack is told in *Hestia*, l.c. p. 745.

Peter Gavallo turned out to be a mischief-maker, whose head was swelled by the importance of his mission. At Spezzia he took upon himself to try to dissuade Basilio from carrying out his contract, on the ground that the *Mentor* was altogether destroyed, a total loss. Nor was he happy in his dealings with Captain Richards, who, as we know, needed to be handled with tact.

I am sorry to add that Pierre Gavallo seems to have disgusted every person to whom he has addressed himself in his new commission—Captⁿ Richards has been offended

¹⁴⁷ Hunt to Elgin, Nov. 23, 1802.

beyond conception by his seating himself at his side, and speaking in a tone of more than familiarity, and his conduct has been similar throughout.

On December 9 Hamilton reported direct to Lord Elgin as to the results of the visit of the *Victorieuse*.¹⁴⁸

I had indeed My Lord hoped before this to have given you a more satisfactory Account of the Mentor and her Marbles, as the Arrival of Captain Richards of the *Victorieuse* in particular promised such good Success. He anchored at St. Nicolò the 26th ulto, and remained till the 8th instant. The weather during his Stay was very favorable and if he had had the Assistance of another Vessel of equal force, I cannot doubt but he would have succeeded: And it was in this persuasion that, after I had heard from Pierre on his return from Spicies [Spezzia] where I had sent for some Ropes, I again sent to Captain Basily¹⁴⁹ to lose no time in coming hither in order to perform his Engagements with Your Lordship. He answered that he would be here immediately, and I prevailed on Captn Richards to remain a few days for his Arrival. He accordingly continued here long enough to allow the Speziot time to come; but after 13 days he could no longer delay his Voyage to Malta, and accordingly set sail in the morning of the 8th¹⁵⁰ inst. & had only been gone about two hours when the Speziot ship arrived according to his promise—but without the V. Consul who writes me that he remains behind in order to bring one or more larger ships for the same purpose. This indeed was very provoking; however to make the best of it, I have engaged the Captain of The Speziot who is Brother in Law to the V. Consul, to do his utmost to start the timbers of The Mentor's deck, that so the main-hatches being enlarged, The Divers may be able to get out in a few days the remaining Cases. This same Service I had frequently pressed upon Captn. Richards, but he would do all or none, that is he would raise The Mentor entirely out of water, or leave her as She was. The Hawsers indeed which he brought from Constantinople, being Turkish, were unequal to the attempt, and he was unwilling to risk his own Anchors and Cables. The reason that the Divers are now at a stand, as to getting out any more cases, till they are assisted in this Manner, is, I believe, that the case which is now nearest to the Hatches and of course the first to come out, is a very long one, containing I suppose one half of the Bas-relief taken from the South wall of the Acropolis, and which broke in two, as they were carrying (it) down. The Speziot captain seems very well disposed, and I hope he will succeed the first fine day, tho' indeed his Ship is but small, only carrying 4000 kiloes. The Season is very much against us, and particularly the cold, which will soon prevent The Simiotes diving any

¹⁴⁸ Hamilton to Elgin, Dec. 9, 1802.

¹⁴⁹ 'I have been anxiously waiting for some satisfactory information relative to the Mentor; but I have hitherto only received a letter from Vice-Consul Basilio of Spezzia, repeating the reason of his not having sent the two large Ships to Cerigo, agreeable to his Instructions. He then informs me that he has since had a letter from Mr Hamilton dated on board the *Victorieuse* in Avlemona Roads, expressing his surprise that no Ship had yet come to him from Spezzia and requesting Mr Basilio to send him one instantly with fifteen or twenty men, to aid Captain Richards in weighing the Mentor. Mr Basilio informs me that he sent a Ship immediately to Cerigo with Sixteen men, and that he waits the result with anxiety, promising to write to me as soon as he hears from thence.

'His account increases my surprize at Pierre's

having told Basilio, and having written to me that the wreck of the Mentor had gone to pieces etc. I have since written to Mr. Basilio a strong Philippick, telling him how improperly he had acted in following any other person's advice when he had Your Excellency's written instructions for his guidance; and warning him against similar conduct with regard to his mode of fulfilling the other part of his contract about taking the cases of Marble from hence to Christendom. I have also written to Hamilton a statement of Pierre's conduct.'

Hunt to Elgin, Dec. 22, 1802.

¹⁵⁰ On this date Captain Richards wrote in Caluci's *Letterbook* a certificate that the Consul had 'been very attentive and assiduous' during his stay, and that he commended and highly approved 'his zeal and activity for his Majesty's Service.'

longer : and they tell me they must give it up entirely the 18th of this month ; however if the weather continues fine, & there is any prospect of finishing the whole shortly, I shall probably prevail on them to break thro' their general rule of leaving off on the Holiday of St Nicolas.

Captain Richards has given me the pleasing hope of seeing your Lordship and Lady Elgin on your return Home towards the close of this Month—Never did an unfortunate Prisoner look with more anxiety for the happy moment of his Release, than I for that Day, on which I may escape from this wretched Island, I may have the pleasure of seeing you and yours and my friends with you in good health, and when the frigate in which you will come cannot fail of doing all that may then be requisite towards recovering the Marbles and will be able to carry away them, & what else may be of Value. But I am always in fear lest the Critical Situation of public affairs, which notwithstanding the general peace still appears to exist with regard to Turkey, may oblige you to remain another winter amidst the *plagues* of Constantinople.

Decr. 13th.

It has not been possible to break up the Decks and the Divers almost despair of getting the Cases up by the Hatchway—we shall therefore on the first fine day, try to widen the hole in the Mentor's Starboard Bow, which was made when she struck, that so the cases may be dragged out of the hold, and easily brought up.

A further letter from Hamilton, of December 28, continues the story of events at Cerigo. Between 1800 and the Treaty of Tilsit (1807) the Ionian Isles were a Republic under Russian protection.

It is now forty-two days since I dispatched Giacomo my Servant with the Slavonian to deliver to your Lordship my letters of the Date of 13th November. Those I have since written to your Lordship by way of Athens will I trust soon inform you of my further proceedings towards the Recovery of the Mentor's Cargo, and by the same Opportunity you will learn that the small Polacca dispatched by the Vice-Consul at Spezie, has also left Serigo without having effected any Service. I was sorry that the Departure of the Captain was so sudden that I was neither able to write by him either to Your Lordship or Mr. Hunt, nor give him a Certificate of the time he remained here, the Exertions he made, or the Damages he has suffered. He did indeed all he was able, with the small means he was Master of, but his Ship had not force to break up the Decks, so as to free the Cases of Marbles, and these are so large that without this operation they will not come out. Therefore the only hopes that remain, are that some large Corvette or frigate will do this Business for us or that the winter storms will entirely destroy the Brig : though the great depth of water in which she lies, makes this very uncertain. On the 19th. instant the Delegate (Count Metaxa) and the Russian Garrison arrived and there is every appearance of perfect tranquillity and Security being restored to Serigo in a short time. The Delegate has received Mr. Lefcochilo's letter to the popular Government and would, I am confident, give me every possible assistance. He has himself, (and I and my friends here have seconded him) earnestly recommend(ed) the affair to the Captain of the Russian frigate which brought the troops. His Name is Lewandoff and he is w(e)ll known to your Lordship at Constple. He has however constantly answered that without express orders from his Superiors he cannot consider himself authorized to risque his Ship on the Service, particularly in this advanced Season of the Year, and at a Port, whose entrance is frequently difficult and attended with Danger ; it is a Service also which cannot be attempted but on a Calm Day or with a light land Breeze ; the Days are Short ; his frigate is large and not easily manageable—weather uncertain &c. &c. these are his Difficulties and nothing, I believe will induce him to overlook them, but an order from Mocenigo at Corfou, in consequence of Mr. Tomara's letter to the same : but this order should it be given, cannot reach Serigo in less than a Fortnight, and the frigate will put to sea in five or six days from hence.

Together with the above frigate, a Turkish Corvette left Corfou, destined for Cerigo. This vessel, I am confident from what Mr. Foresti has written me, had orders to assist

in every possible way for the Recovery of the *Mentor*, or her Cargo : but in consequence of bad weather the two Ships parted Company, and nothing has been heard of the *Corvette* since she was at Paxo, and the Delegate is of opinion that she has returned to Corfou. Our hopes therefore from this are, as it were, destroyed, or at least deferred to an indefinite time.

My Sheet-anchor, My Lord, on which I rest my last and best hopes, is the Arrival of your Lordship in an English frigate which I look for also with the greater certainty, as it is reported by a vessel 6 days now from Constantinople, that the *Diana* has gone to Buyukdere, to take in your Lordship's Baggage. Should you come, and if Captain Maling undertakes the Service, the best and shortest means, unless he is quite certain of being able to raise the brig at once, is to attempt nothing but to break up the Deck so as to make the Divers able to recover the Cases which they certainly will do in two or three Days.

After mentioning this, you will, I fear be the more surprised at what I am going to add, which is that, if the Russian Captain will not consent to attempt the above Service, or if he does not succeed in it I have resolved to leave Serigo with him : and I shall do this with the less reluctance, as I feel that by Remaining here I can no longer be of use to your Lordship whether the Turkish *Corvette* or English frigate arrive, the Service will be done equally well and with equal ease, whether I am here or no : and whatever is recovered from the *Mentor*, will remain in perfect Security. As long as there was no established Government in the Island, I felt that my presence here was necessary to ensure this Security, and for the free adoption of those Measures, which I had hoped, would long ago have fully succeeded. This necessity now no longer exists, and I cannot let pass so good an opportunity of going to Zante. Should I there hear that your Lordship is at Athens and intends to make any stay there, I will come. Otherwise I shall proceed homewards as Circumstances tempt me.

I had hoped, My Lord, by remaining here, to have served you more effectually, and should have looked upon this as a full Reward for my long Banishment in this Island : But I have now been here for nearly 3 months & $\frac{1}{2}$ and I am (no) longer useful. You will therefore allow me to think of another Duty to my Father, my friends, and to Myself, which is, as long as I remain out of England, to spend my time as profitably as I can : and I am afraid there are many who will think that that which I have passed here does not merit this name : I must therefore make up for it.

Before I close this letter I shall state to your Lordship the full account of my expences here and also my further Engagements with The Divers.

I cannot omit this opportunity of recommending to Your Lordship in the strongest terms, Mr. Emanuel Caluci, British Vice-Consul here. I have already mentioned his zeal, fidelity, and activity in our Service, and I have since only had occasion to experience further proofs of the same in the worthiest best-informed, and most liberal of the Inhabitants of this Island. He merits every Attention from your Lordship, should it be your fortune to touch here, where I should have found my Residence insupportable, without his Conversation and his Assistance : and I am confident he will afford Your Lordship the same assistance, if wanted, on your arrival, and in the progress of your attempts to recover the *Mentor's* cargo. . . .

For your Lordship's Information I must acquaint you that under the Venetian Government when a Bailo was returning from Constantinople and touched at any of these Islands he was never subject to the laws of Quarantine but was freely admitted to Pratique, and the island in which he landed was put, as they called it, *in Reserva* for 14 Days.

Decr. 30th. I have this Morning dissolved my contract with the Divers I had hitherto employed in Your Lordship's Service, on their Declaration that it was no longer possible for them to dive on account of the cold : and that it was in vain to make any further attempt to get out the remaining Cases untill the Decks are opened : Judging therefore that from what they have already Recovered, they were fully entitled to receive one fourth part of the Sum, agreed for on the Extraction of the whole,

I have had to pay them 2125 *Piasters*. As they have already received of this 590 *Piasters* for the remaining 1525 (*sic*) *Piasters* I have given them a bill on Signor Logotheti at Athens, for which place they will set out in a day or two, together with Pierre, to receive that sum, and to offer themselves to your Lordship or to Mr. Hunt, to renew any Contract you may think proper, by which they are to be employed in the Same Service the Ensuing Spring, on the Supposition that they will then be able to recover the above Cases, or to accompany your Lordship in the frigate, in case you intend to touch at Serigo, on your passage, and the Captain will make the attempt.—

I leave with the Vice-Consul a Commission to act in my absence, for your Lordship's Service; with Directions—how to make the best use of the Turkish Corvette should it come—to take every care of your property on shore of every kind—to assist the Divers should they return from Athens, with a new Contract for the Recovery of the Cases—to dispose of in the most advantagious Manner, all the effects recovered, which cannot be used; in recovering the rest with the reserve of the Brig's Boat, and setting the price of 1400 *Piasters* on the four (?) Guns—to communicate with Your Lordship or with me, on the Expences he incurs and all the measures he may take &c.

I have also recommended, by letter to The Delegate, to afford every protection and assistance hereafter wanted, in whatever may be done in Your Lordship's name in this Service, and I doubt not but the Consul will find no difficulty in obtaining the same.

Decr. 31st.

The inclosed Papers A & B contain the statement (of) all (of my) Expences here chiefly regarding my attempts to recover the Mentor's cargo:—and also a List of the Drafts I have drawn since the 17th. of September for Sums to answer these Expences. I am confident your Lordship must declare them very excessive and perhaps you may conceive them useless and imprudent, but I hope that you will do me the Justice to believe that I should not have incurred them, had I not had at all periods, till this present moment, the most reasonable hope, that these exertions would have proved wholly successful; in which case I believe no one would have called it money ill-spent—Unfortunately I have been thwarted by untoward accidents in every measure I have undertaken; & at last the weather and other circumstances oblige me entirely to abandon the attempt.

P.S. I must beg leave, My Lord, to add that in case you wholly disapprove of what I have done, I shall be ready in England to repay to your Lordship the sums I have expended relying on your goodness to give orders for the acceptance of my bills for the present.

(Signed) WILLIAM HAMILTON.
(A Copy) PHILIP HUNT.

A few items, selected from Hamilton's accounts, are interesting:—

Maintenance of Sailors, Captain, Pilot and Servant till they left Cerigo	650.0
Given to divers on recovering the first case of marbles	130.0
Do. to the Slavonian Sailors for assisting with their boats...	130.0
One quarter of the whole sum agreed by me with Divers on the extraction of all the Cases	2125.0
120 nails for making up the four cases after cleaning the Marbles	3.0
Tobacco given to Divers	5.0
A Rope bought for the Extraction of the cases	40.0
Labour of Peasants on Shore at the Request of Capt'n. Richards	131.30
Do. at the request of the Speziot Captain	15.0
Wine given to the sailors of the Victorieuse	50.30
Ox given to Do.	34.0
Wine given to Divers while they worked with the Victorieuse	5.0
Five knives for divers to cut away ropes	1.8

The total cost in Turkish piastres amounted to 13,986.31.

Hamilton's testimonial (December 29) in Caluci's *Letterbook* is unwontedly oriental in style. After acknowledging the many acts of kindness received, he proceeds: 'My heart will be ever penetrated for the many benevolent and friendly attentions rec^d from your amiable Family and nearest Relations. I shall esteem it a happiness to dye with such sentiments, and glory in declaring them to the World.' On leaving Cerigo, after this prolonged detention, Hamilton went to Zante, and while there received Lord Elgin's acknowledgments of his exertions. In reply, he wrote ¹⁵¹:—

I know not how to return your Lordship my grateful Acknowledgements for the kind terms in which you have been pleased to express your Satisfaction with what my wishes to serve your Lordship to the utmost had prompted me to attempt towards the Recovery of your Brig and her valuable Cargo; not indeed that it was this idea alone which encouraged me to begin and persevere as long as there were hopes; I felt also that I was labouring for Posterity, and that I might recover for my country, the Works of a Phidias, under the Direction of a Pericles, and which once formed the boast and Glory of the most polished Nation of Greece. But for the loss of my time and labour Two Lines of your Lordship's letter were amply sufficient.

I wish that it was in my power to accept Mr. Hunt's Invitation to meet Your Lordship at Athens; I need not say what pleasure it would give me, but as I have told him, Being without my Saddle, I am absolutely unable to ride—particularly long Journies. The late constant Rainy Weather has rendered the Roads and Rivers nearly impassable, and I should have very little hopes of finding your Lordship there when I arrived; as I cannot suppose that any thing but Bad Weather and contrary Winds would detain you there above eight or ten Days. My plan is therefore to pass the Remainder of the winter among the Islands, and in the Spring to pass into the Morea for a few Months, and thence homewards.

As to his further movements, we know that he was at the Court of Ali Pasha at Janina, on May 6, 1803. He had an important secret interview with Ali as to what part that Prince would take in the approaching war with France, and wrote to Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Nelson, and to Sir Arthur Paget at Vienna.¹⁵² On May 26 he was in Thessaly,¹⁵³ in July he was at Athens, in September he visited Cerigo again,^{153a} and in March, 1804, he was at Vienna, on the road home (see below, pp. 259, 296).

Lord Elgin's departure from Constantinople was now at hand. On December 18 he wrote to Lusieri, welcoming the new series of the frieze, and adding that to all appearance he would embark for Athens on January 1, 1803. There must, however, have been delays in starting, and it was not till the 25th that the *Diana*, in which the Ambassador was taking his passage, was lying outside the Piraeus, and he could send a hasty note to Lusieri of his arrival. A series of short notes survives written during the visit, but, as before, they are imperfectly dated. The *Braakel* must, by this time, have completed her repairs and recovered her jettisoned guns, and both vessels were to proceed as soon as possible. A note (probably written on Thursday, January 28) urges the immediate embarkation of all that could be put on board, for a departure on the 29th or the 30th. But there was still a delay of a few days, and on Sunday Lord Elgin writes:—

¹⁵¹ Hamilton to Elgin, Jan. 29, 1803.

letterbook, *Br. Mus. Add. MSS.* 34919, fo. 78.

¹⁵² A copy of the despatch is in the Nelson

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

^{153a} *Hestia*, l.c. p. 729.

May tomorrow be memorable in the annals of Athens! The people of the Braakel, under the orders of the 1st Lieutenant, start at four o'clock in the morning for the Column [of Daphne]. Endeavour, I beg of you to have it set in motion at daybreak, and that the people who go from here [Athens] should be there in good time.

The people of the Diana ought to be at the Piraeus at dawn, for the excavation of the tumulus. Theodore will show them the place.

For you there remain the boxes in the store, the Parthenon marble, and any other work that you think feasible. Put your hand to it, I implore you, that I may be able to start on Tuesday, and not lose the moon, which is so essential for the attempt that is to be made to recover the Mentor. Adieu and good night.

Next day, Monday, further instructions followed as to the embarkation of the artists.

As we embark, tomorrow after dinner, it is necessary that the artists and the baggage should be on board in good time. The plan is that they shall have a little cabin to themselves, where they will dine and sleep. They must take as little baggage as possible—each his own bed. I beg you to see that everything is done towards midday. I also beg you to remember the list of what is shipped on the Braakel, and of what has gone off today, or is ready to go tomorrow. I should also like to have a note of the drawings, measures, sketches, etc., etc., that you are busy packing. Please give me the medals that you have got, without packing them, so that I may add them to my collection, before I begin it afresh in Sicily. I am sending Molvitz [a courier] to explain to the artists what they will want for the ship. Good night.

The start could not be made on the Tuesday, as proposed, and a further note followed on Wednesday:—

We shall start without fail, so that if the column does not arrive soon it will be too late. If the Salamis boat cannot come, would it not be possible to find another? Hurry with the box that yet remains. And if you can devise the means, you would oblige me infinitely, by transporting the Captain's marble [not otherwise mentioned]. If you made a sledge with some bits of wood, I should hope that some oxen could draw it with the help of a few men, and if I knew that they were on the road, I would get the captain to go to your aid, although all his people are very busy with the Braakel.

But these latter arrangements presumably could not be carried out. A hastily scribbled note of farewell runs:—

M. LUSIERI,

Comme le vent nous chasse, je ne peux que vous faire mes adieux par écrit et vous assurer de mon amitié, de ma confiance, et des vœux sincères que j'offre pour votre bonheur. Adieu. ELGIN.

Ce mercredi. [Feb. 3, 1803]

Lusieri,¹⁵⁴ on the same day, had written to his friend Piale at Rome, no doubt with a sigh of relief:—

The Ambassador leaves this, today, for Malta, on board an English frigate, on which I have at last succeeded in getting all these gentlemen embarked, to do their quarantine there, and then to return to their own country. My stay in these regions ought to continue for some time yet, in order that I may employ myself with the pencil.

As you will hear from the aforesaid gentlemen, my health is excellent, and if it continues so, I have a field where I can gain credit. Be so good as to give the enclosed to my sister. I should like a box of anti-pestilential powder.

¹⁵⁴ Lusieri to Piale, Feb. 3, 1803.

Various other commissions follow, the goods to be sent to the care of Lord Elgin at Malta.

I cannot say on what day the *Braakel* sailed. She carried a heavy cargo of the marbles, including the principal statues of the East Pediment, viz., the Theseus, the Demeter and Kore, the Iris, the single Fate, and the pair of Fates; and from the West Pediment the Hermes and the Ilissos. There were also two metopes, seventeen cases of Parthenon frieze, seventeen inscriptions, the Dionysos from the monument of Thrasyllus, seven Egyptian pieces, parts of the cornice and architrave of the Erechtheum, the soffits of the Theseum, the four slabs from the frieze of Nike Apteros, which were the first objects saved from the *Mentor*, the two fragments (B.M. Sculpture, 5, 6) supposed to be from Mycenae, the sundial of Phaidros, and many minor fragments. There were also moulds of the South-West Parthenon metope, and of parts of the friezes of the Parthenon and Theseum.

Lusieri's list¹⁵⁵ of the cases shipped (forty-four in all) has long been in the British Museum, to which it was sent by Hamilton¹⁵⁶ with the comment: 'I send you a paper which I have just found amongst a parcel of old letters. . . . It can be but of little value, but it may as well be preserved under the same roof with the marbles themselves, and amongst the documents relating to them.'

Little was accomplished at Cerigo. More than a month later¹⁵⁷ Lord Elgin wrote to Lusieri from Naples: 'We took more than four weeks reaching Malta, after spending one day only at Cerigo, whence we were driven by bad weather. This same weather took us to Candia. At a second attempt we failed altogether to reach it.'

An entry in Vice-Consul Caluci's *Letterbook* states that on February 4, 'on board the *Diana* at Aulemona' the Ambassador expressed to Caluci his sense of that officer's zeal and hospitable aid to the shipwrecked company. In a letter (*Hestia*, l.c. p. 717) he said that he would try to make arrangements at Malta, and urged Caluci to take good care of the wreck in the meantime. On the same day he wrote to the Governor of Cerigo, regretting that he could not call, on account of the shortness of his stay, and begging the Governor's good offices towards further attempts at salvage.

Sebastian Ittar was left behind at Malta, under the terms of an engagement signed at Malta on March 11 by Lord Elgin and Ittar with Hunt as witness. He undertook to finish the fair copies of his work. His admirable drawings were forwarded in due course by Captain Dickens, Commandant of Royal Engineers at Malta, to the care of the Dowager Lady Elgin at Shooter's Hill. They were dispatched in November, 1803, and July, 1804, and appear to have travelled without misadventure. They were included in the purchase, and are now (together with the rough working drawings (cf. fig. 3) in the British Museum (Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities).

¹⁵⁵ Dept. of Antiquities, *Letters on Antiquities*.

¹⁵⁶ Hamilton to Hawkins, July 25, 1834.

¹⁵⁷ Elgin to Lusieri, March 16, 1803.

Here we part with Ittar, except for one subsequent glimpse. In 1821 Lord Elgin met him at Catania and discussed the possibility of engraving the Athenian drawings, only to put the idea on one side. He suggested, however, to Hamilton (at that date Minister at Naples) that Ittar might be commissioned to pick up Sicilian vases.¹⁵⁸

It was Lord Elgin's intention to spend the Holy Week of 1803 at Rome (Easter fell that year on April 10), and he appears to have done so. On April 11, an agreement was executed with Feodor, binding him to come to England to finish and engrave his drawings, on terms of a salary of £150 per annum, £50 for the expenses of each journey and free board and lodging in England. The agreement was duly signed, and in Lord Elgin's statement of expenses in 1811 he says that his draftsman was two years in England, but we seem to have no further information on the subject.

Of Feodor, as of Ittar, we here take leave, with one later mention. In a letter of October 15, 1820, written to Hamilton from Munich, Lord Elgin says: 'Here the Dowager Margravine of Baden (mother of the Queen) has given me accounts of the Calmouck who is still with her at Baden, and after a long struggle seems to have sufficiently conquered his propensity for drink to be usefully nonemployed.' From the Dictionary (Mueller-Singer, *Allgem. Künstlerlexicon*) we learn further that he was Court-painter at Karlsruhe, that he executed a series of bible-scenes in the Evangelical Church of that city, that he engraved a series of 12 plates after the Ghiberti gates at Florence, and a plate after a Deposition of Michelangelo. He died at Karlsruhe, 27 January, 1832.

While at Rome Lord Elgin discussed the question of restoration with Canova.¹⁵⁹

The decision of that eminent artist was conclusive . . . He 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 . . . 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.'

From Rome Lord Elgin proceeded homewards by way of Genoa and Marseilles. It was his misfortune to be in Paris at the time of the notorious decree of the First Consul (2 Prairial, an 11 de la République) making all Englishmen between the ages of 18 and 60 prisoners of war. He was arrested on or about May 23, 1803. He remained at Paris until July, when he was allowed to proceed to Barèges in the Pyrenees, and subsequently to Pau, where he took a house near the town in October. From November 28 to December 13 he was confined in the Château Fort at Lourdes by way of reprisal for severities said to have been exercised on General Boyer in England. Word had reached France that that officer

¹⁵⁸ Elgin to Hamilton, Jan. 3, 1821. In 1812 *di Catania*. Obl. fol. Catania.
Ittar published a *Raccolta degli antichi edifici*

¹⁵⁹ *Memorandum* (1815), p. 39.

was a prisoner in Newcastle-under-Lyme. The name suggested such alarming ideas to the French mind, that Lord Elgin's arrest was the consequence. After his release he was allowed to return to Pau. He remained in France as a prisoner of war until 1806, when M. de Talleyrand in person forced him to sign a declaration engaging him to return to Paris whenever summoned by Napoleon. This parole was never rescinded, and Lord Elgin continued under the restraint of it till the Emperor's abdication in 1814.

The period of the French imprisonment makes a break between the earlier and the later stages of our story. During the period of his Embassy (1800-1803) Lord Elgin was not far from Greece, and though communications were slow and irregular, he was able to exercise a general control of the operations. During the period of his imprisonment (1803-1806) communication almost ceased, and Lusieri was carrying on his work almost single-handed and unsupported. During the third period, after Lord Elgin's release in 1806, his main preoccupation was to bring home what remained of the collections, and to effect their transfer to the public. The narrative of Lusieri's later years at Athens can be told briefly in the following section before we turn to the story of the Marbles in England.

PART III.

Later Years in Greece.

The Company of Artists, as we have seen, left Athens in the spring of 1803, and Lusieri was thenceforth relieved of the duty of supervising their operations. The work of collection, however, was carried on with vigour. On April 27 he made a report to Lord Elgin.

Mr. Drummond¹⁶⁰ [Lord Elgin's successor in the Constantinople Embassy] had arrived on board the frigate *Medusa* (Captain Gore) and had received the assiduous attentions of Lusieri both at Athens and Eleusis. A change had taken place in the Voivode, and Lusieri had not failed to make use of Mr. Drummond's presence to impress him. The new acquisitions included one of the Caryatids, the column from the Eastern Portico of the Erechtheum, various inscriptions, small reliefs, marble vases and fragments. Captain Gore had taken seven cases on board the *Medusa*, namely, the Caryatid, two metopes, three cases of moulds, and one case with the porphyry column. Three days later, a Ragusan brigantine, the *Dorinda*, 320 tons, which had been chartered on Lord Elgin's behalf by Mr. Alexander Macaulay, of Malta, reached the Piræus.¹⁶¹ The vessel had called at Cerigo, where apparently it had expected to find Hamilton, but had not found him, and all work was suspended. This must have been a chance cessation, since the divers

¹⁶⁰ Sir William Drummond (1770?-1828).

¹⁶¹ Lusieri to Macaulay, May 11, 1803. Lusieri to Elgin, May 12, 1803.

had returned to Cerigo in February. The vessel was laden with one case of moulds and 29 cases of marbles, 'not things of the first class, but still of value and service,' making up to the present a total of 128 cases shipped. It was arranged that the vessel should call again at Cerigo on the return voyage to Malta (cf. *Hestia*, l.c. p. 732.) The captain was doubtful whether his resources would enable him to be of service, and was unwilling to visit such a dangerous port as S. Nikolo without a new bargain, but he was given authority to take on board the cannon which were in the hands of Vice-Consul Caluci, in order to defend himself from the pirates who infested the neighbouring waters. Lusieri would have gone himself to Cerigo, but judged the moment favourable for work on the Acropolis. 'Logotheti has shown some zeal, but for fear of the pirates has stayed at home.'

Two letters written by Lusieri during the summer failed to arrive, or have been lost, and the next account that survives is dated September 26. The acquisitions to be reported were 10 consecutive slabs of the South Frieze, the three metopes at the South-East corner of the Parthenon, and the two horses' heads from the South angle of the East pediment, which were now in the store and for the most part packed.

There were, however, difficulties arising. No letter had been received from Lord Elgin since he had left Naples. Mr. Drummond had not sent a new firman, and Mr. Tooke had not sent the watch and gold snuff-box which the new Voivode had been led to expect.

Owing to the delay in sending me the presents and the new letters, I have run a very great risk, in these last days. Two very rich English gentlemen were on the point of offering as much as 50,000 piastres, to obtain the frieze. Happily I was told of it, and I made them see that it was impossible, that it was necessary to have firmans, but that in any case I would not have let Your Excellency be second to anybody. In consequence they did nothing, and will do nothing. I will work at this new acquisition with all the necessary vigour, and I hope, My Lord, that the frieze will be yours. Lord Aberdeen who has been here since the beginning of this month, starts tomorrow for Constantinople, and it is with him that I send this letter to Mr. Tooke.

The Lord Aberdeen here mentioned was the fourth Earl of Aberdeen (1784-1860), who was now travelling at the age of twenty, and who, on his return home, founded the Athenian Society (confined to those who had travelled in Greece) and acquired the name of Athenian Aberdeen.

There is again a long pause in the letters, and the next which is preserved from Lusieri (February 6, 1804) is full of complaints and discouragement. He cannot hear from Lord Elgin, from whom he had last received a letter of June 3 previous.¹⁶² Mr. Drummond is evidently opposed to the enterprise and gives no support. Fauvel (who had returned to Athens in January, 1803, with the rank of Sous-Commissaire—see

¹⁶² In this letter, which is extant, Lord Elgin wrote 'Au milieu de toutes les chances de cet époque memorable, celle de réunir le caractère d'Ambassadeur et la situation de

prisonnier de guerre, n'avoit guères entré dans mes calculs. Me voici cependant arrêté à Paris, en qualité de Prisonnier de Guerre.'

Rev. Arch. 3rd ser. xxx, p. 201) was taking a hostile attitude. One new piece of the frieze, that adjoining the North-West angle, had been secured,

but at present I must stop. Fauvel has frightened all the Turks. After a number of extravagant fanfarronades, he told the Disdar that he had received an order from his Ambassador to take a note of all the marbles that your Excellency has taken, and to send it to him. Let him do whatever he likes, though he may get firmans empowering him to take, I very much doubt his succeeding without his paying. Then, we shall see.

The position of affairs was not materially altered during the following months. On May 18, 1804, Lusieri wrote again. A letter from Lord Elgin of September 11 had reached him on April 2. From other nearer correspondents at Constantinople and Malta he was unable to get replies to his letters. The conditions were still unfavourable, and work on the Acropolis was suspended.

In the meantime the workpeople were being employed in excavations elsewhere not without success, especially at the so-called 'Tomb of Aspasia.'

In the excavation of the great tomb in the vineyards, on the way to the Piraeus, which had been very badly begun, I have found, at ten feet below the general level a big vase of white marble, quite plain, seven feet in circumference and two feet three inches in height. It contains another bronze vase of good execution, 4 ft. 4 in. in circumference and 1 ft. $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height. In the interior of this latter, there were some burnt bones, upon them a branch of myrtle, of gold, with flowers and buds. The exterior vase, pressed down by the enormous weight of the tomb, was broken, and the complete preservation of the interior vase was thus prevented. On the out-side, and beside the vase, there was another, very fine indeed, of alabaster, much bigger than anything I have seen in that style with a length of 1 ft. 7 inches, and 1 ft. in circumference . . . The tomb which has a height of about 80 feet, and a circumference of 250, and the form of a mound, was made with sand brought from different streams which cross the plain of Athens . . . I did not think there was any interest in keeping the bones. I collected them, placed them in an antique terracotta vase, closely shut, put them back in the same place, and restored the tomb to its former state.

The vases of marble (Brit. Mus. No. 2415) and bronze stand, one within the other, in a corner of the Elgin Room. They are brought into the centre of Archer's picture (Fig. 16). The myrtle wreath is at Broomhall.

The writer adds that the collection of coins was making progress, though Lord Aberdeen was buying freely.

At the Piraeus and in store there were 38 boxes, containing slabs of the North and South frieze, two pieces of the West frieze, the three best preserved metopes from the South-East angle, two horses' heads from the East pediment [the horses of Helios already mentioned], and other objects. The letter closes with a request for several books and some quinine.

We must now return to the protracted operations for the salvage of the *Mentor*. The divers had returned to Cerigo in February, 1803, and seem to have worked during the summer without a fresh contract. In July, Hamilton was again at Athens, and in communication with Caluci. We learn from Caluci's *Letterbook* that on July 20 he wrote to Caluci that he had received his letters of April 22, saying that no instructions had been

received, as promised, from Malta. He therefore thought he was acting in the best interests of Lord Elgin in authorising Caluci to take the best means of salvage in his power within a limit of 6,500 piastres. Hamilton left Athens on July 23. In September he visited Cerigo, and an elaborate contract, dated 20 September, was drawn up between Caluci and the divers. The objects to be salvaged in the first instance were 16 cases, and the throne, which had lost its case. The four cases with the slabs of the frieze of Nike Apteros had been recovered at an early stage and sent away, and there were therefore 13 objects to be dealt with. Five of these had been salvaged during the summer of 1803, and eight remained in September, 1803. The contract provided that the divers should continue their work to recover the remaining eight objects, and should receive 400 piastres for each salvaged, together with their board and an allowance of 150 piastres for their boats and expenses. (For the contract in full, see *Hestia*, l.c. p. 729.) Six of the remaining cases were recovered before work was broken off on 29 December, 1803. The divers were sent to Logotheti at Athens for their money, and on 7 January, 1804, Caluci wrote to Lord Elgin that he had bound the divers to return in April. He added that he had endured much from the barbarous conduct of the divers, who were men of unstable character, and mostly drunk. (*Hestia*, l.c. p. 730.) The twelfth case was recovered on 9 June, and finally the marble throne, which had given special trouble, for want of a case, was recovered in the later summer.

At length, on October 24, 1804, more than two years after the wreck of the *Mentor*, Lusieri reported¹⁶³ the complete success of the salvage operations:—

I have the satisfaction to inform you that at last all the marbles at Cerigo have been recovered, and we have good reason to rejoice, for they all deserve to be jealously guarded. I confess however that I live in a state of uneasiness seeing that both those and these here that are even better, and ready for shipment, are still in these barbarous shores. I have not failed on my part to write several times to all those who ought to have interested themselves both on account of Milord Elgin, and still more on account of the national advantage. But unfortunately I see plainly that in these regions there are no true friends of Milord, and still less are there lovers of the fine arts. . . .

My diggings continue to increase the collection of vases but so far I have not had the good fortune to find any of such a kind as was promised long ago by several fragments of big vases of the greatest perfection, from those same diggings. I always have a pencil in hand at the same time. I have had no direct news from His Lordship since September of last year.

Before the actual completion of the salvage Lord Elgin had managed to get into communication, through Sir Alexander Ball, with Lord Nelson, who wrote as follows to Captain Schomberg, of H.M.S. *Madras*¹⁶⁴:—

Victory, at Sea, 2nd September, 1804

Sir,

Lord Elgin having requested through Sir Alexander Ball that I would allow a ship to call at Cerigo, to bring from thence to Malta some marble antiquities, and as I am

¹⁶³ Lusieri to Hamilton (?), Oct. 24, 1804.

¹⁶⁴ The letter is printed in Marsden's *Memoir of William Martin Leake*, p. 12.

perfectly disposed to meet his Lordship's wishes on this occasion, I am to desire you will send a small transport to Cerigo, with the first convoy going up the Levant, and leave her there, for the purpose of receiving the antiquities before-mentioned on board—provided it is a safe place for her to remain at—till the return of the convoy. You will then direct the officer in charge thereof to call at Cerigo, and bring the transport with his Lordship's antiquities on board safe under his protection to Malta, where Sir Alexander Ball will direct the disposal of them. And if it is intended to send them to England, you will give the necessary orders accordingly.

I am &c &c

NELSON & BRONTE.

For the better protection of the boxes from pirates and weather, they were buried by Caluci under seaweed and brushwood, covered with big stones, and remained thus on the Aulemono beach. The only incident that occurred was the abstraction of the stones by peasants at work on a garden wall near by. Caluci reported the matter to the Governor (or 'Prytanis'), who required the village authorities to replace the stones at their own expense.

The shipment ordered by Nelson took place on February 16, 1805, by means of the British transport, *The Lady Shaw Stewart*, Capt. George Parry, under convoy of the schooner *Réynard*. The consignment consisted of the marble throne, twelve boxes of marbles, numbered 1—12, and A.M., and various guns and ships' stores. Hamilton, on hearing the good news, sent cordial congratulations to Caluci.¹⁶⁵ I do not find any record of the date of the further transport of the rescued marbles to London. The big relief is shown in Cockerell's sketch of 1810 (Fig. 10).

Difficulties of finance suddenly made themselves felt during the autumn of 1804.¹⁶⁶ Mr. Tooke, of Constantinople, upon whom Lusieri had been drawing, gave notice that no more bills must be drawn upon him on Lord Elgin's account. The funds left with him were exhausted, and the London bankers had refused to send more. Tooke is quoted as writing: 'I fear that Mr. Hamilton has very imprudently encouraged the disburse of more money on the business you have been employed in than Lord Elgin proposed, and it does not suit me to make any advance.' 'He speaks,' Lusieri goes on, 'as if important sums had been spent here, whereas since His Lordship's departure to this moment, not more than 20,550 Turkish piastres have passed through my hands, for the acquisition of about twenty pieces of Parthenon frieze, of three metopes, and for diggings, transport, cases, etc.' Bills were coming in (including one of 651 piastres for digging in the tomb of Agamemnon), and Lusieri had been obliged to represent to Tooke that he could have drawn on Hamilton (?) for a certain sum while waiting for further instructions, and so not have brought the operations to a sudden and ignominious conclusion. He must, therefore, beg for support and assistance. Lord Elgin, at Pau (January 12, 1805), wrote lamenting that he had only just received the first letter that had come to hand since he left Greece. He promised all such help as it was in his power to give, and urged excavation in Attica, and at Eleusis, Megara, Corinth, Argos, Epidaurus, Salamis, and Aegina, but the

¹⁶⁵ Caluci's *Letterbook*. His letter to Hamilton and the answer are printed in *Hestia*, l.c. p. 731-2.

¹⁶⁶ Lusieri to Hamilton (?), Nov. 7, 1804.

letter was long in arriving. On July 4, 1805, Lusieri was again writing to Lord Elgin:—

No news from your Excellency. I understand however from the French who are here that you are well, and also Miladi and her family. My last letter¹⁶⁷ (of May 30) informed you that Mr. Tooke had determined not to allow me to draw money as usual. This strange and wretched decision which he formed, of sending me an express message dated the 15th Oct. with orders not to draw any more either for continuing your Excellency's operations, or for my own salary, was based on a refusal of your Excellency's London bankers to supply further money. But this reason is insufficient, since he could not have risked more than two or three thousand piastres while waiting for fresh orders. Unable to borrow money at 10 p.c., I should have had to suspend my operations altogether, or else to borrow money at 20 p.c., for which M. Logotheti obtained offers, since he had none himself. I communicated all that to Mr. Morier, who was at that time at Corfu, and begged him to send me two or three thousand piastres, but after various letters that I sent him, he wrote at length that he could not lend me money since he had none, with any of the Constantinople bankers. Captain Leake however, having heard of my need, wrote to me from Tripolizza generously offering me money and sent 3000 piastres, at my request. That sum I returned to him at once, having heard of new arrangements on the part of Mr. Tooke at that moment. Mr. Tooke died at the end of the month of April, and I have not yet received any letter from his successor, of whom I do not even know the name. The first thing that I did when I received the money was to pay 655 piastres to Mr. Vlassopulo of Argos, for the cost of the excavations that he made at the tomb of Agamemnon by your Excellency's orders.

Some time since M. Pisani wrote again to Mr. Logotheti, that thenceforward I was not to take any more statues, or columns etc. The various diggings continue to yield very fine vases but not big ones.

For the last two months there have been several English here—the Chev. Monk, with her Ladyship (who has just given him a boy), Mr. Doddwell, Mr. Gell, who boasts of descent from Aulus Gellius, Mr. Beken [Bacon ?] and Mr. Makencie. The latter is a very amiable man. As for the others, they conduct themselves in such a way as to disgust everybody, and I think that those who come after will not find the same civility either here or at Argos. These gentlemen have wanted to undertake diggings without firmans, without asking permission of the Voivode, or of the land owner, and without making any return. The Voivode has been so much disgusted that he has stopped them from going on, letting all know that he would not allow anyone whatever to dig except me.

On August 30, Lusieri wrote that his excavations had been successful. He had been finding six marble urns, with vases and alabaster, beyond the Museum hill and near the Ilissos. He was hoping for a ship from Malta, for which forty cases were ready and waiting. 'I have just finished, entirely after nature, a coloured drawing of three feet, of the very picturesque monument of Philopappos, and am working at present on another, still larger.' Presumably this drawing of the Philopappos monument is the one which is extant at Broomhall (see below, p. 289) and which is here published (Fig. 8) by Lord Elgin's permission as an example of the artist's finished work. Lusieri adds that the vases which he had been finding require mending and cleaning, and that they have designs which will come out after cleaning. This work was not undertaken until a century had passed, and the vases

¹⁶⁷ This letter is missing.

thus cleaned were shewn at the Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of ancient Greek art in 1903. The particular vases described in this letter were probably a part of the collection confiscated by Ali Pasha.

The enemies of the Voivode were charging him with having received 150 purses for the license to remove marbles, and were asking him to account for the money, but nothing had been taken from the Acropolis since the arrival of the Voivode in question.

On October 4 Lusieri wrote to an unnamed correspondent—probably Hamilton:—

Your letter of April 15 only reached me on the 25th of last month. . . . I was much concerned at Milord's recent loss, and at the state of grief in which he lay on account of the death of his child [a boy, William, who died in infancy]. I have not failed to write to Milord every two months at least, and am very sorry that nothing has reached him except my letter of August of last year, as he is without all details of my works and operations. My letters have always been addressed to London, for the most part, by way of Mr. Tooke.

He adds that he cannot leave till all the collection is shipped, and would be grateful for French translations of classical authors—Herodotus, Thucydides, Pausanias, Plutarch, Homer, and others, as well as a book on Greek coins. The present Voivode is causing him much vexation by forbidding all excavations, and he attributes this to Gell, 'who has not by any means English manners.' Four days later Lusieri¹⁶⁸ wrote to Lord Elgin, attributing his difficulties to Gell, who had been saying freely among the French that the operations were discountenanced by the present Ambassador. These utterances had reached the Voivode, who had in consequence forbidden all excavations. Lusieri was therefore writing to the Ambassador, to Pisani (the chief Dragoman), and to Tooke's successor, begging the latter to urge the Ambassador to obtain what was necessary for a continuance of the work and for shipping the collections. 'The month of October is an unfortunate one for me, for in this month last year I was prevented from drawing money, and in this I am stopped from excavating, which is worse. I am full of bitterness, but I hope, in God, that this unfortunate moment will soon pass.' This phase of discouragement was not, however, so brief as Lusieri had hoped. In the spring he was still asking for further support. Writing to an unnamed 'Excellency,' apparently the Dowager Lady Elgin,¹⁶⁹ from references in a subsequent letter, he says:—

The reason why I take the liberty of writing to Your Excellency is the general nonchalance about an object which is the passion of Milord Elgin, and which will charm the whole nation. I have not failed to write at various times, according to Milord's instructions to all the persons who had ought to be interested, but without the least profit. For the last two years there has been here a very considerable cargo, which is steadily increasing, and amounts to 40 cases, ready to be put on board. Twenty-five of these contain masterpieces of ancient sculpture, and of a preservation superior to every thing that has been sent as yet. They ought to be exported from here. I have advised it many times to the ministers, to the British Ambassadors at the Porte, I have written

¹⁶⁸ Lusieri to Elgin, Oct. 8, 1805.

¹⁶⁹ Lusieri to the Dowager Lady Elgin (?), Feb. 24, 1806.

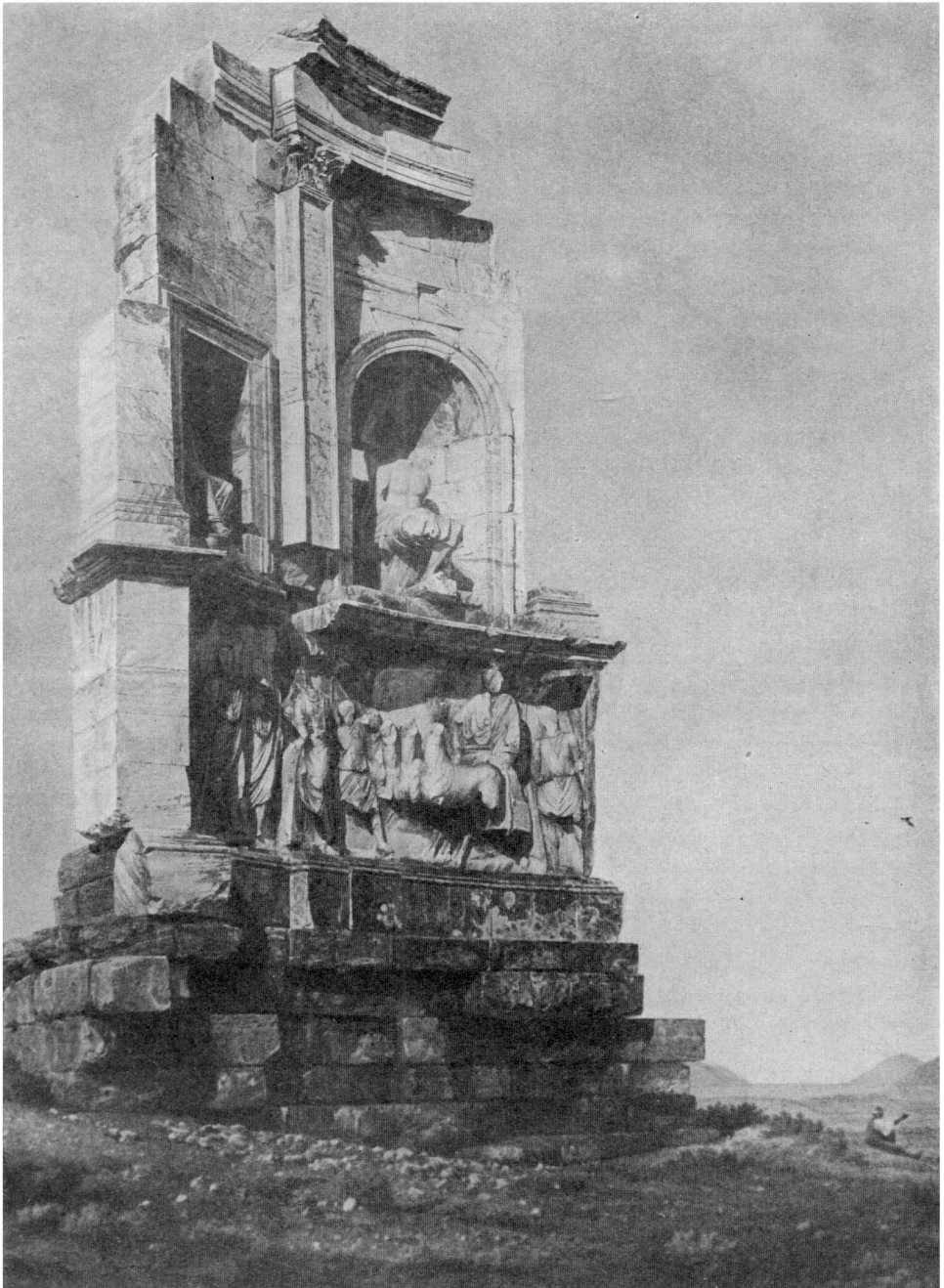


FIG. 8.—THE MONUMENT OF PHILOPAPPUS AT ATHENS.
(From the drawing by G. B. Lusieri.)

about it often to Mr. Ball at Malta, to Mr. Hamilton, but so far nobody takes any interest. It seems to me that all these gentlemen who ought to favour this acquisition, do not want to take part in it, without some special instruction or recommendation.

Letters were therefore urgently needed for Constantinople, and for Ball at Malta, that he should send a ship.

The same condition of affairs lasted through the summer, and on August 30 Lusieri was still writing in the same mood.¹⁷⁰ After expressing his satisfaction at hearing of Lord Elgin's good health, and his hopes that he was now happy in the middle of his family, he continued, that in spite of the absence of letters to the Voivode, and want of money, the operations were going on daily, but that without the one and the other it was impossible to work on the scale desired by Lord Elgin in the Morea and the islands, as well as Attica.

Captain Brown [?] has not yet appeared. It will not be superfluous to find some other means also, for it seems to me rather difficult for a single vessel (unless it is a ship of the line) to take on board 40 cases and more, full of marbles.

Seeing neither ship, nor letters, and short of money, I took the resolve in the month of January to write the state of things to the Countess of Elgin, Milord's mother, but so far unfortunately I do not see any help from that quarter either, and what is still worse, I am surrounded by people of the most unsupportable idleness.

Lord Elgin, meanwhile, had written a cordial letter of encouragement (July 22, 1806) immediately after his return, urging the shipment of the sculptures, and adding that he was sending 'everything that had been asked for, and everything that he had imagined might be agreeable.' The letter is endorsed as received through Walpole, on November 3, 1806. Another letter followed (November 3, 1806) urging that as public interest in Greece was increasing, the drawings of the tour with Hunt should be sent home at once, in wash. A suggestion, forwarded by Lusieri, that a clock should be presented to the town, was cordially accepted, and information was asked as to whether the face should be European or Turkish.

Before the first of Lord Elgin's two letters had been received, Lusieri had heard a report of his liberation, and wrote to him on the whole situation.¹⁷¹

I have the satisfaction of learning by public rumour that your Excellency is in England, and I have many causes for rejoicing exceedingly thereat. The unfortunate position of your Excellency had cast ice over all your friends, for none has ever stirred himself for the least trifle, though I have not failed, and that very frequently to let them know all that I needed. They have not even deigned to answer. . . . How often have I not written about it to Pisani! He does not answer me. It is almost a year since he wrote to Logotheti that there was nobody at Constantinople who wanted to provide money on your Excellency's account. Then I, not knowing what to do, took the resolution of writing to H. E. the Dowager Countess of Elgin; but although several months have gone by since then, I do not yet see any satisfaction to my demands. This wretched state of things, and the rumour which circulated from time to time that I would be prevented from shipping the boxes, put me into a condition of inexpressible bitterness. The letter that Your Excellency sent me, dated Jan. 12, 1805 only reached

¹⁷⁰ Lusieri to Lady Elgin (?), Aug. 30, 1806.

¹⁷¹ Lusieri to Elgin, Oct. 10, 1806.

me on March 13 of the present year. I answered it in the manner indicated, but for want of means I have not been able to undertake the excavations as I ought, and as I should like. . . .

I cannot dig in the Isles without a permit from the Captain Pasha, nor in the Morea without letters for the Pasha of that region. Among the vases found in the diggings, there are some which ought to be cleaned, and others which ought to be restored. It is at Naples that skilled persons are to be found, who were employed by Sir [William] Hamilton to put the vases in order that he sent to England. If circumstances allow, I should like to land in Sicily, to get my drawings, by the first ship that comes to load the marbles. Then I will bring the vases as well to put them into proper condition, and send them quite complete to your Excellency. . . . If political affairs are settled, could I not take in the same voyage all these fragments of the frieze, and the three metopes, to have them restored at Rome? I await your Excellency's decision on this point. As I have never received either the leave of the king or of Sir [John] Acton,¹⁷² for which I begged you so earnestly, I need a letter for the English Minister, and another for General Acton, to enable me to land safely in that island. It is necessary to send me a very strong cart to use here and elsewhere. Those that I had have been reduced to a pitiful condition. I am utterly disgusted with the indolence and procrastination of old Logotheti. He has always had the same faults, but at present he is at the limit. He prolongs business to infinity, and in that way favourable moments are often lost. He is ill regarded and has not the least influence on account of the bad conduct of all his children, and the folly of Nicolacci [his son]. Several English have even threatened to make him lose his vice-consulate, and sooner or later he will lose it. As your Excellency's affairs will be much better in my hands, I intend from henceforth to have nothing to do with the Greeks. I don't need them. I talk the language sufficiently, and I shall begin directly to learn Turkish, to dispense with them.

Those two poor men who have been working from the beginning for your Excellency, and for whom you gave me patents, will be ruined immediately I leave this country, because Pisani has never sent the firmans for them. If they have the patents alone, without being supported as they ought, they will have to pay, after all, what they have not paid so far, or else they will be ruined by Logotheti. I commend them to your Excellency's recollection. Each day I am busy drawing from nature, my drawings are on large paper, they take me a great deal of time, because I study as much as I can, to make them resemble nature. I am convinced that it is not by the great number of drawings that an Artist makes his reputation, because quantity in such a difficult art only indicates imperfection. Unfortunately people have a craze nowadays for filling their cabinets with pictures that are only looked at once. I wait with the greatest impatience to undertake the execution of your plans, and for the arrival of a vessel to ship all the boxes. Without that, I cannot leave the town for a moment.

At length in the following spring (February, 1807)¹⁷³ Lusieri had the satisfaction of receiving the two boxes of stores. Some he had asked for; others he said were unexpected, but all of great utility. The excavations were continuing successfully. With regard to the architecture, he urged that it was necessary to measure the monuments with the utmost nicety. Such a request at this stage of the proceedings must, one would suppose, have rather dismayed Lord Elgin, who no doubt thought that this had been provided for seven long years before. The Parthenon must be measured carefully.

Balestra was very capable of this operation, but on account of his physique [It will be remembered he was a hunchback] he was often obliged to trust this matter

¹⁷² Sir John Francis Edward Acton (1736-1811), Prime Minister of Naples.

¹⁷³ Lusieri to Elgin, Feb. 3, 1807.

to his pupil, who was nothing great in the matter of accuracy—and they were both unable to wash in a drawing well.

I think therefore, that while I am here, it would be a good thing to have all these monuments measured drawn and washed in over again, and under my eyes.

For this purpose he would need a copy of Stuart, or at least of his plates, and would also take moulds of all the mouldings. He had already been making enquiries in Italy for a competent architect.

The boxes are still here. May le bon dieu grant that they be embarked without opposition.

But political movements in a wider area cut suddenly athwart all these schemes. In 1802, Russia had received a pledge from the Porte that the appointment of the Hospodars of the Danubian Principalities should be for a term of seven years, and that they should not be dismissed without the concurrence of the Russian Ambassador at the Porte. In 1806 the Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia, who had engaged in intrigues in favour of Greek and other revolutionary movements, were dismissed by the Porte, contrary to the arrangement of 1802. War was declared by Russia, supported by England, in February, 1807, and the British Fleet made a demonstration opposite Constantinople. A confused period of revolution and massacre ensued at Constantinople, but an armistice was arranged between Turkey and Russia in August.

The change in the position quickly made itself felt at Athens. Rumours began to circulate that the further export of marbles in the collection of Lord Elgin would be stopped, and Lusieri made up his mind to withdraw from Athens, with the best of the painted vases. Arrangements to that effect were made with the Voivode, and the desired permission was obtained. But two days later, on February 26, at the very moment when the cases of vases were about to be embarked, a Turkish notable, the Kehaya of the Voivode, Logotheti, and a Greek of Janina presented themselves at Lusieri's house, saying that by the orders of the Pasha Ali all the antiquities found in the excavations were to be sequestered. The objects were put in two rooms and sealed up, at Athens, but samples of the vases were to be sent express for Ali Pasha's inspection, and it was made a condition that Lusieri should find sureties and remain at Athens. He determined instead to fly, especially as the Russian fleet was close at hand. Leaving at night for Salamis, he went thence to Zea, and failing any opportunity of reaching Tenedos (the station of the British fleet) or Malta, he made for Cerigo, which he reached on April 9. He writes thence to Morier,¹⁷⁴ the Consul-General at Zante, that he is there, without money, in poor health, and in debt, without clothes or drawing materials.

'My chief desire' he adds 'would be to know whether the order to sequester the vases really came from Ali Pasha, and I hope that you will easily be able to satisfy yourself of this. The conduct of Logotheti has seemed to me suspect for a long time past, especially on account of his familiarity with the French, and chiefly

¹⁷⁴ Lusieri to Morier, April 14, 1807.
John Philip Morier (1776-1853), afterwards

Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,
and Envoy Extraordinary to Saxony.

with those who have been most conspicuous since my departure in taking part in the searches made in my house and stores, and in opening the boxes at the Piræus.

'P.S. The day after my flight the Voivode sent his guards to my house, and when they failed to find me there, they searched all the city with extreme urgency. I ought therefore to thank God that he has delivered me from their barbarities.'

The papers of Lusieri's chief rival, Fauvel, which are in the Bibliothèque Nationale, throw some light on the incident.

The seizure was probably suggested to Ali Pasha by Pouqueville, the traveller in Greece, at one time French Consul-General at Janina. In June he wrote to Fauvel: 'J'ai envoyé à Paris tous les vases saisis chez Lusieri, et le Vizier a donné des ordres pour que tous les objets d'antiquité fussent sequestrés. Il les enverra à notre empereur. Ainsi voila les projets d'Elgin à vau-l'eau. Si les Anglais ou leurs partisans levent la tête, dites leur que le vieux pacha de Janina les fera rentrer dans la coquille.'

Presumably the vases in question were those which had been sent as samples to Ali. So far as the sculptures were concerned, these schemes came to nothing. Ali's messengers satisfied themselves that the marbles could not be carried across Greece on mule back, and no ships were available.¹⁷⁵

On April 14, Lusieri,¹⁷⁶ still at Cerigo, wrote to describe the difficulties of his position to Lord Elgin. He had employed his time at Cerigo drawing up a protest addressed to the Voivode, claiming that he would be responsible for any loss or damage to the sealed effects at Athens and the Piræus. He had also made up his mind to address General Sebastiani (then French Ambassador at the Porte) with a request to obtain the withdrawal of the sequester, a firman for excavations, and an order on a banker for 3,000 piastres. By this request the General's disposition was to be tested. The attitude of Logotheti had throughout been indifferent or hostile, and it would be necessary to return to Athens with the means to overpower his opposition.

The letter closes with requests for further drawing materials and for a cart.

I have made use of a strong cart to transport the big boxes. This cart belongs to the French. I do not know if on my return I should be able to go on using it. Besides it is not in the best condition, in spite of continual repairs.

Many thanks for all the articles that your Excellency has had the goodness to send me, and especially for the medicines. But as I dont know how to use them, and the doctors here know no more about it than I do, Dr. Scott must take the trouble to instruct me. There are pills and liquids of which the uses are unknown here.

During May and June the position remained unchanged, and in July Lusieri was still writing¹⁷⁷ from Cerigo in the same strain. His health was recovered, but he was in need of assistance both pecuniary and political. He

¹⁷⁵ Fauvel's papers, quoted by Legrand, in *Rev. Archéologique*, 3rd series, xxx. p. 389. In 1814 Pouqueville informed Foresti that the vases had been sent to Napoleon by Ali, in July 1807, in the care of a renegade monk turned Mahometan, one Mahomet Effendi,

who left them behind him at Spalatro, when he learnt that he must seek Napoleon at Vilna.

¹⁷⁶ Lusieri to Elgin, April 14, 1807.

¹⁷⁷ Lusieri to Elgin, July 4, 1807.

had had some communication with Athens, and had learnt that one of the party who had descended on his house had been the Voivode himself in disguise. But the difficulty of communication to and from Cerigo was extreme, and he was unable to get money or news, and an occupation of the island by a French garrison was reported to be imminent. He therefore determined to leave Cerigo for Malta, and arranged for a special passage. Malta would seem to have been reached on September 14, since we hear of Lusieri's release from the Lazaretto on October 4, after 20 days' quarantine. At Malta, while still in quarantine, he was able with some trouble to obtain an advance of money from Mr. Edward Hayes, a Smyrna merchant whom Lord Elgin had invited in the previous spring, as well as at an earlier stage, to assist in the enterprise.

The outbreak of war had compelled flight to Malta, and had thereby lessened his power to give effective help. 'Situated as we are now,' Hayes had written on June 29, 'for your Lordship must have heard of the precipitate manner in which all British subjects were forced away from Smyrna, we do not see what means we can pursue in order to accomplish your wishes, and particularly as we have heard that Mr. Lusieri was obliged to abandon Athens and return to Cerigo.'

Lusieri, safely arrived at Malta, began to make his plans for an expedition to Taormina to recover his drawings (presumably they had been left there eight years before) with the intention of occupying himself with their completion. But at the same time he was making other schemes, for finishing the Levantine drawings, for shipping the remainder of the antiquities (if only he could get his strong cart) and for a visit to England. No substantial progress could be made, and at the end of October, Lusieri wrote that he had received no instructions since the previous November, but was still planning a visit to Taormina to secure the Sicilian drawings.

In the late autumn he carried out his plan of visiting Sicily and reached Messina. In February, 1808, he was at Taormina, whence he wrote that he had found all the drawings, but much the worse for wear, as they had 'had to be shewn too often to English travellers.' He was still waiting for Lord Elgin's instructions, and watching for a favourable moment to return to Athens.

Lord Elgin meanwhile (January 5, 1808) wrote making application to Hayes for help. At the present juncture he saw little hope of naval assistance or of support from the Admiralty, and he was obliged to rely on the help of personal friends at Malta, and, in the event of peace, at Constantinople. 'In the latter event there will be no difficulty in obtaining for Mr. Lusieri the passports and firmans he applied for. And as Ali Pasha is represented as having occupied the territory of Attica with a military force, his co-operation and consent will at all times be necessary. For this object I must rely on the exertions of Mr. David Morier; in case the public service should lead him to the coast of Albania.' In the meantime something might be done more privately, and Hayes was therefore begged to pay Lusieri £500, in the event of his returning to Athens, and also to arrange for chartering

a vessel, should Lusieri think it advisable to attempt embarkation, 'and furnish it with the extra tackle it might require, and on that occasion, use my name in the most earnest manner with Sir Alexander Ball, or the commanding Naval Officer at Malta, requesting them to order a frigate or brig of war to convoy the vessel to her destination, if necessary, and assist in the embarkation of the marbles, and to make at least a demonstration of force, by which it might be protected.'

Further steps were taken by Lord Elgin as the spring advanced. On February 16 he appealed to Lord Mulgrave (First Lord of the Admiralty, 1807-1810) to interest Admiral Martin and other naval authorities in the matter, to arrange for a naval demonstration, possibly in concert with the Voivode. At the same time also he wrote to Sir John Stuart (the victor of Maida, in 1806), who was then in London, but about to start to take up military command in the Mediterranean:—

If you are likely to sail soon I should wish you to let Mr. Hamilton (a young man who was abroad with me) call upon you and explain a matter in which it is possible you may have opportunities of being of service to me. The case is this. A considerable quantity of marbles and other acquisitions of mine are still at Athens. Why no exertion was made during my detention in France to remove them to Malta I cannot comprehend. Be that as it may, they are still there, and if they continue, must fall into the hands of the French.

Don Tita Lusieri, the painter who collected them came lately to Malta and went I believe to Taormina, where he had been long employed before going to Greece with me in 1799. By my last accounts he had a prospect of returning to Turkey in company with M. Italinski, the Russian Ambassador, and had some vague hopes from his influence. I can point out no line of action for recovery and removing these effects. I spoke to Admiral Martin, and have often written to Sir Alex. Ball, and have sent a credit to Messrs. Hayes, Smyrna merchants, now at Malta M. Lusieri may probably be within your reach, and will immediately attend your summons. He is all zeal but whether he has formed any tender connection at Athens which might render him cautious in any attempt to be made I know not. I make the hint only as it has been made to me, the fact will easily be ascertained if you meet.

Situated as Athens is, in case the articles were at the Port of Piræus I conceive they might be removable, if any ship of war took them under her convoy, in one or two stout country vessels which her appearance and her guns would amply protect, while they were embarking the cases. If as I fear, much of the property be still in the town of Athens, which is between four or five miles from the port, then the operation becomes far more difficult. There are indeed no troops whatever in that part of the country, no artillery, no thoughts of defence. Still the population of the town is sufficient to set aside all idea of military proceedings, which God knows I am sensible could *in no case whatever* be employed with a view to *force*. The only combination which occurs to my mind from hence is, supposing it possible that a secret communication could be made to the authorities at Athens, I mean the Voivode, making it worth his while to permit, or connive at, the removal of such of the effects as were easily transported to the Port—Perhaps then a demonstration of disembarking a few marines, especially if there were more than one ship of war in the offing, might justify his compliance, and could easily be done, while there was not a possibility of any resistance being made. M. Lusieri is pensionné I believe by the King of Naples whose leave he always had to be with me. I shall be obliged to you for having this leave extended. At all events, whether you can enable him to do anything in the present business or not, I earnestly recommend him to you, as a man of intrinsic worth, of very great taste and knowledge, and of first-rate ability and zeal for the arts. A little peculiarity of manner, which is mistaken for pride,

has, I have observed, made him enemies and in fact he does not conceal his own dislikes, but I never saw anything in him that did not fully justify and claim admiration. . . .

I spoke to Lord Mulgrave on this subject, before I left London, begging him to encourage Adl. Martin to do in it whatever he could. And the grounds of my application were that as I undertook the extensive plan, on which I have proceeded so long, and at such expense, for the purpose of rendering my collection of publick utility and publick property, I could say that what should be further saved by any such exertions should belong to the country, and not remain in my private possession. At the same time aware that were this to be known, or even suspected, the enemy might and would instantly seize them, it was agreed that no allusion whatever should be made to their destination, and in this communication Lord Mulgrave offered his radical assistance.

Sir John Stuart's reply (February 24) promised assistance if possible, in general terms. Hamilton's proposed call was duly paid, and he could send a favourable report to Broomhall (March 5) of Sir John Stuart's disposition.

Three weeks later Hamilton wrote to Lord Elgin with new and important proposals. He had become aware through a friend that one Stephen Maltass, 'your old cancellier' (and an official of the Levant Company), would be very willing to go out to Athens on a special mission, and was anxious to know how such a scheme would be regarded by Lord Elgin.

The suggestion was favourably received. Early in April Hamilton reported¹⁷⁸ that Maltass was 'so ready and to all appearance so well able' to do what was required, that he was not only introducing Maltass to Sir John Stuart, but also was sending him to Broomhall 'if he can get a place in the mail' to talk the matter over. The visit was duly paid, Maltass leaving for Scotland on April 7, and a week later matters had so far advanced that his instructions were drawn up in a letter of 26 paragraphs, headed 'most secret' and dated Broomhall, April 13, 1808. It recited that Maltass had undertaken to go without delay to Malta, Sicily, and the Archipelago for the purpose of removing the collections from Athens to Malta. Lusieri would supply the necessary information as to details. If possible, the assistance of the Voivode was to be secured, and it might be also, that of Ali Pasha, who might perhaps order the shipping of the marbles ostensibly for his own purposes. The local conditions would admit of the assistance of a man-of-war and a military demonstration might be effective. Possibly, it was suggested, 'French agents residing at Athens and some of the Magistrates' might be captured by a ruse, and then held to ransom. It would be necessary to have transports or country vessels able to enter the harbour. Strong carriages, harness and, if possible, four stout horses, tackle and a barge should be sent. Maltass was to receive £200 per annum while on this business, travelling expenses and board. Failing a passage on a man-of-war before the end of the month he was to sail in the Malta packet of the beginning of May, and would receive a credit for £1,000 on Messrs. John Ross, of Malta.

¹⁷⁸ Hamilton to Elgin, April 5, 1808.

Maltass had left Broomhall on April 14, taking with him a cordial letter of introduction to Sir John Stuart. 'His perfect acquaintance with the languages, habits, and interests in Turkey, an extremely good comprehension and a great zeal of character, are qualifications which you would have had great difficulty in finding on the spot, tho' indispensable if anything is to be attempted in my business.'

To Hamilton at the same date the draft instructions were forwarded for submission to Sir John Stuart, with a covering letter.

Your first impression will, I'm confident agree with mine, that such instructions ought not to be entrusted to any man out of the country. I therefore told him, what I now say, that I propose he should take such illegible mems of these instructions as satisfy himself but should leave them under his own seal, if he will, in your custody. After Morier's pocket book [I find no other reference to this incident] I cannot be too cautious. In a word, I would not on any consideration, they should ever for a moment go out of your hands. You will easily combine with him some safe aid to his memory for their contents.

Maltass was soon back in London, making his last arrangements and anxious to leave by the Falmouth packet. On April 19 Hamilton wrote as to the necessary money arrangements, the letter of credit on Ross, and a draft of £200 for immediate expenses. 'The purchase of presents would not exceed £20 or £30 of that sum: and I can procure from Hammond the proper cover for the pistols, or other presents if it be necessary.' On April 28 the fair copy of the instructions was signed by Hamilton, who wrote: 'As the above instructions are not signed by Lord Elgin, I undertake the responsibility of their being punctually fulfilled by his Lordship, or his Executors, Assignés, etc. William Hamilton, April 28, 1808.' Maltass at the same time wrote at the foot 'I agree to observe the above instructions on the implied conditions, to the best of my abilities, and as far as circumstances will allow me. London, April 28, 1808. Stephen Maltass.'

Maltass left for Falmouth¹⁷⁹ on April 29, furnished with the memoranda of the instructions, the letter to Sir John Stuart, and an open one from Lord Mulgrave to Lord Collingwood about the business, containing a statement that as the works of art were destined for the British Museum he therefore recommended the recovery of them to his favourable attention. Together with these papers, he took 'a double barrelled gun from Mortimer's, a brace of silver mounted pistols, and four of Prior's watches made for the Turkish market,' as also 'a Dirk (quasi yataghan).' He was 'to go in a swift sailing armed merchantman (the Snake) which he expected to find at Falmouth, ready to sail for the Mediterranean.'

We must leave Maltass facing a gale at the mouth of the Channel, and return to the Mediterranean. We left Lusieri at Taormina in the beginning of February. He was recalled thence to Malta by Hayes, who had conceived a scheme of taking advantage of a ship which was about to visit Patras, and of writing to Ali Pasha for his permission to remove the effects from Athens. 'I must confess,' Morier wrote¹⁸⁰ to Lord Elgin,

¹⁷⁹ Hamilton to Elgin, April 30, 1808.

¹⁸⁰ Morier to Elgin, March 4, 1808.

'that the business in the very outset appears difficult, because nothing has been done on our part (I mean on the part of government) to assure the Pasha of our friendly dispositions . . . But I am persuaded that if we do ever enter into confidential communications with him, it will be no difficult matter to get everything away.'

Three weeks later Lusieri wrote¹⁸¹ from Malta that he was ready to go to Athens at any opportune moment, but that his advisers Foresti and Morier both thought that matters were not sufficiently advanced with Ali. 'But if these fortunate moments that they are expecting do not arrive as quickly as they think, I shall make a great effort to attain our purpose by the ordinary means.'

Maltass, who had left Falmouth early in May, was not able to report his arrival for nearly two months. On June 30 he wrote¹⁸² to Lord Elgin, 'I only reached Malta on the 24th instant after a passage of fifty days from Falmouth, attended with imminent danger, having twice carried away our maintopmast and being forced to bear away for Ireland in a gale of wind, the vessel nothing able to keep the sea.' Although the state of his health made it necessary to rest at Malta, he was seeking the first opportunity of going to Messina to join Sir John Stuart. In the meantime he had had a whole day's conversation with Lusieri, and had obtained much useful information.

To state here the substance of our conversation would not only be superfluous but for the reasons you know, very improper. Suffice it to say that Mr. L. much approves of the plan, and I flatter myself is pleased with my treatment of him. I am sorry to say that his health is very much impaired, and that the climate of Malta does not agree with him. He talks of going to Tino.

A similar account of the meeting was sent by Lusieri,¹⁸³ who added that he had advised Maltass to go at once to Ali. In a postscript (July 20) he wrote:—

I have just had the satisfaction of receiving a letter of your Excellency of April 25, the only one in the space of nearly two years. My state of bitterness need not be aggravated by the annoyance of such a long delay. Mr. Maltass writes to me from Messina that he must await an answer from Admiral Collingwood. He tells me he will not go to Athens without me. I will follow him if necessary.

In the meantime he was busy with a large drawing, from a point called Il Boschetto, now a public garden to the south of Città Vecchia.

Maltass duly reached Messina, and presented Lord Elgin's letter to Sir John Stuart. The latter wrote¹⁸⁴ in most cordial terms, but regretting his inability to take any immediate step.

Your Lordship will feel how small my means must be at this moment, when I tell you that we have not a single vessel of war of any description here at this moment, that at no period since my arrival have we had any thing but a Brig, and that it is only by casual opportunities of once or twice in the course of two months that I have the means of communication with the Admiral commanding in the Mediterranean Station.

¹⁸¹ Lusieri to Elgin, March 24, 1808.

¹⁸² Maltass to Elgin, June 30, 1808.

¹⁸³ Lusieri to Elgin, July 7, 1808.

¹⁸⁴ Stuart to Elgin, July 14, 1808.

He could, therefore, only advise Maltass to send his letters to the naval commanders and await their answers. The remainder of a long letter is devoted to the military situation. 'I begin to hope that the tide of iniquity has begun to turn, and I really feel some satisfaction that my own humble efforts have contributed to render this Island an obstacle to the career of the Usurper.' The impossibility of obtaining naval assistance (confirmed not long after by a letter from Lord Collingwood at Cadiz) became clear to Maltass at Messina, and he wrote (July 29) to Hamilton in a tone of discouragement, that he saw no prospect of accomplishing anything until peace should be made with Turkey. He was also anxious to make sure that the Levant Company would overlook his continued absence from his post, and begged Hamilton to make the necessary inquiries at headquarters. As to the nature of the appointment in question the papers seem to furnish no information.

Meanwhile some news as to the position at Athens reached Lusieri, and on August 4 he reported to Lord Elgin¹⁸⁵ that he had heard that the collection of marbles was still intact, but that several visits had been made to his house, at the instigation of the French agent, and the vases had been carried off for Ali. He had promised to accompany Maltass if an understanding could be reached with Ali, but if a *coup de main* was to be attempted, it would be better for him not to appear, as his future would be compromised.

Perhaps in their vexation they might break or burn everything in the stores and at my house, and that is the best there is. Three metopes, the best preserved, and the best pieces of the frieze, of the most picturesque part of the procession, making a sequence of several slabs are in the town. . . . One of these reliefs, which they cannot find, though they have made holes in all the corners of my house, is the despair of the Vicecommissary (Fauvel). They have opened all the other boxes on purpose to find it. It is finer and better preserved than all the rest.

A fortnight later¹⁸⁶ he supplemented his account by adding that a part of the vase collection had been stolen by Turks, who were selling it secretly in the town. David Morier¹⁸⁷ at the same time was writing to Lord Elgin that the plunder was by order of Vely Pasha, the Governor of the Morea, 'who justifies it by the plea of a cruizer of ours having stopped some horses which were sent to him as a present from the Pasha of Egypt.' As the summer of 1808 went on, the possibility that peace might soon be concluded began to modify the plans of procedure. Sensational *ruses de guerre*, such as had been contemplated, became inadmissible and inexpedient. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Robert Adair (1763-1855), who had occupied for a time the embassy at Vienna, happened to be returning by way of Malta in the spring of the year, when an urgent invitation to negotiate (intended for Sir A. Paget) was received from the Turks. Adair had in his possession the home Government's terms of peace, and conceived that, though he had no

¹⁸⁵ Lusieri to Elgin, Aug. 4, 1808.

¹⁸⁷ David Richard Morier (1784-1877).

¹⁸⁶ Lusieri to Elgin, Aug. 16, 1808.

commission, he might attach himself to Lord Collingwood, naval commander-in-chief, and so arrange an armistice on terms to be afterwards converted into a treaty. The plan could not be carried out, and Adair reached London in May, to be sent out again immediately with full powers. He travelled by way of Gibraltar, Palermo and Malta, and reached Palermo on August 3, and Malta on September 7. He reached Tenedos on September 26, on board the *Seahorse*, and found that the Seraskier of the Dardanelles claimed to have full powers to negotiate a peace.¹⁸⁸ The *Seahorse* was admitted to anchorage at Barbieri Bay (near Abydos, and therefore within the gate of the Dardanelles), and dilatory negotiations were carried on till the end of the year. At the last moment, when the *Seahorse* was actually making preparations to sail, the terms were accepted. The peace of the Dardanelles was agreed on January 5, 1809, and on January 26 Adair was at Pera. On August 17, 1808, Maltass wrote to Hamilton from Malta that Sir John Stuart had advised him that Collingwood would certainly not be willing at this juncture to send a frigate to Athens, and that his best plan would be to see Adair at Palermo. He had had a satisfactory interview, and had received promises of help. In the event of peace it would be clear that a firman and other orders would be necessary. He had therefore determined to go at once to the Archipelago, to be ready to proceed to Constantinople if peace were signed, and had arranged that Lusieri should go to Athens as soon as the firman, etc., had been procured. In a postscript he adds: 'Lusieri has begun to build the cart for the carriage of the M-les.'

Lusieri was also busy with other objects more difficult of attainment, and on August 29 he presented Adair with a memorandum of the documents he required. These were an English patent of protection; a firman allowing him to embark the whole of the collection at Athens; a firman directing that all the vases, and everything else taken from the house and the stores, should be returned to him, and also the house itself and the stores, with compensation for all loss; a new English patent of protection, and firman in favour of two Greeks who had been employed from the beginning; an order to the Voivode to protect Lusieri in all his new enterprises, to give him all necessary aid, and to cash his bills; a firman giving free entry to the Acropolis and elsewhere to draw, and freedom to excavate wherever he should think appropriate, on condition of making good the soil afterwards. He also desired the aid of a ship of war.

How Adair received the list of Lusieri's requirements is not on record. Lusieri wrote from Malta,¹⁸⁹ while Adair was still at Palermo, sanguine that all would be granted. He added: 'I know now for certain that Vely Pasha of Tripolitza, son of Ali Pasha of Janina, sent some of his people to take all that was specially choice at my house, in the stores, and at Port Piraeus. They opened all the boxes, but not being able to transport them, as being too

¹⁸⁸ See *The Negotiations for the Peace of the Dardanelles in 1808-9*, by Sir Robert Adair, G.C.B. 2 vols. 1845.

¹⁸⁹ Lusieri to Elgin, Sept. 2, 1808.

heavy, they chose the best vases for the French Chancellor and took them to him. His intention was to make a present of them to the Emperor Bonaparte.'

But Constantinople was in the throes of revolution, and Adair was detained, as we have stated, by Turkish manœuvres at the Dardanelles, and the months went by. In the late autumn a characteristic letter was received by Lord Elgin from Ali Pasha himself,¹⁹⁰ drawn up in rather illiterate Italian. After compliments he proceeds: 'With reference to the antiquities, left by your Excellency at Athens, if my Seit Aga were still there as governor, I would have served you promptly. At present however, as there is a foreign person there, we must be patient, until I meet with a good opportunity to serve you as I ought and as you wish, and be assured that I shall be careful and zealous to please you.' After further compliments, he begs leave to trouble his correspondent with a commission. He wants two pistols worked with diamonds and enamels. He sends a memorandum and a wooden pattern, and begs that they be ordered at once from the best professors, to be worked in the most perfect style. The price should not exceed 60,000 Turkish piastres, and he would like delivery if possible by May. He will repay the money at once, when informed in what way payment should be made. After further compliments and apologies, 'I only beg that you do not fail to attend to them, in order that they may turn out in the best taste, and of perfect workmanship, without the smallest defect.' Signed Wisir Aly Pascia.

Peace was signed, as we have mentioned above, on January 5, 1809. Before the end of the month the news had reached Malta. Hayes¹⁹¹ sent congratulations on the improved prospects, and Lusieri¹⁹² wrote letters full of schemes for the future. He was hoping soon to have the firmans from Constantinople through Maltass.

Now that peace was made he hoped his friend Caluci, at Cerigo, would be replaced in his Vice-Consulate. Gropius, the protégé of Aberdeen and Gell, was pressing for the Vice-Consulate at Athens, but if Lusieri could obtain it, it would certainly facilitate his operations. Foresti had just received the letters and model pistol from Ali Pasha to forward to Lord Elgin. It was possible the letter contained important messages about the marbles, but they had not ventured to break the seal. The mere fact, however, of the correspondence was an encouragement.

But events continued to move very slowly. At Constantinople, Adair was occupied countering the moves of the French agent, and on March 4, Maltass, newly arrived at Constantinople, could only report that he meant to apply for the necessary assistance to Adair when he should have had his audience. 'The enclosed,' he adds, 'is a letter from Eleni, Lord Bruce's Nurse [*i.e.* the Paramana] whom I left well at Tino in the full enjoyment of your Lordship's pension.'

Early in the spring of 1809 Captain Leake¹⁹³ had been sent on a special

¹⁹⁰ Ali Pasha to Elgin, Nov. 24, 1808.

¹⁹¹ Hayes to Elgin, Jan. 27, 1809.

¹⁹² Lusieri to Elgin, Feb. 4, 1809.

¹⁹³ Marsden, *Memoir of William Martin Leake*, p. 31.

mission as resident at the Court of Ali Pasha, together with a vessel laden with military stores, to be presented to that potentate. As soon as the peace had made the way open, Lusieri had planned to go to Prevesa, and there to take Leake's advice as to whether he should go on to Janina or return to Athens. On April 12 he wrote^{193a} from Malta that he had received from Maltass on the previous day firmans which would allow him to return to Athens, and he was therefore starting to join Leake at Prevesa. Two days before he had sent news of a famous piece of sculpture in the hands of Notara at Corinth, which would, he thought, be a valuable addition to the Elgin collection. This was the 'Guilford puteal,' a piece of archaistic work which subsequently came to London, and was lost to view in comparatively modern times (*J.H.S.* vi. p. 46). He also reported:—

The archons of Athens have just written to me, begging me to provide them with a clock for public use. This request calls to my memory the promise that I made to them, on behalf of your Excellency, so I think it would be very apropos if you would send it, and I would make use of it, if things go as they should, to encourage the people of Athens to favour my operations.

It was not till May 19 that Lusieri could start on a brig of war for Prevesa. To have started sooner would have been unsafe on account of the French privateers, who, he reports to Lord Elgin, abound in these waters.¹⁹⁴ He added that the Notara (or Guilford) marble had been taken over by Ali or his son Vely, who were holding it till he could secure it.

When this letter reached Lord Elgin, it called forth an impassioned remonstrance.¹⁹⁵

It is with the most lively feelings of regret and vexation that I have just learnt by yours of the 17th May, that you were only then on the point of leaving Malta—that you were going thence to Prevesa, notwithstanding that you had already our firmans for Athens—and that Sir A. Ball was only to give you a ship when you should have told him from Athens that all was ready for shipment. Heavens! why the delay? How, at a time like the present, can you believe in the possibility of a lasting peace? What is the use of the cruel experience we have had already? For the love of God, dont lose another instant, at whatever cost. Take any ship that you can possibly get, either from Smyrna or Malta, to get the things into a place of safety. When you have once made them secure, then we will go forward with more confidence and calmness. But remember all I have suffered for the last six years. Think of all the opposition you have met with, and that you still have to fear. Think of all the delays inseparable from one's object in those countries. Recall the entire trust that I place in you: that I send you all the means that you can desire, or that I can procure for you. Think of all that we have done; of the marvellous work at which we labour. Give yourself up entirely to the *impetuosity* of your character, as the object itself, our past success, and in short everything unite in requiring.

If my zeal in this pursuit gives you pleasure, know that these very last days I was busy with a journey, the object of which would be to see you at Athens in the course of the autumn. If affairs allow, or when they shall allow, it is decidedly my intention.

The dispatch of a courier gives me this opportunity of writing these few words. As to the clock, it is in train. It will be worthy of the place it is to occupy.

^{193a} Lusieri to Elgin, April 12, 1809.

¹⁹⁵ Elgin to Lusieri, July 28, 1809.

¹⁹⁴ Lusieri to Elgin, May 17, 1809.

Prevesa was reached after a voyage of fourteen days 'made pleasant by good company,'¹⁹⁶ and thence Lusieri made his way to Janina, and presented himself to Ali Pasha. Ali was ready to promise that if no firman arrived from Constantinople, he would send one of his own men to arrange matters at Athens, and Lusieri in sanguine mood lost no time about writing to Sir A. Ball at Malta, saying that a suitable vessel should be sent at once to Athens. But, as usual, matters did not move quickly, and on July 21 Lusieri was still writing from Janina.¹⁹⁷ He had preferred to wait for firmans from Constantinople rather than trust to Ali's emissary, and, meanwhile, at Captain Leake's instigation he was occupying himself with a view of Janina. 'Ali Pasha stated quite frankly that the vases had been seized as spoils of war and sent to Napoleon, and that he had received his thanks. The residue, which had been refused by everybody, he gave as a present to Captain Leake. In my presence he begged him to surrender them and to let them reach your Excellency.'

M. Étienne Michon has been good enough to send an extract from Fauvel's papers¹⁹⁸ relating to this collection. It would seem that the 120 vases in question failed to reach the Emperor (cf. note 175 *ante*); but in Fauvel's opinion the loss was not important, as for the most part the vases were small, and only decorated with leaves of ivy. Some, however, had 'chariots finishing their race, an emblem of life finished,' but these being meant only for use in the tombs were of the worst execution.

Ali Pasha's thoughts, Lusieri said, were turned towards the pair of pistols that he had commissioned, and it was eminently desirable to have his support for any further operations.

Lusieri was also exercised with reference to the safety of the pair of Greeks who had done such good service, and were now at Malta. He would be glad to have them with him again at Athens for the final campaign. He had written to Maltass as to a patent of protection, but Maltass had advised him to give up the idea on the ground that the Greeks had previously attracted the notice of the government, and there could be no doubt that if they were discovered the governor would have them cut to pieces. 'I do not understand,' is Lusieri's plaintive comment, 'why these poor Greeks should be cut to pieces. I beg your Excellency to write on this subject to the Ambassador.'

The desired letter from Constantinople did not arrive, and late in August Lusieri started from Janina for Athens, accompanied by a Tartar or courier, and fortified with letters from Ali Pasha. After a laborious journey through the mountains, in which Lusieri suffered much from rheumatism, Athens was reached on August 31.¹⁹⁹ Ali's letter was duly presented to the Voivode and received with respect, but after a night's reflection that official decided that nothing could be done with reference to the marbles without a general authority from Constantinople. Lusieri

¹⁹⁶ Lusieri to Hayes, June 13, 1809.

¹⁹⁷ Lusieri to Elgin, July 21, 1809.

¹⁹⁸ *Papiers de Fauvel*, Bibl. Nat. MS.

français 22871, folio 162, verso.

¹⁹⁹ Lusieri to Leake; Sept. 7, 1809.

was therefore obliged to send messages to Pisani and others at Constantinople pressing for such a letter. In so doing he was going contrary to the advice of Leake, who had advised that in case of a hitch the matter should be referred back to Janina, and who seems to have been somewhat offended at the course adopted.²⁰⁰

Soon after Lusieri's arrival at Athens his house was solemnly opened in the presence of the Voivode, the Cadi, and the Greek and Turkish Primates. But the formality was somewhat futile, for 'the back doors were all found open, with a ladder against the garden wall, by which anyone could descend to rob, with all convenience.' Everything of any use or value had been stolen, including the collection of vases, a box full of English goods intended for presents, a specially fine 'Etruscan vase,' which Lusieri had bought on his own account, together with a quantity of timber, rope, stores and provisions. Common rumour laid the blame on the Agha at the time when the war broke out. He had, it was said, taken goods for himself, had sent many of his adherents, with Fauvel, to do the same, and finally had left the doors open.

Relations had previously been very strained between Lusieri and Logotheti, and the former had been anxious to supersede the latter in the British Vice-Consulate, but he was now able to write magnanimously of the poor old man that 'all he did, it seems, he had to do to save his family, so I have forgotten everything.'

Meanwhile, at Constantinople no progress was being made. Adair²⁰¹ wrote to Lord Elgin that difficulties were being caused by the want of a firman issued before the war, by uncertainty as to Lusieri's wishes in the matter of the Vice-Consulate, and by the fact that Lusieri was still asking authority for further researches. 'By a dispatch which I have received from the Foreign Office, I am now enabled to ask in a more pressing tone for permission to embark these cases. I have accordingly done so although by an understanding with the Reis Effendi I have not presented an official note about it.' In October, Lusieri²⁰² wrote to Leake, that Strane had warned him that he might expect the early arrival of 'two respectable personages, Lord Byron and Othouse [Hobhouse].' Meanwhile the autumn wore away, and without authority from Constantinople or a ship from Malta, Lusieri turned his mind elsewhere, and in December he was attempting negotiations with a vessel of Hydra. At this stage, however, a ship of war made its appearance, but all to no purpose, since the authority from Constantinople had not yet been obtained, or it would seem even applied for.

'It is a matter of great regret to me,' Maltass²⁰³ wrote to Hamilton, 'that so far from having any good tidings to give you . . . I have to say that it now appears too evident that no success can be expected, for it is now ten months since my arrival here, and my endeavour in stimulating Pisani who is, I must say, unfortunately the instrument we

²⁰⁰ Leake to Elgin, Oct. 14, 1809.

²⁰¹ Adair to Elgin, Sept. 25, 1809.

²⁰² Lusieri to Leake, Oct. 7, 1809. Byron

reached Athens on Christmas Day.

²⁰³ Maltass to Hamilton, Jan. 4, 1810.

must necessarily make use of (as chief dragoman) have I assure you been unabated, but all to no purpose. To enumerate to you the great variety of impediments which Pisani alleges to have lain in the way of his obtaining a simple letter to the Voivode of Athens for the purpose of his suffering the antiquities to be shipped, would take up more time than I have to spare or you to read. Suffice it to inform you that to this day he has not found an opportunity of asking for this letter and of getting a decisive yes or no; and what adds to our misfortune is the arrival of an armed vessel at Athens, which is come for the express purpose of taking the things away, a circumstance which has occasioned at that place great altercation between Lusieri and the Voivode, who opposes the shipment on the plea of want of orders, and who has despatched a Tartar with the intelligence to the Reis Effendi, through whose channel only we know of the arrival of this vessel at Athens.'

The writer adds that Pisani has written to Lusieri that the ship should be ordered away to a neighbouring port until the desired opportunity of asking should arrive.

In London, Lord Elgin was not idle, and Lord Wellesley,²⁰⁴ then Foreign Minister, was induced to send an official letter to the Admiralty, asking that a transport should be sent on special duty to Athens. The assent of the Admiralty was given on the next day. While this was passing, Lusieri's difficulties were greater than ever.²⁰⁵ Despairing of the arrival of a transport, he had chartered a Hydriote polacca in the month of December, and had obtained the permission of the Voivode to embark the marbles.^{205a} But at the moment that the vessel was ready to set sail, a message arrived from the Kaimakam that the embarkation could not be allowed without a firman from the Porte, and everything was unloaded again 'in such fashion as to cause the greatest possible pleasure to our enemies,' and to make matters worse at the crisis of these transactions, a letter arrived from Hayes at Malta, saying that a bill drawn on London had not been accepted, and that no further advances were possible. Lusieri was obliged to address himself to all the friends within reach, such as General Oswald, Leake, Strane, and Foresti, to make fresh appeals to Hayes, and in the meantime was unable to discharge his obligations to the Voivode or for the hire of the vessel.

Further urgent representations were also sent to Adair, and at length the course of events became more favourable. On February 27, the Ambassador²⁰⁶ could write to Lord Wellesley, 'I have at length succeeded in obtaining an order from the Caimakan to the Voivode of Athens, for the embarkation without further detention of the antiquities collected by Lord Elgin and now lying at Athens.' Morier wrote to congratulate Lord Elgin, and Maltass sent the news to Hamilton. A little later, Morier²⁰⁷ wrote that the

²⁰⁴ Wellesley to Croker, Feb. 14, 1810.

²⁰⁵ Lusieri to Elgin, March 24, 1810.

^{205a} Compare Byron, Appendix to *Childe Harold*, Canto 2, note A: 'At this moment (Jan. 3, 1810), besides what has been already deposited in London, an Hydriot vessel is in the Pyraeus to receive every portable relic.' Under this date Byron records *ibidem* 'Between this artist [Lusieri] and the French Consul

Fauvel, who wishes to rescue the remains for his own government, there is now a violent dispute concerning a car employed in their conveyance, the wheel of which—I wish they were both broken upon it!—has been locked up by the Consul, and Lusieri has laid his complaint before the Wayvode.'

²⁰⁶ Adair to Wellesley, Feb. 27, 1810.

²⁰⁷ Morier to Elgin, March 17, 1810.

order had been sent to Lusieri on March 3. The presents made on this occasion to Turkish officials amounted to 1480 piastres, and Adair had also found it necessary to make a present to the Kaimakam.

Efforts had been made through Consul Werry at Smyrna for a cruiser to visit Athens to protect the embarkation, and to furnish a convoy. The *Pylades* sloop of war left Smyrna on this service on March 11. The authority for the exportation reached Athens on March 20, and no time was lost about replacing the boxes on the polacca. By the evening of the 21st they were on board. The delays had caused demurrage charges of 3000 piastres, and all vacant parts of the polacca were filled with wood for sale at Malta, to redeem the costs. Among the cases was one filled with votive reliefs, excavated by Lord Aberdeen at the Pnyx, and still his property. It somehow happened that they remained in the Elgin collection, and passed to the British Museum, where they were joined fifty years later by two examples which had been retained by Lord Aberdeen. There were 48 cases in all. Five of the largest were still left behind. They contained the cap and the drum of the Parthenon, the cap of the Propylaea, and a colossal sepulchral cippus. The Daphne column was also wanting, as it was waiting on the beach at Eleusis. On the 26th Lusieri wrote²⁰⁸

Covering up all my past woes with eternal oblivion, I wholly give myself up to joy, when I see the antiquities on board the polacca, ready to set her sails for Malta. I regret that I cannot follow them, as I am obliged to stay here as a surety for paying what I owe, and carrying out my promises to the Voivode, and I should be delighted if I saw the clock make its appearance for the public.

The vessel at length left the Piraeus for Hydra on the evening of March 26.²⁰⁹ It was to wait there two or three days for a convoy, but with the favourable North wind that is now blowing I think that the impatience of the Captain and crew wont be held in, and that they will set sail unaccompanied for Malta. There is more reason to fear some sudden change, than Corsairs, as the Captain of the *Pylades* has assured us that there were none in the Archipelago. Besides the polacca is a good size, and has forty men on board ready to fight.

However, the vessel did in fact wait eleven days at Hydra,²¹⁰ and started for Malta in company with two other Hydriote vessels (but without naval convoy) on April 5. In the course of the same month letters were received from Hayes, putting Lusieri once more in funds. Only the arrival of the clock and a certain compensation due to Logotheti were now wanting, but excavations had again been started, and there were already three more boxes with vases and other finds waiting an opportunity, together with the five heavy cases which the polacca had been unable to take. The polacca's happy arrival at Malta was duly reported by Hayes.²¹¹

By a most singular coincidence these effects arrived here on the very same day that an order reached this place from the Earl of Liverpool directing that a transport should be sent to Athens for their removal. Had this order been obtained and sent out long ago it would have saved your Lordship much anxiety and expense.

²⁰⁸ Lusieri to Elgin, March 25 and 26, 1810.

²⁰⁹ Lusieri to Elgin, March 28, 1810.

²¹⁰ Lusieri to Elgin, April 30, 1810.

²¹¹ Hayes to Elgin, April 17, 1810.

The boxes were landed and put into a store before the end of the month, and Hayes wrote²¹² to urge that arrangements should be made for them to go home with a convoy or, better still, on board a transport. But there were still the remaining cases to be fetched from Athens, and as a result of the official instructions of Lord Liverpool, the senior naval officer made arrangements for a transport to call at Athens on her return from Constantinople.

But nearly a year was to elapse without further progress. During the summer of 1810 Lusieri was engaged on various minor excavations,²¹³ and on a great general view of Athens from the foot of Anchesmos (*i.e.* Lycabettos). He also reported the visits of various Englishmen, Lord Sligo, Lord Byron, and Messrs. Fred North (Lord Guilford), (Gally) Knight and Fazakerly. 'Vely Pasha of the Morea has had digging done at Argos and Mycenae. He has found various fragments of sculpture which he has sold to Messrs. Knight and Fazakerly and some columns which he has given to Lord Sligo.' It will be remembered that the columns in question from the Treasury of Atreus (briefly referred to in Laurent's *Classical Tour*, page 145) passed out of general view and remained nearly a hundred years at Westport, in Ireland. They were again identified in 1904 by the then Lord Altamont, and were presented by Lord Sligo to the British Museum.

The English visitors were not too well disposed towards Lord Elgin, and were spreading rumours as to the ruinous state of his fortunes. Lusieri in consequence wrote anxiously to correspondents (such as Clarke and Walpole,²¹⁴ and a little later to Hamilton) for information as to the state of affairs. Clarke and Walpole forwarded their letters to Hamilton, with a joint covering letter, with the comment, 'As there seems to be some unfair play going on at Athens, or that the English are gulling poor Don Baptista for their fun, we think it right to make the matter known to his Lordship.' In November Lusieri wrote again to Lord Elgin that he could get no news and no answers to his letters and no money, for Hayes had stopped all supplies till a protested bill should be discharged. The promised transport did not arrive to take the marbles, and the clock was still awaited with impatience by the public of Athens.

The winter went by. Only in the following spring Hayes²¹⁵ wrote from Malta that, after constant efforts to obtain a transport to bring away the remaining effects, he was at length able to report that the *Hydra* transport had sailed a few days before for Athens. Ropes, blocks, and other stores had been purchased to the amount of £200, but it might be hoped that most of the value would be recovered on resale. Lusieri had written that he had been very successful in his researches and acquisitions for the collection. The *Hydra*, with Lusieri and the marbles and Lord Byron^{215a} on board, sailed from the Piraeus, after some days' delay, on April 22.

²¹² Hayes to Elgin, May 1, 1810.

²¹³ Lusieri to Elgin, Sept. 2, 1810.

²¹⁴ Lusieri to Clarke and to Walpole, Sept. 30, 1810. ²¹⁵ Hayes to Elgin, April 2, 1811.

^{215a} Byron had written *The Curse of Minerva* a few days earlier. It is dated 'Athens, Capuchin Convent, March 17, 1811.' It was not published till 1828. Cf. note 287.

It chanced that Charles Robert Cockerell and his party were leaving the Piraeus at the same time for the visit to the temple at Aegina, which resulted in the historic discovery of the Aeginetan marbles, and in Cockerell's diary we have a glimpse of the *Hydra* at sea.

April 11th Lord Byron embarked to day on the transport (which is carrying Lord Elgin's marbles) for Malta. . . . The whole affair [of a drunken janissary] delayed us so long that we did not walk down to the Piraeus till night. As we were sailing out of the port in our open boat we overtook the ship with Lord Byron on board. Passing under her stern we sang a favourite song of his, on which he looked out of the windows and invited us in. There we drank a glass of port with him, Colonel Travers and two of the English officers, and talked of the three English frigates that had attacked five Turkish ones and a sloop of war off Corfu, and had taken and burnt three of them. We did not stay long, but bade them 'bon voyage' and stepped over the side. We slept very well in the boat and next morning reached Aegina.—*Journal of C. R. Cockerell*, p. 50.

The *Hydra* reached Malta on the 30th of that month, and the question of what should be done next with the marbles thus far on their journey was the subject of conference between Lusieri and Hayes.²¹⁶ Both finding that they had no directions as to the further steps to be taken after Malta, it was agreed that the marbles should remain at Malta till fresh orders arrived from home. It was not, however, altogether easy to effect this, as the senior naval officer, having got the property on board a transport, was very reluctant to part with it. It was pointed out to him that there were no instructions as to what should be done after reaching Malta, and he at length agreed that the boxes should be landed and stored pending the receipt of orders.

No such orders were, however, forthcoming. Not only were the agents at Malta somewhat mortified at receiving no congratulations, but, what was more serious, news reached them that a bill of exchange for £1,200 drawn in April had been protested. Mr. Hayes sent a dignified remonstrance:—²¹⁷

I can no longer refrain from representing to your Lordship that such conduct on the part of your agent is not only highly unpleasant, but calculated also to be very prejudicial to me as a merchant. Your Lordship must be well aware that the respectability and credit of a mercantile house entirely depends on the due fulfillment of its engagements, and none of its engagements are more sacred than those it contracts in bills of exchange. Your Lordship therefore will confer a particular favour on me by making timely arrangements to prevent anything of the kind occurring again, should I have occasion to draw further sums on your Lordship's account.

Unfortunately, this was not the last occasion of such difficulties, for two years later the mishap occurred again.

During his stay at Malta Lusieri 'reconditioned' the boxes in which the marbles had so long been stored, and wrote what an impression a fresh sight of the fragments had made on his mind. On June 2 he sent a letter by the hand of Lord Byron (who sailed by the *Volage* on June 3, though the *Farewell to Malta* is dated May 26) announcing his immediate

²¹⁶ Hayes to Elgin, May 15, 1811.

²¹⁷ Hayes to Elgin, July 30, 1811.

return 'next Wednesday' [*i.e.* June 5] to Athens. His journey was, however, somewhat delayed by the necessity of finding an escort. He reached Athens on July 4 and continued his great panoramic view of Athens from the foot of Lycabettos.

We have seen above that Cockerell and his company left Athens for Aegina at the moment that Lusieri and the *Hydra* were leaving for Malta. The excavations were now complete, and it is interesting to note Lusieri's first impressions of a collection of sculptures so new in style, and so different from those with which he had been dealing.²¹⁸

All that has been found of good quality recently is the very ancient sculptures belonging to the two pediments of the temple of Jupiter Panellinium (*sic*) at Aegina. They are respectable for their antiquity, there are some fragments that are very fine and some that are very curious. They want the perfection and elegance of the age of Phidias.

In the same letter Lusieri reported that the collection had been recently increased by several fragments, and 'by a big sarcophagus of Pentelic marble, sculptured all round and even on the top cover.' I presume that this is the ornate Graeco-Roman sarcophagus of Aelius Epicrates, now at Broomhall.²¹⁹ I do not know of any other to which the description would apply. He also mentioned that the bronze vase from the big tumulus was at Malta. 'I have the little gold spray of myrtle that was in it here. The person who had stolen it was so kind as to sell it to me.'

Cockerell had sent home sketches and descriptions of the Aeginetan marbles to his father, a well-known architect, who obtained access to the Prince Regent, and got authority to send out an offer of £6,000. The *Pauline* brig of war, Captain Perceval, was also ordered to Athens to bring away the marbles. Hamilton (see below, p. 298) had introduced young Cockerell to Lusieri as his 'particular friend' when he left London, and this no doubt heightened his interest in the discoveries. A memorandum on the marbles was drawn up by Hamilton, on behalf of the Society of Dilettanti (to whom Gell had sent drawings and commendations of the sculpture) to be submitted to the Trustees of the British Museum.²²⁰

The *Pauline* arrived at the Piraeus about November 26, expecting to take the Aeginetan collection, and learned that it was at Zante. She proceeded to Zante, and took the sculptures on board on January 13, 1812, for Malta. With the subsequent unfortunate misunderstandings which took the collection to Munich instead of to London we are not concerned. We only have to note that the call of the *Pauline* at the Piraeus enabled Lusieri to ship two more cases of minor antiquities of marble and terracotta, the latter consisting of two antefixal tiles. These reached Malta in the latter part of January, but too late to be forwarded with the main collection.

On January 18, 1812, Hayes wrote to Lord Elgin that by request

²¹⁸ Lusieri to Elgin, Sept. 4, 1811.

²¹⁹ Michaelis, *J.H.S.* v. p. 154, No. 22.

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²²⁰ *Papers on the Aegina Marbles* (Brit. Mus. Dept. of G. and R. Antiq.).

we have forwarded to you the remainder of your property under our care, consisting in sixty-eight cases no. 1 to 68 shipped in the transport *Navigator*, Captain Robert Forster. This vessel sailed from here the 1st instant under convoy of H.M. ships *Leyden* and *Halcyon*.

The receipt of the master of December 31, 1811, for sixty-eight cases containing marble antiquities, condition unknown, was enclosed.

The two boxes brought by the *Pauline* were taken in March by the *Malabar* and were landed at Deptford. The adventures of the main consignment by the *Navigator* were not yet at an end, but may be reserved for the English side of this narrative. A rough list of the objects forming this supplementary collection was supplied by Hamilton to the Select Committee. It included the upper part of the torso of Poseidon and the horses of Helios from the pediments, three of the best metopes, twenty slabs of the frieze (eight or ten among the least mutilated, six very much mutilated), ten or twelve heads of statues, most of the marble vases, and all the grave reliefs; the exvotos from the Pnyx, a cedarwood lyre, and two cedar flutes, the bronze urn with enclosing marble urn, and a variety of inscriptions. The above list represents the cargo of the *Hydriote* polacca. We must add the massive objects which were left over for the *Hydra*, namely, a Daphne column, the capital from the Propylaea, the capital and drum of the Parthenon, the big cippus (B. M. Inscr. 87), and other objects. It will be seen that the supplementary collection, in the number and importance of its contents, was fully deserving of the prolonged exertions which were necessary to secure it.

When matters at Athens had been practically wound up, Lusieri began to turn his mind to the question of excavations at Olympia and to the town clock.²²¹

Perhaps the Ambassador who is coming, could get me a Firman for this purpose [digging in the Morea] and especially for digging at Olympia. I hope that your Excellency will have spoken to him, in favour of your operations, and it would be well to press him on this point. Next to Athens, there is no place like that for finding masterpieces.

I am delighted to hear of the clock. People thought I was laughing at them—and I shall not say anything about it, until I know it is arrived in this country.

He continued to press for the Olympia excavations during the autumn of 1811, and returned to the subject at the end of 1812. He had been trying to get permission from Ali Pasha, or failing that from Vely. Intricate negotiations of the usual kind followed.²²² Vely was recalled from the Morea, and in 1812 with some difficulty a bargain was made with his successor, Said Ahmet, that permission to dig at Olympia would be granted for a cash payment of 500 sequins and a gold repeater. But Hayes declined to advance the required sum and no news arrived from Scotland. In September, 1813, Lusieri was writing that he had had no news for two years and two months, and still needed the money and the gold repeater

²²¹ Lusieri to Elgin, Sept. 4, 1811.

²²² Lusieri to Elgin, Dec. 11, 1812; April 10, June 3, Sept. 3, 1813.

to make a start at Olympia. 'Another Dispatch from Don Tita—I do not imagine that you are disposed to encourage his extensive and expensive projects,' was Hamilton's comment,²²³ forwarding this as well as an earlier letter to Lord Elgin.

The town clock at last arrived. Everybody, Lusieri reported (September 3, 1813) was enchanted, but the clock was still in the boxes in which it had travelled, and Mr. North (afterwards Lord Guilford) had left 1,500 piastres with Logotheti to build a clock tower, and inscribe his name. 'I objected,' Lusieri adds,²²⁴ 'affirming that your Excellency, after incurring the cost of the clock, would be ready very cheerfully to build the tower, without the aid of anybody, be he who he may. But I had other reasons for not allowing it.' It would seem that the question of the clock tower had become a party matter, and a definite offer to build the tower on a lofty site at Lord Elgin's cost was unsuccessful. Two months later a position was chosen for the tower, but in the lower town, against Lusieri's protests. The inscription²²⁵ indicates that the tower was built by the town. The clock is said to have been replaced by one of German make in 1850. Clock and tower were destroyed on the evening of August 8, 1884, when a fire took place in the Bazaar. (*Hestia*, l.c. p. 779.)

Before the end of the year Lusieri received a long delayed letter from Lord Elgin, saying that for reasons of economy excavations must be suspended, and the scheme of digging at Olympia, which again seemed to be approaching maturity, was abandoned.

The year following, 1814, was uneventful. Lusieri was writing at intervals that excavations were suspended, that he was in urgent need of money, and of large sheets of paper for his drawings, and adding to every letter that Edward Hayes at Malta deemed himself to have a lien on the drawings deposited with him till certain sums were repaid. Nor was the position very different in 1815, except that a letter received from Lord Elgin authorising drafts on Morier had restored Lusieri's finances, and he began again to discuss the possibility of an excavation at Olympia.²²⁶ The old Logotheti had died of apoplexy in January, and his place as British Vice-Consul was not filled up. Lusieri would gladly have received the appointment as a help in his further plans. A few boxes of objects had again accumulated, and were awaiting the chance of a transport.

A long silence follows, since two letters never arrived. In June, 1817,²²⁷ Lusieri again wrote to Lord Elgin. The news had reached him of the success of the negotiations for the sale of the collections, and he had also heard that Lord Elgin was contemplating another visit to Greece. Both pieces of intelligence gave him equal pleasure, but on the other hand the

²²³ Hamilton to Elgin, Nov. 25, 1813.

²²⁴ Lusieri to Elgin, Oct. 2 and Dec. 10, 1813.

²²⁵ The inscription ran

THOMAS COMES
DE ELGIN

ATHENIEN. HOROL. D.D.

S.P.Q.A. EREX. COLLOC.

A.D. MDCCCXIV.

Breton, *Athènes*, p. 104. A distant view of the clock tower is given, *ibid.* p. 221.

²²⁶ Lusieri to Elgin, June 3, 1815.

²²⁷ Lusieri to Elgin, June 18, 1817.

supply of money had again failed, and he was suffering from rheumatism and anxiety. All excavations were at a standstill, since the Pasha's terms were too high. He was entirely devoting himself to his drawings, but was badly in want of large rolls of paper. Perhaps [C. R.] Cockerell or [Grecian] Williams would undertake the purchase.

In July, a chance call of H.M.S. *Tagus* at the Piraeus enabled him to send three cases containing in all 610 vases, and another with two fragments of sepulchral relief, not specially identified, but *bien jolis et intéressants*.²²⁸ They are doubtless part of the collection at Broomhall. There remained yet another large box too heavy to be taken down to the Piraeus in the short time available. Captain Dundas, of the *Tagus*, wrote from Malta (August 30, 1817), 'I fear your agent is on his last legs. He was too unwell to see me, and I heard from others he was in a sad state.'

The rheumatism continued with great severity during the summer, and a visit to Ischia began to be contemplated.²²⁹ Happily his health improved during the following winter without the need of such a step, which the want of funds made impossible, and in the spring of 1818²³⁰ he reported himself again fit for work. He added that he had been able to ship two more boxes on the brig of war, H.M.S. *Satellite* (Capt. J. Murray).²³¹ One contained the largest vases of bronze and clay. The other 'a marble chair, on the two sides of which is represented the celebrated deed of Harmodios and Aristogeiton.' This chair is now at Broomhall, having arrived at a date altogether posterior to the date of the public purchase.²³²

The year 1818 passed without incident. Lusieri was working at his drawings, but in great difficulty for want of paper, money, and letters, which continued into the spring of 1819. In May he reported the visit of Lord and Lady Ruthven to Athens.²³³ 'Milord and Milady Ruthven with her brother have been here for several months. The Lady draws like an artist.' Lady Ruthven lived to a great age, dying in 1883. A very charming relief of a girl Aristomache was excavated during the year she spent in Greece, near Cape Zoster. This sculpture, long at Winton Castle, was bequeathed by her to the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.²³⁴

As year after year passed with little visible fruit, Lord Elgin naturally became anxious to bring the engagement to a close. In January, 1819, he wrote²³⁵ to Lusieri, desiring him to put the accounts in order, as well as the drawings and acquisitions.

²²⁸ Lusieri to Elgin, July 31, 1817.

²²⁹ Lusieri to Hamilton, Sept. 20, 1817.

²³⁰ Lusieri to Elgin, April 8 and 12, 1818.

²³¹ Captain Murray was himself a collector.

In June, 1818, he removed the toes of the Naxian Apollo (*B.M.Sculpt.* No. 130) and the Triton torso (*B.M.Sculpt.* No. 2220) from Delos, and presented them to the British Museum. W. Kinnard, in Stuart and Revett, 2nd ed. iv. *Antiqs. at Athens and Delos*, p. 24, claims that the fragments were brought

on his suggestion. This does not appear in Captain Murray's letter of presentation, Aug. 5, 1818, written from Malta.

²³² The reliefs are published by Michaelis, *J.H.S.* v. Pl. 48, p. 146. For a general view of the chair, see Stackelberg, *Graeber d. Hellenen*, p. 33.

²³³ Lusieri to Elgin, May 7, 1819.

²³⁴ G. Baldwin Brown, *J.H.S.* vi. p. 16.

²³⁵ Quoted in Lusieri's letter to Hamilton, Aug. 16, 1819.

If it were possible, I should have nothing so much at heart as to continue to employ your talents on a theatre so worthy of them. But the injustice I have suffered with respect to this collection, many misfortunes that have come on me, and a numerous family have so curtailed my means, that with real regret I submit to the necessity of bringing everything to a close that can cause expense.

The decision was received with some mortification by Lusieri, but in truth his drawings were making no progress, and he had probably lost the power of finishing them. Even now, making the best of the position in his letter to Hamilton, he could only say that there were two finished drawings, one of the Parthenon, and the other of the monument of Philopappos. To finish the remainder a long time would be required. Hamilton's comments²³⁶ in forwarding the letter were: 'I enclose a packet from Lusieri, which you should only read on a very fine day. It shows him an arrant Jew . . . His excuses for his idleness are abominable, and he evidently has finished nothing—nor indeed *done* anything to the purpose, in any way whatever, for the last four or five years.'

The statement of accounts was sent off on August 30, but again the difficulties of communication made themselves felt, and in March, 1820, Lusieri wrote that he had had no answer and had no money. Lord Elgin had not been idle, but was considerably perplexed as to his best course. In October he wrote from Munich to Hamilton (then British Minister at Naples):—²³⁷

In the event of your finding any occasion of seeing Lusieri, I wish to mention how matters stand with regard to Him. Immediately on my return to Italy, I consulted Sir H. Lushington, and some eminent merchants of Naples, in the hopes of getting some one to go to Athens, for the purpose of a full discussion with Lusieri, on the ideas conveyed to him in my letter of Jany 1819. This being unavailing, I had it in view, in going down to Sicily in July to have proceeded to Greece. But the Season, plague, war with Aly Pacha, and quarantine rendered that excursion wholly impracticable. I then wrote to him from Naples, referring to that letter of Jany. 1819; Fixing the termination of our engagement to the end of this year: and begging him to communicate fully His sentiments on the very difficult predicament in which we are placed by the having no one drawing in a state to be delivered over after several years in which He has done nothing else—a consideration which indeed bears, upon the whole period of our connexion, tho' in a small (comparative) degree, during the exertions to form the Collection.—I have seen a number of travellers of late, well acquainted with the state of his labors: and from none have I collected any hope, That his lifetime will suffice to make any effectual progress towards the finishing even a small share of what He has on hand. The drawings, if terminated, it appears on all hands, would be most valuable. But the difficulty is to know how, that can be accomplished. Taking them off his hands now would, on every account, be out of the question. It would be destructive of all the benefit to be expected from his exertions and the possession of such sketches would be a poor compensation for my expence. On the other hand, It is quite out of the question, That I shd. continue to pay his time for a series of years, only to finish what I might have hoped to have had some time ago.

A further source of discussion arises from the nature of many of his charges. As long as he had on hand the collecting the Sculpture, and making extensive

²³⁶ Hamilton to Elgin, Nov. 9, 1819.

²³⁷ Elgin to Hamilton, Oct. 15, 1820.

excavations, extra-charges came to be necessary, both for his personal aid, and for the countenance of the Turkish authorities. But for many years, those occasions have ceased :—and I know from recent travellers, That no *bachiches* are now as formerly required. *Ld Ruthven* who was long at Athens, and in many other parts of Greece, never gave any except for Lodging—Whereas *Lusieri* charges me for Horses etc :—*Bachiches* etc : etc : etc : down to the period of this last account—which, of course, It is not incumbent upon me to pay. The settlement of these two difficulties, and the obtaining from *Lusieri* what he may have collected for me, especially the golden wreath of myrtle, found in the vase, in *Aspasia's* *Tumulus*, are points to which it is impossible not to attach the most anxious interest : one which, I can have no hesitation in saying I would rather see undertaken by you than by any other individual whatever. How far, your plans and residence in Italy may admit of your sending for *Lusieri* to meet you at Rome or Naples, or whether the state of affairs in Greece may have induced him already to come over to Italy, are points upon which I can have no conjecture. But I do not foresee how matters are to be arranged otherwise than by verbal discussion ; Because I confess, I am unable, much as it has been in my mind, to devise any plan of settlement, which may be just to all parties, applicable to the peculiar objects of my Athenian enterprise, and suited to the feelings of a man of whose sentiments I have so high an opinion, as I have of *Lusieri's*. I think him much to blame, in having commenced so much more, than he has terminated, or can finish at present. His conduct in all this is unaccountable. But of his principles I entertain the impressions expressed to him in my letter of the 19 Jay 1819 and I shd. be extremely sorry, that in this closing transaction, I shd allow of an idea as if those impressions were not perfectly sincere.

I am sure you will enter into all my anxieties on this delicate series of dilemmas—I repeat it, I know of nothing effectual to be done without verbal discussion. If you think otherwise, I need not say, how welcome you are to write to Him on the subject. But in the event of there being no chance of your meeting, There is still the alternative of sending any person to Him, on whose qualification for such a mission you can rely. The sooner the business is settled, of course, the better.

The long file of *Lusieri's* letters terminates with one dated February 19, 1821, again dwelling on the want of funds and of news. A passing visitor (*Mr. Bond*, an architect)²³⁸ had undertaken to send him some paper, which would be very useful when he returned to Sicily.

Ma santé est en tres bon état, et je m'occupe tant que ma presente situation et mon age le permettent.

*J'ai l'honneur d'être avec un profond respect,
De Votre Excellence,*

Très humble serviteur,

JEAN BAPTISTE LUSIERI.

The end was close at hand. *Lusieri* died suddenly (no further details are given) at Athens on March 1, 1821.^{238a} The British Consul, *Alexander Logotheti*, placed his effects under seal, and sent an intimation of the death to *Lady Ruthven*, at Rome, to be communicated by her to the next of kin.

He was buried in the precincts of the Capuchin Monastery—whether in the little chapel, or in the pleasant garden, in which *Stuart* (I, chap. iv., Pl. 1) shows us a monk contemplating a skull and a crucifix, I do not know. The

²³⁸ Probably *John Linnell Bond*, who was in Greece and Italy in the years 1818–1821. *Gent. Mag.* New Series, viii. p. 655.

^{238a} I cannot reconcile the date given here, with that of the epitaph, Jan. 30.

monastery was burnt and ruined in the course of the Revolution. When the site was re-excavated by the French Government, as owners of the soil, some of the tablets of French citizens were left lying in the square. But the stone which English residents had contributed to the memory of Lusieri was placed appropriately at the entrance of the English Church at Athens. The inscription^{238b} ran:—

IOANNI BAPTISTAE LUSIERI
ANGLI IN ATHENIS
QUOD IN MONUMENTIS ATTICIS ILLUSTRANDIS
VIRUM BENE MERITUM
ET IN TERRA PEREGRINA
AMICUM
PERDIDERUNT.
PICTOR INSIGNIS ANNOS XXV [?] HIS LOCIS ARTEM EXERCUIT
ET INTER OPUS MORTE INOPINA SUBLATUS EST
NOCTE III KAL. FEB. A.D. MDCCCXXI
AETATIS SUAE LXX.

Twenty-one years had passed since the fateful contract had been signed with Lord Elgin at Messina, and during all that time Lusieri had been nominally Lord Elgin's agent. The first twelve years had been spent in strenuous and devoted service, in the collection of the marbles, and it is impossible to overstate the extent to which the success of Lord Elgin's enterprise was due to the skill and pertinacity of his principal agent. During the last eight years it seemed as if all power of finishing work had ceased, and the delivery of the drawings was at a standstill.

The drawings and other effects in which Lord Elgin might be supposed to be interested were partly at Malta and partly in Greece. Unsuccessful attempts had already been made on Lord Elgin's behalf in 1819 and 1820 to gain possession of the former. Two boxes and a tin case containing drawings and antiquities had been deposited by Lusieri in the care of one Robert Corner, the harbour master of Valetta. Corner had died, and his executor, one Hunter, had declined to surrender the drawings, which he had placed in the custody of a Mr. Locker, except to the order of Lusieri himself, on the ground that Lusieri had never indicated that any other than himself was the owner.

Hamilton was still British Minister at Naples, and after the receipt of the news of Lusieri's death, he was in communication with Mr. Locker at Malta, who had also received a claim drawn up by Lusieri's deceased sister's husband, Rosati, on behalf of his two sons as next of kin.

The boxes were sent, by the *Cambrian* Man-of-War, to Naples, and deposited with Hamilton. They contained drawings, a few models and vases, and miscellaneous artistic property, such as palettes, drawing implements, etc. Discussion followed between Hamilton and the heirs, and Hamilton and Lord Elgin, and resulted in an elaborate agreement between Hamilton and the representatives of the heirs, dated February 10, 1824. The finished drawing of the monument of Philopappos, the myrtle wreath from the tomb of

^{238b} *Hestia*, l.c. p. 798.

Aspasia,' and a few vases were recognised to be the property of Lord Elgin. The Italian drawings, made before Lusieri's engagement, were given over to the heirs, and bought back from them for 2,000 ducats (£340). The remainder of the contents of the Maltese boxes was taken by the heirs, and it was agreed that Hamilton should make efforts to recover the Athenian effects to be dealt with on the same lines.

The Philopappos drawing and the Italian collection are now at Broomhall. Of the Italian collection Hamilton wrote:²³⁹

The more I see the drawings, (Italian I mean,) the more I feel convinced you will be satisfied with taking them. To give you an idea of the extent of the collection, I can tell you there are ten large coloured drawings—finished views near Naples, Rome etc. Eleven others not quite finished—but very beautiful, Baiæ, Temple of Serapis at Pozzuoli, Caserta, Ischia etc. Paestum, 4 drawings—eight pencil drawings of Taormina—some large but not finished—nine or ten studies, a sketch book of coloured drawings, besides various others, in all nearly 140 drawings of different sizes and different degrees of finishing, counting the sketch book as one.

The arrangement was cordially approved by Lord Elgin²⁴⁰: 'Once more, my warmest thanks, for your aid in Lusieri's business, converting that puzzle and perplexity into so much satisfaction.'

So much for the Maltese part of the estate, which reached the Thames on board the *Euryalus* in April, 1825.

The history of the Athenian portion has a less happy ending. We have seen that the effects were sealed by the British Consul in March, 1821. In April the Greek revolt was opened, and soon after the Turks were blockaded in the Acropolis. A box of drawings was sent by Logotheti to Cerigo for greater safety. From Cerigo it was taken by (the sixth) Viscount Strangford, then Ambassador at the Porte, to Constantinople, whence its withdrawal seemed to present difficulties. Lord Strangford wrote (October 13, 1825):

I have had no further concern with Lusieri's effects than to remove from Cerigo the box which contains them, and to lodge it sealed up in the palace at Constantinople. I am quite incompetent to form any opinion as to the legal and proper mode of withdrawing them from there, but I should presume that the presentation to Mr. S. Canning of a receipt for them, from Lusieri's representatives, will be sufficient.

Arrangements were made accordingly by Lord Elgin with Stratford Canning, who was leaving to take up the Constantinople Embassy, for the dispatch of the box to Hamilton, and with Sir John Phillimore (who was to give Canning a passage from Naples to Constantinople), for its conveyance by a Man-of-War. But further delays followed for reasons that do not appear. The box was sent first from Constantinople to Smyrna, and on September 10, 1828, Stratford Canning forwarded, without comment, the following despatch from Werry, the Consul at Smyrna:

SMYRNA, Sept. 6th, 1828.

SIR,

In answer to the note Your Excellency did me the honour to address me, dated Corfu 12th August, requesting to be informed if the large case, delivered by a Dutch vessel, addressed to the Foreign Office, had been forwarded to England:

²³⁹ Hamilton to Elgin, Feb. 16, 1824.

²⁴⁰ Elgin to Hamilton, March 20, 1824.

Under the (date of) the 7th November 1827, I informed Your Excellency that Mr. Williams had delivered the case directed to the Foreign Office into my charge. In

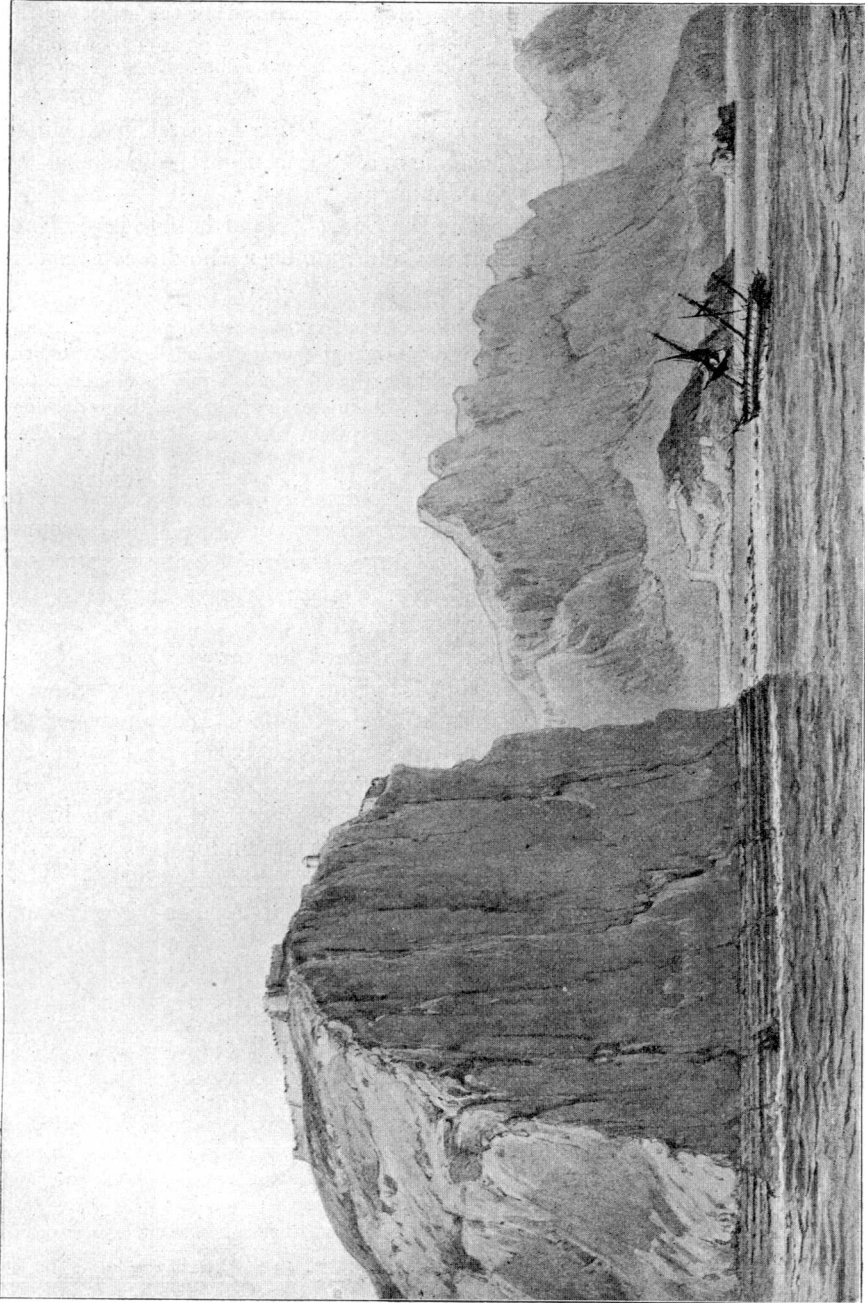


FIG. 9.—THE WRECK OF THE 'CAMBRIAN.'

conformity to Your Excellency's directions dated the 25th October, I was solicitous to ship it on board some of the Men-of-War to be afterwards at the disposal of the

Admiral, but the size of it was too large to put it in a safe place on board the *Rose*. It was, I regret to say, put on board H.M.S. *Cambrian*, Captain G. H. Hamilton, with an extract of Your Excellency's letter to me, by which Captain Hamilton was to let the Vice Admiral know that it was on board the ship he commanded: the same day the *Cambrian* left this for Vourlah it was embarked.

I have the honour to be etc. etc.

FRANCIS WERRY.

The regret expressed by Mr. Werry in the foregoing despatch is explained by the subsequent history of the *Cambrian*, a 48-gun frigate, commanded by Captain Hamilton, which was lost on January 31, 1828.

In his written statement laid before the Court Martial, held to investigate the loss, on March 6, 1828, Captain Hamilton (an officer who did conspicuous service at the capitulation of Nauplia) says:

I had been detached by Sir Thomas Staines from Smyrna for the purpose of going to Egina, [the then seat of the Greek Government] (accompanied by one of the Secretaries of the British Embassy to the Sublime Porte) where I was to remain a few days and then proceed to Cervi [Elaphonisi], and Milo in search of the *Isis*. I was detained at the seat of the Greek Government much longer than had been expected, to effect the liberation of several detained British vessels.

Learning that the *Isis* was not at Aegina, he proceeded instead to Karabusa (Grabusa) Island at the extreme north-west of Crete. In the course of an attack upon pirates who had taken refuge there the frigate was wrecked on the rocks, and had to be abandoned so soon after striking, that even the dog and muster book were not saved.²⁴¹ Evidently there could have been no time to rescue the very large case which contained the drawings.

The wreck of the *Cambrian* is shown in Fig. 9, from a drawing executed by J. Schranz, of Malta, to the instructions of the 1st Lieutenant of the *Cambrian*, afterwards Admiral Sir Robert Smart, K.C.B. It is now in the possession of that officer's daughter, Lady Wilson.^{241a}

The fruits of Lusieri's many years of work were thus sunk in the Mediterranean. The drawing of the monument of Philopappos (Fig. 8), which had found its way to Malta, was therefore the only finished work produced by Lusieri during his twenty-one years at Athens which found a permanent place in Lord Elgin's collections.

APPENDIX TO PARTS II. AND III.

LIST OF TRANSPORTS.

The Transport arrangements during the years 1800-1828 were naturally complicated, and the records respecting them are fragmentary. For the most part the cases shipped in the Levant were transhipped at Malta, and sent on after varying delays in such government ships as might happen. The principal cargoes were on the *Prevoyante* (No. 28) and the *Navigator* (No. 30). I have endeavoured to summarise such information as I could collect in the following lists.

²⁴¹ I am indebted to Mr. G. W. Perrin, the Admiralty Librarian, for these details.

^{241a} The fortress of Karabusa crowns the high cliff on the left. The view by Schranz is

based on a sketch by Admiral Spratt, which also formed the basis for the lithograph (after Schranz) in Spratt's *Travels in Crete*, II., pl. facing p. 222.

A.—From the Levant.

No.	DATE.	SHIP, ETC.	PORTS.	Goods.
1	1800 ?	<i>Phaeton</i> (Capt. Morris ?)	Constantinople to Deptford	Sigean inscription, statue, pieces of marble
2	Oct. 5, 1800	<i>Lord Duncan</i>	From Constantinople	Various parcels for Mr. Nisbet. (Tweddell's <i>Remains</i> , p. 362.)
3	1801	<i>New Adventure</i> (Capt. Boyd)	From Constantinople	Moulds from Girgenti. The ship was obliged to refit at Port Mahon
4	1801 ?	<i>Salamine</i> (Capt. Briggs)	From Constantinople	Capt. Briggs and the marbles were transferred to the <i>Madras</i> . (No. 7)
5	1801 ?	<i>Niger</i> (Capt. Hillyard)	From Constantinople	Sarcophagus lid, porphyry columns, etc.
6	Dec. 9, 1801	<i>Costanza</i> of Ragusa (Capt. Gleg)	Piræus to Alexandria	Antiquities as stated above (p. 206)
7	1802	<i>Madras</i>	Alexandria to England	Objects from the <i>Salamine</i> (No. 4) and antiquities from the Capitulation of Alexandria. See Edwards, <i>Founders of Brit. Mus.</i> p. 366.
8	Jan. 5, 1802	<i>Mentor</i> (Capt. Eglen)	Piræus to Alexandria, coast of Syria and Piræus	Antiquities as stated above (p. 206) were landed at Alexandria and re-embarked in <i>La Diane</i>
9	March 16, 1802	<i>La Diane</i> frigate (Capt. Stephenson) (also known as the <i>Diana</i>)	Piræus to Plymouth	Objects from Alexandria; 2 Parth. metopes; 2 cases of moulds; 1 of Parth. frags. Reached Plymouth Aug. 12, 1802
10	May, 1802	<i>Mutine</i> (Capt. Hoste)	Piræus to Malta	1 case moulds; 3 Parth. metopes; 3 cases Parth. frieze; head of horse; part of Erechtheum cornice, etc.
11	June 17, 1802	<i>Ann</i> transport	Alexandria to England	23 cases of marbles
12	July 7, 1802	<i>Mentor</i> (Capt. Eglen)	Piræus to Smyrna	Horses from Syria; 3 cases, not disembarked
13	Sept. 15, 1802	<i>Mentor</i> (Capt. Eglen)	Piræus for Malta	Wrecked off Cerigo, with Hamilton, Leake and Squire, and antiquities as stated, p. 231.
14	Nov. 21, 1802	<i>Sprightly</i> of Scarborough (Capt. John Dove)	Patras to England	Orchomenos inscriptions and vases shipped by Consul Strane
15	Nov. 23, 1802	<i>Victorieuse</i> (Capt. Richards)	Piræus to Malta	3 cases Parth. frieze; fragments of 'Tomb of Agamemnon'
16	Feb. 1803	<i>Braakel</i> (Capt. Clarke)	Piræus to Malta (?)	44 cases, including chief pedimental figures (see p. 254)
17	Apr. 27, 1803	<i>Medusa</i> (Capt. Gore)	Piræus to Malta (?)	Caryatid; 2 Parth. metopes; 3 cases of moulds; Mr. Nisbet's porphyry column
18	May	<i>Dorinda</i> brigantine of Ragusa (Capt. Andrea Campanelli)	Piræus to Malta	1 case of moulds; 29 cases of marbles
19	Feb. 16, 1805	<i>The Lady Shaw Stewart</i> (Government transport, No. 99, Capt. G. Parry)	Cerigo to Malta	Shipped at Cerigo, by order of Sir A. Ball, for transport to Malta under convoy of the schooner <i>Reynard</i> , the marbles recovered from the <i>Mentor</i> , with guns and other gear from the wreck
20	March 26, 1810	<i>Hydriote polacca</i>	Piræus to Malta	48 cases
21	April 22, 1811	<i>Hydra</i> , Government transport (Capt. Waygood)	Piræus to Malta	The heavy objects left behind by the polacca
22	Nov. 26, 1811	<i>Pauline</i> [not <i>Pomona</i> , as sometimes stated by error]	Piræus to Malta	1 case, stone vase; 1 case minor fragments and 2 terra-cotta tiles (see below, No. 31)
23	Aug. 1, 1817	<i>Tagus</i> (Capt. Dundas)	Piræus to Malta	3 cases, vases; 1 case with 2 reliefs

No.	DATE.	SHIP, ETC.	PORTS.	GOODS.
24	April 16, 1818	<i>Satellite</i> (Capt. Murray)	Piræus to Malta	1 case, vases in bronze and clay; 1 case, chair with Tyrannicides
25	1827	Dutch vessel	Constantinople to Smyrna	Lusieri's drawings (Athens portion)
26	Nov. (?) 1827	<i>Cambrian</i> (Capt. Hamilton)	From Smyrna	Lusieri's drawings (Athens portion), wrecked off Crete, Jan. 1828
B.—From Malta.				
27	Nov. 1803	?	Malta to England	Iftar's drawings
28	Jan. 1804	<i>Prevoyante</i>	Malta to England	50 cases—mainly from <i>Braakel</i>
29	July, 1809	?	Malta to England	Second set of Iftar's drawings
30	Jan. 1, 1812	<i>Navigator</i> (Capt. R. Forster)	Malta to Deptford	68 cases of the supplementary collection from polacca and <i>Hydra</i> (Nos. 20, 21)
31	March, 1812	<i>Molabar</i>	Malta to Deptford	2 cases from <i>Pauline</i> (No. 22)
32	1821	<i>Cambrian</i> (cf. No. 26)	Malta to Naples	Lusieri's drawings (Malta portion)
33	April, 1825	<i>Euryalus</i>	Naples to England	Lusieri's drawings (Malta portion)

PART IV.

The Marbles in London.

We now turn to the other half of our narrative, and deal with the receipt of the marbles in England, the gradual conversion of public opinion, and the final incorporation of the collection in that of the British Museum. As we have already seen, the difficulties of communication and other causes made Athens and London so remote from each other, that the two aspects of the subject remain distinct for months and years at a time. Lusieri at Athens, Lord Elgin and Hamilton in Britain, are each only half informed of what is passing in the other field.

While Lord Elgin remained at Constantinople, the public at home had only scanty knowledge of what was going on, and that more by report from Athens than by sight of the collections as they began to arrive.

The first newspaper notice that I have seen is of the date August 15, 1802, from a Sunday paper. I have failed to find it in the *Observer*.

Thursday forenoon were landed at the Pier-Head, Plymouth, and lodged in Mr. Lockyer's cellar, on the Barbican, 15 Large Cases &c from Egypt, shipped in *La Diane*, of 44 Guns, Captⁿ Stephenson at Alexandria, by order of the Rt. Hon. Lord Elgin, Ambassador at the Ottoman Porte. These cases of curiosities are to remain under the Custom House Locks, till orders are received from the Commissioners of the Customs in London, as to their future disposal. If the Duties are to be at Plymouth, the tide waiters will open the Boxes to fix the Duties, *ad valorem*, which will afford a Gratifying Sight to the Virtuosi.

The local virtuosi were only partially gratified. The *Observer* of August 22 reported that three boxes had been opened 'for the inspection of the curious.' They contained a brass cannon on wheels from Cairo; 'a most beautiful specimen of Grecian Sculpture, the figure of a Centaur'; and two shafts of Egyptian granite.

In February, 1803, Thomas Harrison, the architect who had originally inspired the operations, communicated a letter from Lord Elgin to the veteran collector, Charles Townley (1737-1805). Townley's reply²⁴² was cordial.

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.

Townley went on to say that the Dilettanti Society was about to meet and to be moved by some of its members to send a 'handsome remittance' to Lusieri, and to engage him in further researches. The matter was accordingly laid before the Society on Sunday, February 13, and the minute²⁴³ thereon runs:—

Read a letter from Ld. Elgin to Thos. Harrison, architect, and from him to Mr. Townley, on the subject of his collection from Athens, and other parts of Greece.

Ordered that the said Letters be referred to the Comm^{ee} of Publication for them to report their opinion on the said papers.

There the record stops, but it may be conjectured that the hostile influence of Richard Payne Knight, which was dominant in the society, was already making itself felt.

A few months later, a correspondent of *The Gentleman's Magazine*,²⁴⁴ writing from Rome on August 16, gave a substantially correct account of the enterprise, derived from conversation with the company of Artists who had reached Rome not long before.

Lord Elgin, as we have seen, was arrested in France in May, 1803, and when the main cargo of sculptures arrived, he was unable to take direction of their disposal. One can imagine that the Dowager Lady Elgin received with some embarrassment a notification from the Bankers:—²⁴⁵

His Majesty's ship the *Prevoyante*, lately arrived from Malta has on board about 50 cases, directed to Lord Elgin. Some of them are very large and very heavy, the Captain says he thinks the whole may weigh about one hundred and twenty tons, and as they must be taken out of the ship the beginning of next week, he wishes to have your Ladyship's direction where to send them.

The marbles thus arriving were assembled first at the Duchess of Portland's in Privy Gardens, Westminster, and were removed thence to the Duke

²⁴² Townley to Harrison, Feb. 8, 1803; Report, Appendix, p. xxii.

²⁴⁴ *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxiii. p. 725.

²⁴³ Cust, *Hist. of the Soc. of Dilettanti*, p.

²⁴⁵ E. Antrobus (of Messrs. Coutts) to Dowager Lady Elgin, Jan. 6, 1804.

of Richmond's house, but the cases were not unpacked. On his return from France, Lord Elgin found 'none of the packages were yet opened, though some were partially broken.'²⁴⁶

While still a prisoner in France, Lord Elgin was able to a certain limited extent to discuss the arrangements and destination of his collection. Letters on non-political subjects were allowed to pass, but communication was difficult. From Orleans (March 20, 1804) he wrote: 'I have just had the comfort of a letter from Hamilton, on his way from Vienna home, dated March 3. He has been in Greece. Most of the things are recovered from the brig.'

At the end of that year there seems to have been some question of a public exhibition of the marbles. 'I believe,' Hunt wrote,²⁴⁷ 'Mr. Cosway and some other English artists have engaged Lord Elgin to form them into a public Exhibition at London, to be opened in the course of the ensuing summer.' Philip Hunt had left Athens with Lord Elgin in January, 1803, and had been in his company at Malta. They had separated, and Hunt was travelling in Savoy when he was arrested under Napoleon's decree. He was afterwards allowed to join Lord Elgin at Pau, and employed himself drawing up a Memorandum on the operations in Greece. A copy was forwarded by Lord Elgin²⁴⁸ to his mother. 'His (Hunt's) detention in France (tho' thank God, I was not the occasion of it, we were not then travelling together) has been of the greatest disadvantage to him. But he is endeavouring to make of it what use he can, by great application; and I am sure this letter will be considered as a very classical as well as able paper.' The Memorandum or letter in question was a statement drawn up for the information of Hunt's patron, Lord Upper Ossory,²⁴⁹ and consisted of an account, drawn up from memory, of the operations at Athens. Later on it formed the basis of the *Memorandum on the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece*, which was drawn up by Lord Elgin, and played a considerable part in the purchase negotiations.

There were, however, serious difficulties in carrying on the direction of affairs as a prisoner of war. In Lord Elgin's evidence before the Committee he said²⁵⁰ :—

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. . . . The French sent me in that way down to Melun.

In the summer of 1806, Lord Elgin at length recovered his liberty. A letter to Sir Alexander Ball, at Malta, expresses his pleasure.²⁵¹ 'I

²⁴⁶ Elgin to Bankes, March 13, 1816; *Memorandum* of Feb. 1816 in *Report*, appendix.

²⁴⁷ Hunt to Lord Upper Ossory, Jan. 9, 1805.

²⁴⁸ Elgin to Dowager Lady Elgin, Jan. 13,

1805.

²⁴⁹ A third copy was sent to Mrs. Hamilton Nisbet.

²⁵⁰ *Report*, p. 43.

²⁵¹ Elgin to Ball, Aug. 5, 1806.

need not say with how much satisfaction I feel myself at liberty to write to you, from England. No one can know, what that irksome situation was, in which I have pass't three long years since I had the pleasure of seeing you.' After a discussion of the political situation, the writer begs Sir Alexander to do what he can for the marbles, to obtain one or even two young asses and send them home ('You know the fate of the remarkable fine ass you were so kind as to give me. He eat yew tree wood—and died') also one or two young bulls 'of the very fine breed, that is in the neighbourhood of Rome, and northward towards Florence' and to forward some letters, and two cases destined for Lusieri.

One of Lord Elgin's early tasks was naturally to find a house, with ground attached, where the marbles could be both sheltered and seen. The house that he chose was at the corner of Park Lane and Piccadilly, and is described by both those names. It had been previously the property of Lord Cholmondeley. It was afterwards bought by William Frederick, Duke of Gloucester, nephew and son-in-law of George III, and obtained the name of Gloucester House. It passed to the late Duke of Cambridge, and has recently been rebuilt, in unsightly modern style. It retains the name of Gloucester House. The dates of the purchase are furnished by letters which passed at a much later date between Lord Elgin and B. R. Haydon.²⁵²

Many thanks for your kindness. I get most satisfactory answer as to all my questions. A sort of doubt has been started by some good natured critic as to my right to be considered as the first who drew from the Elgin Marbles, because he says Mr. West drew from them 1806! In October 8, 1806 the deed was signed making over the house to Your Lordship; from (Oct.) 25 to Nov. 8 the marbles were moved from Privy Gardens—from that time (Nov. 8) to 25 Feb. 1807 the place was building to cover them in, and then till June 30 the men under Burham were unpacking and arranging them. How is it possible Mr. West could draw them 1806?

The arrangement of the marbles at Park Lane was superintended by Hamilton. The operations naturally involved the question how far restoration would be advisable, and Flaxman was consulted. Hamilton wrote:—

SAVILLE ROW, *June 23rd*, 1807.

MY DEAR LORD,

Your letter of the twelfth instant found me in Hertfordshire at my father's house. I had been absent for a week with him in Essex, on particular business, but had had the satisfaction before I left London to see the arrangement of Your Lordship's marbles completed.

I came to Town yesterday, and today Flaxman called upon me by appointment. We went together to your Museum, which he has no hesitation in pronouncing now very far superior in the value of its contents to what Paris can boast. I had little or nothing to show him that he had not already seen, except the Neptune which he admired exceedingly. When I reminded him of your wish that he should direct and superintend the Restorations, he said it would be a most difficult and laborious Undertaking, that if attempted to any extent, it must be done in toto, and that he feared it would be a Work of very great length of time and enormous expence, he

²⁵² Haydon to Elgin, March 10, 1819.

mentioned even, above 20000£. That when done the execution must be far inferior to the original parts, in many instances, where conjecture must be indulged, it would be a source of dispute among Artists, whether the restored attitudes were correct, or otherwise, and that on the whole he could not but be of opinion that the operation would lower rather than raise the intrinsic value of the collection. Under these Impressions I could not (press) him to begin, at all events, against his own inclination, and I thought too that perhaps you may on your return incline to his opinion, so for the present his labours are to be confined to the fitting and replacing of the several arms and other fragments, which were in the stable, and which appear to belong, that is some of them, to the large Statues. I am to meet him again on Thursday for this purpose.

The arrangement of 1807 may be supposed to have continued till the removal of the marbles to Old Burlington House in 1811, as no important additions were made to the collection during the interval.

We have a particularly interesting record in Fig. 10 of the appearance of the collection at Park Lane.²⁵³ On April 14, 1810, the young and brilliant Charles Robert Cockerell, then just under twenty-two, left London for the East on the seven years' tour which made him famous for life. The reader has met him already (p. 282) sailing to Aegina. Hamilton was by this time Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and was also an intimate friend of the Cockerell family. He was thus able to arrange that Cockerell should have a passage to Constantinople as a bearer of despatches to Adair. By way of a letter of introduction to Lusieri, Cockerell made a sketch of the Elgin Museum at Park Lane, and Hamilton wrote on the back:—

LONDON *April 12, 1810*

MY DEAR FRIEND

Take this in remembrance of one who often thinks of you and wishes to see you here, and in recommendation of The Bearer my particular Friend Mr. R. C. Cockerell, who has made the Drawing to show you how we prize in London the Relicks of The Parthenon.

W. HAMILTON

DON TITA LUSIERI

Athens—

The sketch may have been shewn to Lusieri, but it remained in Cockerell's possession. It indicates that the Park Lane Museum consisted of a sort of central nave and two side aisles. The nave was 25 feet broad, being nearly the width of the four slabs of the frieze of Nike Apteros. The aisles were a little more than 12 feet, the width of two slabs of the frieze and a metope. The depth of the building from back to front is doubtful, but it was certainly more than 25 feet.

On the left wall is the Parthenon frieze in two tiers—above slabs xxx and xxix of the South frieze; below the great central slab of the East frieze. On the facing wall are the four slabs of the frieze of Wingless Victory (424, 423, 422, 421), slabs xxxvi, xxxvii of the North frieze and the metope No. 305.

²⁵³ I am indebted to Mrs. Frederick Pepys Cockerell for leave to reproduce this interesting sketch.

It was shown in the Loan Collection of

Greek Art at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1904. It is described by error in the *Catalogue* (p. 260, No. 10) as a view of the marbles at Old Burlington House.

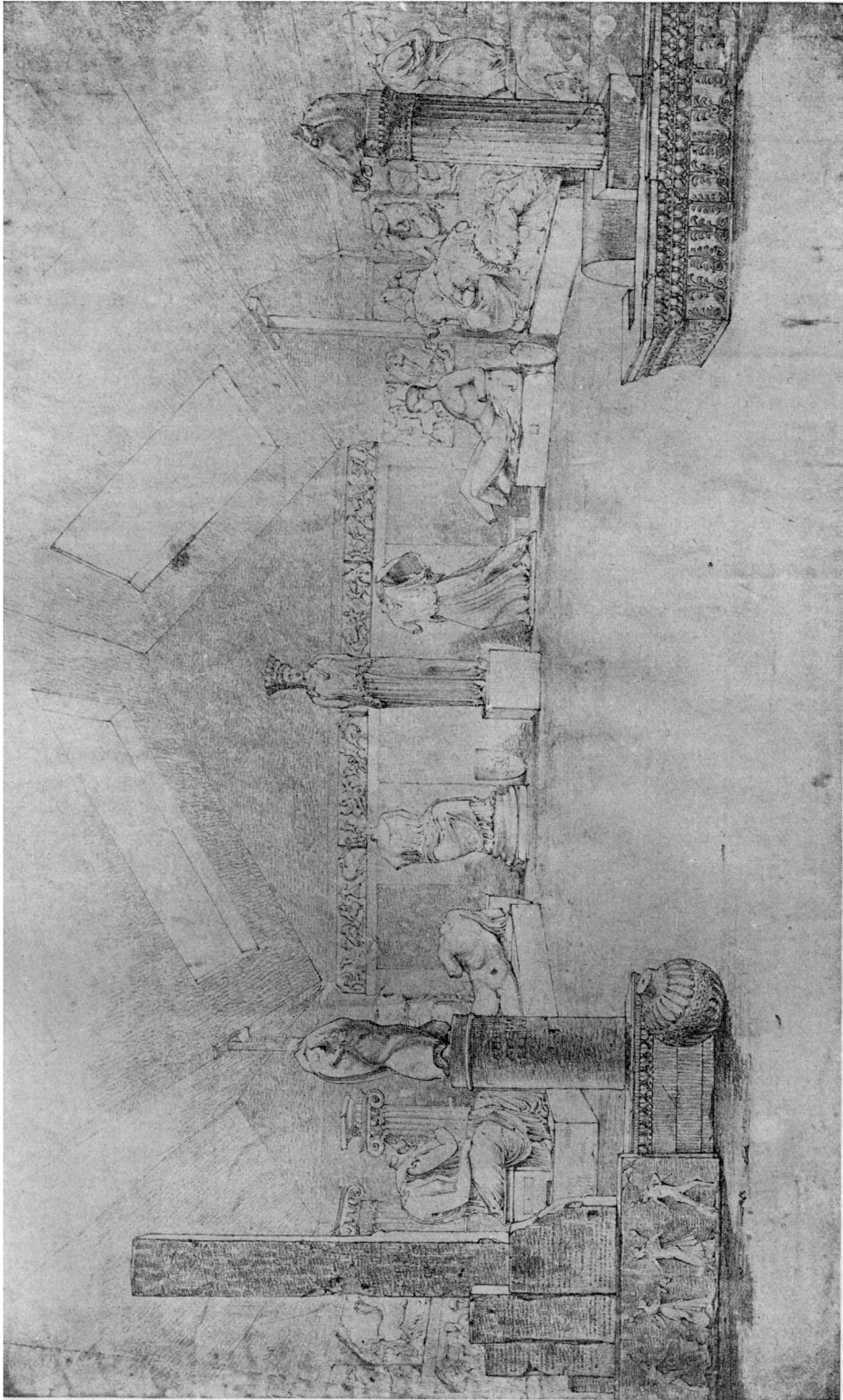


FIG. 10.—THE ELGIN MUSEUM AT PARK LANE, 1810.
(From a sketch by C. R. Cockerell.)

Below is another slab of the frieze which can hardly be recognised, perhaps slab xv West (a cast). On the right wall is a row of metopes 316, 307, 310 and another, just indicated. In Haydon's drawing (Fig. 11) No. 310 is followed by 318, 319, and another. The chief statues were arranged in a kind of semi-circle. Demeter and Persephone, Ilissos (with the Dionysos of Thrasyllus behind it, and a sepulchral lekythos No. 690, half seen); one of the Fates on an Ionic base (prob. 2561 from Daphne); the sepulchral vase 687; the Caryatid; the Iris; the Theseus; a sepulchral vase, No. 691; the two remaining Fates; the torso of Amphitrite, and the torso of Poseidon seen from the back. In the far corner on the left are two Ionic caps on shafts, probably 2564 and 2565, and a small Doric capital. [The capital 2561 in the British Museum is the only one that seems to suit, and that is not known to be an Elgin piece; cf. p. 233.]

On right and left of the entrance are two picturesque compositions.

On the left the architrave of the Erechtheum forms a base supporting the inscriptions B.M. 5, 2, 24, 29. In front are the archaistic relief from Logotheti's house (2154) and the vase of Timophon (684). Immediately behind is the torso of Hermes from the West pediment, placed on the cippus of Aristeides, son of Lysimachos (No. 85).

On the right we have the sculptured band crowning the walls of the Erechtheum (the slabs seem incorrectly pieced together) and the head of the horse of Selene on the shaft of the Erechtheum column. The long horizontal shaft seems to be one of the pieces of porphyry. The numbers given above, are those by which the objects are distinguished in the Catalogues of the British Museum.

From 1807 onwards the collection was thus set out so that it could be seen and enjoyed, and began to be a place of pilgrimage.

Certain porphyry columns from Alexandria had found their way home in the *Madras*, which was employed to take the marbles surrendered at the capitulation of Alexandria, and had so passed to the forecourt of the British Museum. Correspondence on the subject passed with Mr. Planta, the Principal Librarian, who added to a letter of February 1, 1808, 'If not disagreeable, I would fain request Your Lordship's permission to take a view of your Collection of Marbles, which I hear so highly spoken of, by those who have had the satisfaction of seeing it.' This may be assumed to be the earliest passage that bears in any way on the preliminaries for the acquisition of the marbles for the British Museum.

Among the select visitors was Wilkie, and he was the means of introducing Benjamin Robert Haydon. The latter had received a commission from Lord Mulgrave to paint an historical picture of the Death of L. Sicinius Dentatus, ambushed in a rocky gorge, from the account in Hooke's *Roman History* (i. p. 509, after Livy iii. 43). He had a struggle with his subject:

Just ²⁵⁴ in this critical agony of anxiety how to do what I felt I wanted, and when I had been rubbing out and painting in again all the morning, Wilkie called. My hero

²⁵⁴ *Life of B. R. Haydon*, i. pp. 82-86.

was done, though anything but well done, and Wilkie proposed that we should go and see the Elgin Marbles, as he had an order. I agreed, dressed, and away we went to Park Lane. I had no more notion of what I was to see, than of any thing I had never heard of, and walked in with the utmost nonchalance.

To Park Lane then we went, and after passing through the hall and thence into an open yard, entered a damp dirty penthouse, where lay the marbles, ranged 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, though 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. That combination of nature and idea which I had felt was so much wanting for high art was here displayed to midday conviction. 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, with the belly flat because the bowels fell into the pelvis as he sat,—and when, turning to the Ilyssus, I saw the belly protruded, from the figure lying on its side,—and again, when in the figure of the fighting metope I saw the muscle shown under the one armpit in that instantaneous action of darting out, and left out in the other armpits 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.

Here were principles which the common sense of the English people would understand; here were principles which the great Greeks in their finest time established, and here was I, the most prominent historical student, perfectly qualified to appreciate all this by my own determined mode of study under the influence of my old friend the watch-maker,—here was the hint at the skin perfectly comprehended by knowing well what was underneath it.

Oh, how I inwardly thanked God that I was prepared to understand all this!

. . . I felt the future, I foretold that they would prove themselves the finest things on earth, that they would overturn the false beau-ideal, where nature was nothing, and would establish the true beau-ideal, of which Nature alone is the basis.

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 I knew they would at last rouse the art of Europe from its slumber in the darkness.

I do not say this *now*, when all the world acknowledges it, but I said it then, *when no one would believe me*. I went home in perfect excitement, Wilkie trying to moderate my enthusiasm with his national caution. . . .

I passed the evening in a mixture of torture and hope; all night I dozed and dreamed of the marbles. I rose at five in a fever of excitement, tried to sketch the Theseus from memory, did so, and saw that I comprehended it. I worked that day, and another, and another, fearing that I was deluded. At last I got an order for myself; I rushed away to Park Lane; the impression was more vivid than before. I drove off to Fuseli, and fired him to such a degree, that he ran upstairs, put on his coat, and away we sallied. . . . At last we came to Park Lane. Never shall I forget his uncompromising enthusiasm. He strode about saying 'De Greeks were Godes! De Greeks were Godes!'

Haydon adds²⁵⁵ that through the good offices of Lord Mulgrave (after 1812 Viscount Normanby), his patron, he obtained with some difficulty leave

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p. 87.

to draw regularly from the marbles. Lord Mulgrave's letter²⁵⁶ is extant. Its frigid terms are in contrast with the student's enthusiasm.

The Request which I made to Mr. Hamilton was not one on which I rest the least importance, it was made at the request of a young Artist of great Talent, who is painting an historical Picture for me, and who thought he could add grace and dignity to his work by selecting a figure or two from your fine Grecian Sculpture. But I was not, even in making the application convinced that he would improve his picture by such an attempt to mix Grecian Statuary with the living models that he found in London but if my opinion were different, I should not deem any benefit his picture could derive, equivalent to the inconvenience to you of establishing a precedent of copying from anything in your collection.

The picture of the Death of Dentatus, which won a prize of one hundred guineas from the Directors of the Royal Institution, is said to be still in the Normanby collection. It was cut on wood by W. Harvey in 1821. The head, neck and shoulders of a figure in the immediate foreground are evidently copied from the Theseus. But the picture as a whole is a turbulent scene of combat, with no trace of beneficent Parthenonian influences.

However, Haydon worked hard through the summer.

I drew at the marbles ten, fourteen, and fifteen hours at a time, staying often till twelve at night, holding a candle and my board in one hand, and drawing with the other; and so I should have staid till morning, had not the sleepy porter come yawning in, to tell me it was twelve o'clock, and then often have I gone home, cold, benumbed, and damp, my clothes steaming up as I dried them; and so, spreading my drawings on the floor, and putting a candle on the ground, I have drank my tea at one in the morning with ecstasy, as its warmth trickled through my frame, and looked at my picture, and dwelt on my drawings, and pondered on the change of empires, and thought that I had been contemplating what Socrates looked at, and Plato saw, and then, lifted up with my own high urgings of soul, I have prayed to God to enlighten my mind to discover the principles of those divine things, and then I have had inward assurances of future glory, and almost fancying divine influence in my room, have lingered to my mattress bed, and soon dozed into a rich, balmy slumber.

A large album with many of Haydon's studies made in the conditions described was acquired in 1881 by the Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum. An example is reproduced in Fig. 11, with the two recumbent Fates, and the metopes and a piece of frieze beyond. It is dated 1809, and a note of Haydon's is written beneath, 'This is the way the metopes came in, when in the Shed, Park Lane.'

During the summer of 1808 admission to the collection began to be granted more freely. A correspondent (G. Cumberland) of the *Monthly Magazine* for July, 1808, speaks of 'that noble collection, now happily deposited near Hyde Park Corner, in a building erected purposely for their security; and, on Saturdays and Sundays most liberally opened to the inspection of the public, as such things ought to be, without fee or reward, or even the necessity of previous application.'

The writer concludes by expressing his desire, which no doubt was becoming common, 'that Parliament should purchase, if possible, the entire collection, and build a well lighted museum to contain it.'

²⁵⁶ Mulgrave to Elgin, May 21, 1808.

We have seen above (p. 297) that the question of the priority of West and Haydon was a subject of discussion, but Haydon obtained his permission to draw in May, while Lord Elgin's invitation to West (which is in the British Museum²⁵⁷) is dated September 1, but has reference to some previous conversation. It runs:

BROOMHALL,
Sept. 1, 1808.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am extremely mortified to find that the letter which was to have been written to you in consequence of our last conversation has by accident not reached its destination. But I hope this circumstance has not prevented your proceeding as agreed on. The more so, as I had that very day an opportunity of communicating with Mr. Hamilton on the subject.

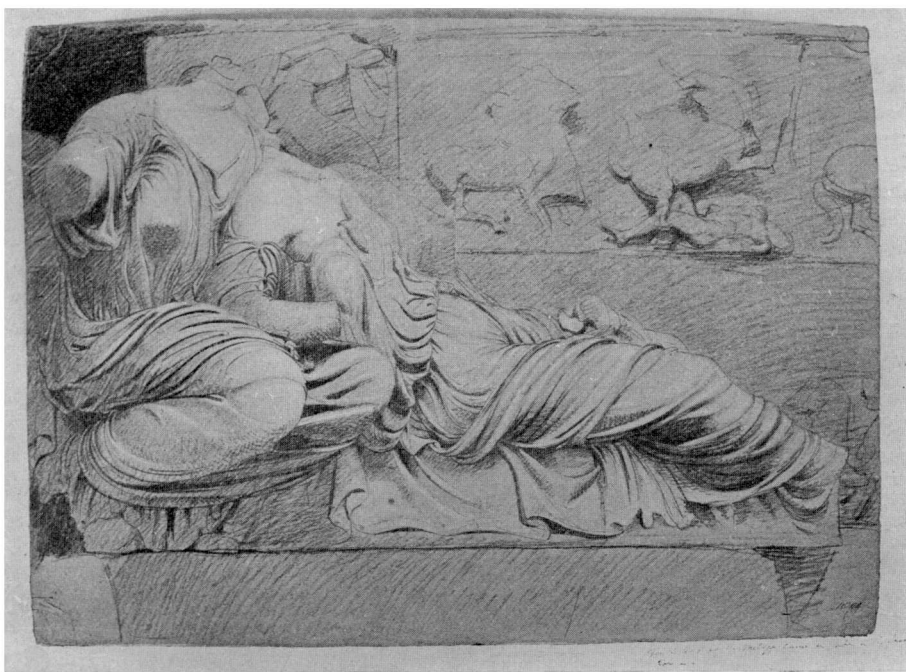


FIG. 11.—STUDY OF SCULPTURE, IN THE PARK LANE MUSEUM.
(By B. R. Haydon.)

My request to you is That you would have the goodness of making any sketches from the subjects in my museum, in the view of pointing out how far, either individually or in groupes they may be worthy of being imitated in painting. For this purpose the Museum will be open to you at all times.

In compliance with this invitation West joined Haydon at the Museum.

While I was drawing there, West came in and seeing me, said with surprise, 'Hah, hah, Mr. Haydon, you are admitted, are you? I hope you and I can keep a secret.' The very day after, he came down with large canvasses, and without at all entering into the principles of these divine things, hastily made compositions from

²⁵⁷ *Br. Mus. Add. MSS.* 36,297H, fo. 29.

Greek History, putting in the Theseus, the Ilyssus, and others of the figures and restoring the defective parts—that is, he did that which he could do easily, and which he did not need to learn how to do, and avoided doing that which he could only do with difficulty, and which he was in great need of learning how to do.

Haydon's criticism was no doubt just, but West was then seventy years old, and he was doing what he had been invited to do. His report on the results is dated February 6, 1809, and is printed at length in the *Memorandum*.²⁵⁸ He explains that he has made compositions of a Battle of the Centaurs; Theseus and Hercules triumphing over the Amazons; the Marriage of Theseus and Hippolyta; Theseus, Ariadne, and the Minotaur; Neptune and Amphitrite, Triton, etc.; Alexander and Bucephalus.

In order to render the subjects which I selected with perspicuity, and the effect, which arises from combined parts and the order of arrangement, 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.

While Haydon's studies were in progress he tells us that on September 9, having 'finished the best drawing' he had yet done, a 'marble fell down and cut my leg.' This caused inconvenience for some days, as he was unable to walk, and his leg was 'very painful.'

In the autumn of 1808, Sir Thomas Lawrence²⁵⁹ also obtained permission to draw the marbles. At this period the collection was further increased by casts taken from moulds that had been made by the formatori at Athens. Hamilton reported²⁶⁰ that the cases of moulds were found to contain 'various legs and arms and trunks belonging to the figures on the Pediment.'

I called in Piccadilly, and saw Papeira's work. He has had a most troublesome Job of it owing to the confused manner in which the moulds etc. were packed up, but has succeeded extremely well, and has made some admirable casts, superior many of them in preservation, and equal all in sculpture to the best of the originals.

The letter concludes with a petition for the packing cases.

I have a plan in agitation of taking a largish farm (dairy farm) our family property, into my own hands, and should like to convert the Athenian planks, that is those which are not quite rotten, to some use as paling or some other such purpose, by way of being able to introduce the subject of *Athens* to my country neighbours and cause them to stare, and ask in what country it is.

On the completion of a set of the casts from the West frieze of the Parthenon, the friezes of the Theseum, of the monument of Lysicrates, and of the Girgenti sarcophagus, the moulds would seem to have been destroyed. I find no further mention of them.

²⁵⁸ *Memorandum*, p. 29. The original draft is in the Brit. Mus. *Add. MSS.* 36,297 H, fo. 31.

²⁶⁰ Hamilton to Elgin, Sept. 25 and Oct. 9, 1808.

²⁵⁹ Lawrence to Elgin, Oct. 4, 1808.

The number of visitors to the museum made it necessary to appoint a responsible representative to be in charge during the open days. Hamilton had performed this duty with great zeal and devotion. Later on, when the question again came up, he wrote: ²⁶¹ 'I have no kind of objection to taking upon myself the same office as last year, of preserving the Marbles from injury, and of preserving due order and decorum.' Early in the year 1809 the duty was offered to Haydon. He replied gratefully, but stating that it was entirely out of his power to accept the position, and added that in the endeavour to procure a gentleman worthy of being entrusted with such exquisite productions, he had called (unsuccessfully, for he was not in town) 'on Mr. Day, the Gentleman who attends the marbles at the Musaeum, and who fortunately would be at liberty on Saturdays and Sundays, the Musaeum being then shut.' Haydon took the opportunity of applying for leave to study 'the figure grappling the Centaur, the character of whose limbs I wish to imitate in the grooms in Macbeth for Sir George Beaumont,' and the 'drapery of the two sitting women, as a model for Lady Macbeth.' In a further letter ²⁶² on the same subject he gave the rein to his enthusiasm.

I can see in those exquisite productions every great principle of Art, all that is grand, necessary and beautiful. You have immortalized yourself, My Lord, by bringing them, and if you would but erect a building worthy of them, and admit students, your immortality would be on firmer ground. Michel Angelo was produced from Lorenzo's di Medici's gardens. I should have no fear for the art of my country, were they once studied as they ought—they will create excellence wherever they drop—and I prophesy that from their landing in this country posterity will date the commencement of real art,—they are so pure, so uncontaminated,—nothing superfluous. That Horse's head is the highest effort of human conception and execution, if the greatest Artist the world ever saw, did not execute this, I know not who did—look at the eye, the nostril and the mouth ;—it is enough to breathe fire, into the marble around it—enough to create a soul, under the ribs of death.

I have intruded my own notions of their excellence, which I hope you, My Lord, will excuse. I am yet inexperienced, and diffident of all my opinions, but what <to> relate to the marbles—here I would stand and contend, till the World was in ruins about me, that I should have been permitted to study those very marbles appears to me when I reflect like a vision—for ever believe me my dear Lord

yours gratefully

B. R. HAYDON.

The Horse's head, the reclining figure, and the Theseus with the two sitting, the two lying women, the Bacchus and the Metope of the figure grappling with the Centaur, are quite enough to reform art, or create it, wherever they appear. Tho' fifty other things are all equally capable of doing that, in the collection. I again beg pardon my Lord for intruding my opinions.

To return again to the question of a curator, nothing seems to have come of the suggestion that Mr. Day should be employed, and in the spring of 1809 the collection was closed to the public. Lord Elgin was anxious to effect a sale of the Park Lane house and not to alarm possible purchasers by a confluence of visitors to it. It was clear, however, that if a purchaser was

²⁶¹ Hamilton to Elgin, March 29, 1809.

²⁶² Haydon to Elgin, Sept. 23, 1809.

found, the marbles would have to be moved, and the question was definitely raised by Hamilton.²⁶³

Then however comes another consideration. What is to be done with the Marbles? I have often mentioned to you the applications made to me to know, when & if Govt. is to buy them—and certainly the prejudice in their favour is now become so general that I have no doubt that Govt. would pay for them liberally, and certainly the house would sell much better, if known that they were to be removed within a certain time, than if any arrangement of that kind were to remain over this Session undetermined, at least as far as a private understanding with Govt. would go. If you resolve to part with them, could you not make the offer through Mr. West, and if accepted, desire that a certain no. of respectable men, Artists, Amateurs, and Members of H. of C. be appointed to settle the price, you *perhaps* fixing the *minimum*, and giving in *round* and *handsome* sums a statement of the Expenses immediate and accidental. I cannot but think that when they were disposed of, you would feel yourself relieved of a great deal of trouble and embarrassment. Of course Maltass's Expedition and those Expenses attendant on the conclusion of Lusieri's engagement would have to be included. The drawings and measurements I should be inclined to postpone for any future arrangement. If you disapprove of what I have said, you have only to excuse my freedom. At all events I shall take Mr. Christie to the house and will either on Monday or Tuesday let you know his opinion about it.

Appended to the letter is a list of names for the suggested committee:

Mr. West	Marquis of Stafford	Mr. Rose	Ld. Aberdeen	Flaxman
Sir G. Beaumont	or	Mr. Long	Mr. Lock	Nollekens
	Ld. Cawdor			
	Mr. Knight			

The question of selling the Park Lane house was a subject of discussion during the summer with Hamilton and Christie (of the famous firm), and the question of the disposal of the marbles was naturally involved, but no real progress was made.

It was at this time in contemplation that West, as President of the Academy, should prepare a memorial on the subject of the marbles, which he seemed quite ready to do, especially having regard to the fact that English artists were cut off by the war from opportunities of study abroad. Occasional visitors were being admitted to the house. An interesting meeting was planned by Lord Elgin, who invited Thomas Lawrence and West to meet Mrs. Siddons. West was able to attend, Lawrence excused himself,²⁶⁴ but added, 'Mrs. Siddons can nowhere be seen with so just accompaniments as the works of Phidias, nor can they receive nobler homage than from her praise. She is of his age, a kindred genius, though living in our times.' This, presumably, was the occasion when the group of the Fates 'so rivetted and agitated the feelings of Mrs. Siddons, the pride of theatrical representation, as actually to draw tears from her eyes.'²⁶⁵ The house remained unsold, and in the autumn of the year Lord Elgin was considering the possibility of altering it so as to form a permanent museum, to which the public might be admitted by payment. The scheme was submitted to the professional criticism of Mr. W. Porden, whose reply²⁶⁶ was by no means encouraging.

²⁶³ Hamilton to Elgin, May 13, 1809.

²⁶⁴ Lawrence to Elgin, Sept. 26, 1809.

²⁶⁵ *Memorandum* (1811), p. 42.

²⁶⁶ Porden to Elgin, Jan. 16, 1810.

It was architecturally practicable, at a cost of £1,500—£2,000. But there would be the expense of reinstatement at the end of the lease. The remainder of the house would be greatly depreciated as a property, and there was no probability that the admission fees would meet the expenses of maintenance. It was therefore much to be preferred that the marbles should pass to the keeping of the Government. Smirke was also consulted, and was equally unfavourable to the exhibition project,²⁶⁷ which was promptly abandoned so far as the Park Lane house was concerned.^{267a}

PART V.

Purchase Negotiations.

Not long after the abandonment of the scheme for a private Museum the first overtures on the part of the British Museum began. Hamilton writes:²⁶⁸

Mr. Planta of the British Museum called on me yesterday to sound me as to your Lordship's intentions to part w. your marbles for the British Museum. I of course gave him a diplomatic answer, and recommended him an application to you in the name of the Trustees, in order that a negotiation might be set on foot during the ensuing summer, preparatory to the next Session of Parliament. He said he would talk it over with His Brethren, and make me an official communication upon the subject—for which you may send me what instructions you please, or desire me only to take them *ad referendum*.

The next step in the proceedings of which a record remains was a call on Mr. Planta at the Museum by Lord Elgin, about the middle of July. As a result Planta wrote to the Speaker, Charles Abbot (afterwards Lord Colchester), as one of the three Principal Trustees. In reply, after expressing regret that other engagements made an interview impossible, and that the lateness of the season prevented a meeting of the Trustees on the subject, Abbot wrote:²⁶⁹

The only step now to be taken, is for Lord Elgin to make His formal communication to you as Principal Librarian, and our Principal Officer to whom all our concerns are confided during the Recess. And most certainly as soon as it can be laid before the Board, if it should be their pleasure, as it has been upon former occasions, to employ me to communicate with His Majesty's Government upon the subject, I shall most cordially enter upon that service, and doubt not but we shall bring the negotiations to bear, in a mode equally just by the public and honourable as well as satisfactory to Lord Elgin.

The letter was forwarded by Planta, who observed:²⁷⁰

The necessity of receiving from your Lordship a specific offer is what I believe our leading men will not dispense with; and my zeal in the cause urges me earnestly to wish that this step might be got over as soon as possible, for though nothing decisive can be done till our trustees meet in November, yet preliminary measures may be taken among individuals which may greatly facilitate the happy issue of their collective deliberations.

²⁶⁷ Hamilton to Elgin, Jan. 22, 1810.

^{267a} On Feb. 10, 1810, Lord Elgin again wrote to Christie, as to selling or letting the house, and as to the employment of a competent packer, that the wines and books

might be sent by Leith packet to Broomhall, *Br. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35,057, fo. 91.

²⁶⁸ Hamilton to Elgin, May 19, 1810.

²⁶⁹ Abbot to Planta, July 21, 1810.

²⁷⁰ Planta to Elgin, July 21, 1810.

By the same post Planta²⁷¹ wrote to General Ramsay, as a friend of Lord Elgin's, 'Since we met last in Piccadilly, I have had the honor of seeing Lord Elgin, who unequivocally declared his wish that his Collection of Marbles should become the property of the Public. Terms however he would not so much as hint at, and he seems determined that those should be proposed by others.' A tender, however, would be essential, and perhaps Ramsay, as an old friend, could urge this with success. Ramsay therefore wrote:²⁷²

MY DEAR ELGIN

I enclose you a letter which I have just received from Planta—Now pray read it attentively and do something immediately as desired. *Strike while the iron is hot.* I am certain from the conversation which I had with Planta that it may be settled now, if you will do as they wish, and I was left in the complete conviction by that same conversation that unless you make the tender the business will remain as it is. You might, I should think, if you did no more, state the sum which you consider the estimate of the expenses incurred by you, and leave to them (with those *data* to go by) to fix the sum, but at any rate do something about it before you leave Town, and dont allow it to go to *sleep* again. If I can be of any use as a *gobetween* between Planta and yourself you will employ me *ad libitum*. . . . Pray excuse my sending you this most illegible scrawl. Our second dinner bell had rung before I sat down to write it, and you will readily believe that under these circumstances one is not likely to write or do anything else with the same composure as at other times.

With a view to facilitate the negotiations, by supplying an authentic account of the operations, a document was prepared entitled 'A Memorandum on the subject of the Earl of Elgin's pursuits in Greece.' This was drawn up by Lord Elgin, being largely based on the paper written during the French imprisonment by Hunt for Lord Upper Ossory and Mrs. Hamilton Nisbet. It has hitherto been assigned by cataloguers to Hamilton, but, it is evident, incorrectly. The first edition²⁷³ was printed in Edinburgh, and when issued was subject to some criticism on the part of Hamilton.²⁷⁴

MY DEAR LORD,

When I ventured to speak to Admiral Durham of a few Expressions in your Memorandum which I did not think would be generally approved of, I simply alluded to the words *bijou*, and *concelto* and a few other Expressions wherein I thought I traced some of Hunt's fanciful flights of eloquence in which he indulged, in his letters to Mrs. Nesbitt,

²⁷¹ Planta to Ramsay, July 21, 1810.

²⁷² Ramsay to Elgin, Aug. 10, 1810.

²⁷³ Three issues of the *Memorandum* were printed in all.

1. *Memorandum on the subject of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece*, 4to, Edinburgh, Balfour Kirkwood and Co. 1810. This consists of the *Memorandum*, with West's letter of Feb. 6, 1809, annexed.

2. The same, 8vo edition, London, 1811, printed for William Miller, Albemarle Street, by James Moyes, Greville Street, Hatton Garden. A few corrections are made in the text. Annexed are West's letter of Feb. 6, 1809; another letter of March 20, 1811;

'Notes on Phidias and his School, collected from ancient authors,' and Millin's 'Description d'un bas-relief du Parthénon actuellement au Musée Napoléon' (*i.e.* the slab from the East side, now in the Louvre).

3. The same, 8vo edition. 'Second edition corrected.' London printed for John Murray, Albemarle Street, by W. Bulmer and Co., Cleveland Row, 1815. This contains the same matter as No. 2, together with 'Lettre de E. Q. Visconti à un Anglais' [Hamilton], Nov. 25, 1814, and the anonymous letter (*cf.* p. 319) on purchase considerations.

²⁷⁴ Hamilton to Elgin, Dec. 15, 1810.

and which it struck me that you had adopted as the basis of your printed Mem^m. (but perhaps in this too I am wrong).²⁷⁵ However on receiving your letter I set to with my pencil in my hand, and as you will see by the enclosed have cut and slashed most unmercifully and you will perhaps say most absurdly. It is not however my fault, and I have only to beg you to burn what you do not choose to adopt in case you have occasion to print any more copies.

I must tell you that those which I have (most of which are distributed) are very much approved of, and sought after with the greatest avidity.

Further letters passed on the details of the Memorandum, and Hamilton undertook to select two subjects from the drawings (then at Park Lane) for a vignette and tail piece for the 2nd edition. The text of this issue is carefully revised. *Concetto* and *bijou* disappear. The head and tail pieces are copper plate engravings by Moses, giving restorations of two of the smaller reliefs. (Brit. Mus. Sculpt., 690, 814.)

The spring and summer of 1811 were spent in active negotiations for the sale. On January 8, Hamilton (who had been elected a member of the Society of Dilettanti on January 6, after two rejections)²⁷⁶ reported that a Mr. William Smith had called on behalf of the Speaker to start the question of purchase, and soon afterwards the drawings were deposited with the Speaker for his examination.

On April 29²⁷⁷ an interview took place between Lord Elgin and the Speaker, and a week later Lord Elgin approached the Government with a formal letter to the Right Hon. Charles Long, then Paymaster-General, and afterwards 1st Lord Farnborough, after an interview which took place on May 3.²⁷⁸

The letter²⁷⁹ is dated from 6, Park Lane. It opens by pointing out that the Memorandum and an inspection of the collection will have shown Mr. Long that the object of the undertaking was to obtain a full and accurate knowledge of the school of Phidias, and that it had been carried through with an unlooked-for measure of success. An article in the *Moniteur* showed how the collection was regarded in France, and afforded evidence that the marbles might have been advantageously disposed of in that country. In London every facility and encouragement had been given for the inspection of the collection, and enthusiastic testimonies of admiration were continually received from artists and men of taste.

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

²⁷⁵ Hamilton's acumen was not at fault. Both the terms to which he objects were due to Hunt.

²⁷⁶ Cust, *Hist. of the Soc. of Dilettanti*,

p. 133.

²⁷⁷ Lord Colchester's *Diary*, ii. p. 326.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.* p. 328.

²⁷⁹ *Report*, App. p. vii.

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.

In discussion with the Speaker, he had found the Speaker decidedly of opinion that a statement of expenses, with interest, 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.'

A delay had arisen, through an idea being entertained, that Lord Elgin's diplomatic appointment prejudiced his full and uncontrolled right over his acquisitions. This had been met by a consideration of general practice and precedents, and because it was the British Government's refusal to take part that had brought about the whole enterprise.

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 undertaken 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.

The collection consisted of:

1. The Drawings and Casts.

For this purpose the artists at £400 per annum for 3½ years cost.	£8,400
One came to England to engrave the drawings and remained 2 years.	800
Travelling expenses	1,500
	£10,700

2. The Sculptures, Inscriptions, and Vases.

After explaining that all privileges in Turkey have to be paid for on a scale 'proportioned to the rank of the parties, the sacrifice to be made, and the eagerness shewn for the acquisition,' Lord Elgin estimated for presents and wages to workmen	£15,000
Expenses at Malta, Commission, Agency and minor charges not estimated	2,500
The <i>Mentor</i> and operations on the wreck	5,000
Interest for 14 years at 5 per cent.	23,240
Expenses in London	6,000
	£62,440

The total therefore exceeded considerably . £62,440

These calculations, as we shall see, were amplified and corrected later on. At this stage no attempt was made on behalf of the Government to discuss

the items of the account. 'Mr. Spencer Perceval [the then Prime Minister] asked me,' said Long²⁸⁰ in his evidence before the Committee, '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.' The decision was received by Lord Elgin with deep mortification. He wrote to the Speaker:²⁸¹

PARK LANE, *May 10, 1811.*

SIR

I have had the mortification of learning from Mr. Long the result of his communication with Mr. Perceval on the subject of transferring my Athenian collection to the public. The terms offered for my consideration are so wholly inadequate either to the expenses incurred, or to the acknowledged value of the Collection, that I cannot hesitate in declining them. I had previously prepared the enclosed paper for Mr. Long's information both in regard to the outlay and to the proceedings prior to my application to him. In that view it is no longer necessary. Yet as Mr. Long mentioned that you had not foreseen the amount of that outlay I attach I confess too strong a feeling to the opinion you may form on this business, not earnestly to request you to peruse the paper, and to observe the nature of the charges in which my enterprise unavoidably involved me.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

with great respect,

Your obedient

humble servant

ELGIN.

The Speaker answered,

PALACE YARD, *Tuesday 14 May 1811*

MY DEAR LORD,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's Letter, inclosing another addressed to Mr. Long; and after such Communication as I have thought it my Duty to hold upon this Subject, I am sorry to say that I am not enabled to encourage any expectation whatever that a proposition to the extent stated in your Lordship's letter will receive the support of Government if it should be submitted to the House of Commons. My Situation in truth has given me the opportunity of knowing also the sentiments of some other Leading Persons, unconnected with Government; and from them I have received a very distinct intimation that no grant to that extent could be proposed with any reasonable expectation of success. And I think that I should not act with the frankness due to the unreserved manner in which your Lordship has conversed with me upon the business, if I forbore to mention to you this coincidence of opinion between Persons of opposite Political Habits and Connections. Under such circumstances I fear that my service cannot be of any further avail, towards bringing this negociation to a favourable issue; but should you conceive otherwise I should be very happy to obey any further commands which you may think proper to lay upon me.

²⁸⁰ *Report of the Committee*, p. 54.

²⁸¹ Lord Colchester's *Diary*, ii. p. 330. A

somewhat different draft is in the Elgin papers.

To this letter Lord Elgin replied²⁸² (May 15) that he 'was really quite ignorant of there being any limits so far below the value of my collection, beyond which Parliament would not go for a similar purpose,' but at the same time he conceded that 'the terms offered viewed simply in the light of an encouragement to the arts, and without definite reference to the value of the collection were in the highest degree liberal.'

The same day Charles Long²⁸³ wrote to the Speaker 'though he has taken this line, I think we shall hear from him again. I wish he would talk more liberally upon the subject; but at present we are so far off that without a strong disposition on his part to approximate, I almost fear we shall not meet soon.'

A certain amount of rearrangement of the collection seems to have taken place in the spring of this year. Lord Elgin²⁸⁴ wrote to Flaxman in April, proposing an appointment to meet at the museum. 'My object, . . . that of obtaining your opinion on several of the articles there, would be more satisfactorily obtained if you could do me the favour of coming on Wednesday at 12 o'clock, because in the course of tomorrow I shall have finished the arrangement both of the marbles and the casts.'

On the failure of the negotiations no time was lost by Lord Elgin in offering the collection to the British Institution²⁸⁵ for exhibition, but on May 17 the Directors and Visitors at their meeting decided that they were unable to find space suited to the purpose.

The matter of purchase was now set aside for the present. But the discussions that had taken place in relation to it had shown that there were misapprehensions current which it was desirable to correct, and on July 31 Lord Elgin addressed a letter on the subject to Spencer Perceval.

Insinuations have, I'm told, been thrown out, tending to create an impression as if I had obtained a considerable share of these marbles in presents from the Porte and without expence; that the allowance of £10,000 granted to me in 1806 bore in some way on the cost of my collection; and that during my Embassy I received presents beyond the usual practice in other European Courts, and out of proportion with the various persons concerned in the operations for the recovery of Egypt.

The letter proceeded to beg the Prime Minister to examine the facts. In Greece the operations were begun on a scheme settled in England, and the Ambassador enjoyed no special privileges.

The only direct aid I ever obtained, was in regard to the Boustrophedon Inscription, and a small bas relief near it, at Cape Sigeum, which the Captain Pasha whom I met accidentally at the spot, gave me his sanction to remove, at my own expence.

The grant of £10,000 was purely in relation to the expenses of the Embassy at Constantinople.

In more immediate reference to the occasion of this Letter, I have only to add, that in no one instance during my whole Life passed in the Foreign Service, did I ever receive any extra allowance from Government for Debts, losses, or on any other

²⁸² Lord Colchester's *Diary*, ii. p. 330.

(Brit. Mus. *Add. MSS.* 36, 652, fo. 132.)

²⁸³ *Ibid.* p. 331.

²⁸⁵ Cf. Lord Colchester's *Diary*, *loc. cit.*

²⁸⁴ Elgin to Flaxman, April 19, 1811.

account whatever ; that the full pension to which my progression thro' all the Ranks in the career, and my length of service entitle me, has not been granted to me, as to my Colleagues of similar standing ; and that after disposing of my House in London, I still remain Burdened with a Debt of not less than £90,000.

Perceval's answer, written the next day, was fairly cordial. After stating that he had read the enclosures, and would consult the documents to which he had been referred at the Foreign Office, he adds :

I shall feel myself acting only according to Your Lordship's wishes when I avail myself of Your Lordship's Letter and its enclosures to remove the impressions to which Your Lordship alludes, in any quarter, where I may happen to find that they in any degree exist. If in so doing I shall at all exceed your Lordship's wishes and intentions, I shall be glad to hear from you to that effect.

While the discussion was going on, it had become urgent to remove the marbles from Park Lane. The proposal to exhibit them under the management of the British Institution was, as we have seen, unsuccessful. After some discussion, 'the walled enclosure at Burlington House' was placed at Lord Elgin's disposal by the 5th Duke of Devonshire,²⁸⁶ though the permission was accompanied by a warning that the concession might be for a brief period only, as it was likely that the whole of the land would be let or sold before the end of the current year. The walled enclosure was a considerable space at the back and sides of Burlington House.

Work seems to have begun in July. Hamilton writing on the 30th says: 'I think I shall be in town again before much is done at Burlington House.' The Duke of Devonshire had, however, died the previous day, and Hamilton's next letter²⁸⁷ expressed some anxiety as to whether this would cause a change of plans for the infant museum. But there was no immediate urgency, and the arrangement of the museum continued. On October 14, Planta, the Principal Librarian of the British Museum, wrote to Abbot²⁸⁸ that the collection was in Burlington House, and in November more fully :

I am just returned from a visit to the Elgin Collection. It is in a shed in a back yard at Burlington House, with top lights very unfavourable to artists who may wish to copy any of the marbles. Hamilton met me there ; I learnt from him that it was not at present intended to tax the admission, but he intimated that, if not otherwise disposed of, he should advise Lord Elgin to stand the first brunt of the abuse, and derive a profit from the exhibition.

²⁸⁶ Duke of Devonshire to Lord Elgin, no date.

²⁸⁷ Hamilton to Lord Elgin, Aug. 2, 1811. In this letter Hamilton remarks, 'I return you many thanks for the perusal of Lord Byron's letters [apparently lost] which are herewith enclosed. I do not consider him a very formidable enemy in his meditated attack, and I shall be much surprized if his attack on what you have done do not turn out one of the most friendly acts he could have done. It will create an interest in the

public, excite curiosity, and the real advantage to the country, and the merit of your exertions will become more known, and felt as they are more known.' Byron (cf. p. 282) had reached England in the middle of July. The *Curse of Minerva* was kept back from publication in consequence, Moore suggests, of 'a friendly remonstrance from Lord Elgin, or some of his connexions.' (Moore, i. p. 352). Canto II of *Childe Harold* appeared in the following March.

²⁸⁸ Lord Colchester's *Diary*, ii. p. 349.

Three drawings, showing the outside of the building at Burlington House and the larger marbles lying outside it, were formerly in the collection of the late E. T. Gardner. They were exhibited in 1904 at the Burlington Fine Arts Club.²⁸⁹

When the move had been made, Haydon continued his drawings in the new quarters.²⁹⁰

I used to go down in the evenings with a little portfolio, and bribe the porter at Burlington House to which the Elgin Marbles were now removed, to lend me a lantern, and then locking myself in, take the candle out and make different sketches till the cold would almost put the candle out.

In November, schemes were under discussion with Hamilton for a direct approach to the Prince Regent, and for an attempt to obtain the consent of the new Duke of Devonshire for building a better exhibition building on the Burlington House site, but in each instance without result. But financial considerations were urgent, and on December 11 Hamilton wrote:

The result of an interview I had this morning with Lady C(harlot)te (Durham)²⁹¹ after hers with Mr. Coutts, has been that I have engaged to write to you for the purpose of pressing you to make an immediate offer of your marbles to Govt. for such a sum as your communications last year w(ith) Messrs Long and Perceval gave you reason to think they would accede to.

He urged an offer for £40,000 'at the same time stating your conviction not only of their greater value, but that they have cost you so much more, and indeed have been the original and principal cause of your present difficulties, which you might add, would tempt you for the present to cede them for a smaller sum, if they thought that £40,000 was more than they could venture to propose to Parliament, under the present pecuniary difficulties of the country.'

Steps should be taken to interest the Regent, and, if possible, the sale should be complete before the arrival of the Malta consignment, which would not be regarded as adding to the value of the collection.

The growing interest felt in the marbles' was shown in the following spring by an application received (February 19, 1812), on behalf of John Flaxman, for the loan of casts for an Academy lecture on sculpture, but no progress could be made with the sale negotiations. On March 28, Hamilton wrote to say that 'in the course of conversations with the superior powers' he had met with no encouragement, and thought that a further application at that moment, unless very warmly pressed and supported, would not succeed, and would be likely to do harm. The tragic assassination of Mr. Spencer Perceval followed soon after (May 11, 1812), and made another reason for postponement.

We have already seen (p. 284) that the *Navigator* with 68 cases on board had left Malta on January 1, 1812, but her passage was singularly slow. Rumours arrived from Malta that she had been captured by the French, and by May she was anxiously looked for. 'I am still without any intelligence of your marbles—though I certainly shall learn as soon as any thing is known,' wrote Hamilton (May 18) in a letter mainly

²⁸⁹ *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art*, p. 261, Nos. 12 a, b, 13 a.

²⁹⁰ Haydon I, pp. 139, 151.

²⁹¹ Lord Elgin's sister.

devoted to a discussion of the comparative merits of Harrow and Eton as a school for Bruce, and ending 'Perceval's murder is but too true. His assassin was executed this morning. The world now only talks of his successor. Yesterday Wellesley had it for sure. Liverpool is the favourite today. I know nothing.' (Lord Liverpool was the successful competitor.)

At length, on May 25, as Hamilton reported on the following day, the *Navigator* arrived at Deptford. Charles Betton, Lord Elgin's agent at Burlington House, paid a visit to the *Navigator* at Deptford and found 86²⁹² cases, some very large. He was informed that they would be sent in a lighter to the King's custom house, but was also informed, to his surprise, that they were believed to be the property of the Prince Regent. The Aegina marbles were confidently expected, and it was assumed that they were the cargo of the *Navigator*, a misunderstanding that caused considerable delay. Betton's further report runs as follows:

BURLINGTON HOUSE,
July 8, 1812.

MY LORD,

There has been a very extraordinary delay about the marbles. They were detained on Board three Lighters lying off the Custom House near three weeks, when I heard of them by Accident by the Lighterman going to your Lordship's former House in Park Lane, and by chance meeting with Mr. Henderson the Smith, He directed him to me. As soon as I was in possession of the knowledge, I went to the Lighterman's House, Horsledown, and requested that they may go with the next tide to a Wharf at Millbank where there were proper Cranes etc. etc. to take them out.

Mr. Hamilton procured an order from [the Treasury for them to be landed which order was not obey'd. Then I was directed to the Inspector's Office, Water Lane, Tower Hill, and received for answer that Mr. Wyat had laid a Restraint on them in behalf of the Prince. The next morning they were sent to Burlington House saying all was right. By the time the Carts had delivered two loads they were stopt again. On Tuesday after ten Cases were carted the men were stopt again. Wednesday, the moment of my writing all pursuits are stopt. I must see Mr. Hamilton to get information what occasions the delay.

These vexatious delays naturally caused heavy charges (amounting in all to £135 17s.) for lighterage and demurrage. But at length on July 22 Hamilton could report that all the cases were in the Burlington Grounds, and would there be visited *pro forma* by the Customs. For their immediate accommodation Hamilton (July 6) had suggested that Porden should put a roof 'over the large coal hole in Burlington Grounds, which I believe we may have for the asking.' A sketch plan shows a rectangular space with one entrance marked 'Coal hole. This space is complete, only wanting a roof with Skylights.' The precarious tenure of the ground at Burlington House, and representations by Henning (the sculptor who was then at work on his reduced copies), that it was possible to place the new arrivals in the existing building, combined to make Lord Elgin²⁹³ unwilling to start on any fresh building operations, and the

²⁹² *Sic*, error for 68.

²⁹³ Elgin to Hamilton, Sept. 7, 1812.

arrangement in the building as it stood was put in hand during the autumn. The lack of room made it necessary, however, for many of the larger pieces to stand out in the courtyard (see above, p. 314).

Meanwhile, a limited access was given to selected students of the Academy School. Benjamin West, who had been asked to send the drawings of the Theseum to Edinburgh, with a view to the designs for the Observatory, took advantage of the occasion to write:²⁹⁴

I cannot close this letter without noticing to your Lordship how happy you have made some of our ingenious Students of the Royal Academy, in giving me the permission for their seeing and drawing from your Marbles at Burlington House. That this indulgence might be done with decorum, I have permitted only those who have gained Medals at the Academy to draw after them. This permission has created a point of elevation in their means of studying, of the greatest importance and will be productive of more real advantage to the Art's improvement than has ever been attain(ed) in this country—and for which the country and the Art are indebted to your Lordship.

The unpacking and arrangement were somewhat delayed. On Tuesday, October 6, Hamilton wrote from Hadham reporting the death of his father, Archdeacon Anthony Hamilton, on the previous Sunday, adding:

This sad event will of course make me delay still longer what I ought to have done some time ago—the further arrangement of your new marbles. I had been too much occupied while in London to attend to it, and deferred it from week to week. However all the cases are there, corresponding exactly in number to Lusieri's list. If you will send me the proper size, I shall have the satisfaction of forwarding to you a mourning ring.

The work of arrangement occupied the remainder of the year, and on December 17 Hamilton wrote his impressions.²⁹⁵ I cannot explain the exact bearing of the opening sentence.

Porden is a blockhead; but in that he is not singular, and it's not his fault, therefore you must forgive him.

The metopes lately arrived, as well as several pieces of the frieze are much less injured and more perfect and of equally good workmanship as the former collection. The architectural blocks are certainly in the highest degree valuable from their immense size and curiosity. The collection of vases is very numerous, and few of them are injured; and if nothing had preceded them the cargo now arrived would in itself have formed a magnificent collection. Of course those who judge by comparison will depreciate it. The greatest part is now unpacked, and in the museum.

The two years that followed were uneventful in the life of the marbles. Occasional visitors (such as Repton, the writer on landscape gardening) wrote

²⁹⁴ West to Elgin, Sept. 15, 1812. Compare J. T. Smith's *Nollekens*, p. 293. 'They (the marbles) were shortly afterwards moved to the side premises of Burlington-house, where they remained until a temporary gallery could be prepared for them in the British Museum by Government, which had purchased them for the use of the public, and the advancement of Art. During the time these marbles were Lord Elgin's property, Mr. Nollekens, accompanied by his constant companion,

Joseph Bonomi,—a truly amiable youth to whom from his birth he had intended to be a benefactor—paid them many visits; and indeed at that time, not only all the great artists, but every lover of the Arts, were readily admitted. The students of the Royal Academy, and even Flaxman, the Phidias of our times, and the venerable President West, drew from them for weeks together.'

²⁹⁵ Hamilton to Elgin, Dec. 17, 1812.

to express their enthusiasm. The growing vogue of the marbles is indicated by such an advertisement as this in *The Times* of January 8, 1814:

To the Nobility, Gentry, and Fashionable World.—Ross's newly-invented GRECIAN VOLUTE HEAD-DRESS, formed from the true marble models, brought into this country from the Acropolis of Athens by Lord Elgin, rivals any other hitherto invented. The elegance of taste, and simplicity of nature which it displays, together with the facility of dressing, have caused its universal admiration and adoption.

In the spring of 1814 an incident took place that obtained some little notoriety. The great folio publication of Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens* had long been in course of completion. Vol. I. was issued in 1762, Vol. II. in 1787, Vol. III. in 1794. Vol. IV. was edited by the architect, Joseph Woods, and was in course of preparation for publication by Taylor, in Holborn, during the period now in question, though not issued till 1816. Woods was engaged with the arrangement and publication of drawings made long before by Stuart (1752) and William Pars (1765). The latter had drawn 196 feet of frieze for the Society of Dilettanti. These materials had been engraved for Vol. IV. of Stuart and Revett in 1810, and it was only natural and legitimate that Woods should wish to collate his plates with the originals at Burlington House. Unfortunately, his application²⁹⁶ was not sufficiently explanatory of the sources from which his engravings were derived.

Being engaged in preparing for the press, a fourth volume of Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*, I venture to apply to your Lordship for permission to notice therein the Specimens of Grecian art you have collected. My object is to correct and explain my author by means of the light which Your Lordship's researches have thrown upon the subject, and to be able to appeal to my authorities. The engravings of the Sculpture are all done, or nearly so, and I am persuaded Your Lordship will be pleased with the Spirit and animation which Mr. Stothard in particular has given to his etchings of the Horses.

Had Woods been a little more explicit as to his work, he would not have caused Lord Elgin to be both surprised and annoyed. He wrote²⁹⁷ from Broomhall:

DEAR HAMILTON,

I have just received the enclosed singular application, first asking the use of the marbles and in the same breath saying they are *already engraved*. I should think you might be able to have this work of Mr. Woods enquired into, before any reply be given in my name. Perhaps it is the same that Taylor in Holborn, and Flaxman spoke to me about three years ago as being to be carried on jointly by them.

My own impression (ignorant as I am of any permission having been granted for these etchings and engravings) would be to make use of the circumstance of my drawings being in a state of readiness for publication, and by holding out this, as affecting the sale of his work, to obtain any concession that might be wished. But you possibly may know more on the business than I do.

As a result of this misunderstanding, permission to collate the drawings or to add to their number was withheld. The affair was closed by a dignified expression of regret by Woods. 'Of the number [of metopes] now published,

²⁹⁶ Woods to Elgin, Feb. 16, 1814.

²⁹⁷ Elgin to Hamilton, March 7, 1814.

that collection [of Lord Elgin] contains fifteen. It would have been extremely desirable to make use of the advantages it afforded to continue still further the series of this interesting sculpture, but this was not permitted.'²⁹⁸ Michaelis conjectured that the affair was connected with the feud with the Dilettanti Society as represented by Payne Knight, but it will be seen that this was an error.

The chief event of the late summer of the year 1814 was the visit of the great Visconti to London.

Ennio Quirino Visconti²⁹⁹ (1751–1818) began life as an infant prodigy. At the age of two he could identify and name all the Caesars from Julius to Gallienus. The son of the pontifical Director of Antiquities, he became known to fame by his description of the Museo Pio-Clementino and other works, and was appointed Director of the Capitoline Museum. When the Revolutionary army under Napoleon took the chief masterpieces of Rome to Paris, Visconti followed them thither in 1799, and was appointed Conservator of the Museum. At Paris he produced his Greek and Roman Iconographies, in sumptuous style, at the public expense, and was universally regarded as the first connoisseur of his time in the field of classical sculpture. As such he was invited by Lord Elgin (who paid a flying visit to Paris for the purpose) to visit London.

'My object,' Lord Elgin explained to Hamilton,³⁰⁰ 'was to obtain from the best judge in Europe (one who having been guardian of the Museum of the Vatican, has since had the charge of Bonaparte's) an appreciation of my collection, advice as to what parts of it are susceptible of restoration, how to arrange it in regard to the various distributions it may be capable of etc. A strong feeling, you must recollect, with me is that the idea of transferring my Collection to the Publick, should come forward, under the impression that the collection is highly desirable, and consider'd so by such authorities, as are conversant with Bonaparte's Collections, and his combinations connected with them.'

Visconti's first answer was a refusal. In a second letter³⁰¹ he defined his terms. He would come to London for a fortnight for a fee of £120. On his return to Paris he would draw up a memoir, to be paid for at such a rate as Lord Elgin should think proper.

After consultations between Lord Elgin and Hamilton, the matter was arranged and the visit was duly paid, at the end of October.

On returning to Paris, Visconti addressed a formal letter to Hamilton (November 25, 1814) expressing his sense of the merit of the collection, and of its value for the arts, and promising the fuller memoir in due course. The letter was privately printed, in April, 1815, for use in the purchase negotiations, under the title of *Lettre de E. Q. Visconti à un Anglais* (4to, R. and A. Taylor), and was inserted in the 3rd issue of the *Memorandum*.

It will be observed that Visconti's visit was from beginning to end a private enterprise, and it was by an amiable misapprehension that his

²⁹⁸ Stuart and Revett, iv. p. 25; Michaelis, 1818.
p. 82.

²⁹⁹ See biographical notice by Labus in vol. i. of Visconti's collected works, Milan,

³⁰⁰ Elgin to Hamilton, Aug. 24, 1814.

³⁰¹ Visconti to Elgin, Aug. 17, 1814.

biographer, Labus, represented it as the crowning glory of his career. When opinion in England was divided, 'the members of the House of Lords, and those of the Commons could not agree and determine the proper sum to be paid. The Parliament at length took the step of summoning Visconti who was at Paris, to London, of putting in his hands the duty of appreciating the fragments, and deciding on their price. . . . He thought they could not be worth less than 35,000 guineas. Confidence in him had no limits,' and the sum that Visconti had named was promptly paid.³⁰²

While Visconti was engaged at Paris in the preparation of his memoir steps were again being taken in London to interest the Government, and Hamilton reported (February 3, 1815), 'Mr. V(ansittart)'s only observation—was that if he had £80,000 to spare he should not hesitate to recommend the purchase immediately. I should recommend all the materials to be got ready at present, but no direct offer to be made until the memoir has been read—and then to send the Memoir as a catalogue raisonné.'

The necessity, however, of prompt action suddenly arose. On March 4 Lord Elgin³⁰³ wrote to Hamilton from Broomhall, 'A report in the papers³⁰⁴ of Burlington House being sold, alarms me not a little. Still your silence, and that of all my friends, as well as of the D. of Devonshire's people somewhat encourages a hope that no such sale has taken place.' In the meantime he was 'in some forwardness' with materials to be used with the Government, and in particular a 'very able friend' had drawn up a memorandum as to the considerations relating to the real value of the collection.

The rumours were true. On March 13 Hamilton forwarded a notification of the sale, adding that he understood that the purchaser (Lord George Cavendish) desired to begin building in a fortnight.

Napoleon had landed at Antibes on March 1, and it was at once recognised that negotiations with the Government must stand over till he was disposed of. But the matter of Burlington House was urgent, and Lord Elgin³⁰⁵ wrote to Hamilton proposing to offer a temporary deposit of the marbles at the British Museum, to be withdrawn if the purchase fell through.

If this arrangement were approved of, then nothing would be required but the mechanical operation of removing them. Pistol the marble cutter in the New Road near Fitzroy Square, brought them in safety from Piccadilly (Park Lane) to Burlington House; and is much employed by Flaxman, on such occasions. Besides this Flaxman, or Smirke, would no doubt take a direction of the removal. Mr. West, and the British Museum would also appoint proper persons to assist. In the Museum they could easily be placed in such a way (probably in the Garden) that a temporary covering would secure

³⁰² Labus, *Oeuvres de Visconti*, Milan, 1818, i. p. 50.

³⁰³ Elgin to Hamilton, March 4, 1815.

³⁰⁴ Some such paragraph as the following must have caught Lord Elgin's eye:

Burlington House came to the hammer a few days ago, and was knocked down for £75,200. The purchaser is supposed to be a

Nobleman, who means to make this princely mansion his own residence, without any alteration in its present magnificent order or structure.—*News*, March 5, 1815. The papers of the same day contain the announcement of *Guy Mannering*.

³⁰⁵ Elgin to Hamilton, March 16, 1815.

them from the air and from Damp. Damp is destruction. The corridor on each side of the Entrance door might answer, if precautions were taken against Damp—which, at all events, a small stove would do.

The next day, Lord Elgin³⁰⁶ sent to London his coal-agent, Mr. William Thomson, to be at Hamilton's disposal, and under his direction to superintend every detail of the move. 'He is a man of capacity, trustworthy, and will accurately obey any instructions he may receive. You have only to say what is to be done, and allow him to report to you.'

On March 21, Hamilton³⁰⁷ reported Thomson's arrival, adding that he had sent him in search of Pistol, the marble worker. The imminent crisis had also obliged him to take other measures. It was his intention to call on Lord George Cavendish, the new owner of Burlington House, and 'put it to him whether for such a national object he ought not to take upon himself to direct his Agents to hold back, even though it may be attended with some personal sacrifice to himself.'

On the same day Hamilton called on the Speaker³⁰⁸ and explained the position, and undertook to send in a Memorial which, the Speaker promised, should be submitted to an extraordinary meeting of the Trustees.

He wrote accordingly, on the Speaker's advice, to Planta, the Principal Librarian, proposing the deposit of the marbles at the Museum, on the following conditions: The Trustees should determine and indicate such place in the main building of the Museum, the Garden, the Court or corridor, as they might deem best; the Trustees should choose whether the transport should be effected by their agents or those of Lord Elgin, the expenses to be defrayed accordingly; the Trustees should pay for any shelter required to be erected; in the event of a sale the Trustees should have the refusal, at a price to be named before the deposit; in the event of a sale to the Museum 'Lord Elgin's family should be entitled to the same honour and privileges as have been granted to the Townley family' (*i.e.* a family Trusteeship); that, failing a sale, the collection might be removed at Lord Elgin's expense at six months' notice; that arrangements for the admission of the public etc. should be at the discretion of the Trustees.

While sending on the draft of his proposal, Hamilton³⁰⁹ pressed on Lord Elgin that he would soon be called on to name a definite price. Mr. Vansittart (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had said that this would be a *sine qua non*. 'The Speaker,' Hamilton reported, 'who is fond of the subject, and loves to talk of it, confessed he did not think Govt. *could* have courage enough, in these or any other times to propose any higher sum than £30,000 which was Perceval's Idea long ago,—and both he and Vansittart still hang to the same notion.' On the same day, Lord Elgin³¹⁰ wrote from Broomhall with respect to various details. The drawings should be sent, but not the vases or medals. An experiment in cleaning a fragment might be made. Failing the Museum plan, Thomson should search for a

³⁰⁶ Elgin to Hamilton, March 17, 1815.

³⁰⁷ Hamilton to Elgin, March 21, 1815.

³⁰⁸ Lord Colchester's *Diary*, ii. p. 534.

³⁰⁹ Hamilton to Elgin, March 21, 1815.

³¹⁰ Elgin to Hamilton, March 21, 1815.

place of deposit, such as the 'warehouses belonging to Mr. Trotter in Soho Square' or 'A piece of ground, such as the Statuaries have, near town'—or even Hamilton's own garden. 'Some corner of your domain at Stanley House might perhaps be occupied without inconvenience to you, though the carriage thither would be monstrous?'

Stanley House (otherwise Stanley Grove), which had been lately acquired by Hamilton, still exists, and is said to be the oldest house now standing in Chelsea. In the eighteenth century it had enjoyed notoriety as the property of the Countess of Strathmore,³¹¹ made known to fame by the brutality of her second husband, A. R. Bowes.

The house and grounds of eleven acres, were sold by Hamilton to the National Society in 1840. St. Mark's College, Chelsea, was built in the grounds, and Stanley House is now the Principal's residence. The name survives in Stanley Bridge, the bridge over the adjoining railway.

The terms of Hamilton's letter to Planta were warmly approved by Lord Elgin.³¹² 'I cannot conceive anything more proper and dignified than the terms you have offer'd to the British Museum.' The delicate question of whether the grant of a Peerage of the United Kingdom could be arranged as a part of the whole transaction was also discussed in the correspondence, but nothing came of this idea, and the grant of the Barony of Elgin in the United Kingdom was reserved for the next holder of the title in 1849.

As a step towards clearing the collection, Thomson was instructed to send down all the porphyry, verd antique, and other bits of coloured marble by sea to Broomhall.³¹³ The number of such pieces, which had been acquired with a view to operations at Broomhall, was considerable. Some have only served their ultimate purpose in quite recent years.

While Hamilton was spending the latter part of March in bed 'from the effects of a Tumble out of my Gig,' his letter to Planta was under consideration, and on April 3 Planta wrote that he had consulted the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Trustees, and that a General Meeting had been summoned for the afternoon of the 8th to consider the whole matter. The meeting was held accordingly, the Archbishop in the chair, and it was resolved 'that a Committee be appointed to communicate with Mr. Hamilton, and his Majesty's Government respecting the Purchase of Lord Elgin's collection.' It was also resolved:

'That the said Committee consist of the Earl of Aberdeen, Mr. Long, and Mr. Knight.'

A copy of the minute was transmitted by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Henry Ellis as Secretary to the Board.

³¹¹ 'She had purchased a fine old mansion with extent of ground well walled in, and there she had brought exotics from the Cape.'—Foot, *Lives of A. R. Bowes and the Countess of Strathmore*, p. 13. The house is serving at this moment as the Officers' mess of a General Military Hospital. It has attached to it a large hall or library built by Hamilton, which

I have been permitted to visit by Col. Eustace M. Callender, R.A.M.C. It measures some 42 × 26 feet. Casts from the frieze run round three sides of the room, below the ceiling, and casts of metopes surmount the doors and fireplace.

³¹² Elgin to Hamilton, March 24, 1815.

³¹³ Elgin to Hamilton, March 28, 1815.

On the day following the meeting Lord Aberdeen called on Hamilton, who was still suffering from the tumble out of the gig. The result of the visit was the subject of a long despatch to Broomhall, transcribed by Hamilton's sister from his rough notes. Lord Aberdeen had begun the conversation by observing that a purchase was probable, and that it might save much trouble if Lord Elgin would name a definite price. The Trustees, he said, would agree to all the proposed conditions of the deposit except that they had no power to spend money on erecting a shelter. 'This he observed they could not take upon themselves, inasmuch as they had no authority for appropriating the Funds at their disposal for keeping in security the property of others.' Objections had also been raised to the principle of receiving anything on deposit, but these had been overruled.

As to price, Lord Aberdeen had stated that in the discussion of the previous day Mr. Long had thought £35,000 the outside sum that could be offered, and this had been the view of those who had taken part in the discussion. Long had taken the line that this was the greatest sum that could be proposed to the House of Commons, with any chance of success, without reference to the intrinsic value of the collection. Payne Knight, on the other hand, 'advanced roundly, that with reference to the prices obtained for objects of antiquity at Rome, those of the Townley and Lansdowne marbles, and with reference to the comparative value of your collection and others, he could not set a higher value on yours than £15,000 or £20,000 at the utmost.' Payne Knight at the same time suggested that the marbles might be kept in England, if necessary by Act of Parliament. The general effect of the interview was that the Trustees would assent to the deposit of the marbles at Lord Elgin's expense :

Aberdeen rather pressed me to authorize him to say to his Colleagues of the Committee that on these terms you would immediately proceed to order the removal ; moreover he observed that it would not be considered necessary that you should name your price previous to the admission. This engagement, considering the tone in which the proposal had been received, I did not give, but merely said I would report to you the result, and in the hopes that Lord George Cavendish will not be in a violent hurry, I promised to let him know as soon as I got your answer.

Hamilton went on to point out that the alternatives seemed to be to get £35,000 without more ado, or to incur an expense of at least £1,000 in moving the marbles to the Museum. Visconti's letter had been printed, but not circulated :

and I am rather glad, I did not get it from the Printers in time ; for when I mentioned the turn of it to Aberdeen, he observed there could be no doubt that Visconti was the best practical Antiquary in the world, and that his independent unbiassed opinion would be of great weight everywhere, but that it was equally well known that he would write anything he was asked, for £10. Such an opinion as this, it was useless for me to combat in the quarter where it was entertained, and I am convinced from the whole tone of Aberdeen's conversation that it would be worse than useless to make any direct or indirect attempt to state arguments *in that quarter* for enhancing the value of the marbles, with a view to increase the offer.

Another alternative would be to accept £35,000 as applying to the

marbles in England at the date of the offer to Perceval, and to add £10,000 for the new arrivals, vases, etc. :

In short, I could write on for ever but fear it would only be puzzling you—I have just seen Lady Charlotte Durham, who tells me Thomson states, the Builders are very anxious to begin, but that they only want a few feet of the west end of the gallery, and that this might easily be cleared. I thought it best to say that this might be done without further delay, and that he would do well in the meantime to shut up the Museum—I am much better but still tied to my couch, or gold-headed cane.

The Architect, Samuel Ware (1781–1860; designer of the Burlington Arcade, and of other alterations for Lord George Cavendish), wrote on the same day to Hamilton that the immediate removal of the marbles was necessary, and received assurances from Hamilton that negotiations were in progress with the British Museum, and that he had instructed Thomson to remove as many as necessary from the west end. Matters were not so easily arranged. Thomson wrote on April 12 that a change of plan on the part of Lord George Cavendish made it necessary to clear the middle of the building, and he was engaged in clearing the yard and packing the small objects in boxes, to be ready to be taken away at a moment's notice.

In reply to Hamilton's long despatch, Lord Elgin wrote³¹⁴ that he must take two days to think over the many embarrassing questions raised, but that he took a more favourable view of the service that Visconti's letter would do, and advised its circulation. The Memoir, if it could be hastened, would be still better. 'I dont trust my reflexions further tonight, except it be to say, how extremely thankful I am to you, on this, as on every occasion.' Four days later, Lord Elgin³¹⁵ sent his considered reply, in which he took exception to Payne Knight's presence on the Committee, but assented nevertheless to the deposit.

Lord Elgin's presence was evidently urgently needed in London, and Hamilton was sending messages to him through Lady Charlotte Durham urging this step. He replied³¹⁶ that he was most reluctant to come, feeling that he negotiated at a disadvantage while the Payne Knight view was dominant. 'I sacrifice both the indemnification to which I may lay claim, and the credit of having undertaken and succeeded in an object, of great difficulty, and great national interest. I neither get reimbursement of my expenses, nor the value which competent Judges would affix to the Collection.' Still, a reluctant promise was given to travel on the 22nd, and to reach town towards the 26th of the month.

The month of June, the month of Waterloo, was a busy month in the negotiations. In addition to the more formal records, a file of letters survives in which Lord Elgin sent more intimate accounts of the events of each day to Lady Elgin, left in Scotland. The series opens with a letter of May 30. Though his course was still undetermined he felt that his presence in London

³¹⁴ Elgin to Hamilton, April 14, 1815.

³¹⁶ Elgin to Hamilton, May 13, 1815.

³¹⁵ Elgin to Hamilton, April 18, 1815.

was indispensable. The main result of Hamilton's 'communings' has been 'that Payne Knight, whose influence is the preponderating one, is *not* now so savage against the concern as he was, and that in estimating the price talked of, he had so little had in view the last importation, made in 1812, that he actually had never seen them.'

He had reached London to find himself engaged to a dinner, 'such a feast as would have filled all the chinks which travelling all the way without *tasting* wine, or stopping but for *tea*, had prepared,' and a ball, at Lady Breadalbane's. In a postscript he adds, 'William Thomson is in high feather, talking *virtu* and withal, in his appearance belying every unfavourable aspersion.'

June 1 was devoted to an expedition to the Harrow Speeches with Hamilton, both being old Harrovians.

'Bruce, you may well believe,' Lord Elgin wrote to the boy's stepmother, 'was in no small degree astonished and delighted at my apparition. But judge of my own satisfaction, when on going into Dr. Butler's room, he asked on seeing me if I had met Bruce, and on my answering in the affirmative, His expression was "and have you observed all the Laurels that are blowing round his head?"'

The excursion gave opportunity for a full tête-à-tête conversation with Hamilton, and Lord Elgin wrote that it had *almost entirely* determined him in the next step to be taken, 'namely an application to Government for a Committee of the H. of Commons, to investigate the value of my Collection.' The plan was adhered to, and in consultation with Hamilton a document was drawn up to be submitted at a personal interview to Mr. Vansittart. It ran as follows:

LONDON, June 8th 1815

SIR,

You are, I believe, fully acquainted with the reasons which induced me in the month of April last, to apply for permission to deposit my collection of Athenian Sculpture in the British Museum. And I presume that it has been intimated to you, that this application, for reasons which it is unnecessary for me to detail, was not accepted by the Trustees.

This circumstance, however, has, I am informed, induced the Trustees to express their desire that the collection should be constituted national property; and I have accordingly come to London for the purpose of assuring His Majesty's Government of my readiness to make over my Collection to the Publick whenever it may be convenient to receive it—and to enter on the consideration of the transfer in the way that may be the best adapted to appreciate the value of it, in a satisfactory manner, to all parties.

When in the year 1811, the Speaker of the House of Commons made a similar suggestion to me, he desired me to point out what had been my expenditure in procuring these marbles, his idea being as he stated to me, that such expenditure, together with interest upon it from the time of the outlay, ought to be reimbursed to me, in addition to any further acknowledgements of the merit which might be attached to the service I had rendered to my country, in securing to her the possession of the best remains of Grecian Sculpture.

I certainly at first felt a good deal of reluctance to produce the details of my expenditure, many particulars of which (however necessary in my own apprehension at the time) might be but little intelligible to others, without more knowledge of local circumstances, than could be entertained by the generality of persons in this Country.

And I conceived it to be more eligible for all parties, to endeavour to fix a value on the collection, by aid of the most eminent artists and connoisseurs.

Still however I did prepare as accurate a view as the materials I had, could furnish, of my actual disbursements. This paper is still in my possession, and I shall be happy to submit it to examination whenever called for.

But whilst I was engaged with this object, Mr. C. Long, having learnt from the late Mr. Perceval that the sum of £30,000 was the amount beyond which he could not then recommend any appropriation of publick money for similar subjects, desired my immediate determination, on the supposition of such offer being proposed.

Mr. Perceval at the same time, did not hesitate to profess that this limit was in no ways calculated in any reference either to the *real value* of the marbles, or to the expence I had incurred. He acknowledged the matter to be one on which he had personally no opinion, or judgement whatever—and he admitted that he was actuated in regulating the amount, by the consideration of a grant at that moment in agitation in aid of the Sufferers in Portugal.

I am besides given to understand that Mr. Perceval did not think the House of Commons would, under any circumstances grant for any one Collection of Objects of Art or Curiosity (whatever might be its intrinsic value) a larger sum than £30,000. I could not therefore but decline to continue the negociation on these terms, the sum proposed by Mr. Long being wholly inadequate.

Since that time, a very considerable and valuable addition has been made to my Collection. And further opportunity having been afforded both to persons in England, and to foreigners to become acquainted with this series of Athenian sculpture, and to compare it with other collections in Europe, I may venture to assert, on the testimony of the Highest Authorities here and abroad that the Collection which I now offer to the Publick, contains better materials in point of originality, variety, and intrinsic merit for forming a national school for the improvement of the fine arts (towards which the liberality of Parliament has already of late years afforded great advantages) and as a general standard of taste, than is known to exist elsewhere.

I take the liberty of stating thus much, in explanation of the request which I have now the honor of communicating to you, that a Committee of the House of Commons may be appointed to enquire into the value of this collection.

I solicit this tribunal as offering the most unexceptionable, and the most honorable mode of ascertaining, by an impartial examination of persons, the best qualified to give an opinion on the subject, the real value of what I offer; the difficulties of all kinds which I had to encounter; and the true character of the service I have endeavored to render to my country. I have no hesitation in declaring to you that I shall cheerfully abide by whatever decision the House of Commons may please to come to, (on the report to be made by their Committee on the evidence adduced,) with regard to the extent of the indemnification I am entitled to receive.

Meanwhile, as I may be expected even in this stage of the business to name to His Majesty's Government, a sum, which would satisfy what I conceive to be my just expectations, I have only to premise, that I feel the most sincere regret and concern, that the circumstances of my private fortune, which has been far from being improved by a life spent in His Majesty's foreign service, do not enable me in justice to my family, to indulge the very high gratification of presenting my Collection gratuitously to the Publick. As it is, the only scale of value, which I individually can give to the Collection, is, the amount of my Expenditure. This, including the preparations made for the undertaking; the artists employed; the obtaining and removing the marbles &c; the loss by sea, and expenses in England; in short the expenses incurred during sixteen years that these operations have been in progress, I may safely state not to have been less than £46,000, on which twelve years interest, on the best average, I can form, has already accrued, making the amount of the whole £73,600 St.

Supposing therefore, no specific enquiry to be made into the value of the collection, which (with very few individual exceptions) I am authorized by the voice of the publick,

and by the declared opinion of competent Judges to set at a much higher sum, I profess myself ready, at the present moment, to dispose of my marbles, drawings, vases, casts, etc. etc. being the result of my pursuits in Greece, for the reimbursement of my expenses as above stated.

But if His Majesty's Government think proper to accept of my proposal for an examination into the merits, and value of this collection, before a committee of the House of Commons, I shall be equally ready to abide by their decision. I have only further to assure you, for the information of His Majesty's Ministers that I shall be at all times willing and anxious to offer them any further explanation, which may be required from me, on any of the subjects touched upon in this letter.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Sir, Your very obedient humble servant

ELGIN.

NOTE.—It is well known that larger sums have been given, even in this country, by private individuals for other collections of art. £42,500 were given for the Orleans Collection many years ago, £31,500 for the Agar Collection, and as far as £8,000 has been given for a single picture. The entire Orleans Collection was sold at Paris for £60,000. What was sold in England was exclusive of the Flemish School.

As to the interview, Lord Elgin wrote to his wife on the same day (June 8).

MY DEAREST ELIZA,

I have been with Mr. Vansittart, to whom I have made the offer of submitting my claims for indemnification for my Collection to a Committee of the House of Commons. I, fully explained all my views to him, which he as candidly, and fully discussed, and upon the whole, received at length the letter in which I had put down the whole of the case, in a way, that I must consider extremely comfortable, and encouraging. Of course, I asked for no immediate decision from him. But the prospect I have, from all that passed, is, that the matter may now be arranged even this Session. But the answer will be given me in a few days.

Mr. Vansittart's formal answer was written without delay. On June 9 he consulted the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, and wrote on June 10 :³¹⁷

DOWNING STREET

10th June 1815

MY LORD

I have taken an early opportunity of communicating with Lord Liverpool upon the subject of the letter which I have had the honor of receiving from your Lordship respecting the Transfer of your Collection of Marbles to the public, and I beg leave to acquaint you that we both coincide in opinion that the most eligible course of proceeding will be that the Subject should be fully enquired into before a Committee of the House of Commons, to whose report Government would feel disposed to give the greatest weight, and under whose recommendation a Proposition for the Purchase might be made to Parliament with the greatest advantage. If this should meet your Lordship's views, as I should infer from the sentiments expressed in your letter, I take the Liberty of suggesting that there are two modes by which this subject might be regularly brought under the consideration of the House of Commons, either that a Proposal should be made by your Lordship to the Trustees of the British Museum, from whom an application might be made upon the subject to Parliament, or that Your Lordship should yourself petition Parliament, offering to dispose of your collection to the public. The former of these courses was adopted in respect to the Townley Collection, and the latter in respect to Mr. Hargreave's Manuscripts, and it will be for your Lordship to decide which of the two it

³¹⁷ Lord Colchester's *Diary*, ii. p. 546.

will be most advisable to adopt in the present instance. I will only take the liberty of adding that in the present advanced Period of the Session, it is very desirable that no delay should arise in bringing the Subject under Consideration.

I have the honor to be

My Lord

Your Lordship's very obedient Servant

N. VANSITTART.

Another interview took place on the same day (Saturday, June 10), and Lord Elgin wrote to his wife on June 12:

On Saturday night, Mr. Vansittart whom I met at Hamilton's Office, expressed his own and Lord Liverpool's entire coincidence in opinion with me, on my proposal—and a Committee of the H. of Commons is immediately to be appointed to bring the matter at once to an issue. From the preparations already made, the discussion should not, I conceive require above 3 or 4 days. Hitherto the proposal has met with much approbation—and even from Mr. Payne Knight, who has here interrupted me to have a very long discussion, in the course of which he exposed all his plan of Hostility, but at the same time, ended with much expression of approval of my proceeding, as a very judicious and very honorable one.

The method of petition being selected, it only remained to draw it up, and this was done in consultation with Vansittart. It was presented by Mr. Robert Ward on Thursday, June 15, and is printed in Hansard XXXI, p. 828. It sets forth in formal style that when the Petitioner was appointed to the Embassy in Turkey in 1799, eminent architects and patrons of the fine arts had directed his attention to the remains of sculpture and architecture in Greece. Having done what he could during and after his Embassy:

the petitioner now begs leave to transfer to the public what he humbly conceives to be a full attainment of an object of high importance to the progress of the Fine Arts, namely, a complete series of the sculptures which formed the principal ornament of the ancient temples in Athens, and other parts of Greece; and that, as the circumstances attending his endeavours in the attainment of this object bear no resemblance to those under which any other collection was ever presented to the public, and as it is presumed that the series of Sculpture in itself has no parallel in objects ever before purchased, the petitioner hopes he may be pardoned for soliciting that the House would institute an inquiry, upon such evidence as may be procured into the merits and value of what he now offers, and take into its consideration how far, and upon what conditions, it may be advisable that the property of the said collection should be transferred to the public.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that he thought the marbles would be a great acquisition to the public, and that if the petition was received, it should be referred to a Committee. Francis Horner, the well-known economist, agreed as to the desirability of the purchase, but thought that the question should lie over to the next session in order that the manner of the acquisition might be investigated, as the amount to be paid would be naturally affected if Lord Elgin had got the collection in his public character. Mr. Bankes and Sir John Newport concurred, and the latter spoke strongly. 'He was afraid that the noble Lord had availed himself of most unwarrantable measures, and had committed the most flagrant acts of spoliation. It seemed to have been reserved for an ambassador

of this country to take away what Turks and other barbarians had always held sacred.' The Chancellor of the Exchequer explained that he had conceived that it would be more satisfactory for the price to be settled by the House than in a private bargain between the Treasury and the noble Lord. A Committee of Members best qualified to judge might make a report and adjourn to next session. Mr. Rose said there had been some difficulty as to receiving the marbles at the Museum on account of want of space, but the Trustees were now determined to receive them, if the noble Lord could agree with the public as to the price. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then observed that the noble Lord threw himself entirely on the justice of Parliament. Lord G. Cavendish, the new owner of the Burlington House site, said he believed he could state that there would be no necessity to remove the marbles from their present situation till the next session of Parliament.

The petition was ordered to lie on the table. The Speaker's note³¹⁸ of the discussion runs, 'Lord Elgin's petition presented. The collection praised. Lord Elgin's conduct, and right to the collection, as his private property much questioned. Petition to lie on the table.'

Lord Elgin's own account of the position to his wife (June 19) ran:

My business is extremely but curiously perplexing. . . . You will have observed from the newspaper, that Horner, Sr J. Newport, and Mr. Bankes all were unfriendly, Horner by bringing forward a claim on the part of Government, Sir J. Newport in a way that the general line of Conduct imports, he being, it's said, a second Sr. T. Burdett—and Mr. Bankes, by shewing his watchfulness on all matters of public expenditure.

Fortunately for me, the words of my Petition to Parliament had challenged an enquiry into the circumstances attending the collecting as well as the Collection, and Horner on my calling his attention to this, has answered handsomely. As to Sir J. Newport I leave that alone. But I accidentally met Mr. Bankes, the day after the asseverations had been made in Parliament on my Petition, and to my extreme delight, found in him, a stiff stickler to be sure for public money, but also, an extraordinary admirer of the marbles.

In the letters which had passed between Lord Elgin and Horner, the former had called Horner's attention to the fact that the Petition asked that every circumstance attending the formation of the collection should be investigated by a Committee of the House of Commons, and Horner had replied declining to enter into a correspondence with regard to anything he had said in Parliament:

But as your Lordship has done me the honor of sending a communication to me, that it is your Lordship's wish to have every circumstance inquired into, that attended your collecting of the Athenian marbles, I have no difficulty in saying that every one must admit that to be fair and proper conduct on your Lordship's part, and such as ought to insure a candid hearing from all those who like myself are not yet possessed of any direct information upon the subject.

Meanwhile, Lord Elgin was in further communication with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. On June 15 he wrote, urging that the Committee should be as large as possible, in order to outweigh the vagaries of individual tastes

³¹⁸ Lord Colchester's *Diary*, ii. p. 547.

and preferences. On the 21st he had a conversation with the Chancellor, and wrote afterwards stating in view of the short time that remained, and of the fear which was felt that if no limit was fixed, the Committee might report a higher sum than the country could afford, and the collection so be lost, 'I cannot hesitate in authorising you to say that I should consent under these circumstances to receive for it [the collection] Fifty thousand pounds, supposing that the Committee shall report themselves to be convinced, on the testimony of the best artists and other competent judges that such sum is (as I am confident it is very far) below their real value.' This offer, however, was accompanied by a curious stipulation that if experience showed the advantages resulting from the purchase to be all that was hoped, 'it will be open to myself and my heirs at some future period, and under circumstances of less public pressure, to apply to the liberality of Parliament, for a further consideration of the subject with reference to the real value of what I may in this way have ceded.' To his wife on the same day he wrote :

There is, as yet, no positive news from Lord Wellington. You'll exercise your own credulity, or diffidence as to the quantum of belief to be given to the various statements in the papers. My own suspicion is that Bonaparte has made a desperate attempt to pierce between us and the Prussians—that Lord Wellington has made great resistance, but has fallen back (as it was his preconcerted plan to do) to a situation where he will have advantages in respect to his Cavalry, etc. and be in conjunction with the Prussians. Everybody is extremely anxious more in respect to individual friends, than as to the general issue.

I went yesterday to Lord Grenville's in the Country, to consult him on the observations which had been made, on my proposal about my marbles and we concerted a further overture, which with some trifling alterations, I have given to Mr. Vansittart today. It is, to take £50,000 now, and leave open a claim in case the value of the collection to the public shd correspond with the expectations of its present admirers. I am to have his answer tomorrow. Hitherto I can say nothing as to its tenor. Lord Grenville did not recommend my naming having seen him, but wrote out the paper for me.

On the next day: 'I send you the Gazette least the papers shd by accident fail. There never was so much desperate fighting. There is as yet no more intelligence than the Gazette contains. This arrival has put my business off, so, at least, I suppose from hearing nothing from Mr. Vansittart, as he had promised me.' It is not surprising that the proposal to leave the ultimate price uncertain did not commend itself to Vansittart, whose answer ran as follows:—

DOWNING STREET
22nd June 1815

MY LORD

I have had the honor of receiving your Lordship's letter of the 21st instant, and I have since had an opportunity of communicating upon the subject with Lord Liverpool and some others, who all concur with me in thinking that no proceedings which could be adopted in a Committee subject to the reservation of some indefinite Right to be settled at a future period, would be likely to lead to any Result satisfactory either to your Lordship or the public.

Under this Impression, and considering the very advanced Period of the Session, I beg to submit to your Lordship whether it would not under all the circumstances be more

advisable to postpone the consideration of the subject until the next Session of Parliament, (more especially as it is understood that no inconvenience will arise from the collection remaining until that time in its present situation), unless your Lordship should prefer making any other proposition in a more direct form.

I have the honor to be

My Lord

Your Lordship's faithful Servant

N. VANSITTART.

In the letters to Broomhall, the news coming through from the field of Waterloo (which but a short time since seemed to belong to a past world) takes the first place. On June 24 Lord Elgin writes:

Poor Charlotte is very much overcome with the accounts. Willm. Hay who is with the army writes about his Brother Alexr., the fine boy we saw at Deal. He had charged at the End of the day with his Squadron, But his horse came back into the lines without him. Willm. had searched the whole field of battle but no traces could be discover'd of him among the dead and wounded, and he writes quite distracted to James, advising him however not to let this be known to his family.—We hope he had been taken prisoner. The defeat however was such that the fact could not be ascertained for some days.

I am still somewhat in doubt as to my marbles. These news have so occupied all persons, that, added to the advanced state of the Session, nothing could be settled, I fear, at present. If it proves so, and I shall probably know today, The correspondence which has passed and the communications I have had, leave the transaction in a very favourable state for the examination to be enter'd on next Session, under all the benefit of a full investigation. Meanwhile, the offer in Parliament gives me as much advantage nearly, in a pecuniary point of view, as an actual settlement could have had, as no money could have been paid me this year. . . . The post bell.

[On June 25 :] This day brings the wonderful effects of Lord Wellington's victory. Bonaparte has been forced to abdicate, and the Telegraph from Deal says He is arrested!³¹⁹—Our army were on the 23rd at Cateau Cambresis—The Prussians at Avesnes.

Hamilton is to see Mr. Vansittart once more, today, if possible, on my business. So that all is conjecture, and most painful suspence—My own impression is, that matters will be settled But I cant speak with any certainty.

Hamilton had various communications with Vansittart, and on the 28th Lord Elgin wrote a formal acknowledgment, stating that he understood it was the wish of Government to postpone the question of the marbles till the following session. To his wife on the same day he wrote :

Hamilton has had some communication yesterday and today with Ministers. The result of which is, that Gov. would recommend £50,000 and a salvo to myself to have a further revision of the subject, in case their value shd. be enhanced on more general acquaintance. But as there is no time for anything in Parliament now, they beg me to put it off till the opening of next session when a Committee, and full discussion is to take place. Nothing in our view of the matter can be better.

It is not clear what the 'salvo' can have been exactly, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had already rejected a proposal apparently the same. Perhaps this meant that the Committee was to be free to make their own valuation.

Englishmen of all classes flocked to Paris in the train of the allied armies, and among them Hamilton. On August 15 he wrote: 'I have come here for

³¹⁹ This was of course untrue.

a fortnight, partly on business, partly for dissipation. I took an opportunity on the 12th August, at a grand dinner given by Lord C. to be introduced to Fouché [Minister of Police during Lord Elgin's imprisonment], and to make him your compliments for want of a better topic.' He was expecting to hear Visconti's first memoir on the marbles read at the Institute on the following Friday (August 18). Charles Long, then in Paris, was still the great opponent. 'He says he never will go beyond 36 m and that Bankes is of the same opinion.'

The business that brought Hamilton to Paris was the great question of how Napoleon's collections of works of art, exacted as trophies from all parts of Europe, should be dealt with. Lord Liverpool wrote³²⁰ (August 3) to Lord Castlereagh, then British Plenipotentiary in Paris:

Hamilton will go with the messenger from London who carries the despatches of this day. He will explain to you the strong sensation in this country on the subject of the spoliation of statues and pictures. The Prince Regent is desirous of getting some of them for a museum or a gallery here. The men of taste and vertu encourage this idea. The reasonable part of the world are for general restoration to the original possessors; but they say, with truth, that we have a better title to them than the French, if legitimate war gives a title to such objects; and they blame the policy of leaving the trophies of the French victories at Paris, and making that capital in future the centre of the arts.

The subject was actively debated during the following months.

Lord Castlereagh, in a despatch of September 11,³²¹ wrote that the Prussians had removed by force all the works of art taken either from Prussia or from other German states; that it was inevitable that the Belgian pictures should be restored in the same way, and that

Mr. Hamilton who is intimate with Canova, the celebrated artist, expressly sent here by the Pope, with a letter to the King, to reclaim what was taken from Rome, distinctly ascertained from him that the Pope, if successful, neither could nor would as Pope, sell any of the chefs-d'oeuvres that belonged to the See, and in which he has, in fact, only a life interest.

During September the Belgian and Austrian objects of art were removed from the Louvre, and on October 1 Lord Castlereagh wrote: 'Canova was made happy last night by Austria, Prussia and England agreeing to support him in removing the Pope's property. The joint order is issued, and he begins tomorrow.'

The Pope's gratitude for the part taken by Lord Castlereagh in the matter found expression in a gift of four figures of Victory in rosso antico. Hamilton's part in the business was less conspicuous, but it was gratefully remembered at the Vatican, and enabled him ten years later to obtain a valuable concession in connection with the publication of British records.³²² 'I availed myself of the opportunity of the very gracious reception I met with from the Pope (who was pleased to refer to the circumstances of 1815) to ask as a private favour to myself that He would allow His Archiviste Monsignor

³²⁰ *Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh*, x. p. 453.

³²¹ *Ibid.* xi. p. 12.

³²² *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 21905, fo. 1. Hamilton to George Canning, Jan. 16, 1825.

Marini to communicate to me the correspondence between the Crown of England during the Middle Ages, and the Papal See.'

Hamilton returned from Paris in the beginning of October, and wrote to Lord Elgin: ³²³

I flatter myself that the events of the last six weeks there must contribute materially to enhance the value of your collection: and I *hope*, to soften the obduracy of some of the valuers. . . . I have little time to say more than that the opinion I stated on the other side is founded on the following considerations.

1 That fact that all the Sovereigns in Europe have thought it worth their while to confer seriously on the propriety of leaving Paris in possession of the chefs-d'oeuvres of antient art.

2 That they have risked a fresh war to remove them from Paris.

3 That these events have made Works of Art, as matter of possession, of property, not merely of taste, subjects of conversation over the whole of Europe.

4 That everyone is making comparisons between what Paris was two months ago and what it is now.

5 That these works are considered so sacred a property, that no direct or indirect means are to be allowed for their being conveyed elsewhere than where they came from.

6 That England is to get none for herself—and this cuts two ways. It is an act of Generosity (public.) It renders it the more indispensable that we should purchase (private.)

7 That the Exclamation of Every Englishman in the Louvre was, 'It is indeed wonderfully fine—but not equal in my judgement to the Theseus of Lord Elgin.'

8 That in the same Louvre, Visconti told Canova in my hearing that untill he had been to London he had seen nothing.

9 That Canova is coming here in a week or ten days—and is prepossessed with a most favourable idea of what he is to see. Indeed he professed to be coming chiefly to see your collection.

10 That Canova and I are on the most intimate footing.

This account of feeling at Paris was naturally gratifying to Lord Elgin.³²⁴

It is impossible for me, My Dear Hamilton, to say, how very sincerely I feel obliged to you, or how very much gratified I am by the intelligence you were so kind as write me on your arrival—I had indeed, been somewhat anxious from not hearing from you, because I really knew nothing of the proceedings at Paris, relatively to the museum; and I could not but be sensible, that they must deeply affect my interests, nor could you imagine, my imagination capable of figuring results such as you now communicate. . . . At the same time, you must judge whether the ignorance which I conclude from my own case, is general on the discussions that have taken place among the Sovereigns—the importance they attach to the possession of objects of art—the effect on Paris from the removal of that Collection, and if this ignorance ought to be removed, by any means perfectly unobjectionable in themselves.

You will have heard that in consequence of embarrassments in Broughton's affairs, a debt I owe him of £18000 came to be claimed by Gov^t. on which occasion I was impelled to apply to Mr. Vansittart, soliciting that I might be allowed indulgence till the discussion took place in Parlt. about my collection. He has complied in the most kind, and obliging manner, contenting himself with a security upon the marbles, which I have accordingly authorised. I had in the meanwhile, made out an English catalogue from Visconti's merely for the purpose of Thomson numbering each article distinctly. And I have now recommended this to be proceeded on, after which an inspection of the whole may be made, and verified copies of the catalogues be exchanged.

³²³ Hamilton to Elgin about Oct. 15, 1815.

³²⁴ Elgin to Hamilton, Oct. 21, 1815.

Canova's promised visit to London took place in November. Lord Elgin was detained at Broomhall by the prospect of an addition to his family, and Hamilton did the honours of the collection. Summing up his experiences after it was over, he wrote³²⁵ to Lord Elgin :

I have in general avoided the subject in public not to appear too eager with him upon it. Connected as I was with Canova, during his residence in England (he never ventured to engage himself out to anyone, house or person, without first asking me) I did not like to risk the appearance of forcing him to panegyricize your collection—but I know that he frequently volunteered it—and was also frequently questioned upon it—and particularly, by almost all the Ministers at Carlton House. That he remained fixed for several minutes, on entering the Museum without saying a word, evidently lost in surprise and admiration—that he went round every piece admiring with avidity each detail, particularly of the colossal figures and the frieze—that he spoke of the *execution* as opening his eyes, and those of all artists and connoisseurs, with respect to the *real* principles on which the antients executed their imitations of the *nude*, and *drapery*—before the formal lines and doctrines of the Schools had taught them to substitute conventional and mathematical symmetry for the essential beauties of nature—that he begged me not to forget to send him any the least bit of a cast of the Neptune or the Theseus, that he might show his friends in Rome, what Greek Sculpture was—that they in short realized all his own *ideas* of Eminence in the Art—That the collection was equal to any other in Europe—(always with a Salvo for the Apollo, Venus, Torso, and Laocoon—)and that it *ought* to create new era in sculpture among the Students, tho' of course it could benefit but little those whose tastes and hands were already formed.

At a much later date Hamilton wrote:³²⁶ 'Canova indeed had the modesty to say, when I first introduced him to your Lordship's collection: "Oh that I had but to begin again! to unlearn all that I have learned—I now at last see what ought to form the real school of sculpture."' "

B. R. Haydon also wrote³²⁷ to Thomson (Lord Elgin's agent, already mentioned), to give an account of Canova's boundless enthusiasm :

I asked him if he did not think the Elgin marbles superior in style to any other productions in Sculpture the World had ever seen. He replied 'Certainly, that the beauty of the forms and the union of Nature and Idea, were superior to any thing he had seen ; that they were worthy a journey from Rome on purpose, and that if he returned directly he should consider himself repaid.' . . . A few days afterwards I met him at the Museum, and again saw his feeling for their beauties burst forth. He said to me 'How they will be astonished at Rome when they see these things.' There was a young Italian with him, and he told my friend Wilkie at the Academy dinner that Canova, before taking him to see the marbles, had bid him prepare himself for something he had no conception of. He continued that he was quite astonished when he saw the Marbles and they appeared to him executed on a principle of which the World had no notion before.

Planta, the Principal Librarian, wrote to the Speaker³²⁸ (December 30): 'Canova admired the Phygalian marbles. He allows that the designs and composition are excellent, but he does not think the execution is of equal

³²⁵ Hamilton to Elgin, Dec. 14, 1815.

³²⁶ Hamilton, *Second Letter to the Earl of Elgin, on the propriety of adopting the Greek style of Architecture in the new Houses of*

Parliament (1836), p. 25.

³²⁷ Haydon to Thomson, Dec. 12, 1815.

³²⁸ Lord Colchester's *Diary*, ii. p. 564.

merit. He has said (I am told) that if these are worth £15,000, the Elgin marbles are worth £100,000.'

Canova gave expression to his own feelings in a letter of which a translation is printed in the Report of the Select Committee.³²⁹

London, 10th Nov. 1815

MY LORD,

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 antient 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 among us these noble and magnificent pieces of sculpture ; and for my own part I beg leave to return you my own most cordial acknowledgements ; and

I have the honour to be etc. etc. etc.

CANOVA.

The success of the visit naturally gave great satisfaction to Lord Elgin, who replied :

À Broomhall le 13 Nov. 1815

MONSIEUR,

Je viens de recevoir avec la plus vive satisfaction la lettre que vous avez bien voulu m'écrire du date du 10 de ce mois. Il me seroit bien difficile de vous exprimer tout le chagrin que j'ai éprouvé, en cédant à l'impossibilité ou je me suis trouvé, de me rendre à Londres au moment de votre voyage. Dès que mon entreprise en Grèce a commencé, Don Tita Lusieri se rapportoit toujours à votre gout, et à votre autorité comme devant décider de l'opinion de l'Europe : Aussi fut ce mon premier soin en quittant ces pays de vous soumettre tous les desseins et toutes les notices que j'étois a même alors de produire à Rome en 1803. Les sentimens que ces moyens si imparfaits vous ont fait naître, me donnoient l'espoir de recevoir un jour le temoignage que la vue de mon recueil vient de vous inspirer. C'est l'accomplissement d'un voeu que j'avois formé et que j'avois entretenu avec le desir le plus ardent, depuis seize ans. Mon ambition est satisfaite. C'est une récompense qui me fait oublier tous les soins, toutes les peines, toutes les inquietudes que cette entreprise m'avoit si souvent fait éprouver.

To Hamilton he wrote on the same day :

'The letter from Canova is in the highest degree gratifying. It comprehends in a very few words, his sanction on the points I could wish his authority upon. . . . I'm ashamed to have written him in French : but could not, in Italian.'

Visconti forwarded the concluding sections of the memoirs on the sculptures and inscriptions on December 26, 1815, and January 13, 1816. In doing so, he gave Hamilton full discretion to make any corrections or alterations that seemed advisable. The arrival of the memoir was opportune, for

³²⁹ Report, p. xxiii.

arrangements were soon to be begun for approaching Parliament once more. A petition in the same terms as that of the preceding summer was drawn up, and dated February 14, 1816. It prayed for the appointment of a Committee to form an estimate of the value of the collection. Lord Elgin sent the petition to Mr. Vansittart with a covering letter (printed in the Report).

The petition was presented to the House by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on February 15.³³⁰ The Chancellor 'acquainted the House that his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, having been informed of the contents of the said petition, recommended it to the consideration of the House.' The petition was brought up and read, and ordered to lie on the table. On February 23 the debate on the petition took place. Mr. Vansittart represented the necessity of seizing the present opportunity, and moved³³¹ 'That the Petition of the Earl of Elgin which was presented to the House on the 15th of February last, be referred to a Select Committee, and that they do enquire whether it be expedient that the collection therein-mentioned should be purchased on behalf of the public, and if so, what price it may be reasonable to allow for the same.'

Doubts were expressed by Lord Ossulston, who questioned the propriety of an Ambassador using his official position to form a collection. Mr. Bankes supported the motion, though he would have preferred that Lord Elgin should have named his price. The motion was supported by Mr. Abercrombie and Charles Long, and opposed on economical grounds by Messrs. Gordon, Tierney, Preston, Brougham, and Sir John Newport. The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied: 'The Committee to be appointed would of course consider the question of the expenses of the noble Lord carefully, and see also whether they had been properly applied or not. He saw no good ground for taking up the subject at some other time. If the business could be adjourned, with a fair and full security for our retaining possession of this most useful and valuable collection, it would certainly be preferable; but it would be very burthensome to Lord Elgin to be debarred from selling it to anybody else, while Parliament thought fit to refuse to purchase it.'

Mr. Thomas Babington, of Rothley Temple, the well-known anti-slavery member for Leicester, thought it of the greatest importance 'to ascertain whether this collection had been procured by such means as were honourable to this country. We were at present looked at with much attention, and perhaps jealousy, by other nations; and many in a neighbouring country might rejoice to find us tripping. He hoped the Committee would be careful in seeing that the whole transaction was consonant with national honour.'

Mr. Croker agreed that the Committee should enquire into the points raised by the last speaker. The previous question was put and negatived; after which the main question was agreed to, and a Committee appointed.

The members of the Committee as given in the Votes of the House of Commons were: 'Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. [Henry] Bankes, Sir George Clerk, Mr. Frederick Douglas, Mr. [John Nicholas] Fazakerley,

³³⁰ Hansard, xxxii. p. 577.

³³¹ Hansard, xxxii. p. 824.

Mr. [William] Fitzhugh, Mr. [Francis] Horner, Mr. [William] Huskisson, Mr. [Richard] Wellesley, Mr. [Charles] Long, Mr. [Henry] Dawkins, Mr. [John Wilson] Croker, Mr. William Smith, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, Sir Thomas Acland, Mr. Williams Wynn, Mr. [Thomas] Wallace, Mr. Hart Davis.' Five were to be a quorum.

The Chairman of the Committee was Mr. Henry Banks, and its sittings began on February 29.

The Report of the Committee was reprinted by John Murray, and is also abstracted by Michaelis, and need not therefore be dealt with at great length. Lord Elgin was the first witness to be called. He explained the origin of his campaign and its organisation, and stated that the artists were sent to Athens, where 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. With a change in the political position all difficulties were removed. A permission to draw, model and remove was given in writing addressed by the Porte to the local authorities. No copies of these papers were in his possession.

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.

. . . 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, . . . 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.

In the Letter to Mr. Long, . . . you speak as having obtained these permissions after much trouble. . . . 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 Sigeon Marble.

They rested it upon that general objection?—Upon the general enmity to what they called Christian Dogs. . . .

The objection disappeared from the moment of the decided success of our army in Egypt?—Yes; the whole system of Turkish feeling met with a revolution, in the first place from the invasion of 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 everything that remained and could be traced of architecture, to model the peculiar features of architecture. . . .

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. . . . Every traveller coming, added to the general defacement of the statuary in his reach. . . . And the Turks have been continually defacing the heads. . . . 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.

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. . . .

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. . . .

Questioned as to whether he received the permits in his character of Ambassador, Lord Elgin was emphatic in saying that he had obtained no concession in his official capacity, '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.'

On the following day Lord Elgin was examined as to the negotiations with Mr. Perceval, and explained, by reference to a Memorandum (printed as Appendix No. 4, attached to the Report) that on the appearance of Payne Knight's attack he had thought the moment inopportune for the fixing of a lump sum, not based on any detailed examination of the merits and value of the Collection. He also explained that about eighty additional cases of Architecture and Sculpture had been added to the Collection, since the negotiations with Mr. Perceval, as well as a collection of medals. Mr. Charles Long (a member of the Committee) confirmed Lord Elgin's account of the transactions of 1811.

Hamilton was the next witness. As Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs he was asked what references he could find in the official despatches as to the Collections, and he produced an extract of a despatch of January 13, 1803, from Lord Elgin to Lord Hawkesbury, alluding to '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 on that service.'

Hamilton was further examined as to the transactions in which he was personally concerned, and testified as to the private nature of the enterprise, as to the state of public opinion at Athens, and as to the deterioration to which the monuments at Athens were exposed. He was also examined at some length as to the purchase of the Phigaleian marbles, in which he had a conspicuous share, and as to the failure to secure the Aegina marbles. He supplied the Committee with a detailed list of the supplementary collection, and a valuation of the whole collection at £60,800.

The sitting of March 4 was devoted to the evidence of the chief sculptors of the day. Joseph Nollekens stated that he considered the marbles 'very fine; the finest things that ever came to this country,' but declined to make a valuation.

John Flaxman considered the marbles, more especially the frieze and the Theseus, as works of the highest merit, though he was not prepared to place the Theseus above the Apollo Belvedere. He was not prepared to give an opinion as to value.

Richard Westmacott who followed, ranked the Ilissos and the Theseus

with anything we know in art. He differed from Flaxman, in regarding the Theseus as infinitely superior to the Apollo. He also was unable to suggest a value.

Francis Chantrey and Charles Rossi gave similar evidence.

The sitting on the following day began with the evidence of Sir Thomas Lawrence, in confirmation of that of the sculptors. He was followed by the arch opponent, Richard Payne Knight.

His evidence showed the perverse attitude that he consistently adopted in relation to the marbles. Asked, 'In what class of art do you place the finest works in this Collection?' He answered '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.' Of the pedimental figures he still maintained that many were of the time of Hadrian—a view which in cross-examination he allowed was based on Spon's dictum, in the 17th century. The metopes he commended with qualifications. 'The metopes I consider of the first class of reliefs: 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.' He could not but admire the frieze, but he thought it deficient in quantity and condition. '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. . . . 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.' Examined as to the value, Payne Knight produced a list of figures giving a total of £25,000. The Theseus and Ilissos are valued at £1,500 each, and the whole of the remaining pedimental sculptures at £2,450. The metopes stood at £500 apiece. The frieze at £5,000. The Caryatid was only £200. On the other hand, the plaster casts were placed as high as £2,500—or more than twelve times the Caryatid. In the course of his further examination he was asked if he had considered the value of the 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.'

William Wilkins, the architect, testified to the importance and value of the architectural part of the collection. Examined as to the merit of the sculptures he was not enthusiastic. Some were extremely fine, while others were 'very middling'; some parts of the frieze were 'extremely indifferent indeed,' and marked by 'mediocrity in style.' There were 'certainly very many things in the collection of the Louvre (*i.e.* no doubt before its dispersal) very far superior to the generality of the Elgin Marbles,' and some much finer statues in this Kingdom (*e.g.* the Townley Venus, and the Lansdowne Hercules).

On Thursday, March 7, Taylor Combe, Keeper of Antiquities in the British Museum, valued the medals at 1,000 guineas, and stated that they would form a very valuable addition to the Museum Collection. Lord Aberdeen attending by permission of the House of Lords, was examined on the following day. He had visited Athens in 1803, while the removal was in progress. Mischief was continually being done to the marbles, mainly from the desire of the natives to sell fragments to travellers. He regarded the Parthenon marbles, the inscriptions and the architectural fragments as specially important, and was inclined to value the whole, the medals being omitted, at £35,000. He did not think that a private individual could have accomplished the removal of the remains which Lord Elgin obtained, but the action of the Turkish government seemed entirely capricious. He had himself easily obtained leave to excavate.

John Bacon Sawrey Morritt (Morritt of Rokeby, at that time Member for Northallerton) stated that he had stayed at Athens nearly three months in the spring of 1795. The so-called Hadrian of the West Pediment still had a head. But there was no reason to give any weight to the identification. He had himself found it impossible to remove some neglected fragments of the frieze. In his opinion the Greeks were decidedly and strongly desirous that the marbles should not be removed from Athens, and he conceived that nothing but the influence of a public character could obtain that permission. He regarded many of the marbles as the purest specimens of the first age of Greece.

After John Nicholas Fazakerly, who was also a member of the Committee, and Alexander Day, a dealer, had given evidence, Philip Hunt was called on March 13, and told the story of the two firmans. The first had been insufficient, and the second amply sufficient. In the first instance he had used it to obtain permission to detach from the Parthenon the most perfect of the metopes. 'The facility with which this had been obtained, induced Lord Elgin to apply for permission to lower other groupes of sculpture from the Parthenon, which he did to a considerable extent, not only on the Parthenon, but on other edifices in the Acropolis.' Dr. Hunt was decidedly of opinion that such extensive powers would only have been granted to an Ambassador of a highly favoured ally at an opportune moment, but he had always thought that the objects so to be obtained were to be the property of Lord Elgin.

The evidence concluded with the answers sent by Benjamin West in reply to questions of the Committee. He was then 78 years old, and his health had not allowed him to attend. He was unable to estimate the money value of the collection, but spoke of all its parts in the highest terms.

Immediately the evidence was concluded the position was summed up by Hamilton in a 'Memorandum on the present state of the negotiation respecting the purchase of the Elgin Marbles,' dated March 17, 1816, and printed for John Murray [on the back is an advertisement of *Emma*; a novel 'lately published'].

The Committee quickly compiled their report, which is dated March 25,

1816. They reported that they considered 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.'

On the first head they briefly recited the history of the enterprise, stating that, according to evidence, no displeasure was shown by the Turkish Government, or the local population, and that no attempt was made to conserve the remains, which were exposed to frequent injury.

On the second head they reported that undoubtedly Lord Elgin had looked on the enterprise from the first refusal of the Government to support him as his own, and that 'he looked upon himself in this respect as acting in a character entirely distinct from his official situation.' It would be doubtful if the Turkish Ministers, if asked, would be able 'to form any very distinct discrimination as to the character in consideration of which they acceded to Lord Elgin's request.' The occasion made the Turks 'beyond all precedent propitious to whatever was desired in behalf of the English Nation,' and Lord Elgin was an Ambassador. The Committee agreed with Lord Aberdeen and Dr. Hunt that only an Ambassador would have obtained such extensive powers.

On the third head the Committee reported that several of the most eminent Artists in the Kingdom spoke of the marbles 'with admiration and enthusiasm,' and considered them in spite of injuries and mutilations as among 'the finest models, and the most exquisite monuments of antiquity.' They were recommended, therefore, '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.'

On the fourth head the Committee expressed their difficulty in forming an estimate of value. If sold in lots by auction, the collection would probably fetch little. If sold, as it ought to be, in one lot, the buyers would necessarily be few. It would not, however, be reasonable or 'becoming the liberality of Parliament to withhold upon this account, whatever, under all the circumstances, may be deemed a just and adequate price.' They pointed out that the cost of acquisition was not necessarily a fair measure of value, and that such expenses as the salaries of the artists could not be taken into account. Lord Elgin's account showed a total expenditure of £74,000, including £23,240 for interest. The Committee had seen the accounts and reported that there would 'be no doubt 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.' The valuations submitted to the Committee were Payne Knight £25,000, Hamilton £60,800 and Lord Aberdeen £35,000. The Committee discussed the prices paid for the Townley collection, the Aegina marbles, and the Phigaleian marbles, without obtaining much guidance from them. They pointed out that Mr. Perceval had offered £30,000, that eighty additional cases and the medals had since been added, but, on the other hand, that there had been the not inconsiderable rise in the value of money, 'a cause or consequence of which is the depreciation of every commodity, either of necessity, or fancy which is brought to sale.' On the whole the conclusion of the Committee was that £35,000 (the price suggested by Lord Aberdeen) was a reasonable and sufficient price.

They added that on the Townley precedent they considered that the Earl of Elgin, and his heirs being Earls of Elgin, were entitled to be added to the Trustees of the British Museum, and recommended the insertion of a clause to that effect, if an Act was necessary for transferring the collection to the public.

The Committee added to their report a short discussion of the authorship of the Sculptures, and explained but did not accept the theory of Hadrian's additions to the pediment of the Parthenon. The Report concludes with a peroration appropriate to the occasion and the date.

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 everything valuable in science, literature, and philosophy. In contemplating the importance and splendor 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.

The Committee had no doubt done their best. They had accepted the view that the collection was of extraordinary interest, and that new standards of merit were set up by it. But on the difficult question of value they had not attempted to arrive at any considered amount. They had in effect merely taken the sum of £30,000 which had been suggested by Mr. Perceval on various grounds, but not on a valuation of the marbles, and had added an

equally random £5,000, which happened to bring the total to the figure thrown out by Lord Aberdeen, this being the amount which the Trustees at their meeting of April 8, 1815, had thought the limit (see above, p. 322). This branch of the Report was deeply disappointing to Lord Elgin. Owing to postal difficulties the Report was slow in reaching him. He wrote to Hamilton on April 20:

On considering the manifest coldness and ill-will which pervades the Report, I have felt desirous of drawing out, here, something of a counter-statement in the hopes of placing the subject on as favourable a footing as the Evidence will *fairly* admit . . . Supposing the paper I may prepare, to contain presentable matter, the question then comes to be whether to publish it—to whom to address it etc. etc. what part to insert in the Times etc. etc.

The next point is, what proposition I could make on the occasion. Could I ask that the collection be taken for the public on the faith of the Evidence: and the concluding paragraph of the Report—on the payment of £25,000 now—and the ultimate decision be taken on further Experience, say 5 years hence; or simply state the inadequacy of the £35,000 in relation to the Evidence. Or does any other proposal occur to you?

The memorandum here contemplated was forwarded to Hamilton on April 25. It is a document of 22 foolscap pages, in the form of a letter to the Speaker, with observations on the Committee's Report. It was intended to be circulated to members, if possible officially, but if that was not possible, by unofficial means. The memorandum deals with the four divisions of the Report in turn, and especially with the question of the valuation, but does not suggest any definite figure in place of that named by the Committee. It concludes, after quoting the 'strain of eloquent eulogium' with which the Committee's report ends,

To this animating prospect I have ever looked steadfastly forward; and though I have felt myself called on by a powerful sense of justice to myself and family, as well as to the honour of the Nation, to submit the above reflections to the consideration of the House of Commons, while it is proceeding to the decision on my Petition; I deprecate all idea of thereby intending to throw any obstacle in the way of the proffered transfer of my collection, which I once more solicit the House of Commons to accept upon whatever conditions, under the acknowledged distresses of the country, the evidence before them may suggest; confident as I am that it will arbitrate fairly and satisfactorily between the public and me.

The opinion of Hamilton and other friends was unfavourable to the publication of the memorandum, and it seems to have remained in draft.

The debate³³² on the Committee's Report opened at length on June 7. The Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Bankes, moved 'That a sum not exceeding £35,000 be granted to His Majesty for the purchase of the Elgin Marbles, and that the said sum be issued and paid without any fee or deduction whatever.' The last clause was by no means an empty formula. Lord Elgin had received a timely hint from a solicitor versed in such matters, Mr. Chalmers, that the fees might represent 15 per cent. of the grant, and Hamilton had been deputed to arrange with Mr. Vansittart that the vote should be for the nett sum to be received.

³³² Hansard, xxxiv. pp. 1027-1040.

Mr. Bankes began by pointing out that, notwithstanding the pressure of the times, money had been voted from time to time for the purchase of works of art.

By declining to purchase the Elgin Marbles, the public must renounce all right in the thing, and leave my Lord Elgin at liberty to deal with any person who offers to purchase. The sort of mixed claim which the public had on Lord Elgin was, he conceived, of this description—they had not a right to take his collection from him by force; but they had a right of pre-emption at a fair price, and to say that it should not be taken out of this country. . . .

With respect to the manner, in which the Elgin Marbles had been acquired, the object certainly could not have been attained had Lord Elgin not been a British Ambassador; but it was not solely as an Ambassador that he obtained them. No objection had ever been made to the operations of Lord Elgin, either by the government at Constantinople, or by the local authorities.

Not only the local authorities of Athens were favourable, but the natives both Turks and Greeks, assisted as labourers. . . . He could therefore say, that there was nothing like spoliation in the case, and that it bore no resemblance to those undue and tyrannical means by which the French had obtained possession of so many treasures of art, which he rejoiced to see again in the possession of their rightful owners. A notion prevailed among some gentlemen, that these treasures also should be restored to their original owners. . . . Did they mean that they should be purchased from Lord Elgin, for the purpose of being shipped back to those who set no value on them? Were not these works in a state of constant dilapidation and danger before their removal? . . . They were then making rapid strides towards decay, and the natives displayed such wanton indifference as to fire at them as marks. They had also been continually suffering, from the parts carried off by enlightened travellers. The greatest desire, too, had been evinced by the government of France to become possessed of them. . . .

The public had a right to bargain for them. . . . With respect to the price in all works of art, the value might be said to depend on caprice. . . . There was at least one foreign prince extremely desirous of purchasing this collection. The opportunity would not again recur. In no time had so large, so magnificent, and so well authenticated a collection of works of art of the best time, been produced, either in this or in any other country. . . . He therefore moved the resolution given above.

Mr. J. C. CURWEN opposed the grant on economical grounds—

A statement had been made the other night that the expenses of the country exceeded the revenue by nearly £17,000,000. . . . In such a state was it fit to make purchases of this description, however gratifying to a few individuals, at the expense of the nation? He was afraid that we were fast approaching to that course of extravagance with respect to the public money, which had brought to decay the countries where these works of art had been produced. . . .

Mr. J. W. WARD was as averse to idle expenditure as the hon. gentleman himself could be, and thought we should not seek occasions for it; yet he considered the present an opportunity of benefiting the public that could not occur again; and it was precisely because it was not against the principle of economy that he voted for the measure.

Mr. HUGH HAMMERSLEY said he should oppose the resolution on the ground of the dishonesty of the transaction by which the collection was obtained. As to the value of the statues, he was inclined to go as far as

the hon. mover, but he was not so enamoured of those headless ladies as to forget another lady, which was justice. He should propose as an amendment a resolution, which stated :

That this Committee having taken into consideration the manner in which the Earl of Elgin became possessed of certain ancient sculptured marbles from Athens, laments that this Ambassador did not keep in remembrance that the high and dignified station of representing his sovereign should have made him forbear from availing himself of that character in order to obtain valuable possessions belonging to the government to which he was accredited ; and that such forbearance was peculiarly necessary at a moment when that government was expressing high obligations to Great Britain. This Committee, however, imputes to the noble Earl no venal motive whatever of pecuniary advantage to himself, but on the contrary, believes that he was actuated by a desire to benefit his country, by acquiring for it, at great risk and labour to himself, some of the most valuable specimens in existence of ancient sculpture. This Committee, therefore, feels justified, under the particular circumstances of the case, in recommending that £25,000 be offered to the Earl of Elgin for the collection in order to recover and keep it together for that government from which it has been improperly taken, and that to which this Committee is of opinion that a communication should immediately be made, stating that Great Britain holds these marbles only in trust till they are demanded by the present, or any future, possessors of the city of Athens ; and upon such demand, engages, without question or negotiation, to restore them, as far as can be effected, to the places from whence they were taken, and that they shall be in the mean time carefully preserved in the British Museum.

Mr. CROKER, commenting on Mr. Hammersley's arguments, had never heard a speech filled with so much tragic pomp and circumstance, concluded with so farcical a resolution.

After speaking of the glories of Athens, after haranguing us on the injustice of spoliation, it was rather too much to expect to interest our feelings for the future conqueror of those classic regions, and to contemplate his rights to treasures which we reckoned it flagitious to retain . . .

Considerations of economy, had been much mixed up with the question of the purchase ; and the House had been warned in the present circumstances of the country, not to incur a heavy expense merely to acquire the possession of works of ornament. But who was to pay this expense ? and for whose use was it intended ? The bargain was for the benefit of the public, for the honour of the nation, for the promotion of national arts, for the use of the national artists, and even for the advantage of our manufactures, the excellence of which depended on the progress of the arts in the country. It was singular that when 2500 years ago, Pericles was adorning Athens with those very works, some of which we are now about to acquire, the same cry of economy was raised against him, and the same answer that he then gave might be repeated now, that it was money spent for the use of the people . . . But he would go to the length of saying that the possession of these precious remains of ancient genius and taste would conduce not only to the perfection of the arts, but to the elevation of our national character, to our opulence, to our substantial greatness . . .

But if the charges of improper conduct on Lord Elgin's part were groundless, the idea of sending them back to the Turks was chimerical and ridiculous. This would be awarding those admirable works the doom of destruction . . . They would, however remain to animate the genius and improve the arts of this country, and to constitute in after times a sufficient answer to the speech of the hon. member, or of any one else who should use his arguments, if indeed such arguments could be supposed to be repeated, or to be heard beyond the bottle hour in which they were made.

The debate was continued by Serjeant Best, Sir J. Newport, Lord

Milton, and Messrs. Moore and Brougham, who opposed the purchase. Messrs. Wynn, Charles Long, and J. P. Grant supported it.

The House divided: For the original motion, 82; against it, 30.

Apparently Mr. Hammersley's portentous amendment was not put.

No time was lost by the Trustees of the British Museum in obtaining authority for the consequential expenditure. On June 17 Mr. Ellis (afterwards Sir Henry Ellis, long Principal Librarian) attended the House, and at the bar presented to the House, pursuant to their orders, estimates of the expense of a temporary building, and of the removal of the marbles. The estimates were referred to the Committee of the House, which on the day following voted £800 for the expenses of removal and £1,700 for the temporary building.

The Act of Parliament necessary to complete the purchase passed apparently without further discussion.

It is Cap. XCIX. of the 56th year of George the Third. The statute recites, at what seems unnecessary length, that certain Trustees exist called 'The Trustees of the British Museum,' in whom are vested 'the Capital Messuage or Mansion House, heretofore called *Montagu House*, situate in *Great Russel Street*, in the Parish of *St. George Bloomsbury*, in the county of *Middlesex*, and the Outhouses, Buildings and Gardens belonging to the same,' and that 'the Right Honourable *Thomas Earl of Elgin* hath with great Knowledge, Judgment and Care, and at a great Expençe, made a most valuable Collection of ancient Marbles and Sculpture, and is willing that the same should be possessed by the Public'; and 'the said Earl hath agreed to sell the same for the sum of Thirty five thousand Pounds, on Condition that the whole of the said Collection should be kept together in the *British Museum*, and open to Inspection, and called by the Name of "The Elgin Marbles" and that the said Earl and every Person who should attain the Rank of Earl of Elgin should be added to the Trustees of the *British Museum*.'

The enacting clauses which follow arrange (1) that the Treasury should issue £35,000 to the Trustees, who should require delivery of the Collection before September 1, and on delivery should satisfy themselves 'that the several Statues and other Articles forming the said Collection are then conformable to the Catalogue thereof delivered to a Committee of the House of Commons,' after which they should pay over the money. (2) That the Collection shall be vested in perpetuity in the Trustees of the British Museum. (3) That the said Collection shall be preserved and kept together in the said *British Museum* whole and entire, and distinguished by the Name or Appellation of '*The Elgin Collection*.' (4) That the said Earl of Elgin during his life, and after his Decease, each and every Person who shall successively attain to the Rank and Dignity of Earl of Elgin shall, when of full age, be added to the trust, with powers equal to those of the other Trustees.

The great Elgin controversy had now been settled by two of the most authoritative tribunals known to the constitution of this country. A Select

Committee of the House of Commons had heard witnesses and had pronounced its opinion. Parliament, after full debate, had adopted the conclusions of the Committee. Some voices were raised in opposition at the time, and have made themselves audible at intervals ever since, but on the whole the great body of responsible and informed opinion has endorsed the verdict of the Committee and of Parliament.

The new details, given in the foregoing pages, add colour and circumstance to what was already on public record, but they do not modify the main facts that were known, or the inferences to be based upon them. Lord Elgin, a man of great mental activity, liberality, and zeal, was appointed to the Embassy at Constantinople. He realised, as none of his predecessors had done, his opportunities for useful service in the cause of art and learning, and endeavoured to interest his Government, without the least success. Thereupon he organised a mission of research, on a scale hitherto unequalled in Europe, to prepare drawings, plans and casts of the remains of ancient Greece.

When he and his agents came to grapple with their work at close quarters, the disastrous rate at which the remains were deteriorating was forced upon their notice. The West pediment of the Parthenon had contained twenty human figures and two colossal horses³³³ before 1687. There were twelve figures³³⁴ left in 1749, and it would seem four figures in 1800³³⁵ (of which three remain in position to-day).

A careful study would show a corresponding deterioration of the frieze and the metopes.

The frieze was substantially complete before the great explosion of 1687. Fifty-eight feet of what we know by evidence was then in existence has perished altogether, while much more only survives in pitiful fragments. Lord Elgin had not the means of measuring what had happened since the time of Carrey; but if he limited his view to what had happened within recent memory, before 1800, he would find that at least seven fine slabs had perished or disappeared.³³⁶ Such of the metopes as survived were also suffering frequent injuries. Outside the Acropolis, a remarkable temple, the Ionic temple on the Ilissos, had altogether disappeared a few years before. There was abundant evidence that the deterioration was a continuing process. The local authorities were reluctant to allow the removal of antiquities for fear of

³³³ Carrey's drawing of 1674.

³³⁴ Richard Dalton's drawing.

³³⁵ Compare Fauvel's *Journal* 'Etant sous le fronton de devant du temple de Minerve, Mahomet Ali Aga . . . homme de 60 ans, m'a dit se ressouvenir d'y avoir vu beaucoup de figures . . . ; qu'une de ces figures étant tombée, les autres, crainte d'accident, ils les mirent en morceaux pour bâtir . . . il en tomba une l'hiver de 1790 ; elle était sans tête ni bras, et, excepté le dos, c'était une masse informe,' *Rev. Arch.* 3rd Series, xxv. p. 29.

³³⁶ Frieze, East Side :

Slab VI. 41-48. Broken up after Fauvel's mould (say 1790) and before 1800.

Slab VII. Taken to Paris for Choiseul-Gouffier (1789).

Slab IX. Drawn by Stuart. Lost.

North Side :

Slab I. Left half drawn by Stuart. Lost.

Slab V. Drawn by Stuart. Two-thirds lost.

Slab XXII. Drawn by Stuart. Broken up.

Slab XXV. Drawn by Stuart. Only a small fragment survived.

giving a handle to hostile informers, but they took no intelligent interest in their preservation.³³⁷

The fact that Athens was and is an inhabited city, with a continuous historic life, made the removal of parts of its monuments a subject for regret, but it was this very fact that Athens was inhabited and a place of resort that created the special danger. No question was raised as to the legitimacy and desirability of excavating and securing the buried marbles of Aegina and Phigaleia. But it was not these that were in imminent danger and needed to be removed that they might be preserved.

Nor was there any reasonable prospect, so far as could be foreseen at that time, of a change for the better. Hobhouse, the friend of Byron, writing about 1810, summed up the controversy impartially, and added:³³⁸

I have said nothing of the possibility of the ruins of Athens being, in the event of a revolution in favour of the Greeks, restored and put into a condition capable of resisting the ravages of decay; for an event of that nature cannot, it strikes me, have even entered into the head of anyone who has seen Athens and the modern Athenians.

The story told by Hobhouse³³⁹ as to the feelings of the Athenians of the day is not irrelevant in this context.

Some Greeks, in our time, conveying a chest from Athens to Piraeus, containing part of the Elgin marbles, threw it down, and could not for some time be prevailed upon to touch it, again affirming, they heard the Arabin [*i.e.* the enchanted spirit within the sculpture] crying out, and groaning for his fellow-spirits detained in bondage in the Acropolis. The Athenians suppose that the condition of these enchanted marbles will be bettered by a removal from the country of the tyrant Turks.

The process of continuous deterioration, as a matter of fact, did not cease after the time of Lord Elgin. This is instructively shown by a comparison of the Elgin casts of the West side of the frieze which is still in position on the building with modern photographs, or casts, as in Figs. 12 and 13.

The conditions at Athens, therefore, furnished good justification for removing the sculptures for preservation, and it is not the case that the operations of Lord Elgin's agents were carried on, as is sometimes alleged, with ruthless disregard for the architecture. In the course of the corre-

³³⁷ Compare the remark of a Turkish official at Olympia to the bearer of Choiseul-Gouffier's firman, 'Tu enlèveras des pierres dont tu sauras tirer de l'or; le Sultan croira que tu m'as fait partager tes richesses, et ma tête tombera.' Dubois, *Catalogue Choiseul-Gouffier*, p. iii.

³³⁸ Hobhouse, *Travels*, 2nd ed. i. p. 347.

³³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 318. Another witness of the phenomenon gives it a different interpretation. 'An illiterate servant of the Disdar of Athens . . . assured me that when the five other χοιρῖαι (girls) [κορίτσια] had lost their sister, they manifested their affliction by filling the

air at the close of the evening with the most mournful sighs and lamentations, that he himself had often heard their complaints, and never without being so much affected as to be obliged to leave the citadel till they had ceased; and that the ravished sister was not deaf to their voice, but astonished the lower town where she was placed, by answering in the same lamentable tones.'—Douglas, *An Essay on certain points of resemblance between the Ancient and Modern Greeks* (1813), p. 85. Douglas was a member of the Select Committee of 1816.

spondence suggestions are thrown out as to removing the monument of Lysicrates, the entire Caryatid porch, or the West frieze of the Parthenon, but none of these more extreme measures were taken. The greater part of the West frieze was left in position, together with the last metope on the South side. These sculptures and two other metopes were moulded and not removed, in order that disproportionate injury to the architecture should not be done for the preservation of the sculptures. The only serious injury done to the architecture of the Parthenon, other than the removal of its sculptural decorations, was the incidental destruction of a part of the cornice above the South metopes, and of a part of the South angle of the East pediment, as to which we saw that Lusieri felt some pricks of conscience. Here, as Michaelis³⁴⁰ expresses it, was the heel of Achilles, for here the rescue of Pheidias involved an abandonment of Ictinos.

Censure has also been passed on Lord Elgin for the collection of isolated fragments, such as the Doric capital from the Propylaea and the column from the East portico of the Erechtheum. But, as we have seen above (pp. 191, 207) this was done on a considered principle that it was necessary to have actual examples of the different parts of the architectural orders for real knowledge of them.

Lastly, as regards the methods employed in dealing with subordinate local officials, it must be remembered that these were necessitated by the inherent vices of Turkish methods of administration. It was the political circumstances of the time, in which British sea-power was saving the life of the Turkish empire, that enabled the Ambassador to extend the scope of his scheme. The powers were given to him by the central government, but the application of them necessarily involved an alternation of pressure and presents to the minor local officials.

The operations we have described were carried on with a single-minded enthusiasm for the promotion of knowledge and art, and it is beyond question that in this direction their influence was profound. The effect of the marbles upon the minds of the artists has been sufficiently indicated in the foregoing narrative. In archaeology it is unquestionable that by the opportunities of study opened out to Western Europe new standards were set up, and that the whole view of ancient art was permanently modified and corrected.

³⁴⁰ Michaelis, *Parthenon*, p. 79. This incident seems to be the only foundation for the charge made in the German Apology for the destruction of French churches: 'Die Engländer brauchen nicht weit zu gehen, um sich darüber Rechenschaft zu geben, wie ihre Kanonen das schönste Heiligtum mensch-

licher Kunst zerstörten: sie brauchen nur ins britische Museum zu gehen, und sich die berühmten "Elgin Marbles" anzusehen, diese verehrungswerten Ruinen des Parthenons in Athen, die sie nicht nur stahlen, sondern auch zerstörten.' Lang, in *Kunstverwaltung in Frankreich und Deutschland* (1915), p. 61.



FIG. 12.—CAST OF PARTHENON FRIEZE, WEST SIDE, SLAB XIII., IN 1801.

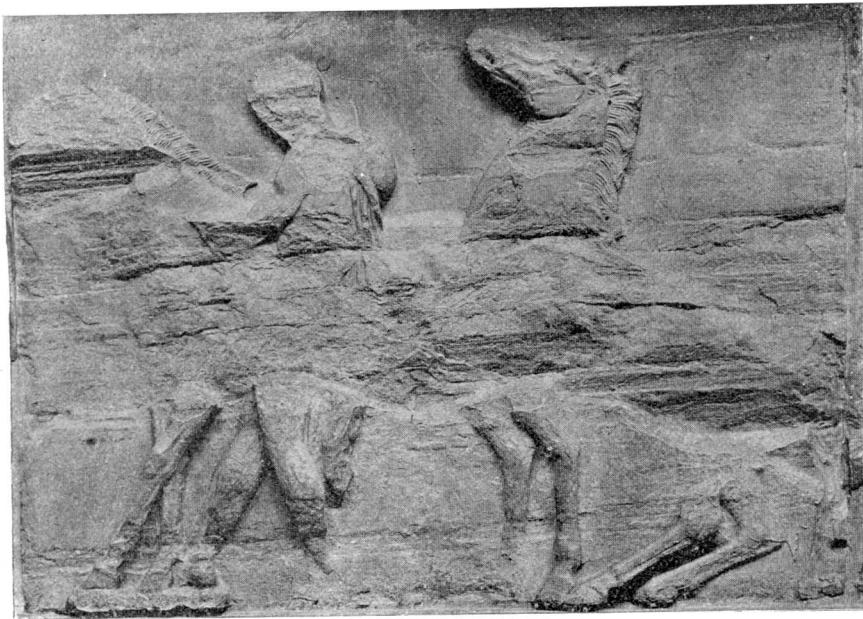


FIG. 13.—CAST OF PARTHENON FRIEZE, WEST SIDE, SLAB XIII., IN 1872.

PART VI.

The Marbles at the British Museum.

The delivery of the marbles to the care of the Trustees of the British Museum was duly accomplished. On August 2 a small number of sepulchral reliefs and other fragments, which were no part of the catalogued collection, were separated from the remainder, and sent for temporary housing to Hamilton. Included with them was also 'half a head which belongs to Mr. Hamilton' according to the inventory. This collection, which presumably consists of small subjects that had somehow come to hand after Vis-

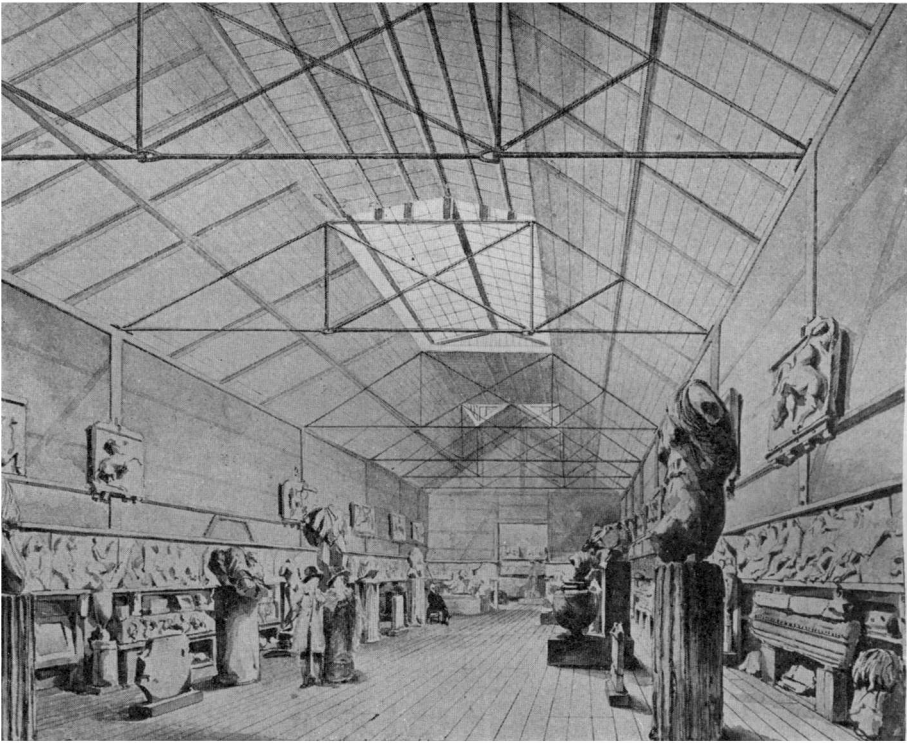


FIG. 14.—VIEW OF THE TEMPORARY ELGIN ROOM (by W. H. Prior).

conti's visit, is now at Broomhall, and has been described by A. Michaelis, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, v. p. 143. The main collection was transferred a week later on Thursday, August 8.³⁴¹

Thursday last week, the British Museum took possession of the collection in so far as transferring the key from Wm. Thomson to a man of their own. On Monday an Extra meeting of the Trustees was held, when they sanctioned the above proceeding

³⁴¹ Elgin to Hamilton, Aug. 17, 1816.

and have since begun to remove the smaller objects. They have in the meanwhile hermetically shut up the place, literally admitting nobody—Today, I believe, the money will be paid—Everything was right, excepting a head, [no doubt that referred to above] which tho' in the catalogue was not in the collection. Thomson says it is yours—others were found to make up the number.

The marbles were in due course removed to the British Museum at a cost of £798. One fragment of the frieze, slab XL of the North side, somehow was separated from the remainder, and did not rejoin them till April, 1818. Two of the votive reliefs from the Pnyx (and, according to Ellis, 'several other articles') were however missing, and 'were believed to have been stolen at the time when the Elgin Collection was deposited in the courtyard of Burlington House' (Ellis, *Elgin and Phigaleian Marbles*, ii., p. 107.)



FIG. 15.—VIEW OF THE TEMPORARY ELGIN ROOM (by Mackenzie).

At the British Museum no time was lost in the erection of a temporary building for the marbles. In January, 1817, the *Gentleman's Magazine* (page 80) announces that the public would very shortly have access to the 'spacious rooms' built to contain them, adding its comment, 'They are a proud trophy, because their display in the British Metropolis is the result of public taste, and also a pleasing one, because they are not the price of blood shed in wanton or ambitious wars.'

The new rooms were placed to the west of the isolated building which then contained the Townley and Egyptian sculptures. They consisted of a large room with a wooden roof, secured with iron ties, and lighted by skylights, and a second and smaller room at one end of it. At one end

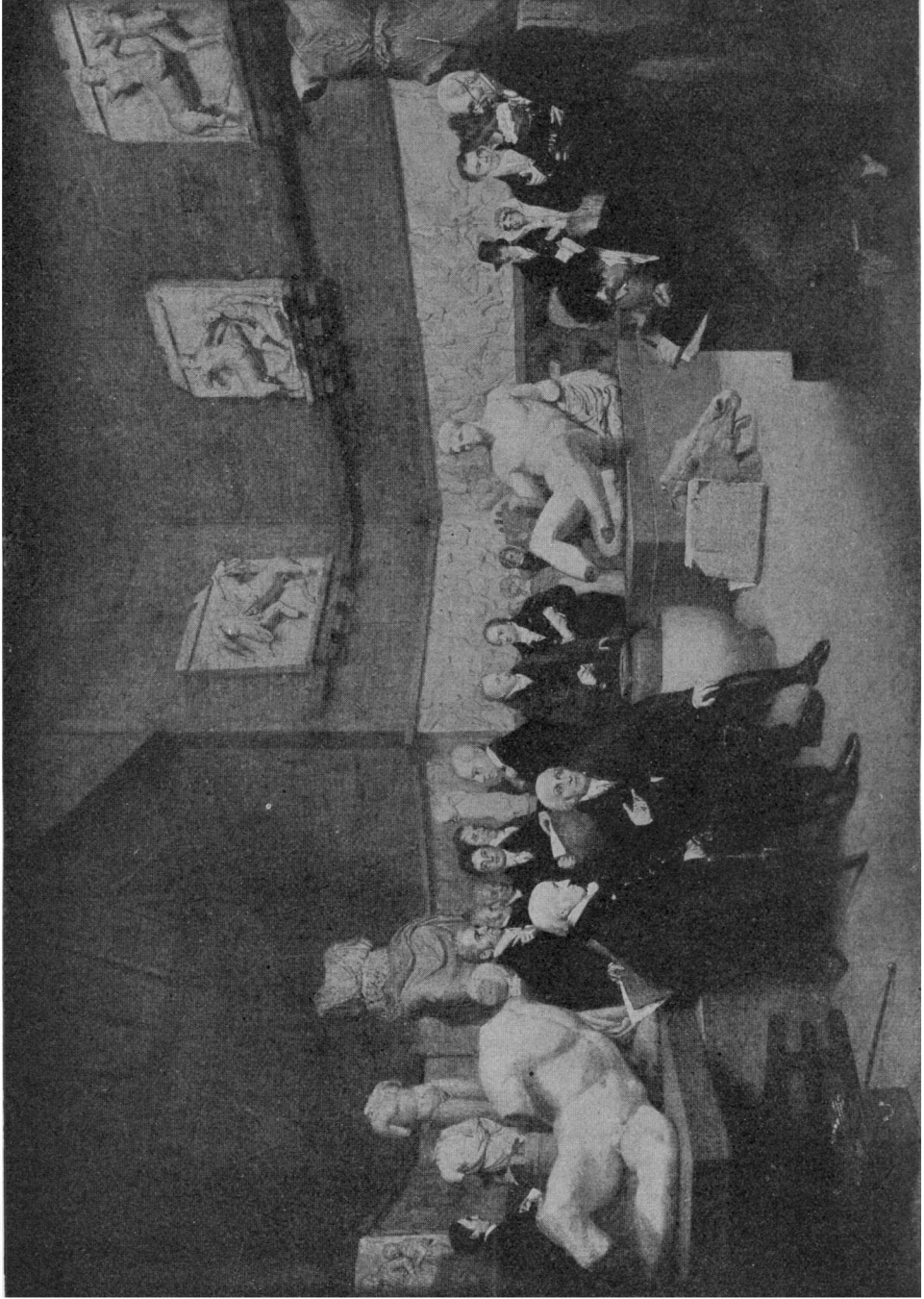


FIG. 16.—THE TEMPORARY ELGIN ROOM (by A. Archer).

the principal room terminated in a sort of alcove or apse, at the other with a door into the smaller room. The metopes rested on corbels about eleven feet from the ground. The frieze ran round the room at the eye level, as now in the Elgin room. The remaining sculptures were arranged along the wall or at intervals on the floor in picturesque fashion, without any attempt to observe the relative positions of the pedimental sculptures. The apse, for example, is occupied by the Dionysos of Thrasyllus, on the Doric capital of the Parthenon, flanked by two smaller figures, the Asclepios (?) and the Muse (*B. M. Sculpt.* 551, 1688), and by the Ilissos and Theseus on low pedestals with turntable tops.

The view towards the smaller room is shown in a drawing by William



FIG. 17.—KEY TO ARCHER'S PAINTING OF THE ELGIN ROOM.

Henry Prior,³⁴² which was reproduced in a portfolio prepared for the Trustees on the occasion of the opening of the King Edward VII. galleries in 1914 (Fig. 14). The view towards the apse is given in an engraving by Heath from a drawing by Mackenzie (Fig. 15), and is also shown in the interesting painting by A. Archer, which hangs in the Committee Room of the Museum, and is here reproduced (Fig. 16) by permission of the Trustees. The drawing by Prior and the painting by Archer both terminate in the torso of Victory on the shaft of a column, so that between them they include the whole room, as shown in Heath's engraving. The Elgin Eros, the metope on the end wall,

³⁴² Brit. Mus. Dept. of Prints and Drawings, 1838, 1-13. 1.

the bronze vase, and the horse's head have been put at this end of the room by Archer, to enrich his composition. Their true places were in the middle of the room.

Archer's painting (formerly in the collection of Mr. Edward Hawkins) was presented by Dr. J. E. Gray (one of the persons portrayed) in 1872, and the names given to the figures rest on his authority. The picture is signed by the artist on the portfolio, and is dated 1819. Benjamin West died in 1820.

West and Planta are seated in dignity in front of a group which includes the chief members of the Museum staff of that date, B. R. Haydon, and four unknown visitors. On the right are the artist in the foreground, an attendant, John Conrath (who must have joined late in life, as his service began in 1816), Charles Konig the naturalist, and three nameless visitors.³⁴³

The new arrangement, though elementary, was an improvement on what had preceded it. On January 27, 1817, Haydon wrote to Lord Elgin to inform him that the Grand Duke Nicholas (afterwards the Emperor Nicholas) had visited the collection on two consecutive days with great delight, and added, 'Impressed as I was always by their beauties, I can assure you, my Lord, my feelings were excited more vigorously than ever, by seeing them in a better situation, and though they are by no means where they ought to be, or where they will be, yet they have so much more an imposing air by proper elevation, that you will be astonished when you see them.'

The temporary gallery served for fourteen years, until 1831, when it was

³⁴³ The following is the list of persons who can be identified :

1. Benjamin Robert Haydon (1786-1846).
2. Sir Charles Long (?), afterwards Lord Farnborough (1761-1838), Paymaster-General.
3. The Rev. James Bean, Assistant Librarian, 1812-1826.
4. The Rev. Thomas Maurice (1754-1824), Assistant Librarian in the Dept. of MSS., 1799-1824.
5. Sir Henry Ellis (1777-1869), Assistant Librarian, 1805; Secretary, 1814; Principal Librarian, 1827-1856.
6. John George Children (1777-1852), F.R.S., Assistant Librarian, 1816.
7. Benjamin West, P.R.A. (1738-1820).
8. Joseph Planta (1744-1827), Under Librarian (Keeper of MSS.), 1776; Principal Librarian, 1799-1827.
9. Taylor Combe (1774-1826), Assistant Librarian, 1803; Under Librarian (First Keeper of the Department of Antiquities), 1805-1826.
10. Rev. Henry Harvey Baber (1775-1869), Assistant, 1810; Under Librarian (Keeper Dept. of MSS.), 1812-1837. •

11. John Thomas Smith (1766-1833), Extra Assistant Librarian (Prints), 1816-1833, Author of 'Smith's Nollekens.' 'It has often of late years, given me pleasure to observe that the same class of persons, who in my boyish days would admire a bleeding-heart-cherry painted upon a Pontipool tea-board, or a Tradescant-strawberry upon a Dutch table, now attentively look, and for a long time too, with the most awful respect at the majestic fragments of the Greek Sculptor's art, so gloriously displayed in the Elgin Gallery.' Smith, i. p. 276.

12. John Edward Gray (1800-1875), Assistant in Natural History Dept. 1824; Keeper, 1840-1874.

13. A. Archer, the artist.

14. Charles Dietrich Eberhard Konig (1774-1851), Assistant Librarian (Dept. of Natural History), 1807-1813; Under Librarian, Natural History (Minerals), 1813-1851.

15. John Conrath, Attendant, from 1816.

'The rest of the visitors I will not pretend to identify, but I recollect often seeing the old gentleman and lady who are walking arm in arm about the room' (Dr. Gray's letter).

succeeded by a new Elgin Room, as part of the new buildings, which was substantially that now in use.³⁴⁴

The metopes, the West frieze, the run of ten slabs of the North frieze, and some of the casts retain the positions then given to them.

The pedimental sculptures were arranged in order corresponding to that of the pediments, the two in a continuous line. The main difference of principle is that the room, instead of being predominantly occupied by the Parthenon sculptures, is filled up with all the secondary objects in the Elgin Collection.

In 1857 the adjoining room (now the Ephesus Room) was brought into use as the 'First Elgin Room,' and the pedimental groups were removed to it. They occupied the two sides of the room. The 'Second Elgin Room' had the frieze and metopes. The other objects from the Elgin Collection were divided between the two rooms.

In 1869 the extension of the 'Second Elgin Room' to the northwards was completed, and the marbles of the Parthenon were once more brought together. In the years 1888-1890 the present marble pedestals were substituted for the old wooden pedestals beneath the pedimental figures.

In 1909-1910 the figure of Victory (rather Iris) was transferred to its proper place in the West pediment (see p. 198) and the fragments belonging to the pediment, which had hitherto been placed on blocks in a row on the eye level, were raised on shafts of Istrian marble to heights corresponding to their original positions in the pediment. In 1915 the pedimental sculptures were removed, by way of precaution, and the metopes and frieze were given appropriate protection.

So far as Lord Elgin was concerned, the completion of the purchase terminated his active share in the disposition or management of the marbles. In 1829 the Principal Librarian sent proof-sheets of Cockerell's volume, of the *Museum Marbles*, but he declined any responsibility for a work already at the proof stage. During his later years, however, he watched with anxious eye the progress of the marbles in public esteem at home and abroad.

PART VII.

Choiseul-Gouffier and Tweddell.

Two episodes directly connected with Lord Elgin's activities in the East have not yet been mentioned, but seem to require notice in an account of the archæological side of his career. The one was his intercourse with his rival, the Count de Choiseul-Gouffier, and the other was a troublesome incident connected with the papers of John Tweddell.

The Count de Choiseul-Gouffier (1752-1817) was a pupil of the Abbé Barthélemy, and was induced by his master to undertake a Greek tour. The

³⁴⁴ See the key plates, in *Mus. Marbles*, vii. Pls. 18, 19.

result was the *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce* (1782-1824). In 1784 he was appointed French Ambassador at the Porte, but in 1793 he was obliged by revolutionary violence to fly, and took refuge in Petersburg. In 1802 he



FIG. 18.—THE COUNT DE CHOISEUL-GOUFFIER. (By L. L. Boilly.)

returned to France, and gradually recovered possession of his scattered collections. The engraved portrait (Fig. 18) from a picture by L. L. Boilly is taken from the second volume of the *Voyage Pittoresque*.

Thanks to Fauvel he had acquired half a slab³⁴⁵ from the East frieze of the Parthenon, which that agent had found on January 25, 1789, excavating among the ruins.³⁴⁶ This passed to the Louvre. He also acquired two metopes of the Parthenon. One of these passed to the Louvre, and the other to the collection of Lord Elgin, and thence to the British Museum. Until recently writers on the Parthenon did not realise that two metopes were in question, and the confusion of the two made a complete tangle of the story.

One metope, the tenth in order from the West end of the South side, representing a Centaur and a Lapith woman, was shipped from Athens by the French Consul Gaspari in 1788.³⁴⁷

It was sold in 1818, after Choiseul-Gouffier's death, as lot 105 of his collection, was purchased for the Louvre, and concerns us no further.

The second metope was the sixth from the West end of the South side. According to Fauvel's papers,³⁴⁸ it was blown down by a storm which broke it into three pieces, and was secretly obtained by Fauvel on December 12, 1788. It was shipped in three cases³⁴⁹ by Fauvel from the Piraeus on 5 Prairial (May 25), 1803.³⁵⁰

The shipment consisted of 26 cases in all (according to Fauvel 24). The fullest statement of its contents is in a memorandum signed by Choiseul-Gouffier, October 6, 1806. It contained: 1. Cast of a Caryatid. 2. A marble, described in the memorandum of 1806 as having a long inscription on two faces. 'C'est un des objets que je regrette le plus vivement, ayant commencé une dissertation assez curieuse sur cette inscription, et la copie que j'en ai étant remplie de fautes que la marbre lui même peut seul rectifier.' This seems to describe the inscription of Oropos (*B. M. Inscr.* No. 160) and Fauvel (see note 350) explicitly states that No. 2 was 'l'inscription d'Amphiarus,' *i.e.* the Oropos stone. In later documents, of 1816, this stone is described as having a long inscription on two faces, one in Greek and the other in Phoenician. This addition I take to be a mistake, based on recollection of the stele of Artemidoros once in the collection, which is bilingual, but only has short inscriptions on one side. The result is to create an unknown bilingual. Cases 3-11: casts of the friezes of the Parthenon and Theseum.

Lord Elgin a le bonheur de posséder un grand nombre des marbres originaux de ces plâtres; c'est un trésor inappréciable; pour moi, je m'estimerai heureux d'en recouvrer les copies, et de pouvoir compléter ainsi la décoration de l'asyle modeste,³⁵¹ où je cherche à me consoler de mes pertes.

³⁴⁵ Michaelis, Slab VII. is in fact half of one slab numbered by Michaelis VII., VIII.

³⁴⁶ *Rev. Arch.* 3rd Ser. xxvi. p. 237.

³⁴⁷ *Rev. Arch.* 3rd Ser. xxiv. p. 78; xxvi. p. 238.

³⁴⁸ Edited by Legrand, *Rev. Arch.* xxvi. p. 29.

³⁴⁹ *Rev. Arch.* xxvi. p. 238.

³⁵⁰ M. Henri Omont has been good enough to send me a transcript of Fauvel's *précis*,

Bibl. Nat. MS. français 22871, fol. 156, which has supplied some of the details in the text. Cf. *Rev. Arch.* 3rd Ser. xxvi. p. 238.

³⁵¹ Un magnifique édifice dont les diverses façades rappeloient quelques parties des monumens d'Athènes et de Palmyre, et dont l'intérieur étoit décoré avec le goût le plus pur Les deux façades de l'Est sont imitées d'après celles de l'*Brechthéum* et du *Pandro-séum*, à Athènes: celle du Nord rappelle un

Cases 11 bis, 12 vases, 13-17, casts of reliefs, 18 two headless marble figures, 19 inscription (perhaps that of Artemidoros), 20 casts of reliefs. Cases 21, 22, 23, Métope en marbre du temple de Minerve, brisée en trois morceaux, mais qui restaurés, feroient dans ma gallerie le pendant d'un pareil morceau, le seul marbre précieux qui me soit resté après tant de peines et de travaux. Cases 24, 25 : a small relief, minor fragments and vases. There were in addition a marble Sphinx, and several slabs, etc., of Pentelic marble, porphyry, and verde antico.

The antiquities were shipped by Fauvel on the French corvette *L'Arabe*. Writing in 1803 to Nelson, Choiseul-Gouffier said that he had given orders that the boxes should be sent by a Russian merchantman, but that his agents had put them on a French vessel with the idea of saving him expense. At a later date, the account³⁵² given by the old Royalist was that the corvette 'avoit en ordre, à l'insu de Bonaparte, auquel je n'ai rien demandé, de passer à Athènes, où furent embarquées 26 caisses.' The boxes were addressed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs (Talleyrand) to secure their respectful treatment at Toulon, and marked with the initials of the owner, C.G. The position is differently stated by Fauvel :—

... caisses marquées C. G. et numerotées, contenant de plâtres et quelques marbres que j'avais sequestrés à Athènes, n'ayant point été payé de ce que me devait M^r de Choiseul, à qui je les envoyai alors, par ordre de M^r de Talleyrand, Ministre des Affaires étrangères.

War with France after the rupture of the Peace of Amiens broke out in May, 1803, and it chanced that the corvette *L'Arabe* (8 guns) was made a prize on June 14 by the frigate *Maidstone* (Capt. R. H. Moubray). At this point the story of the Choiseul-Gouffier marbles has become confused, owing to the fact that Choiseul-Gouffier was till nearly the end of his life under a misapprehension as to what had happened.

Nelson had started from England in the *Victory*, but with orders not to take her to the Mediterranean without ascertaining that she was not required by Cornwallis off Brest. Failing to meet Cornwallis he left the *Victory* and took passage in the *Amphion* to the Mediterranean. There the *Amphion* and the *Maidstone* were to some extent in company, but Nelson remained on the *Amphion* till the *Victory* rejoined him two months later. The two ships were separate at the time of the capture. What happened to the marbles we learn from a letter³⁵³ of Capt. Moubray. The whole cargo was sent from Malta to London, and lodged in the Custom House, consigned for sale to Capt.

des portiques de la ville de Palmyre. Au centre du fronton de l'*Erechthéum*, se lit en lettres d'or, l'inscription grecque suivante : ΜΝΗΜΟΣΥΝΗΣ ΚΟΡΑΙΣ ΚΑΚΩΝ ΛΗΘΗΙ, c'est-à-dire, Aux filles de *Mnésyne*, à l'oubli des maux. Dubois, *Catalogue...* de feu M. le C^{te} de Choiseul-Gouffier, p. xiii. Nous gémissions encore sous la griffe du

tyran Corse, lorsque j'ai fait écrire sur la façade de ma maison consacrée aux Muses cette inscription imitée d'Hésiode [*Theog.* 52-55]. Μνημοσύνης κόραις, κακῶν λήθη. Choiseul-Gouffier to Lord Elgin, April 26, 1816.

³⁵² Choiseul-Gouffier, *Memorandum*, May 1, 1816.

³⁵³ Moubray to Elgin, Jan. 13, 1816.

Moubray's agent, Mr. Stanger, of Clement's Inn. The latter obtained expert advice and reported after long delay (Jan., 1806):—

Mr. Christie and Mr. Philips (another auctioneer) have examined them and both agree that they are not worth the Duty—from the length of time they have been there they will shortly be sold at one of the regular Custom House sales, unless the Duty is paid, and they are taken away. Taking the circumstances into consideration I think it best to let them take their chance there, but if you think otherwise, I shall be happy in following your directions; I do not expect they will cover the expenses, but should there be a surplus I shall be able to recover it.

Capt. Moubray's story continues:

Government having declined purchasing them, which was Lord Nelson's object in sending them to England, and finding that instead of having a prize, I was likely to be involved in expence by directing them to be sold, I thought no more of them.

As I did not accompany the *L'Arabe* to Malta, I did not see the cargo, but I can state positively from the report of the officer Lieut. McKenzie, who is alive and whose own testimony can be had, if it were satisfactory to Mon. De Choiseul-Gouffier to be possessed of it, that the entire cargo was transhipped from the Prize to the frigate, (the *Blonde*, I think) which by Lord Nelson's order conveyed them to England. I have no idea what the cases contained, nor recollection of the items of the Lieut.'s inventory, further than that I remember Lord Nelson laughed at his describing one of them as a Skeleton.

L'Arabe was sold to the Government of Malta, employed as a Packet, and lost on the coast of Sicily soon after.

The story of the sale is continued in a letter from Lord Elgin to Choiseul-Gouffier.³⁵⁴

On my arrival in England, my agents were busy disinterring the multitude of boxes, which had come for me from Turkey, in so many different ways during my detention in France. In the course of their researches they had discovered at the London Custom House, some boxes without any address whatever, but which, according to appearances, might belong to me. In consequence I had some of them purchased at a public sale of unclaimed objects, which took place soon after. I think I paid £24 sterling for my lot, in which I found a metope of the Parthenon, in two [more correctly three] separate pieces. There was also, if I am not mistaken, a little inscription in marble. The remainder, so far as I can remember, consisted only of casts, of which the principal one was that of one of the Caryatids of the temple of Erechtheus, the only piece that was not already in my collection.

It is probable, though not at present proved, that the sale also included the bilingual inscription of Artemidoros, perhaps in box 19 (see above).³⁵⁵ This stone, which was long missing, found its way to the Museum of the United Service Institution, and was given to the British Museum in 1861 (*B.M. Inscr.* No. 109).

So much for the actual history of this section of the Choiseul-Gouffier collection. We must now turn to the negotiations of which it was the subject. I should observe that the peculiarities of spelling and accentuation in the extracts given, occur in the original documents.

³⁵⁴ Elgin to Choiseul-Gouffier, Jan. 13, 1816.

³⁵⁵ Dubois (p. x) states that it was in the consignment.

The news of the capture reached Choiseul-Gouffier in the course of the summer, and he went to consult Lord Elgin, then under detention at Barèges.

Lady Elgin wrote as follows from Barèges to Mrs. Hamilton Nisbet (no date). I owe the transcript to Sir Harry Wilson.

Le Comte de Choiseul Gouffier is here, he is very pleasant. Poor man, he has been most unfortunate, after having lost almost all he possessed, he had just money enough to buy a Villa near Paris, and set his heart upon the idea of placing the marbles &c. he had collected at Athens : he has just received information that the Frigate on board which his Antiquities were placed, has been taken by the English. The tears were really in his eyes when he told me, he said after having lost his fortune and very near all the Antiquities he had with so much trouble and expense collected at Constantinople, and having hid these for so many years, and having now sent for them, he is completely overcome by the loss. It is very hard upon him, he has been entreating Elgin to write to L^d. Nelson about them. . . .

Encouraged by Lord Elgin, Choiseul-Gouffier wrote to Nelson a letter³⁵⁶ which is in its place in the Nelson papers.

À BAREGES DANS LES PYRENNÉES,
ce 4^{7bre} 1803.

MYLORD,

Sous les auspices de Lord Elgin, j'ose invoquer la générosité de votre Excellence, et la supplier de m'accorder des bontés qui me penetreront d'une éternelle reconnaissance. . . .

Privé de mon ancienne fortune, Mylord, et sans espoir d'en recouvrer les moindres débris, attaché à la Cour de Russie par de grands bienfaits, je ne suis venu en France que pour voir mes enfans, et recueillir quelques objets relatifs aux arts, qui sont nécessaires à la continuation d'un ouvrage dont je desire m'occuper dans une retraite paisible. J'ai trouvé presque toutes mes propriétés de ce genre pillées comme les autres, et ma dernière ressource étoit dans quelques objets restés à Constantinople et à Athènes. J'avois prescrit de les embarquer sur des navires de commerce Russes ; on a cru m'éviter des frais de transport, en les plaçant sur une corvette française, qui vient d'être prise près de la Sicile, et je serois inconsolable de ce dernier coup, que ma mauvaise fortune me reservoit, si je n'étois, Mylord, plein de confiance dans votre puissante protection, et dans vos nobles et genereux sentimens, que partagent tous ceux qui ont l'honneur de servir sous vos ordres.

Je n'ignore point les loix qui me privent de ma propriété trouvée sur un bâtiment de guer[r]e et les droits dont l'équipage ne sauroit être frustrés. Je demande, comme une grace, Mylord, d'être admis à m'y conformer, à racheter ce que j'ai perdu, autant que mes moyens actuels pourront me le permettre. J'observerai seulement que ces antiquités peu précieuses en elles mêmes, n'ont de valeur réelle que pour moi seul, parcequ'elles sont nécessaires à la suite de mes travaux littéraires, et tout autre n'y trouveroit que bien peu d'objets intéressans. Il est possible, Mylord, que ces caisses et ces marbres portent l'adresse du Ministre des relations exterieures, parcequ'on aura cru, par cette précaution, engager plus surement le Capitaine françois à les conserver avec soin, mais je donne *ma parole d'honneur* à votre Excellence que tous ces objets sans exception, quoiqu'embarqués sur un armement de l'état, sont ma propriété personnelle, comme le seul et unique débris de ma fortune que j'eusse pu soustraire aux fureurs de la revolution, et à l'animosité particulière, dont m'honoroit le Directoire.

Daignéz, Mylord, accueillir avec bonté ma prière, que je n'aurois peut-être pas osé hasarder, si Lord Elgin n'avoit bien voulu se charger de l'appuyer. Dans tous les cas, je

³⁵⁶ Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 34,948, fo. 262.

lui aurai une grande obligation, puisqu'il m'aura procuré, Mylord, un moyen de vous faire parvenir l'hommage de mon admiration, et de la très haute consideration, avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être,

My lord,
de votre Excellence,
Le très humble
et très obeissant Serviteur,
Le C^{te} de CHOISEUL-GOUFFIER.

Lord Elgin wrote also, in compliance with the Count's request (on Sept. 1st, 1803) and received the following reply from Lord Nelson, which was the last letter he had from the great Admiral :

VICTORY AT SEA, Dec^r 5th 1803.

MY DEAR LORD

I have been favor'd with your letter of Sept. 1st which I should most gladly pay attention to in favor of the Comte de Choiseuil Gouffer (*sic*) was it in my power, but all the cases, being directed to the French Minister, have been sent to England. I think the case of the Comte a very hard one. I much fear that your loss [the *Mentor*] will never get above water. I only say that from my heart that I wish you a speedy re-establishment of your health & a speedy return home, and to beg that you will, My Dear Lord, ever be assured that I am with the sincerest esteem

yours faithfully
NELSON & BRONTE.

Will you apologise to the Comte for my not answering his polite letter ?

I find no answer to the Count in the Nelson letter-books, and the postscript to the letter to Lord Elgin makes it clear that none was sent direct. Lord Nelson was sympathetic, but unable to do anything, since as we have seen, the contents of the prize had been sent on to London to be dealt with on the usual lines. Choiseul-Gouffier however believed, on what grounds I do not know, that Nelson's reply had been favourable. In a memorandum of October 6, 1806, he wrote :

Je regarderai la restitution qu'on daignera m'en faire comme un véritable bienfait ; et cet acte généreux sera un nouvel hommage rendu à la mémoire de Lord Nelson, qui avoit manifesté ses intentions à cet égard.

In 1810 he wrote to Lord Elgin,³⁵⁷ recalling their previous acquaintance and continuing :

Daignéz amener à une heureuse issue les demarches que vous avez déjà multipliées avec tant d'obligeance, pour me procurer la restitution des objets d'art capturés sur la corvette française *l'Arabe* : en engageant les dignes successeurs de Lord Nelson à remplir les intentions genereuses qu'il avoit manifestées à mon égard, vous rendrez un nouvel hommage à sa mémoire : les ordres d'un grand homme doivent devenir sacrés pour la nation qu'il a si bien servie, et qui a eu le malheur de le perdre.

Vous vous rap[p]elléz, Mylord, qu'aussitot que Lord Nelson fut informé, graces à vos soins, que j'étois le véritable propriétaire des antiquités embarquées à Athènes, il proposa aux officiers de la fregate Anglaise, de se desister de leurs droits, ce qu'ils accordèrent sur le champ, avec la generosité qui les caracterise. Il fut ordonné en consequence que toutes les caisses et marbres provenant de la corvette *L'Arabe* seroient déposés en sureté dans un magazin à Malte.³⁵⁸ La continuation des hostilités, et la rigoureuse deffense d'entretenir aucunes correspondances m'ont empêché de suivre cette

³⁵⁷ Choiseul-Gouffier to Elgin, March 2, 1810.

³⁵⁸ Compare Dubois, p. x.

affaire, malgré les vifs regrets que me causeroit la perte de pareils objets, nécessaires à la suite des occupations dont je charme mes loisirs Il me suffiroit de savoir que mes marbres et mes caisses sont à Malte, sous la garantie de la générosité Britannique : il viendra sans doute des circonstances plus heureuses qui me permettront d'envoyer les y chercher, et peutêtre vos nobles lords de l'Amirauté voudroient-ils bien m'en faciliter les moyens.

In 1814 Lord Elgin paid a flying visit to Paris in connexion with the proposed visit of E. Q. Visconti, and took advantage of the opportunity to come to an understanding with Choiseul-Gouffier. The latter wrote³⁵⁹ shortly afterwards that he had been unable to find Lord Elgin to return his call; that he had been able to recover some letters of Fauvel, which left no doubt as to the origin of the metope; that Lords Whitworth and Lauderdale had made unsuccessful inquiries on his behalf at Malta (as we know, for the best of reasons), and that they feared that the noble intentions of Lord Nelson had not been carried out after his death, and that the objects had been 'coveted by amateurs.'

Independamment des caisses déposées à Malte, Mylord, il est certain que vos agens, ont dans l'excès de leur zèle pris à Athènes plusieurs bas-reliefs déposés, si je me le rappelle bien, dans une maison du negociant Kairac.³⁶⁰ Ils ont pris aussi alors un chariot, une grue, et des appareaux à moi appartenans. Ils ont bien fait; je vous les eusse assurement prêtés avec grand plaisir.

Je n'ai auj(ourdhui), Mylord, que le temps de reclamer les sentimens d'honneur et de delicatesse qui vous dirigent, et qui caracterisent vos genereux compatriotes.

Lorsqu'à l'aide des circonstances les plus glorieuses pour votre nation, vous avez acquis les plus précieuses dépouilles de la Grèce, que mes recherches antérieures vous avoient désignées, vous ne voudriez pas que des hazards funestes pour moi, et le zèle de vos agens viennent ajouter à vos Thrésors quelques marbres de bien peu de valeur, souvenirs de ma jeunesse échapés à tous les revers dont j'ai été victime.

Lord Elgin's own account of these transactions, in his evidence before the Committee (*Report*, p. 45), was:

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.

When the Allies were in occupation of Paris Choiseul-Gouffier made further application by diplomatic channels. He wrote to the Duke of Wellington,³⁶¹ after an interview, reciting the story of the capture of *L'Arabe* and explaining that he could not take steps during the continuance of hostilities. He proceeds:—

Il n'en est plus heureusement de même, depuis que le Vainqueur de *Vaterloo* a sauvé l'Europe et retabli sur leurs trones les Souverains de la maison des Bourbons. J'ose prier

³⁵⁹ Choiseul-Gouffier to Elgin, Aug. 12, 1814.

³⁶¹ Choiseul-Gouffier to Wellington, Dec. 29, 1815.

³⁶⁰ I cannot explain this statement.

Votre Excellence de vouloir bien m'accorder pour le General commandant à Malthe une Lettre, qui en rappelant les intentions de Lord Nelson, engage ce General à faire rechercher tous les objets a moi appartenant, et à les remettre à la disposition du Consul de France. C'est un hommage digne de vous, My Lord, que vous rendrez à la memoire d'un de vos precurseurs dans la carrière de la Gloire.

Les Agents trop zelés de Lord Elgin, ayant relaché a Malthe, ont, sans doute par mégarde, embarqué avec sa riche Collection 9 ou 10 de mes caisses ; c'est Lord Elgin lui meme qui dans un court voyage fait a Paris il y a deux ans, a eu la loyauté de m'en prevenir ; mais depuis ce moment, je lui ai vainement escrit deux ou trois Lettres qui sont restées sans Reponses. J'ose donc supplier Votre Excellence de m'accorder une Lettre pour Lord Elgin : l'honorable Interet qu'Elle montrera pour moi, le decidera sans doute à me faire cette restitution, et à ne pas comprendre mes chetifs fragmens parmi les veritables Tresors qu'il va vendre au Gouvernement Britannique.

Je sens, My Lord Duc, combien il est indiscret et peut etre meme Ridicule d'ennuyer de pareils details l'Arbitre des destinées de l'Europe ; j'en serois très honteux sans doute si je ne savois qu'il est aussi bon qu'il est grand. Je suis etc

Le C^{te} de CHOISEUL GOUFFIER.

The letter was duly forwarded by the Duke of Wellington at Paris to Lord Bathurst,³⁶² with a covering despatch.

I enclose a Letter which I have received from Monsieur le Comte de Choiseul Gouffier upon certain Marbles belonging to him, supposed to be at Malta and in England ; and I request your Lordship's Influence that he may have possession of them.

I am, &c.,

WELLINGTON.

The despatch was communicated to Lord Elgin and to Hamilton. Lord Elgin obtained the narrative of Capt. Moubray given above, and wrote to Choiseul-Gouffier in the following terms :—

À BROOMHALL ce 13 Jan 1816

MONS^r LE COMTE

Le Gouvernement m'a fait parvenir aujourd'hui copie d'une Lettre en date du 29 Dec^r à S. E. M. le Duc de Wellington, dans laquelle vous reclamez de moi neuf ou dix caisses, que mes Agens trop zelés auraient par mégarde embarqué avec ma collection à Malta. Et vous ajoutez que c'étoit moi même qui vous en avois prévenu, lors de mon dernier voyage à Paris, au mois de Juillet 1814.

Vous conviendrez, M. le Comte, facilement de l'erreur de ce souvenir, si vous me permettez de vous rappeler les circonstances, surtout ce cet entretien.

C'étoit à Barèges, en 1803 que j'étois assez heureux de pouvoir faire les demarches que vous desiriez auprès de My Lord Nelson, pour la restitution de ce que vous aviez perdu sur la corvette *l'Arabe*, capturée par une fregate Anglaise sur les parages de la Sicile. En effet, à l'époque de mon élargissement l'été 1806, je croyais que vos effets étoient déposés à Malte, pour y attendre la cessation des hostilités.

[Here follows the account of the sale, quoted on p. 359.]

Sur le champ, je me suis empressé de vous faire passer tous ces details : en mettant le tout à votre disposition, si, en effet, ces objets se trouvoient faire partie de la cargaison de *l'Arabe*. En réponse vous m'avez témoigné l'espoir que vous aviez, que ces effets, pourroient être à vous ; mais ne pouvant les constater en personne, ni les faire transférer alors en France, vous m'aviez engagé d'avoir soin de ce qui étoit de marbre ; et vous renonciez, en tous cas, aux plâtres, par la raison que vous en aviez des doubles ; ou que vous sauriez vous les procurer des originaux dans ma collection.

Mais une lettre, que j'ai eu l'honneur de recevoir de vous, M. le Comte en date du

³⁶² Wellington to Bathurst, Jan. 1, 1816.

2 Mars 1810, en m'assurant que tout ce que vous aviez eu sur la corvette *l'Arabe*, étoit encore à Malte, ayant de nouveau fait naître des doutes sur la propriété de ce que j'avois acheté à la Douane, ce fut pour vous donner tous les éclaircissemens en mon pouvoir : pour vous prier instamment de venir voir ma collection ; et de saisir les facilités qui se présentoient alors pour en vérifier les détails, que j'ai passé plus d'une fois chez vous pendant les huit jours que j'ai été à Paris au mois de Juillet 1814. . . .

After a reference to Visconti's visit to London, he explains that Visconti had taken back such an exhaustive catalogue of everything in the collection, that he supposed that Choiseul-Gouffier had long been satisfied that, with the exception of the metope ('qui en tous cas, y est connu sous votre nom.') and one inscription, there was nothing of his in the collection. Lord Elgin explains that he is forwarding Capt. Moubray's letter, proving that nothing was stored at Malta or improperly forwarded by his agents.

Mais, M. le Comte, je m'arrête nullement à corriger cette erreur. Vous avez des droits tout particuliers sur moi—Je vous dois de m'avoir tracé la route que des circonstances plus heureuses m'ont permis de poursuivre. Et dans ma marche, combien n'ai je pas été pénétré de l'excès d'ingratitude auquel vos malheurs, et un caractère peut-être de trop de bonté vous ont exposé. C'est donc en toute sincérité, que je vous répète les instances que je vous avois faites à Paris, de venir faire l'inspection de tout ce que je possède.

Je me rends incessamment à Londres, expressément pour faire les Inventaires, et les préparatifs nécessaires pour l'examen de ma collection, dont le Parlement va s'occuper. Et j'aurai bien soin que rien qui pourra vous avoir appartenu, ne sera compris dans l'offre que je présenterai au Gouvernement.

To this letter no answer had been received on February 29, 1816, when Lord Elgin described the circumstances before the Committee (see p. 362). Choiseul-Gouffier's reply was dated April 26. He had failed to take in the full significance of Capt. Moubray's account, and still did not understand how the boxes or some of them had left Malta.

Ces circonstances, que je ne pouvois deviner, sont la cause très excusable, ce me semble, de l'erreur où je suis tombé, Mylord, en supposant que quelques uns de mes effets, avoient été par mégarde, et par une confusion très naturelle, confondus à Malte avec vos immenses richesses en ce genre ; je n'ai nullement prétendu accuser vos agens de pousser trop loin leur zèle pour vos intérêts ; plut-à-Dieu que j'en eusse trouvé de pareils ; mais vous savez, Mylord, que dans ces longues années de crimes, de dépravation de tout genre, et de noires ingrattitudes, où j'ai eu le malheur de vivre, je me suis vu victime de ceux mêmes que j'avois comblés de bienfaits, et vous avez daigné vous même m'en exprimer le noble regret.

Je joins ici, Mylord, la seule note que j'aie pu retrouver dans mes informes paperasses, et dont l'original, étant écrit de ma main, me fait croire que c'est un petit extrait, un *memento* que j'avois fait pour moi même, d'après le mémoire détaillé de Fauvel, pièce aujourd'hui perdue, et que lui seul pourroit reproduire ; j'aurois du depuis longtems lui en redemander un double ; c'est un tort de plus que m'aura donné envers moi-même cette funeste négligence qui m'a dans le cours de ma vie joué de si mauvais tours, sans parvenir à me corriger.

Vous avez été bien heureux Mylord ; tout ce que j'avois péniblement recherché et découvert, vous l'avez conquis par cette grande influence que vous donnoient les glorieux succès des armes Britanniques, et qui n'étoient que le prélude des victoires sans exemples qui ont rendus la paix et la liberté à l'Europe désolée, à la malheureuse France nos souverains chéris. Les Ottomans ne pouvoient refuser quelques marbres, dont ils

ignorent d'ailleurs le prix, au puissant Ambassadeur qui leur remettoit la riche Egypte ; et les chefs-d'oeuvre de Phidias ont été l'ornement de vos triomphes.

He concludes by saying that he puts himself unreservedly in the hands of Lord Elgin and the Government as to the return of whatever is judged to be his. If Lord Elgin will carry out his hint that he might send him some casts,

vous serez, Mylord, un des bienfaiteurs de l'hermitage, où, heureux d'avoir vu ma conduite approuvée par mon souverain, j'espère consacrer aux doux loisirs et aux lettres, les dernières années d'une carrière trop orageuse.

Nous gémissions encore etc. (cf. p. 358 note.)

The objects in question passed to the British Museum, but the metope was not incorporated in the general collection in the first instance. No arrangement, however, had been made for its return before the death of Choiseul-Gouffier, which took place after a stroke of apoplexy at Aix-la-Chapelle, June 20, 1817.

As the objects had been captured under the rules of prize, and had been purchased by Lord Elgin in the open market in London, the claim for their restitution was a purely personal claim, based on an old friendship. When this had lapsed through Choiseul-Gouffier's death, the metope was incorporated with the rest of the Elgin collection. The inscription was No. 32 in Visconti's list, which has statutory authority, as defining the collection.

The matter of Tweddell's papers was a vexatious episode which was spread over a considerable number of years.

John Tweddell (1769-1799) was a young man of good family, considerable ability, and great charm. He was elected in 1792 a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and was entered as a student of the Middle Temple. In 1795 he started on an extensive European tour, in the course of which he visited Germany, Switzerland, Russia, Turkey, and Greece. He died suddenly of fever at Athens—July 25, 1799—and was buried in the Theseum, which was at that time used as a burying place for foreign travellers. Lord Elgin provided a memorial tablet, and an elegiac epitaph was also supplied by R. Walpole.

Tweddell had made considerable manuscript collections, consisting of a Swiss Journal, copies of inscriptions, topographical views, costumes, and the like. At the time of his death the collections were in two parts, and each part met with serious adventures. One part had been left with Mr. T. Thornton, an English merchant and banker at Constantinople. A fire took place at Mr. Thornton's house, and in consequence the box of papers was broken open to ascertain its condition.

The other half of Tweddell's effects which was at Athens was shipped by Logotheti to Constantinople, addressed to Mr. Spencer Smyth, the then Minister. The vessel was wrecked in the Sea of Marmora. Some of the boxes were rescued, but reached the Chancery of the Embassy in a damaged condition. After the arrival of the salvaged papers, Mr. Thornton reported to Lord Elgin the existence of the effects in his charge. All were collected

at the Embassy, and after some delay were opened and examined. The condition of some was deplorable, but efforts were made to put them into a better state. If effective steps had been taken, so far as the difficulties of time allowed, to pack up and send home such papers as had escaped fire and shipwreck, no question would have arisen. Unhappily, it appears that the papers were not packed up. They seem to have been seen at various times by several persons. There was no clear record of their shipment, and for the most part they disappeared. The pressure of the times, the difficulties of communication, Lord Elgin's departure from Constantinople, his imprisonment in France, and his other pre-occupations were all contributory causes which brought about that the papers were not dealt with in a satisfactory fashion, and that when acute controversy arose, the recollections of Lord Elgin and his staff as to what had actually happened were hazy and discrepant.

The controversy was raised by Tweddell's brother, the Rev. Robert Tweddell, who published his brother's 'Remains' in 1815, followed by a second edition in 1816. The larger half of the volume, a stout quarto, consists of a short biographical notice, together with the letters that Tweddell had written on his travels and his academic Prolusiones. The remainder (pp. 341 to 595) consists of an Appendix and Addenda in which the history of the papers is treated at prodigious length and with great acerbity. Lord Elgin, Hunt, and others had been asked after an interval of nearly 15 years of crowded life for their recollections of what had happened to the papers. They supplied their respective impressions as to how the papers had been dealt with and shipped. But, unfortunately, they were only supplying materials for laborious refutation by Mr. Robert Tweddell. It would serve no purpose to pursue the controversy in detail. The first edition of 'Tweddell's Remains' was reviewed at length in No. 50 of the *Edinburgh Review* by a supporter of Mr. Tweddell. This produced an indignant reply from Lord Elgin in pamphlet form, in the shape of a letter to the Editor of the *Review*.³⁶⁴

The letter is dated from Broomhall, December 20, 1815. Lord Elgin at the time of writing it had not yet seen 'Tweddell's Remains.' After reading that work, he published another postscript.³⁶⁵ This was dated from Broomhall, January, 1816. A second edition was issued not long afterwards.

These pamphlets in their turn led to further controversy in the second edition of 'Tweddell's Remains.' It was, however, ascertained as a result of the discussion that certain drawings of Turkish costumes had been given into the charge of Mr. Hamilton Nisbet, to be copied, and he, failing other instructions, had returned them to Lord Elgin. All the drawings of the

³⁶⁴ *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,' by the Earl of Elgin.* John Murray.

³⁶⁵ *Postscript to a Letter to the Editor of the Edinburgh Review, by the Earl of Elgin.* John Murray.

kind at Broomhall were, therefore, put into two boxes by Lord Elgin and sent to London for examination. It was arranged that a scrutiny should take place in the presence of Hamilton and of two gentlemen, Messrs. Heys and Moore, who represented Mr. Tweddell. The meeting took place at the Foreign Office on November 7, 1816. Hamilton produced the two

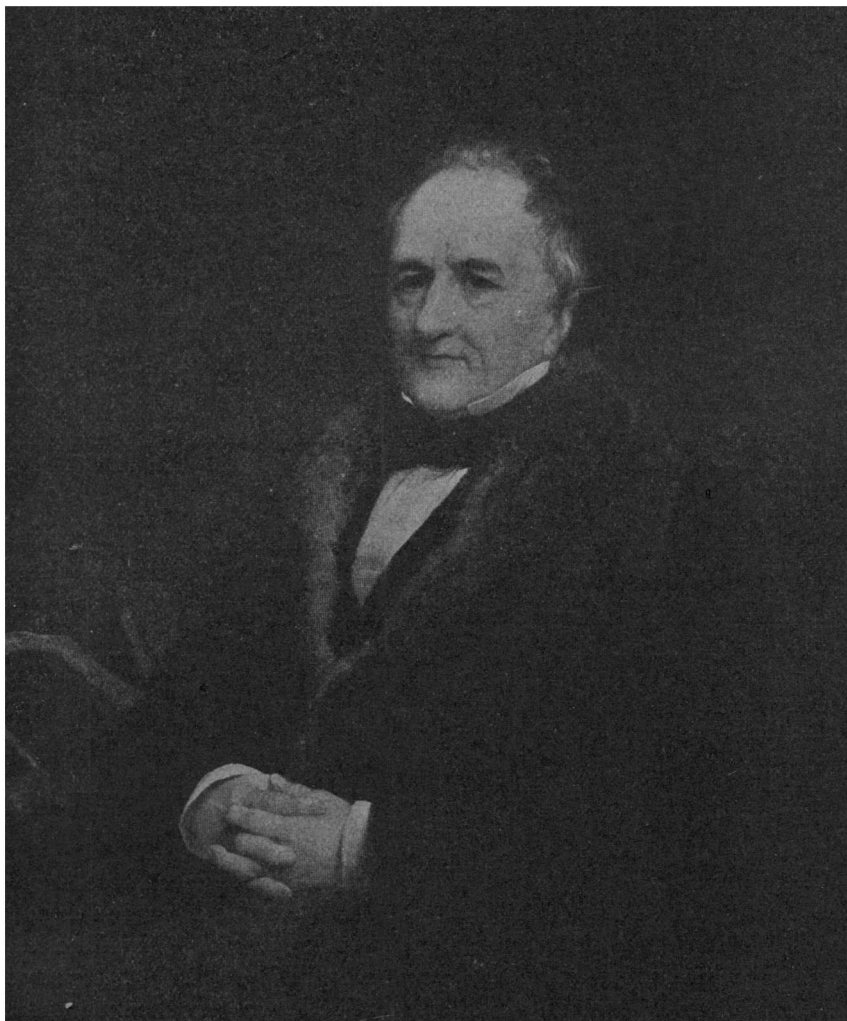


FIG. 19.—WILLIAM RICHARD HAMILTON. (From the picture by H. W. Phillips.)

corded boxes sent to him from Broomhall. Messrs. Heys and Moore produced Mr. Nisbet's copies of Tweddell's Turkish costumes. On examination and comparison, 98 drawings of costume were identified with certainty and 14 with probability as having been once the property of Tweddell, while the other contents of the boxes were presumed to be the property

of Lord Elgin. A formal minute was drawn up which was printed with further acrimonious comments by Mr. Tweddell.³⁶⁶

With this partial recovery of the missing papers an unfortunate incident and painful controversy came to a close.

PART VIII.

Epilogue.

In 1830, Hamilton succeeded Sir Thomas Lawrence as Secretary of the Dilettanti Society. Payne Knight had died six years before, bequeathing an inestimable collection of bronzes, coins, and drawings to the British Museum. The old controversies in which he had been the leader had died out in the universal recognition of the merits of the Marbles. It was, therefore, only appropriate that Hamilton should be charged with the duty of writing to acquaint Lord Elgin with his election to that Society. Lord Elgin replied from Leamington (July 25, 1831),³⁶⁷ with a dignified refusal. After apologies for delay he proceeds:

I have been a good deal embarrassed by this communication. I have a peculiar interest in the pursuits of the Society, and feel much gratified by this act of kindness from many to whom I look with friendship and respect.

But my case is this: no one knows more intimately than you [Hamilton] do, that the impulses which led me to the exertions I made in Greece were wholly for the purpose of securing to Great Britain, and through it to Europe in general, the most effectual possible knowledge, and means of improving, by the excellence of Grecian art in sculpture and architecture. My success, to the vast extent it was effected, will never cease to be a matter of the utmost gratification to me.

If, when it was made known to the public, twenty-five years ago, or at any reasonable time afterwards, it had been thought that the same energy would be considered useful to the Dilettanti Society, most happy should I have been to have contributed every aid in my power.

But as such expectation has long since past, I really do not apprehend that I shall be thought fastidious if I decline the honour now proposed to me at this my eleventh hour.

The names of Lord Elgin and W. R. Hamilton were once more brought before the public together in 1836 and 1837. When the discussion as to the style of the new Houses of Parliament was in progress, Hamilton came forward as the champion of a losing cause, and published three letters to the Earl of Elgin,³⁶⁸ advocating a Greek order. The letters are eloquent, and the

³⁶⁶ *Account of the Examination of the Elgin-Box at the Foreign Office in Downing Street, on 7th Nov. 1816, by Rev. Robert Tweddell, A.M.*

³⁶⁷ Cust, *History of the Society of Dilettanti*, p. 173.

³⁶⁸ 1. *Letter from W. R. Hamilton to the Earl of Elgin on the New Houses of Parliament, 1836.*

2. *Second Letter from W. R. H., Esq., to the E. of E. on the propriety of adopting the Greek Style of Architecture in the construction of the New Houses of Parliament, 1836.*

3. *Third Letter from W. R. H., Esq., to the E. of E. on the propriety of adopting the Greek Style of Architecture in preference to the Gothic in the construction etc., 1837.*

argument is reinforced with constant reference to Athens and the Acropolis—but they must surely be the latest set attack in England on Gothic barbarism, *eo nomine*.

In the first he has occasion to quote a letter received from Lord Elgin, in Paris, regretting 'the comparatively remote situation' of the marbles at Bloomsbury, and wishing that the collection could form a part of the National Gallery.

Lord Elgin died at Paris, November 4, 1841. Hamilton outlived his sometime chief eighteen years, and perhaps a few words on his various activities in the field with which we are concerned may not be out of place.

He was Secretary of the Society of Dilettanti from 1831 to a month before his death, having been elected a member of that body in 1811. A lithograph by R. J. Lane, based on the portrait by Henry Wyndham Phillips (given Fig. 19), was, I conjecture, prepared for the Members of the Society, as it bears the autograph inscription *W. R. Hamilton, Sec. Soc. Dil. 1830-1855*.³⁶⁹

As Secretary of the Society he was an energetic organiser of the subscription which secured the Chev. Brøndsted's Bronzes of Siris for the British Museum.

In 1835-7 his eldest son, William John Hamilton (1805-1867, Geologist, M.P. for Newport), made his adventurous journey in Asia Minor, published in his *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia* (2 vols., 1842).

In 1840 and 1845 he gave various antiquities to the British Museum. The most important were the hut-urn from Monte Albano,³⁷⁰ which had been given to him by his old friend Canova, and the fine sepulchral banquet relief from Tarentum.³⁷¹

In 1851 Hamilton published a translation of a paper by Dirksen,³⁷² on the Building Act of the Emperor Zeno, to which he annexed 'a collection of some of the building laws of the Roman Empire.'³⁷³

He was elected a Trustee of the British Museum in 1838, in succession to Lord Farnborough (Sir Charles Long), already mentioned several times in this narrative. He resigned his Trusteeship in 1858, when he was succeeded by Lord Eversley. He died July 11, 1859. So far as English archaeology is concerned, he was a connecting link between the Athens of Lusieri and Fauvel and the Athens of to-day. When C. R. Cockerell at an advanced age at length brought out his *Aegina* in 1860, the engraved title page bore the inscription: 'To the Memory of William R. Hamilton, Esq., F.R.S., this work on the antiquities of Aegina is respectfully dedicated by his most obliged and humble servant, Chas. Robt. Cockerell,' and in the Preface the author states:³⁷⁴

³⁶⁹ There is also a less pleasing lithograph signed by C. Bagniet, and dated 1850. The portrait by Phillips is reproduced here by the permission and assistance of Lord Belhaven and Stenton.

³⁷⁰ *Cat. of Vases*, i. 2, No. H. 1.

³⁷¹ *J.H.S.* v. p. 105.

³⁷² *Abh. d. k. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1844.

³⁷³ *Museum of Class. Antiqs.*, i. p. 305.

³⁷⁴ Cockerell, *Aegina*, p. vi.

He rejoices on this occasion to express his great obligations to the late William Hamilton, Esq., formerly Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a friend removed from us while these sheets were passing through the press, and to whose zeal and influence in charging him with despatches for our Embassy at Constantinople in 1810, these interesting discoveries are due.

On the other hand, when the young Charles Newton was sent to Greece, in 1852, by the British Museum, to complete the series of Parthenon casts, it was to Hamilton that he wrote a letter (or rather despatch) of 59 pages,³⁷⁵ as to affairs on the Acropolis and at Athens. 'I am afraid,' it concludes, 'I have inflicted on you a very long letter, but we are lying at this moment off Troy, with a wind down the Dardanelles, which stops our course.'

A. H. SMITH.

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