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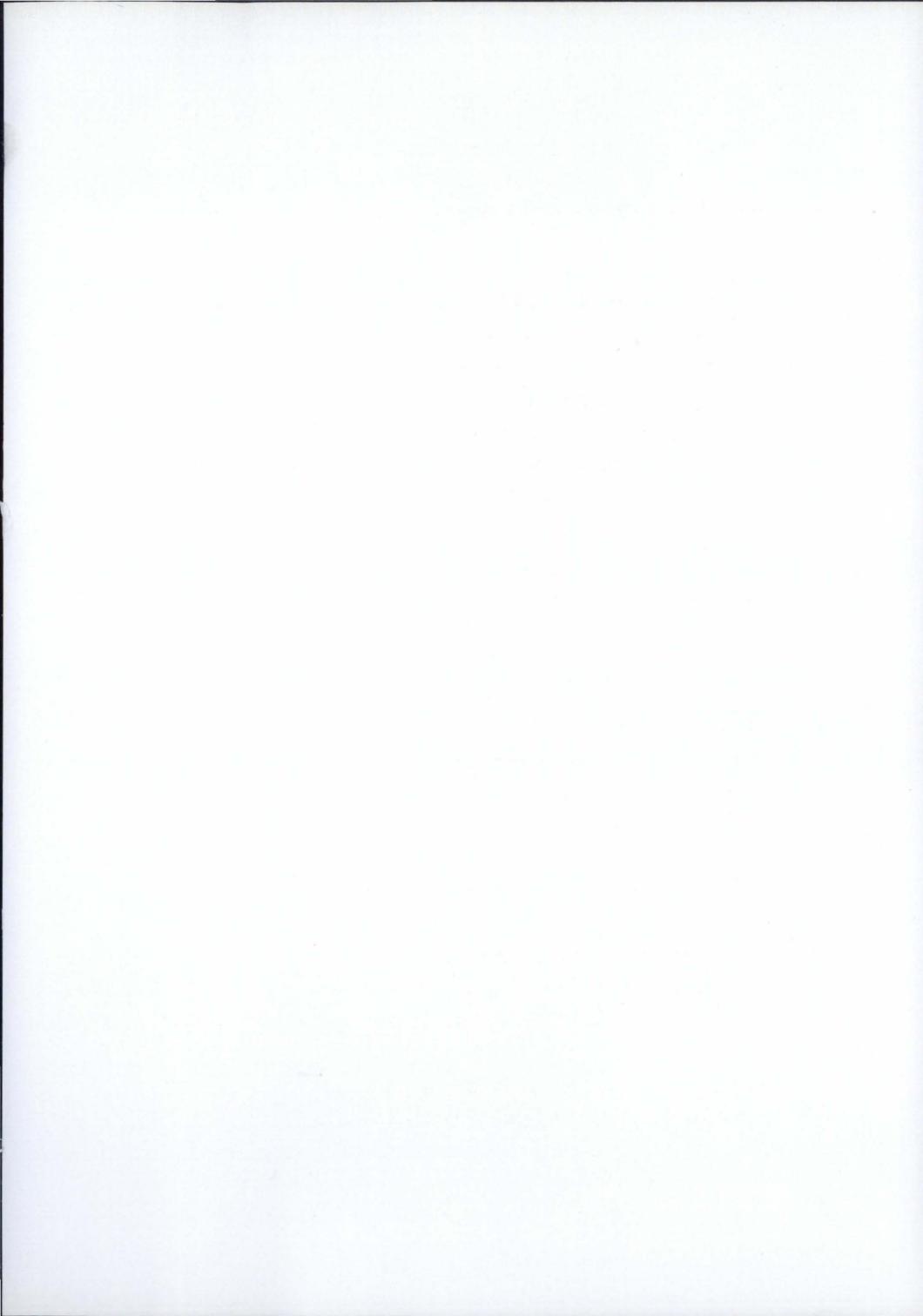
THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY AT ATHENS LIBRARY No. 192

EUGENIA KEFALLINEOU

BYRON
AND
THE ANTIQUITIES
OF THE ACROPOLIS
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The Parthenon.

Photo by Fred. Boissonnas in his book *L' image de la Grèce*.
Athènes Ancienne, Genève, 1921.



Lord Byron in Souliote dress.
Oil on canvas by Thomas Phillips.
Athens, British Embassy.



Two riders in the procession. West frieze slab II 2-3.

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22 Panepistimiou Ave., 106 72 Athens, Greece
Fax (01) 3644 996

ISSN 1105-7785
ISBN 960-7036-95-6

epic-lyrical poem 4,055 lines long. Byron published the first two cantos of it in London on 1st March 1812 (the remaining two were published in 1816 and 1818). He had started writing the poem in Ioannina on 31st October 1809 and finished the first canto in Athens and the second one in Smyrna on 28th March 1810²⁶. He gave them their final style and tone in London.

The first canto contains the glorious “Hymn to Parnassus”²⁷ while the second one refers to Greece²⁸. The latter glorifies antiquity and describes picturesque Greek landscapes. The poet also vents his wrath upon the Greeks’ plight and proclaims the need for new struggles for freedom.

More specifically, stanzas 11–15 of the second canto refer to Elgin’s sacrilege. Childe Harold, the hero, who is the poet himself, soliloquizes about the destruction of the Temple of Minerva sorrowfully and indignantly. He rejoices in the thought that the abominable perpetrator is not British but Scottish. He points out that even the sea denied complicity in the sacrilege, implying the wreck of Elgin’s privately-owned ship *Mentor*, which occurred in Avlemon, Cythera while the ship was freighted with the antiquities on 16th September 1802²⁹.

For Byron, Elgin, who was not an Englishman but a descendant of the Picts, destroyed whatever had been venerated by the Goths, the Turks and time. The poet grievously observes that the youth of Greece, being unable to protect its monuments, participate in their mother’s grief, feeling their shackles heavier. Childe Harold wonders why Pallas and Pileas’ son did not defend their city. He addresses Albion, which, in his thoughts, rejoices in the tears of Athens and requests that it should not make

sed of hating the Greeks, he ascribes it to their long-lasting slavery. He did not overlook the Homeric “ἡμῶν γὰρ ἀρετῆς ἀποέννυται δούλειον ἦμαρ”²².

BYRON'S POETRY ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE ACROPOLIS

Among Byron's philhellenic works on the removal of the antiquities of the Acropolis are *The Curse of Minerva*, and stanzas 11-15 of the second canto of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* as well as several epigrams attributed to him. Moreover, in his satire *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* (1809), which he published before his journey to Greece, Byron mocks Lord Elgin and Lord Aberdeen who seem to be absurd collectors of mutilated statues and deformed monuments²³.

As regards the poet's attitude towards the Greek antiquities before his visit to Athens it was probably due to the fact that he had been affected by Richard Payne Knight, his contemporary authority on archaeological issues. In the preface to the Dilletanti Society's edition entitled *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture* (1809), Knight had mistakenly claimed that the Elgin Marbles were in Roman style and that the metopes and the frieze were not Pheidias' works but were probably craftsmen's architectural studies which could hardly be regarded as artistic²⁴.

Childe Harold's Pilgrimage

The first philhellenic poem, *Childe Harold*²⁵, is an

praise of the glorious past in contrast to the insignificant present of his Greek contemporaries²⁰. He uses these subjects as an incentive to new struggles and achievements, since he believed that the Greeks had not abandoned hope for their liberation despite their different orientation²¹. For Byron the Greeks were alive and worthy of their liberty which, however, they had to gain on their own, without any foreign aid, whereas his contemporary European travellers presented the Greeks as depraved and unable to fight for their independence. This attitude of Byron's is shown in his poetic work. The following stanzas are indicative:

Arise, and make again your own;
Snatch from the ashes of your Sires
The embers of their former fires;

The Giaour, 115-117

Trust not for freedom to the Francs —
They have a king who buys and sells;
In native swords, and native ranks,
The only hope of courage dwells;
But Turkish force, and Latin fraud,
Would break your shield, however broad.

Don Juan, III (From "The Isles of Greece", st. 14)

...Greeks only should free Greece,
Not the barbarian, with his masque of peace

The Age of Bronze, 298-299

As regards the Greeks' depravity, Byron himself often castigates it, but he does not put it down to the natural decline of the people. Instead, despite being rashly accu-

for Asia Minor and Constantinople on 5th March. Byron returned to Athens alone on 14th July 1810 and stayed until 22nd April 1811.

During this period he visited the beauty spots and the monuments of Attica which he immortalised in his philhellenic poetry. This poetry, which also included descriptions of his impressions of other beauty spots in Greece, sensitized the European public opinion to the Greek cause on the eve of the Struggle for Independence.

The philhellenic movement, which developed in that period, was supported by Byron's voluntary sacrifice on 19th April 1824. His death enhanced the political effect of his poetry and strengthened the fighting spirit of the Greek national and political independence.

Byron's philhellenic poetry occupies a small part of his extensive work. The representative works of this poetry are: *Childe Harold* (the 2nd canto), *The Giaour*, *The Corsair*, *The Curse of Minerva*, *The Siege of Corinth*, "The Islands of Greece" from the third canto of *Don Juan*, *The Bride of Abydos*, *The Maid of Athens*, *On this day I complete my thirty-sixth year* and *The Song to the Souliotes*.

His philhellenic poetry bears all the hallmarks of romantic poetry as well as the special attributes of Byron's poetic personality. His poetry stood out owing to the genuine emotions which his lines overflowed with. Byron made use of the old means of expression of the classical form and versification which helped him to succeed in combining the romantic contents of his works with classical elements — a personal trait that differentiates him from the other British romantic poets¹⁹.

The main subjects of Byron's philhellenic poetry are Greek nature with descriptions of its beauty and the

single delapidating year, than during the whole preceding century¹³.

Dr Clarke, who was one of the most severe accusers of Elgin, assessed the damage comparatively by claiming that the destruction caused to the Temple [of the Parthenon] was bigger than that done by the Venetian artillery. John Cam Hobhouse¹⁴, Frederic North Douglas¹⁵ and later Adolf Michaelis¹⁶, who were Elgin's modest critics, wrote about the destruction of the monuments. Even Giovanni Batista Lusieri, the Italian painter who carried out Elgin's operation and was in charge of the destructive group, wrote in his correspondence with Elgin that he was forced to become barbaric¹⁷ when he [Lusieri] executed his [Elgin's] orders.

BYRON'S PHILHELLENIC POETRY

Byron, the most liberal poet in Europe, happened to be visiting Athens, when its Temple was pillaged and could not remain silent after the general outcry against those acts of vandalism.

The British poet, who was on a re-educational tour of the East, arrived in Greece¹⁸ as a peer on 29th September 1809. He was accompanied by his friend and peer John Cam Hobhouse who later became Lord Broughton. They came to Greece because they had been unable to go on the Grand Tour of Europe, as most noblemen used to do, owing to the Napoleonic wars. After touring north-western Greece up to Tepeleni, Ali Pasha's headquarters, the two fellow-travellers arrived in Athens on 25th December 1809. They stayed here for about ten weeks and then left

recommendation for the return of the antiquities to Athens (see Appendix II, pp. 93-95). In this motion he requested that the following should be made known:

[...] Great Britain [should] hold these marbles only in trust till they are demanded by the current 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 they shall be in the meantime carefully preserved in the British Museum¹¹.

The Act of Parliament voted by the Government in June 1816 mentions interesting data such as the naming of the marbles and the terms under which they were granted to the British Museum. Thus the Act stipulated the following:

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 Museum¹².

The destruction was so big that Ed. Dodwell, a well-known English traveller, who was an eye-witness of the pillage of the Acropolis' monuments records the following:

It is an incontestable fact, that the magnificent monuments of the Athenian Acropolis suffered more in that

beheld the mischief done to the building, took his pipe from his mouth, dropped a tear, and in a supplicating tone of voice, said to Lusieri⁴, Τέλος! [This is the end!] – I was present.

According to the initial list⁵ compiled by Ennio Quirino Visconti, director of the Museum of Bonaparte, Elgin removed 253 basreliefs and statues in addition to the small objects. This figure included metopes and frieze slabs of the Parthenon, statues from the eastern and western pediments, the exquisite Caryatid with the Erechtheium column, Bacchus' colossal statue from the Theatre of Bacchus and so on (see here Appendix IV, p. 157ff).

In his *Memorandum*⁶ Lord Elgin justified his operation by mentioning the imminent destruction of the antiquities by the Turks or the Europeans, the precedent⁷ set by others such as Choiseul Gouffier who was Ambassador of France to Constantinople in 1784 as well as his concern for the development of the arts in Britain. He falsely claimed that the Greeks had not expressed any frustration or opposition and that the people had welcomed the work done as fund-procuring while the Turks had been indifferent⁸.

This collection was sold⁹ to the British state by Elgin at the price of £35,000. The final decision of the British Government to purchase the collection was preceded by a long parliamentary debate¹⁰ about the legal and linguistic contradictions in the firman along with Elgin's abuse of authority as an Ambassador to Constantinople. The purchase was decided by a vote of 82 to 30.

During the debate Hugh Hammersley presented an amendment which is considered to be the first recorded

find it necessary, the foundations, in search of inscriptions among the rubbish; that they be not molested by the said Disdar (or commandant of the citadel) nor by any other persons, nor even by you (to whom this letter is addressed;) and that no one meddle with their scaffolding or implements, *nor hinder them from taking away any pieces of stone with inscriptions* or figures. In the above-mentioned manner, see that ye demean and comport yourselves.

(Signed with a signet.) SEGED ABDULLAH KAIMACAN

N.B.— The words in Italian rendered in two places “any pieces of stone”, are “qualche pezzi di pietra”.

Elgin succeeded in interpreting the firman in his own way by heaping lavish gifts on the local Turkish authorities of Athens. Thus the monuments of the Temple of Minerva fell prey to the British Ambassador's greed. Within eighteen months, until the end of 1802, the party of artists executed their patron's wishes.

The worst part of this operation was the total destruction of a lot of statues during their removal from the monuments as well as that of a lot of architectural frames in the workers' effort to remove the frieze slabs and metopes owing to the primitive methods used.

Dr Clarke, a traveller, renders us a characteristic description of the destruction in his travelogue³ as he was an eye-witness of the scenes in which the Parthenon was laid bare. He writes:

When the last of the Metopes was taken from the Parthenon, and, in moving of it, great part of the superstructure with one of the triglyphs was thrown down by the workmen whom Lord Elgin employed, the Disdar, who

dle with the scaffolding or implements they may require in their works; and *that when they wish to take away any pieces of stone with old inscriptions or figures thereon, that no opposition be made thereto.*

We therefore have written this Letter to you, and expedited it by Mr. Philip Hunt, an English gentleman, Secretary of the aforesaid Ambassador, in order that as soon as you shall have understood its meaning, namely, that it is the explicit desire and engagement of this Sublime Court endowed with all eminent qualities, to favour such requests as the above-mentioned, in conformity with what is due to the friendship, sincerity, alliance and good will subsisting *ab antiquo* between the Sublime and ever durable Ottoman Court and that of England, and which is on the side of both those Courts manifestly increasing; particularly as there is no harm in the said figures and edifices being thus viewed, contemplated, and designed. Therefore, after having fulfilled the duties of hospitality, and given a proper reception to the aforesaid artists, in compliance with the urgent request of the said Ambassador to that effect, and because it is incumbent on us to provide that they meet no opposition in walking, viewing, or contemplating the figures and edifices they may wish to design or copy; or in any of their works of fixing scaffolding, or using their various implements; it is our desire that on the arrival of this Letter you use your diligence to act conformably to the instances of the said Ambassador, as long as the said five artists dwelling at Athens shall be employed in going in and out of the said citadel of Athens, which is the place of their occupations; or infixing 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

Extraordinary from the Court of England to the Porte of Happiness, hath represented to us, that it is well known that the greater part of the Frank (i.e. Christian) Courts are anxious to read and investigate the books, pictures or figures, and other works of science of the ancient Greek philosophers: and that in particular, the ministers or officers of state, philosophers, primates and other individuals of England, have a remarkable taste for the drawings, or figures or sculptures, remaining ever since the time of the said Greeks, and which are to be seen on the shores of the Archipelago and in other parts; and have in consequence from time to time sent men to explore and examine the ancient edifices, and drawings or figures. And that some accomplished *Dilletanti* of the Court of England, being desirous to see the ancient buildings and the curious figures in the City of Athens, and the old walls remaining since the time of the Grecians, which now subsist in the interior part of the said *place*; his Excellency the said Ambassador hath therefore engaged five English painters, now dwelling at Athens, to examine and view, and also to copy the figures remaining there, *ab antiquo*: And he hath also at this time expressly besought us that an Official Letter may be written from hence, ordering that as long as the said painters shall be employed in going in and out of the said citadel of Athens, which is the place of their occupations; and in fixing scaffolding round the ancient Temple of the Idols there; and in moulding the ornamental sculpture and visible figures thereon, in plaster or gypsum; and in measuring the remains of other old ruined buildings there; and in excavating when they find it necessary the foundations, in order to discover inscriptions which may have been covered in the rubbish; that no interruption may be given them, nor any obstacle thrown in their way by the Disdar (or commandant of the citadel) or any other person: that no one may med-

This firman enabled him to conclude the work which he had started in August 1800 with the aid of a special party of five artists that had been designing, depicting and measuring the monuments of the Acropolis.

The firman, which had been signed by Caimakan Pasha and addressed the Voivode and the Cadi of Athens, permitted the party members to erect scaffolding around the Temple of the Idols, to construct moulds, to measure the edifices and to excavate in search of inscriptions. Besides, the Porte had ordered that the party members should not be disturbed by the citadel commander or anyone else and that nobody should interfere with their scaffolding and tools. The last order of the firman stipulated that nobody should prevent them from removing whichever stone fragment bore inscriptions and figures. It was the one that proved to be destructive of the Acropolis monuments as Elgin flagrantly violated it.

The following text is the English translation of the firman that was handed in by the Rev. Philip Hunt, who served at the British Embassy in Constantinople under Elgin, to the Select Committee set up by the British Parliament for the purchase of the Acropolis Marbles:

TRANSLATION from the Italian of a *ferman*, or Official Letter from The Caimacan Pasha, (who filled the office of Grand Vizier at The Porte, during that Minister's absence in Egypt) addressed to the *Cadi* or Chief Judge, and to the *Vaivode* or Governor of Athens, in 1801.

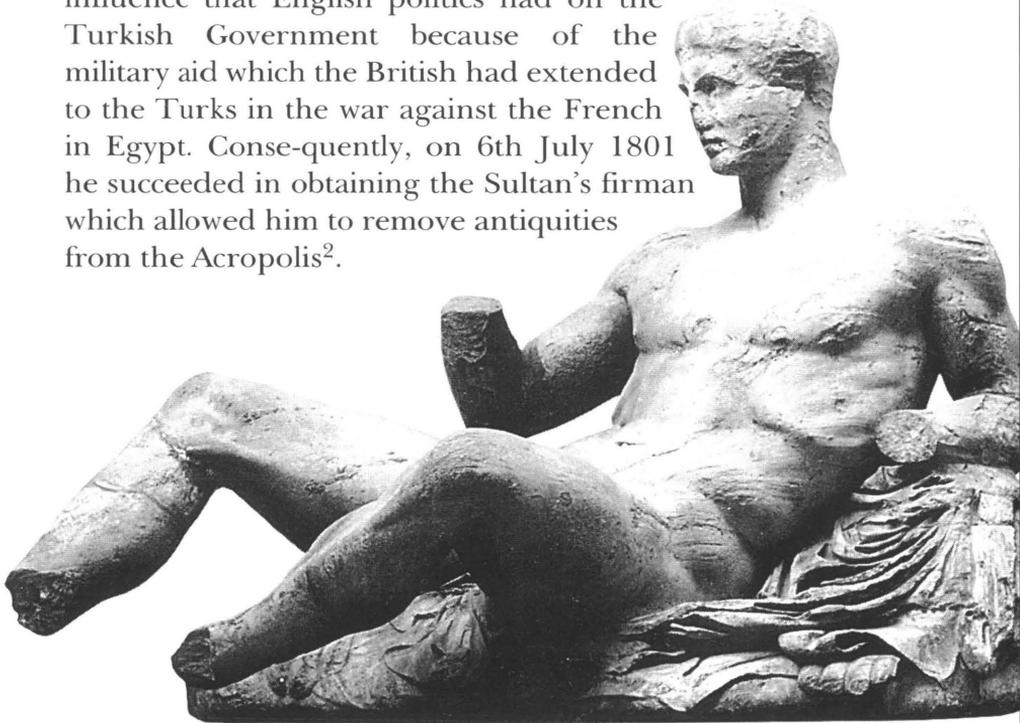
AFTER the usual introductory compliments, and the salutation of Peace, – “It is hereby signified to you, that our sincere Friend his Excellency Lord Elgin, Ambassador

BYRON AND THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS

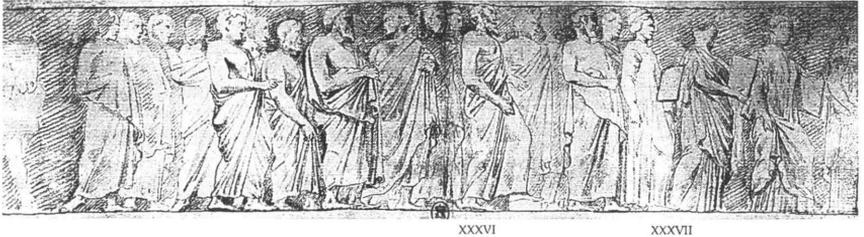
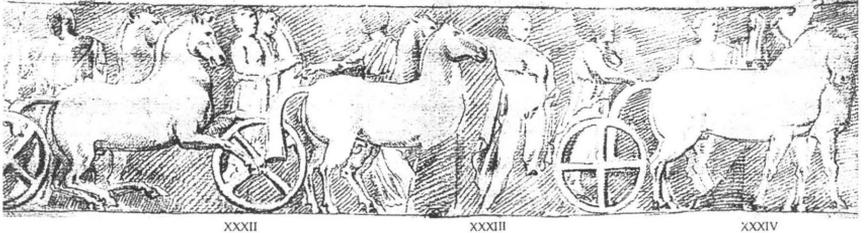
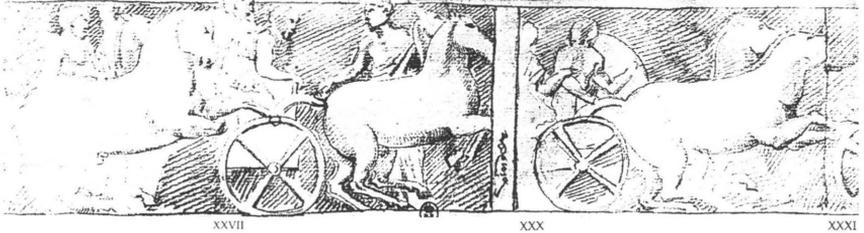
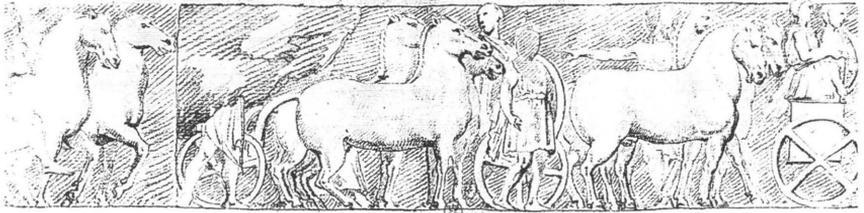
THE REMOVAL OF ANTIQUITIES FROM THE ACROPOLIS BY ELGIN

The beginning of the 19th century proved to be grievous for the monuments of the Acropolis of Athens owing to the illicit trade in antiquities which reached its climax in the early years of the first decade. The main perpetrator was Lord Elgin who was then the British Ambassador to the Ottoman Porte (1799-1803)¹.

Elgin took advantage of his post and the great influence that English politics had on the Turkish Government because of the military aid which the British had extended to the Turks in the war against the French in Egypt. Consequently, on 6th July 1801 he succeeded in obtaining the Sultan's firman which allowed him to remove antiquities from the Acropolis².



East pediment, Dionysos.



The south frieze of the Parthenon.
Drawings attributed to Jacques Carrey in 1674.

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known to Europe the sacrilegious robbery from a bleeding country. In a fit of fury, Byron rails at the time when Elgin departed from Scotland to come and steal the gods of Greece so as to transport them to the cold, northern climate of his country (see Appendix I, pp. 67-68).

Byron annotated this poem copiously and clarified his positive attitude towards the Greeks. The annotations include a lot of information about the destruction of the monuments and the theft of antiquities which prevailed in Athens at the time³⁰.

In his notes which concern the line:

To rive what Goth, and Turk, and Time hath spared;
Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, II, XII, 2,

Byron provides information about a ship moored in Pireaus to load with antiquities for London on 3rd January 1810. He gives an account of a young Greek's heat of passion concerning the destruction of the monuments by saying: "Thus may Lord Elgin boast of having ruined Athens".

He also describes the violent quarrel between Lusieri, Elgin's representative, and Fauvel, the French consul in Athens, over the possession of the coach which transported antiquities. Enraged by the cowardly destruction of the glorious countries, he states that the perpetrators, whoever they may be, are inexcusable.

In the same lengthy annotations he refers to another reprehensible act committed by Elgin: "The most unblushing impudence could hardly go farther than to affix the name of its plunderer to the walls of the Acropolis".



The Parthenon and the Erechtheion from the Propylaea.
Aquatint engraving. E. Dodwell, *Views in Greece from Drawings*, London, 1821.
National Library of Greece.



Moreover, he displays his impartiality in the matter of the looting of the monuments since he is indifferent to collecting antiquities, which does not make him a rival. Further on he states the following: "but I have some early prepossession in favour of Greece, and do not think the honour of England advanced by plunder, whether of India or Attica".

He points out that, during his visit, Athens was the scene of unscrupulous agents of old British noblemen and names Lusieri and Gropius³¹, who were Lord Elgin and Lord Aberdeen's agents.

Before the publication of the poem, Lord Elgin intervened so that the grave accusations against him could be removed from it. However, Byron's correspondence with Hobhouse (31st July 1811) shows us that the poet was uncompromising and had it published in its original form³².

The masterly style of the work, its classical and romantic elements as well as the great amount of information that *Childe Harold* provides us with about the places he visited contributed to its dissemination and established Byron as a great romantic poet. After the publication of the first two cantos he wrote "I awoke one morning and found myself famous"³³.

The first edition (1st March 1812) of these two cantos numbered 500 copies and went out of print within three days³⁴. There followed four more editions in 1812, which shows the favourable impression made by the poem in England and on the Continent where it was translated without any delay. Thus *Childe Harold* became the cause of the support of the philhellenic movement and the Acropolis Marbles the symbol of enslaved Greece.

The Curse of Minerva

The Curse of Minerva is the poem which refers exclusively to Elgin's sacrilege. It belongs to Byron's neo-classical satires and was written³⁵ in Athens on 17th March 1811, about one month before he departed from Greece (on 22nd April) to return to England. The poem denounces the ruthless destruction of the Acropolis monuments by Elgin (see Appendix I, pp. 69-80).

After his return to England, Byron gave the manuscript of the poem, which consists of 312 lines, together with two other satires to his publisher Cawthorn so that they could be published in one volume. However, the publication of the poem was postponed owing to "a friendly remonstrance from Lord Elgin, or some of his connections"³⁶. This has also been confirmed by Everett, an American philhellene, who wrote about it in his diary³⁷.

However, some copies were printed for private use by T. Davison in 1812 when *Childe Harold* circulated. It remains unknown whether Byron approved of T. Davison's publication. The poet himself informs us about the printing, but he mentions nothing about the circulation of the work. The first 54 lines of the poem became widely known as Byron placed them at the beginning of the third canto of *The Corsair* (1814) which met with great success³⁸. After 1815 *The Curse of Minerva* appeared in periodicals or independent editions in America and London. However, Byron disclaimed some of them as pirated and wrote to Murray in relation to its publication in the journal titled *New Monthly Magazine*: "I disown it as stolen and published in a miserable and villainous copy

in the Magazine. It was not, and is not, meant for publication”³⁹.

The Curse of Minerva was one of his less important poems, which would not contribute much to his reputation as a poet. His basic aim, the denouncement of Elgin’s sacrilege, had been accomplished by his poetry and his detailed notes in *Childe Harold*.

The fact that Byron did not approve of making the poem widely known during his lifetime cannot be explained by Elgin’s intervention, because the poet never denied or retracted what he had written about Elgin’s predatory raid. In his opinion, the destruction of the monuments was enormous and there could not be any comparison to Elgin’s counter-offer of the contribution of the antiquities to the development of the arts in Britain. On 7th February 1821 Byron wrote to his publisher Murray:

I opposed, and will ever oppose the robbery of ruins from Athens to instruct the English in sculpture; but why did I do so? The ruins are as poetical in Piccadily as they were in the Parthenon; but the Parthenon and its rock are less so without them. Such is the poetry of art⁴⁰.

The structure of the poem is singularly literary. Byron starts it with a very beautiful description of the sunset, as he is luxuriating in it, from the Parthenon. On this occasion he recalls Socrates’ death, this gross injustice which predisposes us to the relevant content of the poem. While he is in ecstasy, Athena appears majestic and dignified, but at the same time sorrowful and tearful. The goddess commences a dramatic dialogue with the poet. She vents

her wrath on Elgin who pillaged her Temple and places him on an equal footing with the atrocious Visigothic chief Alaric who ransacked her town in 395 A.D. claiming that might is right. She considers him worse than Herostratus who destroyed one of the seven wonders of the World, the Temple of Artemis in Ephesus. The embittered goddess curses Elgin, his generation and the country who bore him as it was the man receiver of the relics of her Temple. She foretells the dissolution of its empire owing to its wrongdoing to other countries.

It is worth mentioning that the translations of *The Curse of Minerva* into other languages have been very few. In my research I have located the French translations by Pichot⁴¹ and by Laroche⁴² as well as some Greek ones which will be mentioned further on.

Epigrams

Among the poems whose theme is the Acropolis Marbles there are two brief epigrams as sequels to *The Curse of Minerva*. One of them is the epigram which had been engraved on the western wall of Pandroseion adjoining the Erechtheum:

Quod non fecerunt Goti
Hoc fecerunt Scoti

The writer of the epigram labels the Scot's action as worse than barbaric and delivers him to eternal damnation. He engraves the letters of these words on the white-washed wall that covered the position of the Caryatid taken by Elgin, as Hobhouse mentions in his travelogue⁴³.

The authorship of this epigram has been disputed. However, Fauvel, the French Consul in Athens, told Pouqueville, while guiding him around the Acropolis, that it had been written by a compatriot of Elgin's. In his book *Souvenirs de l'Orient* the French Count de Marcellus states that he saw Byron carve the blood-thirsty epigram against "his contemporary Alaric"⁴⁴. Moreover, we should point out that the epigram echoes stanzas of *The Curse of Minerva*⁴⁵.

The second epigram comprises six lines in Latin and can be found in the footnotes of the English editions of *The Curse of Minerva* as a supplement to line 106:

The insulted wall sustains his hated name.

The six lines appear in Byron's handwriting. In 1868 G. Polites made it known by including it, as well as his translation of it into modern Greek, under the title "Mimesis"⁴⁶, in the end of his translation of *The Curse of Minerva*.

The epigram is about Minerva's retribution of Elgin for his sacrilege and Byron's caustic wit is predominant in it. The poet mocks Elgin by stating that the latter publicized his sacrilege after carving his name on a column of the Acropolis. Moreover, Byron, insinuating Elgin's divorce, states that he became Venus' object of derision and likens him to Pygmalion, a husband of stones! The epigram is as follows:

Carmina Byronis in G. Elgin

Aspice, quos Scoto Pallas concedit honores:

Subter stat nomen – facta superque vide!
 Scote miser! quamvis nocuisti Palladis aedi,
 Infandum facinus vindicat ipsa Venus.
 Pygmalion statuum pro sponsa arsisse refertur;
 Tu statuum rapias, Scote, sed uxor abest.

As regards Elgin's carved name in a pillar of the Parthenon, the then General Secretary of the Archaeological Society Alexandros Rizos Rangabes informs us that, when the Acropolis was besieged by the Greeks in 1821, the goddess Nemesis directed the first bomb to the pillar that bore Elgin's name which was erased. Thus Nemesis wiped out the first disgrace brought upon Greece and the Parthenon⁴⁷.

In his travel book, William Black, who travelled around the Mediterranean (1822-1826) during the Greek Struggle, states that when he visited the Parthenon Elgin's name had been erased, whereas his wife's name Mary Elgin could be found in one of the front pillars of the Temple⁴⁸.

Another epigram, which Byron is said to have cited, refers to the disfigurement of Elgin's nose⁴⁹. According to this couplet "noseless" Elgin brought "noseless blocks" to England, which shows the force of time on the stone heads and the force of illness on his nose! In this way the epigram author mocks Elgin's misfortune and attributes it to syphilis which Elgin suffered from. The epigram is as follows:

Noseless himself, he brings here noseless blocks
 To show what time has done and what the pox.

The French Hellenist Boissonade translated the epigram⁵⁰ as follows:

Ἄρρινος αὐτὸς οἴκαδ' ἄρρινους φέρει
λίθους, ἐναργῶς τοῖς θεωμένοις φανῶν
χρόνῳ τίς ἔστ' ἰσχὺς, τίς τε συφιλίδι.

THE IMPACT OF BYRON'S POETRY
ABOUT THE ACROPOLIS MARBLES
ON GREECE

Byron's works had a belated reception in Greece owing to the political situation in the country. However, in 1818 there was a German's reference to Elgin's venture in an article on English Literature⁵¹ in *Logios Hermes*, a quality periodical published in Vienna. In it Byron is presented not only as the "most beloved poet who, through his works, excited love towards Greece", but also as Elgin's accuser, although the German writer praises Elgin for saving the antiquities. He considers "the outrage against the supposed theft stupid since it was expressed by imbeciles".

The fact that the editor of the most authoritative pre-revolutionary Greek periodical included this article gives rise to certain questions. A modern researcher attributes it to "the editor's frivolity or lack of judgement concerning the publication of letters related to contemporary significant Greek problems. Perhaps time had dulled perspicacity and vigilance"⁵².

The editor must have been deceived by the contents of the article which presents the Turks as the main de-

vastators of the antiquities that Elgin saved. That is why he accepted to publish criticism of Byron. The Greek translator of the article criticizes the British travellers noting that “when the British inveigh against Elgin, they do not do so out of compassion for the Greeks, but because they are unable to see and admire the antiquities on their sites, which would in a way reward them for their travel pains”.

However, he also cites, as a mark of the developing national conscience, a satirical epigram written by a British chiliarch with the initials R.F. in 1817, in order to criticize Elgin’s donation of a large clock to the town of Athens in 1813⁵³. The epigram’s author names Elgin “the worst thief of the modest goddess’s chamber” and describes his act as “a trophy of insolence”. He ironically adds that, whenever the clock strikes the hour, the inhabitants would be reminded of Elgin’s illicit acts. In 1820 the English traveller Rev. T.S. Hughes stated the same opinions in his travelogue⁵⁴. The epigram is as follows:

Δῶρον Ἀθηναίοις ἐπίτηδες ἔδωκε κάκιστος
 Κλέπτῃς, ὃς σεμνᾶς δῆμ’ ἐσύλησε θεᾶς,
 Τοῦ γὰρ ἀναιδεΐας αἰώνιον ἐστὶ τροπαῖον
 Πύργος, ὅπου στήκει σήματα λαμπρὰ χρόνου
 Ὡρῶν γὰρ ποσάκις λιγύφθογγος ἀκούεται αὐδή,
 Δὴ τότε ἀναμνήσει ἔργ’ ἀθέμιτα Σκότου:

αωιζ

Since the original epigram in English has not been discovered, we have translated it into English from its Greek version as follows:

The wicked thief who pillaged the temple of the venerable goddess cunningly presented a gift to the Athenians; the tower where the glorious traces of time are imprinted is the eternal trophy of his shamelessness; the Scotsman's impious deeds will cross our minds whenever we hear the sweet hour chimes.

After the liberation of Greece and the invasion of Romanticism into the country in 1830, Byronism — a branch of Romanticism— appears as a romantic and political trend on the modern Greek literary scene, mainly with Byron's works' translations and influences.

During this period the contribution of translations is very important as they enrich the nascent modern Greek literature and constitute the best means of helping the dissemination of ideas. Thus we can now trace elements of the sacrilege committed to the monuments of the Acropolis from the impression made by Byron's poetry.

In 1833 Alexandros Rizos Rangabes translated in prose a poem by the king of Bavaria Ludwig I, Otto's father⁵⁵. This philhellenic poem entitled *The Statues of the Parthenon Come to England* was written by the Bavarian king during his visit to London in 1824. The poet, who was influenced by Byron, suffers greatly owing to the "ruins of the human masterpiece to which a civilized nation committed more than time and the barbarians" (see Appendix I, p. 81).

In 1837 the first translations of Byron's long poetic works appeared in Greece. N. Mandrikares, a Zantiot scholar, jurist, liberal and reformer, translated Byron's

great poems *The Bride of Abydos or Zouleika* and *The Curse of Minerva* in one volume⁵⁶. As he was influenced by Byron's personality, he translated the former for its romantic qualities which were then fashionable in literature. The latter gave him the opportunity to express his rage against the powerful British nation, which still occupied Zante, both for the sacrilege of the antiquities of the Acropolis and for the Greek racial rights on them. Although his translations have not been deemed worthy, he made known Byron's ideas to the Greek readers and reminded them of the theft of the antiquities now that the Greek state was well-governed and had started to claim its rights.

The circulation of this translation along with the restoration works on the Acropolis and the establishment of the Archaeological Society (1837), which undertook the works at the Parthenon the same year, were fortuitous coincidences.

The General Secretary of the Archaeological Society A.R. Rangabes read his official report⁵⁷ charging Elgin with the term 'dealer in antiquities' (*archaeokapelos*)⁵⁸ which was for the first time heard in the Greek language during the sixth general assembly of the Society in front of the Parthenon some months after Elgin's death (14th November 1841) in 1842 (see Appendix III, pp. 117-124). This was the first charge of reborn Greece against Elgin as well as its first claim to the Acropolis Marbles. Rangabes expresses the official protest as follows:

Today we erected this monument [The Parthenon] from its available ruins the way we erected ancient liberated Greece from its relics as an official protest against the sacrilegious catastrophe.

In the 1840s and the 1850s *The Curse of Minerva* and *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* were not translated in spite of the presence of other translations of Byron's poems which were due to the spiritual trends and the political situation in Greece. *The Curse of Minerva* was translated for the second time in 1868, whereas *Childe Harold* was translated for the first time in 1867. They both appeared in the three-volume work by G. Polites entitled *Lord Byron's Poems*⁵⁹.

As the translator states in the preface, the reasons for his work were the Greeks' lack of knowledge of foreign languages and the need to disseminate the beauty of Byronic poetry.

The translation was in prose in purist Greek and the translator had Amédée Pichot's translation of Byron's works into French as a model. However, Byron himself had disapproved of Pichot's work as it had been unsuccessful. Polites, therefore, does not fail to mention that its value is limited to "giving the Greeks some idea about these poems"⁶⁰.

Polites' *Lord Byron's Poems* mainly contained translations of Byronic works which were related to Greece and were inspired by Byron's political idealism in favour of the human rights and the peoples' independence. These translations in combination with the historical framework of its publication time (the Cretan Revolution 1866-1869) contributed to the strengthening of patriotism among the struggling Greeks.

This translation sold well, was republished in 1895 entitled *Byron's Complete Poetical Works* and is still known as such. It is worthwhile to point out that it has been the basis of modern Greek translations.

In 1880 an anonymous article entitled "The Elgin Marbles" in the newspaper *Aeon* contains lines from *The Curse of Minerva* translated in prose⁶¹. These lines along with the relevant proposal for the return of the Marbles to Greece constitute the translation of an article in the *Illustrated London News*⁶². The Greek journalist uses the text to condemn the merciless destroyer's act. He airs his own opinions and raises his own voice for the return of the Acropolis Marbles to their country of origin.

During the same period *The Curse of Minerva* moves the Greeks profoundly and numerous metrical translations of it ensue. In 1884 Ioannes Pervanoglou, a philologist, writer and editor of the significant 19th century periodical *Esperos*, which was published in Leipzig, made the first metrical translation of the poem into modern Greek⁶³. In his preface Pervanoglou states that the translation was occasioned by the sale of a complete collection of Greek ancient relics to a European state.

As we can read in the newspaper *Aeon*, at that time the Ambassador of Russia to Berlin Saburov sold ancient marble statues, statuettes, pots and copper objects at Fr 1,200,000⁶⁴. He had created this collection⁶⁵ when he was Ambassador of Russia to Greece. The Athenian journalist comments on the subject in the following way:

We do not do him an injustice for creating an archaeological collection; however, he is absolutely culpable because he smuggled antiquities out of Greece by taking advantage of his post, his prerogatives and his diplomatic immunity. He betrayed the Greek laws which he should have abided by to set an example of caution to others. If he had donated it to his country or had kept it

for himself he would have been partly pardonable. However, by selling it he proved that he had created it to profiteer, which is not compatible with the stirring character and the disinterestedness of the members of the Diplomatic Corps.

Ioannes Pervanoglou was enraged at this act as any Greek would have been. Thus he translated *The Curse of Minerva* which had been written to castigate similar acts in the past and described the foreigners' shameless looting as acts of vandalism unfit for law-abiding peoples. He seizes the opportunity to plead with the State to put an end to these sacrilegious acts committed at the expense of the Greek antiquities.

On the occasion of Byron's centenary of birth in 1888, the Cypriot nobleman and well-known writer of political, philosophical and social studies Onoufrios Iasonides published his translations in verse of Byron's *The Curse of Minerva* and *Stanzas for Music*⁶⁶. Iasonides' membership of most of the official archaeological societies of London accounts for his choice of translating *The Curse of Minerva* at that time in order to express his grief and protest to the British for the rights of the Greeks on the Acropolis Marbles.

In the same year *Childe Harold's* stanzas which refer to the Marbles and have been translated by G. Polites were included in the archaeologist's A. Miliarakes' extensive study entitled *On the Elgin Marbles* that was published in the significant periodical *Hestia* in a lot of instalments together with the writer's information about Byron and the Acropolis Marbles⁶⁷. Miliarakes attributes Elgin's claim about the Greeks' lack of resistance to the removal of the Acropolis monuments "to the dense darkness of

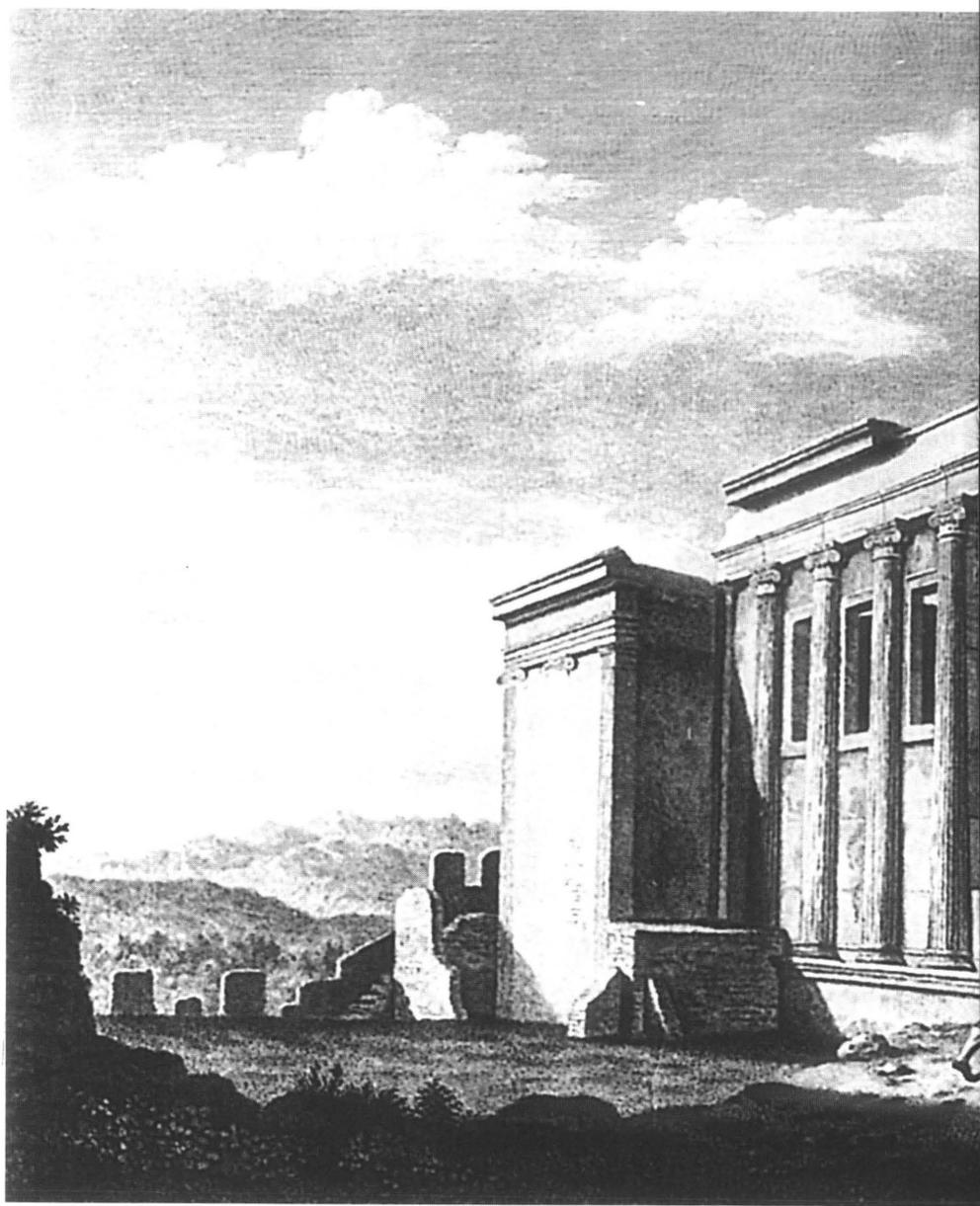
slavery”⁶⁸. Thus he offers an excuse for the English illicit dealer in antiquities whose act conveyed “the celestial light” to the European civilisation centres.

In 1891 Constantine Cavafy, a well-known Alexandrian poet, presented in the Alexandrian and Athenian press⁶⁹ the bitter controversy which had been stirred up owing to the publication of the article “Give Back the Elgin Marbles”⁷⁰ by Fr. Harrison in the periodical *The Nineteenth Century* in England. Fr. Harrison, a historian and philosopher, pleaded with the noblest sentiments of the British nation for the return of the Marbles and proved that withholding parts of the Parthenon was neither bearable nor profitable. The return was urgent for the sake of justice, science and the fine arts. In his opinion, Byron “did not exaggerate. On the contrary, his protests saved the prestige and the good reputation of England” (see Appendix III, pp. 125-138).

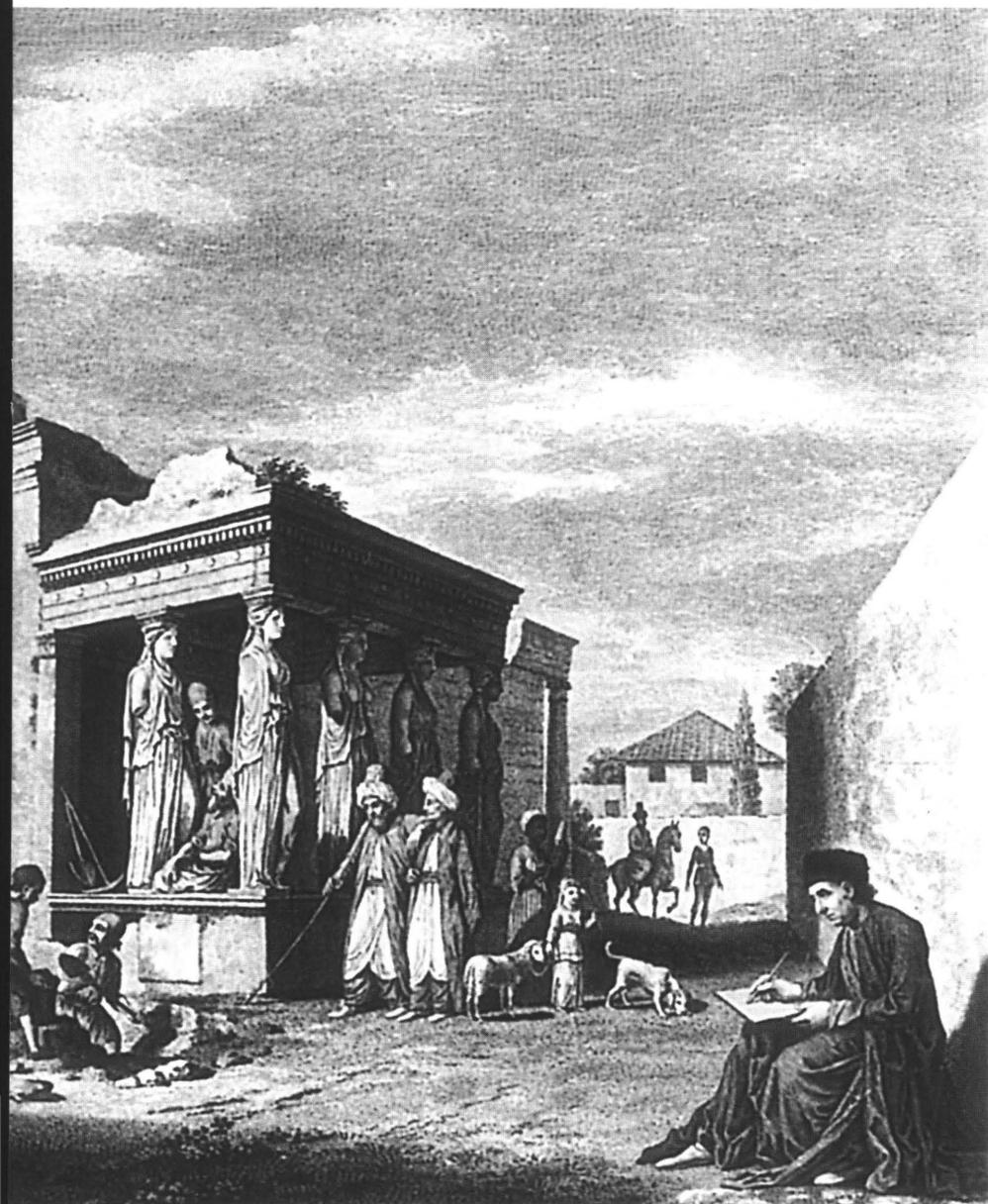
Cavafy reinforced Harrison’s support for the return of the Marbles and pointed out that “honesty is the best policy. In the case of the Acropolis Marbles honesty signifies their return”⁷¹ (see Appendix III, pp. 139-141, 142-145).

This controversy stirred Roger Casement’s feelings and made him compose his poem for the return of the Marbles in 1891 (see Appendix I, p. 83). In 1905 Thomas Hardy wrote his poem *Christmas in the Elgin Room* after having been sensitized by the bad fate of the Elgin Marbles (see Appendix I, pp. 84-85).

In the late 1870’s came the end of Romanticism in Greece as a literary movement, whereas Byronism, a branch of it, remained active as a political trend. Byron is the *Tyrtæus* and *Messiah*⁷² of the Greek nation as we can see in contemporary texts. Thus political Byronism pre-



James Stuart sketching the Erechtheion.
J. Stuart, W. Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, London, 1787, v. II.
Athens, Gennadius Library.



vailed over literary Byronism which remained a means of promoting liberal ideas. This still holds true in Greece and the Byronic spirit becomes more tangible on the occasion of Byron's anniversaries. So, in December 1909 the *Literary Society 'Parnassus'* announced a competition for the translation of poems or excerpts related to and inspired by Greece from *Byron's Complete Poetical Works* to mark the centenary of Byron's first visit to Greece⁷³. According to the Greek press it referred to the "Greek Byron"⁷⁴. *The Curse of Minerva* was the first of the ten works to be translated. Unfortunately, the competition was not brought to an end and the Society's effort failed to collect Byron's works on Greece in Greek.

However, in 1924 Byron's philhellenic poetry was published to mark the centenary of his death. Among the translations were those of *The Curse of Minerva* and of the second canto of *Childe Harold* by Stephanos Myrtas which was Stylianos Seferiades' pen name⁷⁵. Seferiades was the Nobel laureate's G. Seferis' father. These translations were included in the book entitled *Lord Byron, His Songs for Greece* which contained metrical translations of almost all the works that had been announced for the ill-fated competition of *Parnassus* in 1909.

In the two big parts of *The Curse of Minerva* Byron talks with the gigantic apparition of Minerva on the Acropolis. The goddess curses Elgin and his generation. Kostis Palamas considers the translation "the most felicitous" one⁷⁶. Moreover, S. Seferiades, Professor of International Law at the University of Athens, an admirer of Byron and a lover of antiquity, did not confine himself to his literary offer. He also wrote a profound study entitled *The Issue of the Repatriation of the Elgin Marbles in Terms of*

*International Law*⁷⁷ which he published in French in 1932. In it Seferiades examines the illegality of Elgin's act exhaustively. Unfortunately, his substantiated views about the fate of the Acropolis Marbles have not been accepted so far (see Appendix III, pp. 146-154).

Besides, in 1924 Ioannis Zervos, a versatile intellectual, brought out, owing to Byron's death centenary, a book with prose translations of the poet's works which refer to Greece. He also included a long introduction on the poet's life and works⁷⁸. A comparative study proved that Zervos had used G. Polites' translation of *Byron's Complete Poetical Works* which had been made the previous century. The translation was in vernacular Greek so that Byronic philhellenic poetry could have a more favourable reception.

Kostis Palamas, a great poet and an ardent admirer of Byron, wrote a lot of poems and studies on Byron, "his English-Greek peer". After his dirge for the Parthenon in his works *Motionless Life, Altars and Prose Ways*, Palamas wrote a study entitled *The Acropolis as a Source of Inspiration*⁷⁹ in which he attempts to refer synoptically to the Greek miracle in the tributes of the glorious Western and Northern Apollonians. The Acropolis symbolises the culmination of the Greek miracle. Byron is ranked first among the Apollonians by the poet who observes :

Even though rage did not proclaim him a poet, as the Latin Juvenalis, it appears towering in most of the dictates of his Muse. *The Curse of Minerva* is one of his most caustic satires.

Palamas elegantly describes in prose the remains of the Acropolis left behind by Elgin who is avenged on as

sacrilegious by Pallas and Venus that represent Wisdom and Beauty respectively (Excerpt of his poetry relevant to the Acropolis see Appendix I, p. 87).

Moreover, the tireless writer Ioannes Gennadios wrote a historical and archaeological treatise in which he includes Byron's accusation of Elgin's sacrilege. Gennadios, in an effort to help the cause of the return of the antiquities, collected a lot of accounts about Elgin's insulting act and about the previous archaeological invasions of Greece and especially Athens from 1440 to 1837. In 1930 the writer published them in order to participate in the celebration of the centenary of the Greek Independence.

Gennadios, who treated the subject of the Acropolis Marbles at great length, included a specific chapter entitled "Byron's Accusations"⁸⁰. In it he presents his translation of stanzas 11-15 from *Childe Harold* with extracts from the poet's notes as well as extracts of *The Curse of Minerva* from O.I. Iasonides' translation. These Byronic texts along with related travel texts were cited by Gennadios because as he writes "the defenders of looting remain silent about it and pretend to have forgotten the accusations of Elgin's compatriots"⁸¹.

The occupation of the Greek scholars and poets with the Byronic works has been continual but it has displayed more exaltation during national celebrations. So, in 1972, in celebration of the sesquicentennial year of the Greek Independence, Professor Panos Caragiorgos brought out his metrical translation of *The Curse of Minerva*⁸² which renders Byron's trenchant mood successfully. In 1974 the poet Maria Kesis published her translation in free verse of *Childe Harold*⁸³ and *The Curse of Minerva*⁸⁴ in her book entitled *Byron's Poetical Works* which was awarded a

prize by the Academy of Athens on the occasion of the sesquicentenary of Byron's death.

On the whole, the translations of the two Byronic works, *Childe Harold* and *The Curse of Minerva*, which made Byron familiar to the Greeks, were available all over the country, conveyed the intended message and were deemed aesthetically pleasing. They still remain topical owing to the moral question raised by Elgin's sacrilegious act. The continuous topicality of the Byronic views has been supportive of the national demands for the return of the Acropolis antiquities to their place of origin. Let us not forget what Cavafy said: "The death of political and international issues results in oblivion"⁸⁵.

Modern English philhellenes struggled for the return of the Acropolis Marbles and connected their effort with the Greeks' struggle for freedom as Lord Byron had done. Despite A.H. Smith's study entitled *Lord Elgin and his Collection*⁸⁶ in which the issue of the return of the Marbles is over and done with, Harold Nicolson, a Foreign Office official, proposed to his Government in 1924 the return of the Caryatid and the Erechtheum column in order to participate in the centenary of the Greek Independence and in that of Lord Byron's death⁸⁷. However, the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary Ramsay Macdonald rejected his proposal (see Appendix II, pp. 96-102).

In 1941 Nicolson's successor W.L.C. Knight proposed in the House of Commons the return of the Elgin Marbles to their place of origin after the cessation of the hostilities of World War II to pay homage to the Greeks' heroism in this war. However, this proposal was also rejected by the Lord Privy Seal and deputy to Churchill, Clement Attlee⁸⁸ (see Appendix II, pp. 103-111).

In 1949 Sir Harold Nicolson, who had already become a famous diplomat and a writer of a detailed work on Byron entitled *The Last Journey: April 1823-April 1824*, came back to the issue when his article "The Byron Curse Echoes Again"⁸⁹ was published in *New York Magazine*. In this study, Sir Harold Nicolson, after a thorough examination of the background to the removal of the antiquities and of the pros and cons of their return, pointed out "that the retention of the Elgin Marbles from Greece has been a wrong" (see Appendix II, pp. 96-102).

Twelve years later on 9th May 1961 the philhellene Labour MP Francis Noel Baker asked the Prime Minister

Harold Macmillan whether the time was propitious enough for the return of the Acropolis Marbles as a generous British gesture that would consolidate the deep traditional friendship between England and Greece, since Greece was prospering⁹⁰ (see Appendix II, p. 112). Harold Macmillan admitted "there is a problem here. I will not dismiss it from my mind, but it raises important questions and would require, I imagine, legislation"⁹¹.

The following day the British press lashed out at him and asked him to forget it as soon as possible⁹². Afterwards Nicolson supported Baker's proposal in the British press and concluded:

Let the Curse of Minerva descend on those who contend that this Turkish phrase [translated into Italian "qualque pezzi di pietra"] of the firman justifies us in depriving Athens of some of her most renowned treasures⁹³.

It is worth noting that the philhellene Professor Emeritus Robert Browning of the University of London first led the newly-established British Committee for the Restitution of the Parthenon Marbles to their country of origin (1983-1997). The aim of the Committee, whose activities continue, has been defined as follows:

Our aim is to secure the restitution of the Parthenon Marbles to Greece in accordance with the resolution of the Unesco conference of the Ministers of Culture which was held in Mexico on 4th August 1982. To this end we intend to present the case as fully as possible to the British public and to bring the most effective pressure on the Trustees of the British Museum and on the British Government⁹⁴.

The Committee still maintains that law prescribes their return, and any legal obstacle can be removed by Parliament. At the same time 40 British MPs favoured their return⁹⁵ whereas another 11 accepted it with reservations.

In 1986 Labour leader Michael Foot, made the following proposal in the House of Commons on the occasion of the bicentenary of Byron's birth in 1988:

The best that the Government could do to celebrate the occasion –it does not exclude all the other things— would be to respond to the appeals which have come afresh from the Greek Government for the restoration of the Parthenon marbles to the people and the land of Greece. I know that there have been plenty of arguments about that⁹⁶ (see Appendix II, pp. 113-114).

On the Greek side, the return campaign started very dynamically in 1982 when the late Minister of Culture Melina Mercouri, following the call of duty and historical conscience, made a demand for the return of the Marbles at the International Unesco Conference of Ministers of Culture in Mexico City⁹⁷. At the same time she gave her unreserved support to the works for the maintenance and restoration of the Acropolis monuments and started the process for the construction of a new museum⁹⁸ in order to house the antiquities which are found on the Sacred Rock as well as those which are an inseparable part of them and can be found in foreign museums in London, Paris, Copenhagen, Venice and Würzburg. In addition to this, during the bicentenary of Lord Byron's birth she honoured his memory by setting up under her auspices the 14th International Byron Conference⁹⁹ in Athens in 1987 as well as the organisation of the large exhibition *Lord Byron in Greece*¹⁰⁰ in 1988. The Greeks always remember that it was Lord Byron who first described the removal of the Acropolis Marbles as an act which deprived them of their historical heritage.

A recent survey showed that the demand for the return of the Marbles, although criticized as utopian, has resulted in the increase in the number of English philhellenes who cultivate civilization, the letters and the arts, struggle for justice and appreciate the value of the artistic indivisibility of the Parthenon and the Erechtheum. The most appreciable evidence of this phenomenon is the resolution submitted to the English Parliament by 18 MPs in which they asked for the return of the Acropolis Marbles in February 1994. It was submitted to honour the late Melina Mercouri's memory.

In June 1996 the Labour MEP Alfred Lomas presented a motion for Resolution to the European Parliament for the return of the Marbles signed by other MEPs¹⁰¹. His motion has recently been voted through by 341 EMPs (55%)¹⁰². The acceptance included the need for negotiations between the Greek and British Governments for this issue.

The Greek Government has lately made a new appeal for the return of the Acropolis Marbles in a *Memorandum*¹⁰³ about it in the name of the world cultural heritage and in the voice of the mutilated monuments themselves. In it the Minister of Culture Professor E. Venizelos expounded the Greek views which are juxtaposed with the British arguments for the retention of the Acropolis Marbles. The relevant *Memorandum* is the following:

MEMORANDUM ON THE RESTITUTION
OF THE PARTHENON MARBLES

1. The issue of the return of the Parthenon Marbles has always been open for Greece and for the international intelligentsia, which includes many significant personalities of British history (Lord Byron, Shelley, Thomas Hardy). Since 1982, when the unforgettable Melina Mercouri was Minister of Culture, it has been repeatedly raised formally to the competent agencies of UNESCO. In October 1983 it was also raised to the British Government after the relevant resolution of the Greek Cabinet.

2. UNESCO insists, with decisions and recommendations of its agencies, on the need for bilateral deliberations between the Hellenic Republic and the United Kingdom. Besides, this should be considered self-evi-

dent for two friendly countries which have been long-standing allies and are members of the European Union and the Council of Europe. Within this framework, we consider the British Government's express intention of restoring the United Kingdom to the status of full membership of UNESCO extremely important.

3. Under the title "Return of the Parthenon Marbles" Greece means the return of the sculpted decorations and other parts of the Parthenon monument (such as drums of columns, capitals and so on) which were removed and transported to London by Lord Elgin. Their full description has been submitted to UNESCO and is known through the relevant international literature. Greece raises no general issue for the return of cultural goods kept outside their place of origin.

The Parthenon Marbles are not self-contained works of art. They are "by birth" integral parts of the Parthenon monument, this major and symbolic monument of western civilization. Some of them are necessary not only for the aesthetic, but also for the static integrity of the monument, as the restoration works have proved.

The request for the return of the marbles is not actually made by the Greek Government in the name of the Greek Nation or Greek history. It is made in the name of International Cultural Heritage and it is the voice of the mutilated monument itself, which demands the return of its marbles.

4. Greece handles this issue with great discretion towards the United Kingdom, because our country is certain that British cultural sensitivity and tradition render the British Government a positive recipient of the need for the return of the Marbles and the rehabilitation of the monument's integrity.

The sensitivity of a significant part of the British public opinion as regards the return of the Marbles has

been accepted with great satisfaction by the Greek and international public opinion.

5. The Greek side is acquainted with the technical arguments of the British side: a) the alleged existence of a legal title granted to Lord Elgin by the Ottoman Government, which occupied Greece at that time, and b) the allegation that the Parthenon Marbles are under the ownership of the British Museum. We do not aim at the exchange of legal arguments between the two sides because we believe that this is an issue of cultural policy, related to the need for respect towards international cultural heritage. However, in any case, and should the British side insist on referring to the existence of the relevant Ottoman firman, we can present our fully documented positions which prove the non-existence of a legal title permitting Lord Elgin to destroy and pillage the Parthenon monument. Moreover, it is obvious that, at international level, this issue concerns the two nations and does not regard the legal relationship – emanating from domestic law – between the British Government and the British Museum. After all it was the British Parliament that decided, with many hesitations as to the lawfulness of Lord Elgin's titles and actions, to purchase the Marbles from him.

6. The Greek side is also aware of the diverse substantial arguments set forth from time to time: a) the fact that the British Museum maintains the Marbles better and enables a very large number of people to visit them; and b) the objections as to the atmospheric pollution in the city of Athens and the lack of a museum in which they could be exhibited.

The Greek side considers the publicity of the following arguments a positive fact as they virtually accept the

soundness and lawfulness of the Greek position on the need for the return of the Marbles:

a) The international level of the science of archaeology and the antiquities' maintenance technique allows the application of the most successful methods both in London and Athens. Besides, if the number of visitors were more important than the integrity and the natural position of the monument, all the monuments of international cultural heritage should be gathered in the most frequently visited museums of New York or Paris or promoted only through the international television networks.

b) It was not because Athens had no appropriate museum that Lord Elgin removed the Marbles. It was an act of vandalism, inadmissible even at the time it was committed. The erection of the new museum of the Acropolis, which has visual contact with the Acropolis rock, is a project under execution and in full progress. We hope that the museum will be ready to admit the public in 2001. The Greek Government did not decide to erect the new museum in order to counter an argument of the British side, but because it is indeed necessary for the promotion of the Acropolis monument.

7. In any case, the Greek Government is ready to discuss the issue of the Parthenon Marbles with the British Government.

As we now know a lot about the unsuccessful past attempts for the return of the Acropolis Marbles and about the various acts by which they are withheld far from Greece, may Byron's words be a reminder to all those who withhold antiquities of the Acropolis. In addition to this, may they hear what Ernest Renan emphasized in his *Prayer on the Acropolis*:

How beautiful will the day be when all the cities
that stole something from the remains of your Temple
—Venice, Paris, London, Copenhagen, —
will return their loot redressing their injustice!
They will form delegations to visit
the sacred Greek areas in order to return
the ancient monuments they still withhold exclaiming:
Pardon us Goddess!
We took them away to save them from the barbarians,
from the demons of the night¹⁰⁴.

(see Appendix I, p. 86)

NOTES

1. For Thomas Bruce, 7th Earl of Elgin and 11th Earl of Kincardine (1776-1841) see *The Dictionary of National Biography*, v. 3, pp. 130-131; W.St.Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles*. London; N.Y.; Toronto, 1967, (²1983, ³1998).
2. As regards the research for the firman, we should note that, despite the research done into the Turkish Archives, the original one in Turkish was never found (St. Clair, 288). Its translation into Italian done by the interpreter of the British Embassy in Constantinople, Pisani, was found among the Papers of the Rev. Philip Hunt who had been appointed to the British Embassy there when Lord Elgin was Ambassador to Turkey. Its English translation is included as the 10th Appendix, p. 69, to the *Report from the Select Committee on the Earl of Elgin's Collection of Sculptured Marbles*. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 25 March 1816 (henceforth referred to as *Select Committee Report*).
3. E.D. Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa 1810-1814*, Part II, Sect. II, pp. 483-4; see also *The Works of Lord Byron. Poetry*, ed. by E.H. Coleridge (v. I-VII, N.Y., 1966, henceforth referred to as *BW. Poetry*). v.II: *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, II, note 7, p. 172.
4. For Giovanni Batista Lusieri (Don Titta) († March 1821) see *Algemeines Lexicon der Bildenden Künstler*, v. 2, p. 24; E. Benézit, *Dictionnaire Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs*, v. 7, p. 478. A lot of references to the paid services Lusieri offered to Elgin for 21 years in Athens and mainly as the person in charge of the group of artists and workers who destroyed the Acropolis monuments, see W.St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles* as above.
5. *Select Committee Report*, "Appendix no 11. Catalogue of the Elgin Marbles, Vases, Casts and Drawings; Prepared from the Ms of Mons. Visconti", pp. 70-77.

6. [Elgin, Earl of], *Memorandum on the Subject of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece*. It was published anonymously in 1810, 1811 and 1815 (henceforth the ed. 1811 is referred to as *Memorandum*).
7. A.L. Millin, "Description d'un Bas Relief du Parthénon actuellement au Musée Napoléon", see *Memorandum*, 1811, in which it is included as Appendix [C], pp. 72-77.
8. In the following references we observe the bitter feelings of the enslaved Greeks and their reaction to Elgin's destructive acts on the Greek monuments in contrast to his testimony: Hon. F. S.N. Douglas, *An Essay on Certain Points of Resemblance Between the Ancient and Modern Greeks*, London, 1813, pp 86-87 note; Ed. Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour Through Greece During the Years 1801, 1805 and 1806*, London, 1819, p. 323; BW, *Poetry*, v. II: *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Canto II*: "Notes to Childe Harold's Pilgrimage", note 6, pp. 168-172; J.C. Hobhouse, *A Journey Through Albania and other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople During the Years 1809 and 1810*. London, ²1813, v. I, pp. 347-8; Ioannes Gennadios, *Lord Elgin and the Previous Archaeological Invaders of Greece Especially Athens 1440-1837* ('Ο Λόρδος 'Ελγιν και οι πρό αυτοῦ ἀνά τὴν 'Ελλάδα καὶ τὰς 'Αθήνας ἰδίως ἀρχαιολογήσαντες ἐπιδρομεῖς 1440-1837). Athens, 1930, pp. 134-139. Besides, as regards the protection of the Greek antiquities by the Filomousos Etaireia of Athens see T. Th. Velianitis, *Filomousos Etaireia of Athens* (*Ἡ Φιλόμουσος Ἐταιρεία τῶν Ἀθηνηῶν*), Athens, 1993 (where there is rich bibliography). The myth-making of the looting of the Caryatid is representative of the popular reaction as it is cited in the following texts: Rev. T.S. Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, London, 1820, v. I, p. 258; L. Dupré, *Voyage à Athènes et à Constantinople...* Paris, 1823, p. 36; K. Pittakis, *Archaeological Journal on the Greek Antiquities in Greece* ('Εφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογικὴ ἀφορῶσα τὰς ἐντὸς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνευρισκομένας ἀρχαιοτήτας), 1856, p. 1378; D. Gr. Kambouroglou, "The Dirge of the Caryatids" ('Ο θρήνος τῶν Καρυατίδων), *Dipylon*, 1910-1912, pp. 3-6 and so on.
9. As regards the sale of the Collection see W.St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles*, op. cit., pp. 250-262.
10. Ch. Hitchens, *Tὰ Ἐλγίνεια Μάρμαρα = The Elgin Marbles: Πρέπει νὰ ἐπιστραφῶν σὴν Ἑλλάδα; = Should they be returned to Greece? μὲ κεί-*

- μενα τοῦ Robert Browning καὶ τοῦ Graham Binns = with essays by Robert Browning and Graham Binns. Athens, 1988 [henceforth referred to as Ch. Hitchens, *The Elgin Marbles*]: Hansard's account from 23 February and 7 June 1816, pp. 246-269.
11. House of Commons, *Elgin Marbles*, 7 June 1816, p. 1033; Ch. Hitchens, *The Elgin Marbles*, pp. 120, 123.
 12. *An Act to vest the Elgin Collection of Ancient Marbles and Sculpture in the Trustees of the British Museum for the Use of the Public*, <1st July 1816>. London, 1816, p. 2.
 13. Ed. Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour...*, op. cit., p. 324.
 14. J.C. Hobhouse, *A Journey Through Albania...*, op. cit., pp. 345-348 notes.
 15. Hon. F.S.N. Douglas, *An Essay on Certain Points of Resemblance Between the Ancient and Modern Greeks*, London, 1813, pp. 89-90.
 16. A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*; translated by C.A.M. Fennell. Cambridge, 1882, p. 135.
 17. Ioannes Gennadios, *Lord Elgin and the Previous Archaeological Invaders of Greece*, op. cit., p. 81.
 18. As regards Byron's life and more specifically his two journeys to Greece, the first one from 1809-1811 and the second one from 1823-1824, see Leslie A. Marchant, *Byron: A Biography*. London, 1957.
 19. Eugenia Kefallineou, "English Romantic Poetry and Lord Byron" (Ἡ ἀγγλικὴ ρομαντικὴ ποίηση καὶ ὁ Lord Byron), *Nea Hestia*, 110(1981), pp. 184-194.
 20. Eugenia Kefallineou, *Lord Byron in Greece: His Presence in Neo-hellenic Cultural Life in the 19th Century* (Ὁ Lord Byron στὴν Ἑλλάδα: Ἡ παρουσία του στὴ νεοελληνικὴ πνευματικὴ ζωὴ κατὰ τὸν 19' αἰῶνα). Doctoral Dissertation. Athens: University of Athens, 1996, σ. 468.
 21. *BW. Poetry*. v.2: *Childe Harold*, II, notes, p. 192-193.
 22. K. Pop, "Byron: His Life, Poetry, His Death" (Ὁ Βύρων: βίος, ποιήσεις, τελευτὴ αὐτοῦ), *Byron*, 1(1874), 324.
 23. *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, 1027-1032.
 24. *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture*, Dilettanti Society, 1809, v. 1, p. XXXIX, 177; B.R. Haydon, *Autobiography and Memoirs*, ed. Aldus Huxley, 1926, p. 207. Renowned archaeologists and artists of those times were diametrically opposed to R. Payne Knight's views regarding the artistic value of the Acropolis Marbles, see Ennio Querino

- Visconti, *Two Memoirs Read to the Royal Institute of France on the Sculptures in the Collection of the Earl of Elgin*, London, 1816; Benjamin West in a laudatory *Epistle* which was included as an Appendix to *Memorandum*, 1811, pp. 29-33; Antonio Canova who has praised Elgin's Collection in a letter of his (London, 10 November 1815) and has stated very characteristically that 'this Collection is worth the treasures of both Indies (East and West)' see Fr. Suckow, *The Shadow of Lord Byron, or, The Voice of Acropolis to the British Nation*, Straslund, 1835, p. [3]; B.R. Haydon, *Autobiography...*, pp. 66-69 and others.
25. Lord Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage: A Romaunt*. London; Edinburgh; Dublin, 1812 [=BW. *Poetry*, v. II].
26. BW. *Poetry*, v. II: *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, "Notes on the Mss of *Childe Harold*", p. XVI.
27. *Ibid.*, "Canto the First", LX-LXIV, pp. 60-63.
28. *Ibid.*, "Canto the Second", pp. 97-208.
29. Regarding the wreckage of Elgin's ship "Mentor" which was loaded with the antiquities as well as the salvage operation see A. Miliarakes, "About the Elgin Marbles" (Περὶ τῶν Ἐλγινεῶν Μαρμάρων), *Hestia*, 26 (1888), pp. 713-718, 729-732, 745-747.
30. BW. *Poetry*, v. II: *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, "Notes to *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*", Canto II, note 6, pp. 168-172.
31. Gropius later became consul of Austria to Athens.
32. Lord Byron's, *Correspondence*, ed. John Murray, 1922, v. I, p. 43.
33. *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron with Notices of his Life by Thomas Moore*. Brussels, 1830/31, v. 2, p. 140.
34. BW. *Poetry*, v. II, p. XII.
35. BW. *Poetry*, v. I, p. 453.
36. *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron*, op. cit., pp. 148.
37. W.St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles*, op. cit., p. 194.
38. *The Corsair: A Tale by Lord Byron*. Printed by Thomas Davison, 1814. Canto III, 1169-1218.
39. BW. *Letters and Journals*, ed. by R. E. Prothero, v. 3, pp. 270-271 [Letter to John Murray on 6 March 1816].
40. *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron with Notices of his Life by Thomas Moore*. London, 1873, p. 693.
41. *Oeuvres de Lord Byron. Traduction de M. Amédée Pichot* (v. 1-6. Paris 1830-1835). "La Malédiction de Minerve", v. 3, pp. 359-372.

42. *Oeuvres Complètes de Lord Byron*. Traduction Nouvelle par Benjamin Laroche (v. 1-4, Paris 1836-1837). "La Malédiction de Minerve", v. II, pp. 75-82 (Notes pp. 83-85).
43. J.C. Hobhouse, *A Journey Through Albania*, op. cit., p. 345.
44. Le Vicomte de Marcellys, *Souvenirs de l'Orient*. Paris, 1939, v. 2, pp. 354-355.
45. The first two lines of the epigram were written on the original Ms, see *BW. Poetry*, v. I, p. 462, note 2.
46. Lord Byron, *Poems (Ποήματα)*; translated in prose from English by G. Polites. Athens, 1868, v. 2: "Carmina Byronis in G. Elgin", p. 224.
47. A.R. Rangabé, *Actes de la Sixième Réunion Générale de la Société Archéologique d'Athènes (le 12 (24) Mai 1842) (Πρακτικά της 5' γενικής συνεδριάσεως της ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρίας (sic) τῆ 12ῃ Μαΐου 1842)*. 2ème ed. Athènes, 1846, pp. 146-160.
48. William Black, *Narrative of Cruises in the Mediterranean During the Greek War of Independence (1822-1826)*. Edinburgh, 1900, p. 295.
49. W.St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles*, op. cit., p. 193, 296-297, note 24.
50. A. Miliarakes, "About the Elgin Marbles", op. cit., p. 771. According to the writer this translation was sent to him by the Hellenist Emile Legrand from Paris.
51. [Anonymous], "A German's Observation on English Literature During 1815" (Παρατηρήσεις Γερμανοῦ τινὸς περὶ τῆς Ἀγγλικῆς Φιλολογίας κατὰ τὸ 1815). Extract from *Algemeine geographische Ephemeriden...* herausgegeben von Dr. E.I. Bertuch. XLIX Bandes, zweytes Stück, Februar 1816. Weimar, London 18 Aug. 1815. Translated (into Greek) by I.P.I. [=Ioannes Rastes], *Hermes o Logios*, 1818, pp. 65-71.
52. K. Simopoulos, *Foreign Travellers in Greece 1800-1810 (Ξένοι ταξιδιώτες σὴν Ἑλλάδα 1800-1810)*. Athens, 1975, v. Γ1, p. 582.
53. [Anonymous], "A German's Observation on English Literature", op. cit., p. 68. As regards the history of the Clock see W.St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles*, op. cit., pp. 209-210; Ioannes Genadios, *Lord Elgin and the Previous Archaeological Invaders of Greece*, op. cit., pp. 40, 77-78.
54. Rev. T.S. Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*. London, 1820, v. 1, p. 267.

55. H.M. the King of Bavaria Ludwig I, *Poems About Greece* (Ποιήματα περὶ Ἑλλάδος); translated [into Greek] by A.R. Rangabes. Nafplion, 1833, p. 46.
56. *Zuleica and the Curse of Minerva: Poems by Lord Byron*; translated by N. Mandricares. Athens, 1837.
57. *Actes de la Sixième Réunion Générale de la Société Archéologique d'Athènes*, op. cit., pp. 146-165.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
59. Lord Byron, *Poems* (Ποιήματα); translated in prose from English by G. Polites. Published at the expense of A. Coromelas' Children. Athens, 1867, v. 1: "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage", pp. 46-395; v. 2, 1868: "The Curse of Minerva", pp. 211-223.
60. *Ibid.*, v. I, p. b'.
61. [Anonymous], "The Elgin Marbles" (Τὰ Ἑλγίνεια Μάρμαρα) in the newspaper *Aion*, 4 July 1880.
62. 14(26) June 1880.
63. Byron's, "The Curse of Minerva" (Ἡ Κατάρα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς). Translation in verse by J. Pervanoglou, *Hesperos* (Leipzig), 15/27 April 1884, no 72, pp. 378-379.
64. See the newspaper *Aion*, 20 March 1884, p. 3.
65. Adolf Furtwaengler, *La Collection Sabouroff, Monument de l'Art Grec*. Publiés par Furtwaengler (Berlin 1883-1887); R. Kekule von Stradoniz, *Archaeologische Bemerkungen zur Saburoffschen Bronze* (1897).
66. Lord Byron, *The Curse of Minerva and Stanzas for Music* (Ἡ Κατάρα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Στιχοπαὶ πρὸς Μουσουργίαν); translated in verse from English into Greek on Byron's centenary by O.I. Iasonides, Athens, 1888.
67. A. Miliarakes, "About the Elgin Marbles" (Περὶ τῶν Ἑλγινείων Μαρμάρων), *Hestia*, 26 (1888) 681-684, 697-700, 713-718, 729-732, 745-747, 767-772, 777-780, 793-799.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 797.
69. C.F. Cavafy, "The Elgin Marbles" (Τὰ Ἑλγίνεια Μάρμαρα) in the newspaper *Ethniki*, 30 March 1891. See also "More Recent News About the Elgin Marbles" (Νεώτερα περὶ τῶν Ἑλγινείων Μαρμάρων) in the newspaper *Ethniki*, 29 April 1891.
70. Fr. Harrison, "Give Back the Elgin Marbles", *The Nineteenth*

- Century*, December 1890, pp. 980-987. Knowles, the journal editor, replied by writing the article "The Joke About the Elgin Marbles...", March 1891, pp. 495-506 and Harrison rejoined by writing the article "Editorial Horseplay" in the journal *Fortnightly Review*, April 1891, pp. 642-655.
71. C.F. Cavafy, *Prose Works (Πεζά)*; translated by G.A. Papoutsakis. Athens: Fexis, 1963, p. 10.
 72. Eugenia Kefallineou, *Lord Byron in Greece*, o.p. cit., pp. 140, 185.
 73. [Anonymous], "Lord Byron's Centenary: Poetry Competition" (Ἡ Ἐκατονταετηρὶς τοῦ Λόρδου Βύρωνος: Ποιητικὸν Διαγώνισμα), in the newspaper *Hestia*, 3 May 1909.
 74. G.T., "The Greek Byron", in the newspaper *Hestia*, 6 May 1909.
 75. Lord Byron, *His Poems for Greece (Τὰ τραγούδια τῶν γιὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα)*; translated by Stefanos Myrtas. Athens, 1924: "The Curse of Minerva", pp. 53-54, "Childe Harold", pp. 77-97.
 76. K. Palamas, "The Acropolis as a Source of Inspiration" (Ἡ Ἀκρόπολις ὡς πηγὴ ἐμπνεύσεως), *The Great Greek Encyclopedia*, v. 3, pp. 229-233 [= *The Complete Works*, v. 13, pp. 339-355. For Byron pp. 340-342].
 77. S. Séfériadès, "La Question du Rapatriement des 'Marbres d'Elgin' considérée plus spécialement au point de vue du Droit des Gens", *Revue de Droit International*, 3(1932) pp. 3-32.
 78. Lord Byron, *His Poems for Greece; Biography and Preface by T. Zervos (Τραγούδια τῶν γιὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· Βιογραφία καὶ Πρόλογος Τ. Ζερβοῦ)*, Athens, 1924. "Childe Harold", pp. 41-69. "The Curse of Minerva", pp. 70-80.
 79. K. Palamas, "The Acropolis as a Source of Inspiration", op. cit., pp. 340-342.
 80. Ioannes Gennadios, *Lord Elgin and the Previous Archaeological Invaders of Greece*, op. cit., pp. 60-79.
 81. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
 82. Lord Byron's, *The Curse of Minerva (Ἡ Κατὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς)*. Introduction and translation by Panos Karagiorgos. Ioannina, 1972, (²1995).
 83. Lord Byron's, *Childe Harold*; translation by M. Kesisi. Athens, 1977. Stanzas 11-15 of Canto II, pp. 150-156.
 84. Lord Byron's, *Poems. Rendition in verse by M. Kesisi (Ποιητικὰ ἔργα)*.

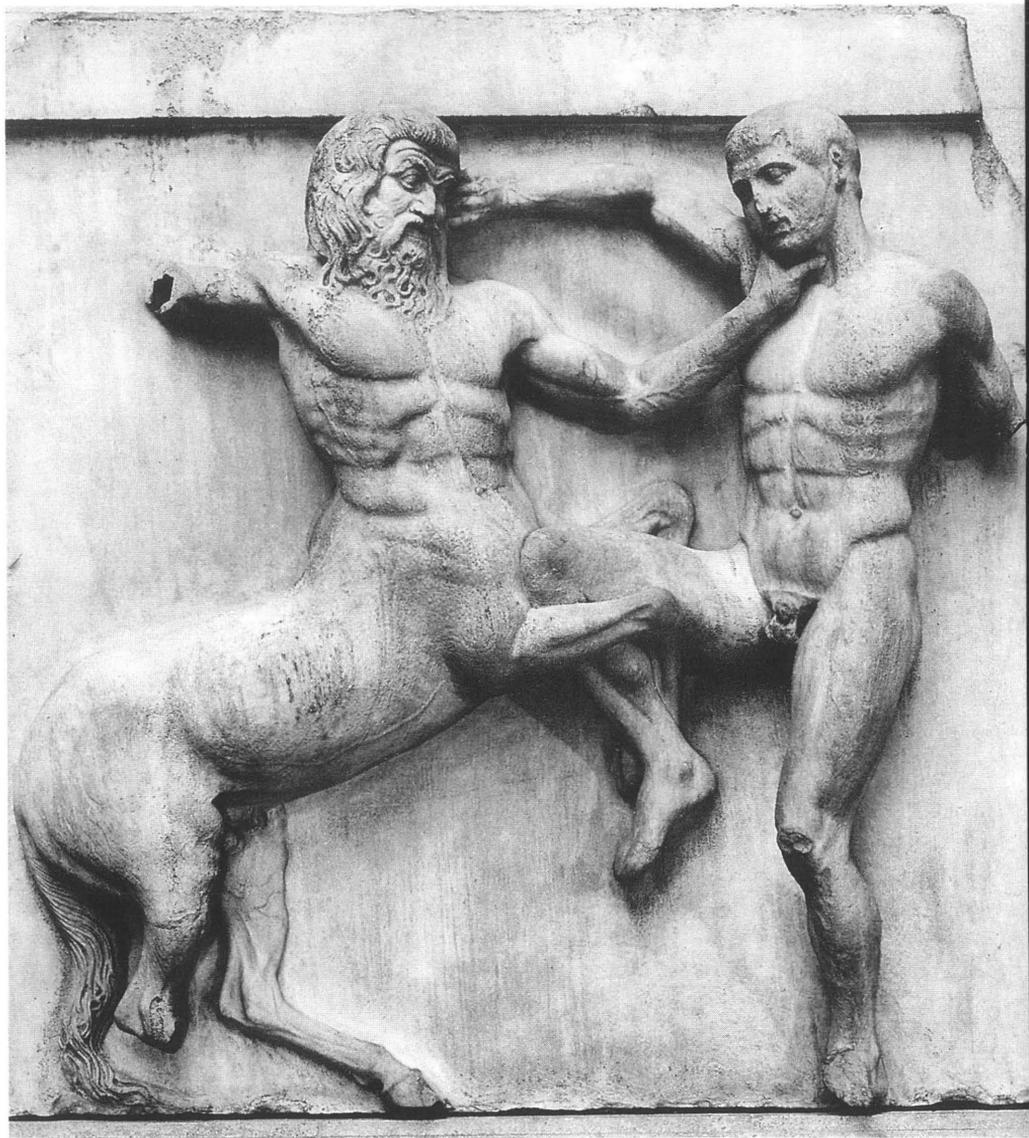
- Ἐμμετριῆ ἀπόδοσι). Athens, 1974 : “The Curse of Minerva”, pp. 289-306.
85. C.F. Cavafy, “More Recent News About the Elgin Marbles” (Νεώτερα περὶ τῶν Ἐλγινείων Μαρμάρων) in the newspaper *Ethniki* 29 April 1891.
86. A.H. Smith, “Lord Elgin and his Collection”, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1916.
87. Ch. Hitchens, *The Elgin Marbles*, op. cit., pp. 142-145; H. Nicolson, “The Byron Curse Echoes Again”, *New York Times Magazine*, 27 March 1949, pp. 12, 13, 33, 35.
88. Ch. Hitchens, *The Elgin Marbles*, op. cit., pp. 150-154.
89. H. Nicolson, “The Byron Curse Echoes Again”, op. cit.
90. See a series of articles concerning Francis Noel Baker’s question to the House of Commons published in the English and Greek daily press after 9 May 1961 and during the rest of the month.
91. Hansard (Commons), 9 May 1961.
92. See “Bought and Paid for” in the newspaper *The Times*, 10 May 1961.
93. H. Nicolson, “Bought and Paid for” in the newspaper *The Times*, 16 May 1961.
94. From a leaflet of the British Committee for the Restitution of the Parthenon Marbles.
95. Keith Nurse, “40 MPs ‘Back Return of Elgin Marbles’”, in the newspaper *The Daily Telegraph*, 15 October 1993.
96. *House of Commons Official Report: Parliamentary Debates (HANSARD)*, Friday 20 June 1986; David Mckie “Give Marbles Back to Greeks on Byron’s Birthday, says Foot”, in the newspaper *The Guardian*, 21 June 1986.
97. In August 1982 the Minister of Culture Melina Mercouri who represented the Greek Government at the meeting of the Unesco Ministers of Culture in Mexico backed the return of the antiquities which belong to existing monuments to the countries of their origin. Since then the request has been submitted again to the Intergovernmental Unesco Committee for the return of the cultural goods to their countries of origin.
98. See “Competition for New Acropolis Museum”, *The British Committee for the Restitution of the Parthenon Marbles’ Newsletter*, no 4, April 1990, p. 1; The announcement of an international archite-

- ctural competition for the New Museum of the Acropolis was repeated during the meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee in Zappeion [of Athens] on 22-25 April 1991. Nowadays the new Museum of the Acropolis is being erected.
99. The celebrations to honour Byron's bicentenary started in Greece in 1987 with the organisation of the 14th International Conference in Athens. They were completed in England in 1988.
 100. *'Ο Λόρδος Βύρων στην Ελλάδα = Lord Byron in Greece. Athens, 22 January 22 March 1988.* Catalogue compiled and edited by F.M. Tsigakou. Athens, 1988.
 101. N. Vatopoulos, "Euro-signatures for the Marbles; An Initiative Elicits a Response in Strasbourg" (Εύρω-υπογραφές για τὰ Μάρμαρα: Μία πρωτοβουλία βρίσκει ανταπόκριση στο Στρασβούργο) in the newspaper *Kathimerini*, 19 June 1996, p. 11.
 102. Helen Bistica, "Euro-turn for Restitution of Marbles: Two Resolutions for Parthenon Antiquities Carry on Relayrace" (Ευρω-στροφή για την επιστροφή των γλυπτών: δύο ψηφίσματα παίρνουν τη σκυτάλη για τα αρχαία του Παρθενώνα) in the newspaper *Kathimerini*, 24 January 1999.
 103. E. Venizelos, "Memorandum on the Restitution of the Parthenon Marbles: The Greek Positions on the British Arguments About the Elgin Marbles" (Τὸ μνημόνιο γιὰ τὴν επιστροφή τῶν Μαρμάρων τοῦ Παρθενώνα: Οἱ ἐλληνικὲς θέσεις ἀπέναντι στὰ βρετανικὰ ἐπιχειρήματα γιὰ τὰ Ἐλγίνεια) in the newspaper *To Vima*, 6 July 1997, p. 34.
 104. E. Renan, *Prière sur l'Acropole*; Athènes: Eleftheroudakis & Barth, p. 8.



Hermes, Dionysos, Demeter, Ares. East frieze slab IV 24-27.

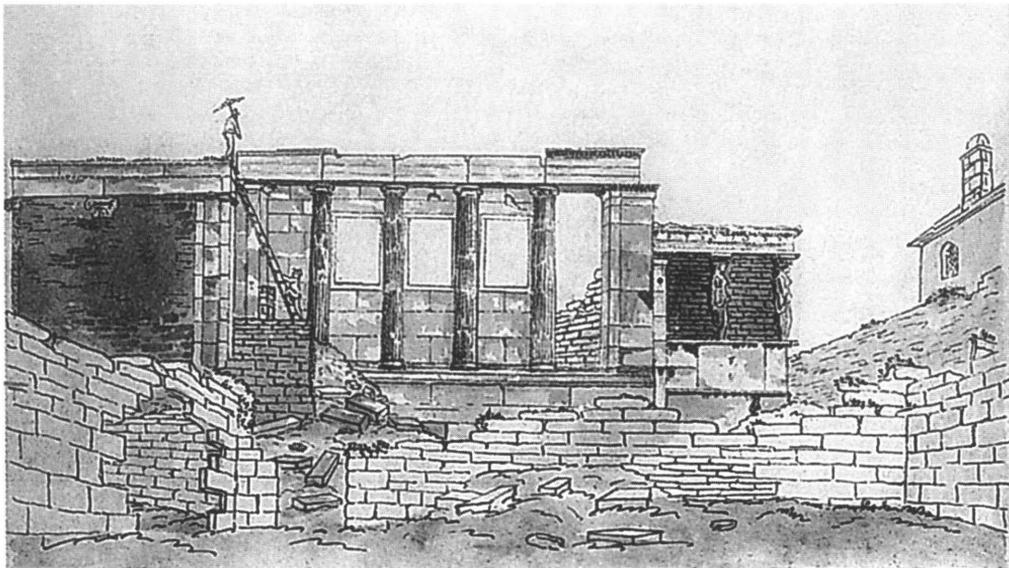
APPENDICES



A Centaur and a Lapith in combat. South metope XXXI.

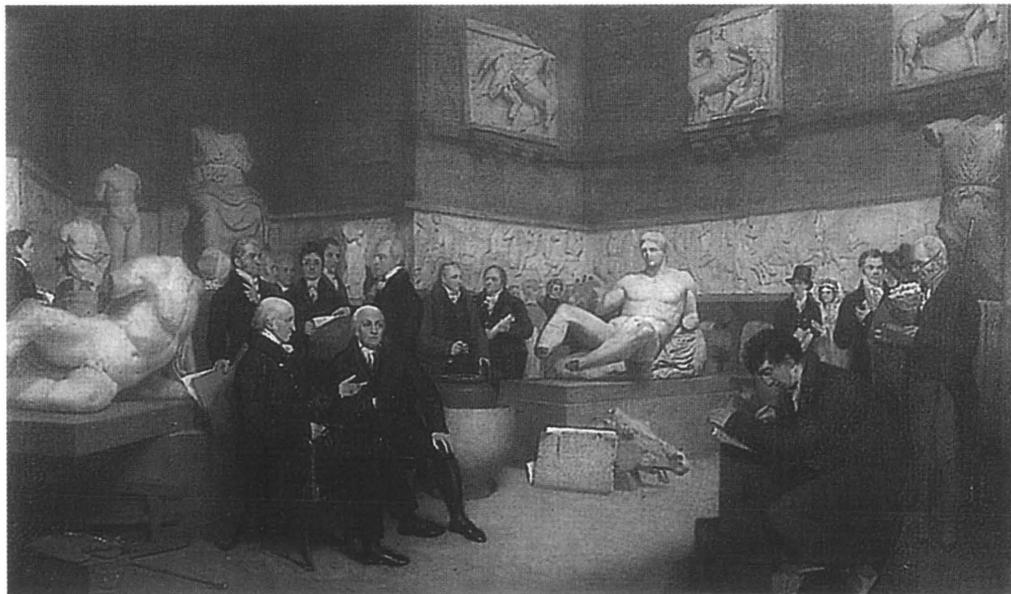
I

Poetry on the Acropolis Marbles



The Erechtheion from the west, 1801. The man at the top is thought to be Lusieri. Drawing by Sir William Gell. London, British Museum.

The Elgin Marbles at Park Lane, 1810. Drawing by C.R. Cockerell at Broomhall.



BYRON

Childe Harold's Pilgrimage

.....

XI.

But who, of all the plunderers of yon Fane
On high —where Pallas lingered, loth to flee
The latest relic of her ancient reign—
The last, the worst, dull spoiler, who was he?
Blush, Caledonia! such thy son could be!
England! I joy no child he was of thine:
Thy free-born men should spare what once was free;
Yet they could violate each saddening shrine,
And bear these altars o'er the long-reluctant brine.

XII.

But most the modern Pict's ignoble boast,
To rive what Goth, and Turk, and Time hath spared:
Cold as the crags upon his native coast,
His mind as barren and his heart as hard,
Is he whose head conceived, whose hand prepared,
Aught to displace Athenae's poor remains:
Her Sons too weak the sacred shrine to guard,
Yet felt some portion of their Mother's pains,
And never knew, till then, the weight of Despot's chains.

XIII.

What! shall it e'er be said by British tongue,
Albion was happy in Athena's tears?
Though in thy name the slaves her bosom wrung,
Tell not the deed to blushing Europe's ears;

The Ocean Queen, the free Britannia, bears
The last poor plunder from a bleeding land:
Yes, she, whose generous aid her name endears,
Tore down those remnants with a Harpy's hand,
Which envious Eld forbore, and tyrants left to stand.

XIV.

Where was thine Ægis, Pallas! that appalled
Stern Alaric and Havoc on their way?
Where Peleus' son? whom Hell in vain enthralled,
His shade from Hades upon that dread day
Bursting to light in terrible array!
What! could not Pluto spare the Chief once more,
To scare a second robber from his prey?
Idly he wandered on the Stygian shore,
Nor now preserved the walls he loved to shield before.

XV.

Cold is the heart, fair Greece! that looks on Thee,
Nor feels as Lovers o'er the dust they loved;
Dull is the eye that will not weep to see
Thy walls defaced, thy mouldering shrines removed
By British hands, which it had best behoved
To guard those relics ne'er to be restored: —
Curst be the hour when from their isle they roved,
And once again thy hapless bosom gored,
And snatched thy shrinking Gods to Northern climes
abhorred!

.....

BYRON

The Curse of Minerva

Pallas te hoc Vulnere Pallas
 Immolat, et pœnan scelerato ex sanguine sumit

Athens: Capuchin Convent, March 17, 1811

Slow sinks, more lovely ere his race be run,
 Along Morea's hills the setting Sun;
 Not, as in northern climes, obscurely bright,
 But one unclouded blaze of living light;
 O'er the hushed deep the yellow beam he throws,
 Gilds the green wave that trembles as it glows;
 On old Ægina's rock and Hydra's isle
 The God of gladness sheds his parting smile;
 O'er his own regions lingering loves to shine,
 Though there his altars are no more divine. 10
 Descending fast, the mountain-shadows kiss
 Thy glorious Gulf, unconquered Salamis!
 Their azure arches through the long expanse,
 More deeply purpled, meet his mellowing glance,
 And tenderest tints, along their summits driven,
 Mark his gay course, and own the hues of Heaven;
 Till, darkly shaded from the land and deep,
 Behind his Delphian rock he sinks to sleep.

On such an eve his palest beam he cast
 When, Athens! here thy Wisest looked his last. 20
 How watched thy better sons his farewell ray,
 That closed their murdered Sage's latest day!
 Not yet — not yet — Sol pauses on the hill,
 The precious hour of parting lingers still;

But sad his light to agonizing eyes,
 And dark the mountain's once delightful dyes;
 Gloom o'er the lovely land he seemed to pour,
 The land where Phœbus never frowned before;
 But ere he sunk below Cithæron's head,
 The cup of Woe was quaffed — the Spirit fled; 30
 The soul of Him that scorned to fear or fly,
 Who lived and died as none can live or die.

But lo! from high Hymettus to the plain
 The Queen of Night asserts her silent reign;
 No murky vapour, herald of the storm,
 Hides her fair face, or girds her glowing form;
 With cornice glimmering as the moonbeams play,
 There the white column greets her grateful ray,
 And bright around, with quivering beams beset,
 Her emblem sparkles o'er the Minaret: 40
 The groves of olive scattered dark and wide,
 Where meek Cephisus sheds his scanty tide,
 The cypress saddening by the sacred mosque,
 The gleaming turret of the gay kiosk,
 And sad and sombre 'mid the holy calm,
 Near Theseus' fane, yon solitary palm;
 All, tinged with varied hues, arrest the eye;
 And dull were his that passed them heedless by.

Again the Ægean, heard no more afar,
 Lulls his chafed breast from elemental war: 50
 Again his waves in milder tints unfold
 Their long expanse of sapphire and of gold,
 Mixed with the shades of many a distant isle
 That frown, where gentler Ocean deigns to smile.

As thus, within the walls of Pallas' fane,

R. CASEMENT

Give Back the Elgin Marbles

Give back the Elgin marbles; let them lie
Unsullied, pure beneath an Attic sky.
The smoky fingers of our northern clime
More ruin work than all the ancient time.
How oft' the roar of the Pirean Sea
Through column'd hall and dusky temple stealing.

Hath struck these marble ears, that now must flee
The whirling hum of London, noonward reeling
Ah! let them hear again the sounds that float
Around Athena's shrine on morning's breeze—
The lowing ox, the bell of clinking goat
And drowsy drone of far Hymettus' breeze
Give back the marbles, let them vigil keep
Where art still lies, o'er Pheidias' tomb, asleep.

(Lukunga Valley, Cataract Region of the Lower Congo)

(Published in *Review of Reviews*, July 1891 and in the newspaper *Observer* on 21 May 1916. See Ch. Hitchens, *The Elgin Marbles*, pp 139-140).

sounded to the serene and cloudless sky. Those sounds reverberated a long time ago and complete silence now reigns where young life once existed. Everything grows old; even the most beautiful things in this world.

The Parthenon still stood adorned as in olden times; however, civilized people committed the sacrilege time and the barbarians had not. They moved you to the island where the sun rises darkened by fog, where the people participated in other manifestations of glory except in that of art.

You works of blissful times, witnesses of the beautiful world of the past! every sensitive heart weeps for you; you will not be restored. The glorious past is irrevocably gone. The spirit of that time lives only in memory.

LUDVIG I., King of Bavaria

The Statues of the Acropolis in Britain

Marble representations of the beautiful and noble nature of the ancient world, works of the finest artists you defied the centuries and the atrocity of the Turks but you are already lying in fragments.

You have been plundered from the land where you were created, you have lost your great value; people who never believed in your temple pillaged you; you simple and disconnected fragments are alien to the looks of this country and are not illuminated by the sun of Greece.

Myths had a deep meaning in the infancy of mankind. The naked truth was not revealed, justice was not listened to either. Peace did not prevail among people and unperfected forces fought one another; the supremacy of the centaurs beats the Lapiths.

In those pleasing ancient times art vied for the archetype of beauty by giving new life to existing and mythical nature. Behold, it reached this noble end. Behold, the stone was carved and we now see exquisite statures of humans who trod only the land of Greece.

Lifeless stone exudes life. This annual procession was majestic. It was here that the virgins' flowery dance to the Panathenaea came forward; it was there that horsemen followed; farther on horses stood on their hind legs.

Lull followed tumultuous, lively activity and hymns

The bannered pomp of war, the glittering files,
 O'er whose gay trappings stern Bellona smiles;
 The brazen trump, the spirit-stirring drum,
 That bid the foe defiance ere they come;
 The hero bounding at his country's call,
 The glorious death that consecrates his fall, 290
 Swell the young heart with visionary charms,
 And bid it antedate the joys of arms.
 But know, a lesson you may yet be taught,
 With death alone are laurels cheaply bought;
 Not in the conflict Havoc seeks delight,
 His day of mercy is the day of fight.
 But when the field is fought, the battle won,
 Though drenched with gore, his woes are but begun:
 His deeper deeds as yet ye know by name;
 The slaughtered peasant and the ravished dame, 300
 The rifled mansion and the foe-reaped field,
 Ill suit with souls at home, untaught to yield.
 Say with what eye along the distant down
 Would flying burghers mark the blazing town?
 How view the column of ascending flames
 Shake his red shadow o'er the startled Thames?
 Nay, frown not, Albion! for the torch was thine
 That lit such pyres from Tagus to the Rhine:
 Now should they burst on thy devoted coast,
 Go, ask thy bosom who deserves them most? 310
 The law of Heaven and Earth is life for life,
 And she who raised, in vain regrets, the strife".

Him senates hear, whom never yet they heard,
 Contemptuous once, and now no less absurd.
 So, once of yore, each reasonable frog,
 Swore faith and fealty to his sovereign 'log'.
 Thus hailed your rulers their patrician clod,
 As Egypt chose an onion for a God.

"Now fare ye well! enjoy your little hour;
 Go, grasp the shadow of your vanished power; 260
 Gloss o'er the failure of each fondest scheme;
 Your strength a name, your bloated wealth a dream.
 Gone is that Gold, the marvel of mankind.
 And Pirates barter all that's left behind.
 No more the hirelings, purchased near and far,
 Crowd to the ranks of mercenary war.
 To idle merchant on the useless quay
 Droops o'er the bales no bark may bear away;
 Or, back returning, sees rejected stores 270
 Rot piecemeal on his own encumbered shores:
 The starved mechanic breaks his rusting loom,
 And desperate mans him 'gainst the coming doom.
 Then in the Senates of your sinking state
 Show me the man whose counsels may have weight.
 Vain is each voice where tones could once command;
 E'en factions cease to charm a factious land:
 Yet jarring sects convulse a sister Isle,
 And light with maddening hands the mutual pile.

"Tis done, 'tis past — since Pallas warns in vain;
 The Furies seize her abdicated reign: 280
 Wide o'er the realm they wave their kindling brands,
 And wring her vitals with their fiery hands.
 But one convulsive struggle still remains,
 And Gaul shall weep ere Albion wear her chains,

"Look to the East, where Ganges' swarthy race
 Shall shake your tyrant empire to its base;
 Lo! there Rebellion rears her ghastly head,
 And glares the Nemesis of native dead;
 Till Indus rolls a deep purpureal flood,
 And claims his long arrear of northern blood.
 So may ye perish! — Pallas, when she gave
 Your free-born rights, forbade ye to enslave.

"Look on your Spain! — she clasps the hand she hates,
 But boldly clasps, and thrusts you from her gates. 230
 Bear witness, bright Barossa! thou canst tell
 Whose were the sons that bravely fought and fell.
 But Lusitania, kind and dear ally,
 Can spare a few to fight, and sometimes fly.
 Oh glorious field! by Famine fiercely won,
 The Gaul retires for once, and all is done!
 But when did Pallas teach, that one retreat
 Retrieved three long Olympiads of defeat?

"Look last at home — ye love not to look there
 On the grim smile of comfortless despair: 240
 Your city saddens: loud though Revel howls,
 Here Famine faints, and yonder Rapine prowls.
 See all alike of more or less bereft;
 No misers tremble when there's nothing left.
 'Blest paper credit;' who shall dare to sing?
 It clogs like lead Corruption's weary wing.
 Yet Pallas plucked each Premier by the ear,
 Who Gods and men alike disdained to hear;
 But one, repentant o'er a bankrupt state,
 On Pallas calls, — but calls, alas! too late: 250
 Then raves for * *; to that Mentor bends,
 Though he and Pallas never yet were friends.

Mourns o'er the difference of *now* and *then*;
 Exclaims, "These Greeks indeed were proper men!" 190
 Draws slight comparisons of *these* with *those*,
 And envies Laïs all her Attic beaux.
 When shall a modern maid have swains like these?
 Alas! Sir Harry is no Hercules!
 And last of all, amidst the gaping crew,
 Some calm spectator, as he takes his view,
 In silent indignation mixed with grief,
 Admires the plunder, but abhors the thief.
 Oh, loathed in life, nor pardoned in the dust,
 May Hate pursue his sacrilegious lust! 200
 Linked with the fool that fired the Ephesian dome,
 Shall vengeance follow far beyond the tomb,
 And Eratostratus and Elgin shine
 In many a branding page and burning line;
 Alike reserved for aye to stand accursed,
 Perchance the second blacker than the first

"So let him stand, through ages yet unborn,
 Fixed statue on the pedestal of Scorn;
 Though not for him alone revenge shall wait,
 But fits thy country for her coming fate: 210
 Hers were the deeds that taught her lawless son
 To do what oft Britannia's self had done.
 Look to the Baltic — blazing from afar,
 Your old Ally yet mourns perfidious war.
 Not to such deeds did Pallas lend her aid,
 Or break the compact which herself had made;
 Far from such counsels, from the faithless field
 She fled — but left behind her Gorgon shield;
 A fatal gift that turned your friends to stone,
 And left lost Albion hated and alone. 220

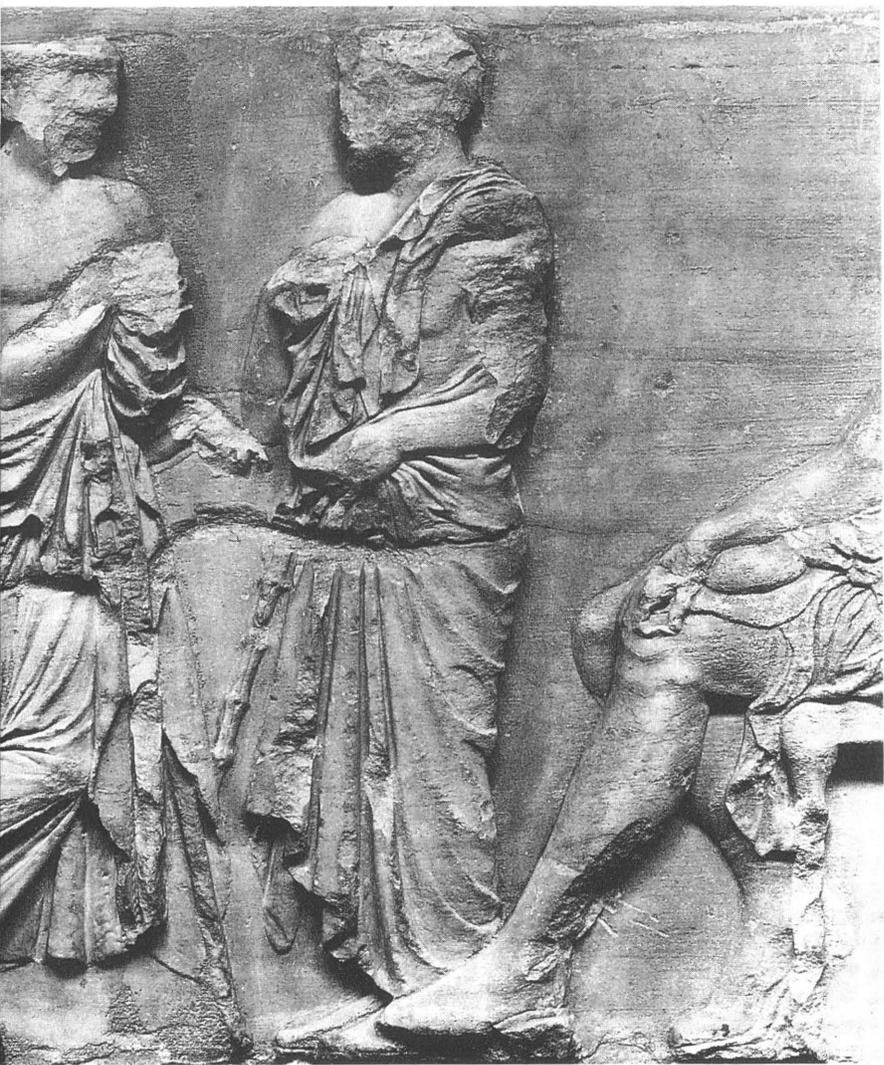
“Mortal!” the blue-eyed maid resumed, “once more
 Bear back my mandate to thy native shore.
 Though fallen, alas! this vengeance yet is mine,
 To turn my counsels far from lands like thine. 160
 Hear then in silence Pallas’ stern behest;
 Hear and believe, for Time will tell the rest.

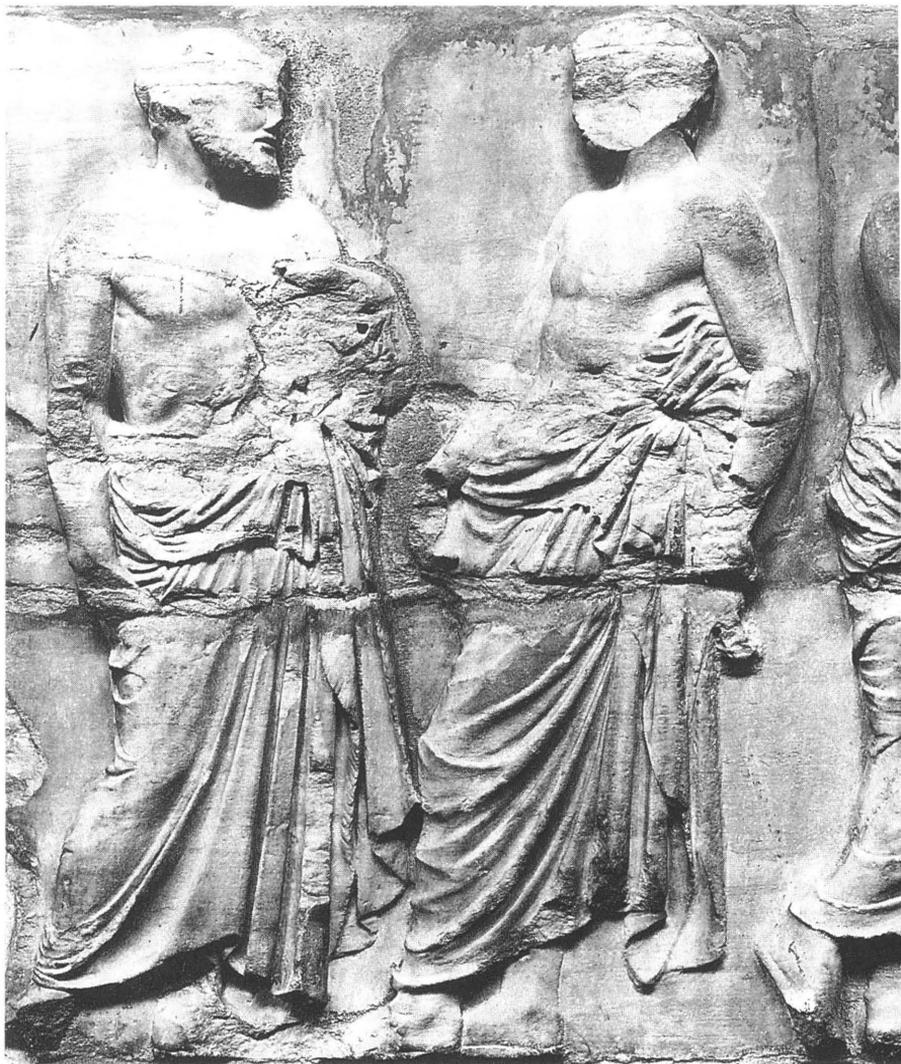
”First on the head of him who did this deed
 My curse shall light, — on him and all his seed:
 Without one spark of intellectual fire,
 Be all the sons as senseless as the sire:
 If one with wit the parent brood disgrace,
 Believe him bastard of a brighter race : 170
 Still with his hireling artists let him prate,
 And Folly’s praise repay for Wisdom’s hate;
 Long of their Patron’s gusto let them tell,
 Whose noblest, *native* gusto is — to sell:
 To sell, and make — may shame record the day!—
 The State — Receiver of his pilfered prey.
 Meantime, the flattering, feeble dotard, West,
 Europe’s worst dauber, and poor Britain’s best,
 With palsied hand shall turn each model o’er,
 And own himself an infant of fourscore.
 Be all the Bruisers culled from all St. Giles’,
 That Art and Nature may compare their styles; 180
 While brawny brutes in stupid wonder stare,
 And marvel at his Lordship’s ‘stone shop’ there.
 Round the thronged gate shall sauntering coxcombs
 creep

To lounge and lucubrate, to prate and peep;
 While many a languid maid, with longing sigh,
 On giant statues casts the curious eye;
 The room with transient glance appears to skim,
 Yet marks the mighty back and length of limb ;

She ceased awhile, and thus I dared reply,
 To soothe the vengeance kindling in her eye:
 "Daughter of Jove! in Britain's injured name,
 A true-born Briton may the deed disclaim.
 Frown not on England; England owns him not:
 Athena, no! thy plunderer was a Scot.
 Ask'st thou the difference? From fair Phyles' towers
 Survey Bœotia; —Caledonia's ours. 130
 And well I know within that bastard land
 Hath Wisdom's goddess never held command;
 A barren soil, where Nature's germs, confined
 To stern sterility, can stint the mind;
 Whose thistle well betrays the niggard earth,
 Emblem of all to whom the Land gives birth;
 Each genial influence nurtured to resist;
 A land of meanness, sophistry, and mist.
 Each breeze from foggy mount and marshy plain
 Dilutes with drivel every drizzly brain, 140
 Till, burst at length, each wat'ry head o'erflows,
 Foul as their soil, and frigid as their snows:
 Then thousand schemes of petulance and pride
 Despatch her scheming children far and wide;
 Some East, some West, some — everywhere but North!
 In quest of lawless gain, they issue forth.
 And thus — accursed be the day and year!
 She sent a Pict to play the felon here.
 Yet Caledonia claims some native worth,
 As dull Bœotia gave a Pindar birth; 150
 So may her few, the lettered and the brave,
 Bound to no clime and victors of the grave,
 Shake off the sordid dust of such a land,
 And shine like children of a happier strand;
 As once, of yore, in some obnoxious place,
 Ten names (if found) had saved a wretched race".

“Mortal!” —’twas thus she spake— “that blush of shame
 Proclaims thee Briton, once a noble name; 90
 First of the mighty, foremost of the free,
 Now honoured *less* by all, and *least* by me:
 Chief of they foes shall Pallas still be found.
 Seek’st thou the cause of loathing! – look around.
 Lo! here, despite of war and wasting fire,
 I saw successive Tyrannies expire;
 Scaped from the ravage of the Turk and Goth,
 Thy country sends a spoiler worse than both.
 Survey this vacant, violated fane;
 Recount the relics torn that yet remain: 100
These Cecrops placed, *this* Pericles adorned,
That Adrian reared when drooping Science mourned.
 What more I own let Gratitude attest—
 Know, Alaric and Elgin did the rest.
 That all may learn from whence the plunderer came,
 The insulted wall sustains his hated name:
 For Elgin’s fame thus grateful Pallas pleads,
 Below, his name — above, behold his deeds!
 Be ever hailed with equal honour here
 The Gothic monarch and the Pictish peer: 110
 Arms gave the first his right, the last had none,
 But basely stole what less barbarians won.
 So when the Lion quits his fell repast,
 Next prowls the Wolf, the filthy Jackal last:
 Flesh, limbs, and blood the former make their own,
 The last poor brute securely gnaws the bone.
 Yet still the Gods are just, and crimes are crossed:
 See here what Elgin won, and what he lost!
 Another name with *his* pollutes my shrine:
 Behold where Dian’s beams disdain to shine! 120
 Some retribution still might Pallas claim,
 When Venus half avenged Minerva’s shame”.





Magistrates (Archons) or Eponymous Heroes, Hermes. East frieze slab IV 20-24.

I marked the beauties of the land and main,
 Alone, and friendless, on the magic shore,
 Whose arts and arms but live in poets' lore;
 Oft as the matchless dome I turned to scan,
 Sacred to Gods, but not secure from Man, 60
 The Past returned, the Present seemed to cease,
 And Glory knew no clime beyond her Greece!

Hour rolled along, and Dian's orb on high
 Had gained the centre of her softest sky;
 And yet unwearied still my footsteps trod
 O'er the vain shrine of many a vanished God:
 But chiefly, Pallas! thine, when Hecate's glare
 Checked by thy columns, fell more sadly fair
 O'er the chill marble, where the startling tread
 Thrills the lone heart like echoes from the dead. 70
 Long had I mused, and treasured every trace
 The wreck of Greece recorded of her race,
 When, lo! a giant-form before me strode,
 And Pallas hailed me in her own Abode!

Yes, 'twas Minerva's self; but, ah! how changed,
 Since o'er the Dardan field in arms she ranged!
 Not such as erst, by her divine command,
 Her form appeared from Phidias' plastic hand :
 Gone were the terrors of her awful brow,
 Her idle Ægis bore no Gorgon now; 80
 Her helm was dented, and the broken lance
 Seemed weak and shaftless e'en to mortal glance;
 The Olive Branch, which still she deigned to clasp,
 Shrank from her touch, and withered in her grasp;
 And, ah! though still the brightest of the sky,
 Celestial tears bedimmed her large blue eye!
 Round the rent casque her owlet circled slow,
 And mourned his mistress with a shriek of woe!



South-west view of the Erechtheion. The one of the four caryatids in the facade, removed by Elgin, was replaced with a square pillar. Aquatint engraving. E. Dodwell, *Views in Greece from Drawings*, London, 1821.



E. RENAN

Prière sur l'Acropole

.....
"Le monde ne sera sauvé qu'en revenant à toi, en
répudiant ses attaches barbares. Courons, venons en
troupe. Quel beau jour que celui où toutes les villes qui
ont pris des débris de ton temple, Venise, Paris,
Londres, Copenhague, répareront leurs larcins, former-
ont des théories sacrées pour rapporter les débris
qu'elles possèdent, en disant: "Pardonne-nous, déesse!
c'était pour les sauver des mauvais génies de la nuit..."
.....

K. PALAMAS

Motionless Life

.....
Oh, Spartan Maidens, emblems of exquisite Athens,
Oh, Caryatids, she has departed,
Thieves and barbarians stole your sister
Five of you remain, your upright bodies
Unwarped by death, pain warped even deeper
Than death, the departed one moaned and wept,
You moaned back and turned into dirge founts,
The mighty and noblest columns, and a tempest
Swung your Doric robes like scarecrows!

.....
Oh Caryatids, don't you recognise me?
I am no stranger, even though I returned from abroad;
I am your lost sister, embrace me once more,
My land here awaits me like a throne.
French, Germans and Scythians nursed at my breasts
The thieves became heroes, and now the precious
Blood of the Greek ancestors pulses through
The barbarian's veins. I blossomed again from
The youth of the world, stole the ancient sacred flame
And bring it to you hidden in a new reed.

.....



The caryatid from
the south porch of
the Erechtheion.

II

English Officials' Proposals for the Restitution of the Acropolis Marbles



Riders in the procession. South frieze slab IX 24-25.

House of Commons, Elgin Marbles

7 June 1816, pp. 1032-1033

Mr. 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. If a restitution of these marbles was demanded from this country, was it supposed that our title to them could be supported on the vague words of the firmaun, which only gave authority to remove some small pieces of stone? It was well known that the empress Catharine had entertained the idea of establishing the Archduke Constantine in Greece. If the project of that extraordinary woman should ever be accomplished, and Greece ranked among independent nations with what feelings, would she contemplate the people who had stripped her most celebrated temple of its noblest ornaments? The evidence taken before the committee disproved the assertion that the Turkish government attached no value to these statues. Lord Elgin himself had not been able to gain access to them for this artists, for less than five guineas a day. The member for Northallerton (*Mr. Morris*) had stated before the committee, that when he had inquired of the governor of Athens whether he would suffer them to be taken away, he had said, that for his own part he preferred the money which was offered him to the statues; but it would be more than his head was worth to part with them. He had also stated, that the pieces thrown down were certainly

liable to injury, but that the others were only subject to the waste of time. The Turks (the same witness said) were not in the habit of shooting at them, nor had he heard any instance of that kind. But whether the Turks set any value on them or no, the question would not be altered, as his objection was founded on the unbecoming manner in which they had been obtained. It was in the evidence of the noble earl himself, that at the time when he had demanded permission to remove these statues, the Turkish government was in a situation to grant any thing which this country might ask, on account of the efforts which we had made against the French in Egypt. It thus appeared that a British ambassador had taken advantage of our success over the French to plunder the city of Athens. The earl of Aberdeen had stated that no private traveller would have been able to have obtained leave to remove them. But the most material evidence respecting the manner in which these statues had been obtained, was that of Dr. Hunt, who stated, that when the firmaun was delivered to the waywode, presents were also given him. It thus appeared that bribery had been employed, and he lamented that the clergyman alluded to should have made himself an agent in the transaction. It was his opinion that we should restore what we had taken away. It had been computed that lord Elgin's expenses had been 74,000*l.*, of which, however, 24,000*l.* was interest of the money expended. A part of the loss of this sum should be suffered to fall on lord Elgin, and a part on the country. It was to be regretted that the government had not restrained this act of spoliation; but, as it had been committed, we should exert ourselves to wipe off the stain, and not place in our museum a monument of our disgrace, but at once return the bribe which our ambassador had received, to his own dishonour and that of the

country. He should propose as an amendment, a resolution, which stated — “That this committee having taken into its 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*l.* 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 to which this committee is of opinion that a communication should be immediately 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 negociation, to restore them, as far as can be effected, to the places from whence they were taken, and that they shall be in the meantime carefully preserved in the British Museum”.

HAROLD NICOLSON

The Byron Curse Echoes Again

Re-emergence of the Elgin marbles, taken from Greece
in 1800, awakens an old controversy

In the year 1924 I was working as a junior clerk in the Foreign Office in London. I was attached to the Near Eastern Department, and my specialty was supposed to be Greek politics, parties and feelings. During the previous autumn I had spent several weeks in Greece, collecting material and impressions for my book on the last year of Byron's life. I had stood on the ridge by Phyle, where the traveller from the West gains his first view of Athens and where Byron had composed his great stanza about Thrasybulus. I had been out to Sunium to bathe and upon the column of Poseidon's temple I had found the place where Byron had incised his name. And I had spent two days at Missolonghi, examining the site of the house where Byron died and rowing out on the lagoons, still fetid with the pestilence which, a hundred years before, had brought that radiant hero of the romantic movement to his death.

It was natural, therefore, that in my dual capacity as a Foreign Office clerk and a student of Byron's life and writings, I should draw attention to the fact that on April 19, 1924, would occur the centenary of Byron's death at Missolonghi; and that I should suggest to my chiefs that some action should be taken by the Government to celebrate that occasion. The Foreign Secretary at the time was Ramsay MacDonald, who was also Prime Minister. In the minute which I addressed to him on the subject I had with becoming modesty suggested that a

section of the British Fleet might visit the Gulf of Corinth on that day and fire a salute off Missolonghi. Ramsay MacDonald, being a Celt, was of a high romantic disposition. He sent me back my minute with the words: «Certainly! But we must do more than that. Make further suggestions”.

Burning with excitement I set myself to strike while the iron was hot. Here at last, it seemed to me, was the opportunity to put right an ancient wrong: here if ever was a chance to retrieve an act of shame and by a wide gesture of generosity to give to Byron's centenary the lustral beauty of a feast of compensation.

I was too trained a civil servant to put my suggestions in an extreme or emotional form. I adopted the schematic system, dividing my suggestions up into paragraphs marked (I), (II) and (III) and into sub-paragraphs marked (a), (b) and (c). I admitted that it would perhaps be difficult after all these years to restore to the Parthenon the sculptures (the Theseus, the Maidens and the metopes) of which it had been despoiled. I pointed out, however, that in the adjoining Temple of the Erechtheum one of the caryatids was missing and its place taken by a terracotta effigy.

Every Athenian, and all visitors to Athens, knew that this missing statue was in the British Museum, having been shipped from Greece to England by Lord Elgin in 1800. Surely it would be fitting to replace this missing statue and let it be known that this gesture of compensation was made as a tribute to Greece's Independence and as a fitting memorial of the centenary of Byron's death. If, I added, the loss of the caryatid would prove more than the nerves of the museum authorities or the British public could endure, then at least we

might restore the column of the colonnade, the presence of which in London was unknown to the public, the absence of which from the Erechtheum was obvious to every eye.

Mr. MacDonald was himself, I still believe, agreeable to my proposal. He explained to me with his accustomed cloudy kindness that politics were the art of the possible and that what I had suggested was artless and impossible. If we restored the single column, then why not restore the caryatid? And if we restored the caryatid, then we would be prejudicing our whole case and leaving ourselves with no justification at all for retaining the other and even more valuable sculptures. I replied that never, since the days of Lord Elgin, had any such justification existed. He shook his white locks sadly at me. "You forget", he said, "that had not these lovely things been preserved in England, they would have been destroyed during the Greek War of Independence".

Now that is the very argument which has been used, and repeatedly used, whenever the British have had qualms of conscience about the Elgin marbles. It is a rotten argument. In the first place, those statues and sculptures which escaped Lord Elgin's depredations survived undamaged the battles of the Greek War of Independence. In the second place, if they were restored now, they would certainly be as safe as in the British Museum. And in the third place, it is not for a receiver of stolen goods to claim that the goods are safer in his care than if restored to their original owners.

This statement expresses the more extreme view of those who condemn the retention of the sculptures in England. There is much to be said on the other side.

The sculptures, at the moment that they were taken away from Athens, were technically Turkish and not Greek property, since Greece was at that date a province of the Ottoman Sultans. Lord Elgin obtained from the Sultan a firman or rescript expressly authorizing him to remove the statues: there was nothing illegal in what he did. They were not stolen, but paid for; Lord Elgin expended some £74,000 of his own fortune upon their purchase and transport. It is not denied that if the marbles had not been acquired by Lord Elgin, they would certainly have been acquired by the French; and that in that event they would not be today in London but in Paris.

When the collection was acquired by the state (who paid Lord Elgin £35,000 for the lot), the acquisition was approved by Act of Parliament: it would therefore require another Act of Parliament before any part of the collection could be restored. And there is some sense in saying that the statues can be seen and admired more conveniently, and by a greater number of people, when housed in the Duveen rooms at the British Museum than they would be if re-erected high up upon the Parthenon.

These are quite weighty arguments, but when we examine them further their efficacy is weakened. It is true that Athens was Turkish at the time the sculptures were taken away, but it is also true that it was Greek at the time when the Parthenon was erected and that it is assuredly most Greek today. It is true that Lord Elgin acted under a firman from the Sultan, but it cannot be denied that this firman was questionably obtained and dishonestly interpreted. Lord Elgin at the time was British Ambassador in Constantinople, the British had

just succeeded in turning Bonaparte out of Egypt; it was hinted to the Sultan that the best way in which he could express his gratitude was by allowing Lord Elgin to remove the sculptures of the Parthenon.

The wording of the firman, which was in Italian, only authorized Lord Elgin to remove from "The Temple of the Idols", namely the Parthenon, "*qualche pezzi di pietra*", "a few piece of stone". Even the most free and lavish translation of the Italian tongue cannot twist these words into meaning a whole shipload of sculptures, columns and caryatids. It is true that Lord Elgin lost financially on the transaction, but the huge expense in which he became involved was due mainly to the extravagance of his local agent, Lusieri, and to the fact that the ship in which the marbles were being transported to England ran ashore on the island of Cythera and had to be salvaged.

It is probable that the French would have acquired the statues if Lord Elgin had not intervened, but this hypothetical consideration is not tenable in law or justice. It may be that the marbles were safer in England during the nineteenth century, but they were not so secure in the London of 1940 and 1941, when they were jumbled into a disused underground station. There are some experts even who aver that they have suffered at the hands of overzealous experts who have cleaned them not wisely but too well. It may be true that more people are able to visit London than are able to visit Athens. But it is absurd to argue, as some enthusiasts argue, that if returned to Greece they would be skied aloft upon the pediment and frieze of the Parthenon. They would assuredly be housed in the Museum of the Acropolis, where they could be seen in the light and lovely atmosphere for which they were designed.

There is a further argument which, although not often advanced today, was advanced at the time when a Select Committee of Parliament investigated the matter in 1816. Many witnesses stated that neither the Turks nor the Greeks cared anything about the sculptures or minded in the least their being removed. It may well be that the Turks, who are devoid of esthetic feelings, were indifferent to these works of art, although it is evident that even they were ready to part with them only at a high price. However much the Greeks may have cared, or not have cared, they were not consulted in the matter; and even if the Greeks of 1800 were indifferent to the despoiling of their temples, the Greeks of 1949 are not indifferent in the least.

I do not believe, moreover, that even the contemporary Greeks enjoyed watching the scaffolding creep up the face of the Acropolis or relished the spectacle of the great ox-wagons lumbering down with Theseus and the Maidens to the port. There is a legend even that the statues, on being torn from the Parthenon, shrieked aloud. It is this legend which echoes in Buron's famous denunciation:

Cold is the heart, fair Greece!
 that looks on thee,
 Nor feels as lovers o'er the
 dust they loved;
 Dull is the eye that will not
 weep to see
 Thy walls defaced, thy mouldering
 shrines removed
 By British hands, which it had
 best behaved

To guard these relics ne'er to
be restored:—
Curst be the hour when from
their isle they roved,
And once again thy hapless
bosom gored
And snatched thy shrieking gods
to Northern climes abhorred.

The Select Committee of Parliament, when recommending the expenditure of £35,000 for the purchase of the Elgin marbles, stated that this valuable collection would 'promote the study of fine arts in Great Britain'. Even when they were first shown in a shed in Lord Elgin's backyard they had, as we know from the pages of Haydon and the letters of Canova, created a profound sensation. It is probably quite true to say that in bringing these sculptures to the knowledge of Western Europe, Lord Elgin conferred a real benefit upon the artistic world. That, to some extent, justifies Lord Elgin, who is a man to be much commiserated, since he retired thereafter from public life with the arrows of Byron fixed in his lacerated flesh.

But it does not justify their retention today. It may be that Parliament would find it difficult to pass a bill providing for the return of all or part of the Elgin marbles to Athens. Public opinion might become as suddenly roused as the French became roused when, in 1816, the horses of St. Mark's were restored to Venice. It may not always, as Ramsay MacDonald told me all those years ago, be practical politics to redress ancient wrongs. But at least one can admit that it was a wrong; that it remains a wrong, and that the excuses and evasions which are advanced in favor of the British Museum are no more than excuses and evasions.

Position of the Foreign Office in 1941*

Introduction

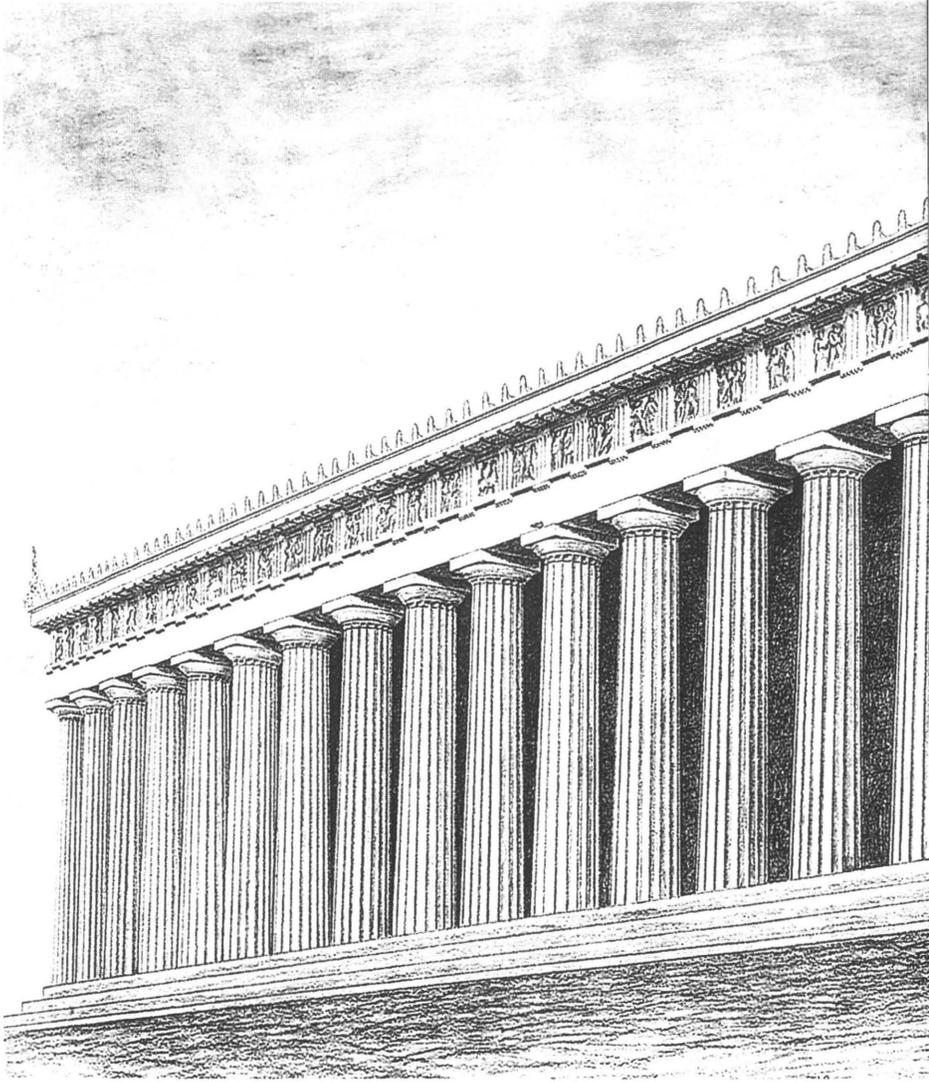
In January 1941 the Foreign Office recommended to Ministers facing a House of Commons question that on certain conditions 'it should be decided in principle to return to Greece the Elgin Marbles, including the Caryatid and the Column from Erechtheum'.

As usual, the parliamentary record shows only the tip of the iceberg. A National Conservative MP, Miss Thelma Cazalet (Mrs Cazalet-Keir), asked the Prime Minister on 23rd January 1941 'whether he will introduce legislation to enable the Elgin Marbles to be restored to Greece at the end of hostilities as some recognition of the Greeks' magnificent stand for civilisation'.

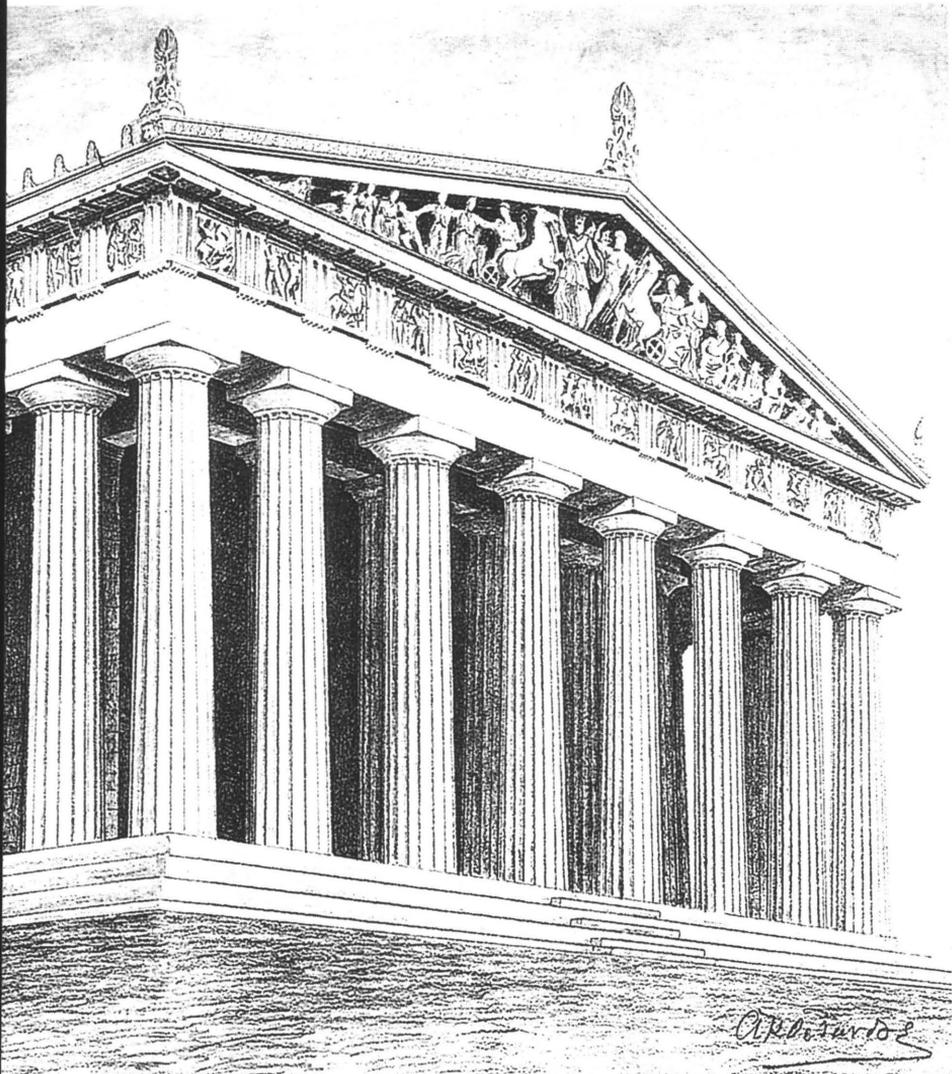
Deputising for Churchill, Mr Attlee —then Lord Privy Seal— declined to do so, evidently basing his reply on that part alone of the Foreign Secretary's recommendation which said that the moment was 'inopportune for a final decision'. He did not indicate, as the Foreign Secretary had suggested he should, 'that HMG will not fail to give the matter their careful and sympathetic consideration'.

Behind this bland parliamentary exchange, there lies a compilation of expert opinion and a diverse range of comments by the various officials involved, which taken together point to an openness of mind such as we have little evidence of today. Time had been gained to

* The mentioned texts are from the leaflet of the British Committee for the Restitution of the Parthenon Marbles.



The Parthenon seen from the north-west.
A perspective reconstruction by A. Orlandos
in his book *The Architecture of the Parthenon*, Athens, 1976-1978.



assemble these views by persuading Miss Cazalet to defer her question, originally tabled some weeks earlier. But the Chief Whip reported that she insisted on asking it sooner or later in view of 'the pressure to which she is being subjected by English and Greek friends'.

The Foreign Office

The task of collating the expert opinion and drafting a memorandum for Ministers was undertaken by the official on the Greek desk at the Foreign Office, Mr W.L.C. Knight. Knight took the view that a decision on the general question of return should be reached 'in the fairly near future', invoking not only Britain's 'exceptional relations with Greece', but also 'the interest now being taken in the question by the British public, as shown by the recent correspondence in *The Times*. Of the letters published the great majority were in favour of the marbles being restored to Greece'.

But since some time might be needed for this decision, he suggested a 'non-committal reply' to Miss Cazalet's question, along the lines —followed word for word in Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden's final recommendation— that 'the present moment is inopportune for a final decision on a subject which raises several important issues, and has given rise to so much controversy in the past; but that His Majesty's Government will not fail to give the matter their careful and sympathetic consideration'.

Knight also suggested that, if return were eventually decided on, the best time for it would be after the war when transport would again be safe: 'It would thus set the seal on Anglo-Greek friendship and collaboration in the way that would most appeal —short of the cession of

Cyprus— to Greek patriotic sentiment'. And he concluded:

'For the gift to be complete and completely acceptable it should comprise, in addition to the Parthenon friezes, the Caryatid and the column from the Erechtheum which all together constitute the Elgin Marbles'.

Once ready, the Knight Memorandum was passed up the line accompanied by a note from his immediate superior, Mr (later Sir) James Bowker (Deputy Head of the South-East European Department), in which he said:

'Everything points to a decision in principle to return the Elgin marbles to Greece on certain conditions, as enumerated in Mr Knight's memorandum. In order that the memorandum should be quite complete I think it should include recommendations, and I have appended a draft final paragraph accordingly'.

The Bowker-Knight recommendations are reproduced below in their entirety (Appendix 1). Paragraph (1) constituted the Foreign Secretary's advice to the Government. Appendix 2 contains a selection of comments added by various Foreign Office officials as the Memorandum made its way to the top. Appendix 3 documents the final outcome.

App. 1: The Foreign Office Recommendations

1. That the reply to Miss Cazalet's question should be to the effect that the present moment is inopportune for a final decision on a subject which raises several important issues, and has given rise to so much controversy in the past; but that HMG will not fail to give the matter their careful and sympathetic consideration.

2. That, subject to the views of HM Minister at Athens, it should be decided in principle to return to Greece the Elgin marbles, including the Caryatid and the Column from the Erechtheum on the following conditions:

(a) it should be made clear that the decision to return the marbles is in the nature of a gesture of friendship to Greece and is not based on any recognition of the principle that antiquities should be returned to their place of origin:

(b) the marbles should not be returned until after the war:

(c) before they are returned, adequate arrangements should be made for their proper housing, exhibition and preservation:

(d) HMG should be assured of a share, in perpetuity, in the control of the arrangements to be made for their preservation.

3. That, again subject to the views of HM Minister at Athens, before anything is said officially to the Greek Government, the decision of HMG should be communicated unofficially to General Metaxas, who should be asked for his views and advice.

App. 2: Comments of Foreign Office Officials

1. Sir Stephen Gaselee, Librarian and Keeper of the Papers:

‘Yes, I am personally very much against the whole project; but since the British Museum have receded to a certain extent from their former rigid position, I suppose we must go as far as is now suggested’.

2. Mr (later Sir) Philip Nichols, Head of the South-East European Department.

‘...Personally I am strongly in favour of returning the marbles, including the Caryatid and the Column from the Erechtheum, at the end of the war, ...because I think such a gesture would be warmly welcomed by the Greeks and by public opinion throughout the world...’.

3. Sir Orme Sargent, Deputy Under-Secretary of State:

‘...As regards the conditions under which the Marbles should be returned, I would deprecate condition (d) to the effect that HMG should be assured of a share in perpetuity in the control of the arrangements to be made for the preservation of the Marbles. This would be all right if an offer to this effect came spontaneously from the Greeks, but for us to demand it would certainly offend Greek *amour propre* and undo a good deal of the psychological value of the gift. Besides, from the technical point of view, I should say it was quite unnecessary”.

4. The Hon Sir Alexander Cadogan, Permanent Under-Secretary of State:

‘I don’t know where this is going to end... Public attention has been focussed on the Elgin Marbles, but they were actually acquired in a manner no more disreputable than many of the contents of

European & American Museums. We can reply to the PQ on the lines proposed, but I hope we shall think twice before taking a final decision’.

5. Mr (later Sir) Anthony Eden, Secretary of State:

‘I am prepared to advise reply to the PQ as suggested, but we should not go further at present. This is a matter that can well be decided after the war, with much else both artistic and political’.

The Last Word

As already mentioned, Mr Attlee’s reply in Parliament did not go even as far as the Foreign Secretary himself had advised. Noting this in a minute to a colleague two days later, William Knight added: ‘In these circumstances, and in view of the state of Greek feeling on the subject, the less said about the matter the better’.

App. 3: The Foreign Secretary and the Lord Privy Seal

a) The advice finally given by the Foreign Secretary for a parliamentary answer was contained in the following letter to a Treasury official, dated 16th January 1941 and signed by Philip Nichols:

1. With reference to your letter to me of the 30th December and your letter to Bowker of the 8th January about the Elgin Marbles, I write to say that my Secretary of State recommends that the answer to Miss Cazalet’s question should be to the effect that

the present moment is inopportune for a final decision on a subject which raises several important issues and has given rise to so much controversy in the past; but that His Majesty's Government will not fail to give the matter their careful and sympathetic consideration.

2. Mr Eden is not prepared to go further than this at present since he thinks that this is a matter that can well be decided after the war.

b) As we have seen, to the dismay of at least one of the officials involved, the Lord Privy Seal chose not to go even this far. Hansard of 23rd January 1941 records the following exchange:

GREECE (ELGIN MARBLES)

Miss Cazalet asked the Prime Minister whether he will introduce legislation to enable the Elgin Marbles to be restored to Greece at the end of hostilities as some recognition of the Greeks' magnificent stand for civilisation?

Mr Attlee: His Majesty's Government are not prepared to introduce legislation for this purpose.

Mr Francis Noel-Baker's Statement in 1961

In his statement Mr. Noel-Baker, the Labour member of Parliament, said: "I raised the question [for the restitution of the Acropolis Marbles] because I believe that it would be a generous and imaginative gesture by Britain to consolidate the deep traditional friendship between Britain and Greece which has now so happily been reestablished".

Parliamentary Debates

(Friday, 20 June 1986, pp. 1330)

The Arts. Mr Michael Foot

The best that the Government could do to celebrate the occasion—it does not exclude all the other things—would be to respond to the appeals which have come afresh from the Greek Government for the restoration of the Parthenon marbles to the people and the land of Greece. I know that there have been plenty of arguments about that. I am not asking the Minister to reply now. In fact, I hope that he will not, because I darsay he will give us the old official reply he has trotted out before, and we do not want that. I know that there has been plenty of argument among people who do know the facts. I am not necessarily including the Minister in that respect.

For example, one of the most respected Presidents of the Byron society, William St. Clair, who has written probably the wittiest and most graceful book on the subject, appears to come down against the proposition of the return of the marbles. That does not make the argument conclusive, by any means. There are a whole range of arguments on the other side, especially those advanced by Byron himself. Anyone who reads what Byron wrote could see that he was discussing not only what should happen and why he protested so strongly against the spoliation of the Parthenon, which caused a sense of outrage among Greeks at the time, or about what was happening to Greek heritage—they have as much right to cherish their heritage as we have to cherish ours—but was expressing his sense of outrage

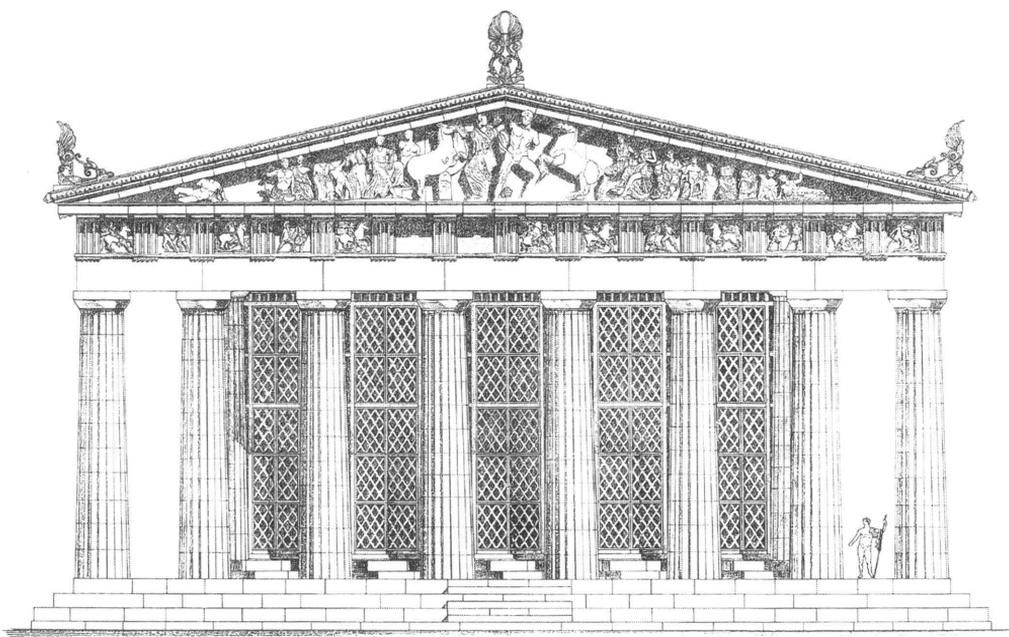
when he saw great nations trying to trample on the rights of small ones.

Therefore, the great poetry that Byron wrote on that subject was directed not only to what was to happen to the Parthenon marbles, but to the way in which the world was going, and what was to be the reputation of our country in this age and time. One of the things that we shall celebrate in 1988 is the spirit in which Byron looked forward to the ensuing century and more, and foresaw a different role for our country from the one that we were performing at that time. He looked forward to an age when our country would be speaking in the name of freedom, not in the name of an imperial power. He looked forward to the time when we would be able to show our common heritage with all those other countries. It is partly because Byron expressed that almost more successfully and brilliantly than any other of our poets that he commands that worldwide allegiance.

Therefore, I say to the Government: Let them not reply to what I am proposing today. Let them consider it carefully, because when the deed is done the Government who take the final step of restoring the Parthenon marbles to where they belong will be acclaimed for their magnanimity. It would be a good thing for this Government if they did it. However, I am glad to know that, when my hon. Friend the Member for Palsley, South takes up his position, and when my right hon. Friend the Member for Islwyn (Mr. Kinnock) takes his position as Prime Minister, we shall carry out that act of magnanimity. That at least should be some incentive to the Minister and the Cabinet, which I know he has such difficulty in converting to any wise courses on those great matters.

III

Texts on the Restitution of the Acropolis Marbles



Reconstruction of the west side of the Parthenon by A. Orlandos (see pp. 104-105).

A.R. RANGABÉ

Actes de la Sixième Réunion Générale de la Société
Archéologique d' Athènes

.....

Mais plût à Dieu que ses statues et ses bas-reliefs fussent au moins restés ensévelis sous la poussière qui les couvrait! Le sol fidèle de la Grèce les aurait conservés dans son sein, pour les rendre un jour à leur place primitive et à leur ancienne gloire, de même que l'intincelle de la liberté fut conservée dans le cœur des Grecs pour en jaillir un jour plus brillante et plus vive. Mais le malheur de la Grèce voulut qu'elle fut visitée, non par une hordre de Vandales ou de Goths, non par une armée sacrilège et sauvage de conquerrans de l'Asie, mais par un ami indiscret de l'antiquité, par l'ambassadeur d'une nation éclairée, par L. Elgin enfin, *qui fit*, (ainsi que l'a dit à son eternel repproche Byron, le poète des belles pensées et des grands sentimens) *ce que les Goths n'ont pas fait*. Profitant de sa position officielle, et du service signalé que l'Angleterre rendait alors à la Turquie en lui fessant restituer l'Egypte, il obtint de ce gouvernement peu éclairé, qui ignorait le prix des trésors dont il était le dépositaire, une permission *de visiter* (faveur alors rarement accordée), *de copier, et même d'emporter* (s'il faut en croire ses témoins) *quelques pierres qu'il pourrait trouver en faisant des fouilles autour des temples des idoles*. Muni d'un pareil firman des oppresseurs de la Grèce, il vint, il vin

cet auguste débris de l'antiquité, et au lieu de se prosterner devant lui, au lieu de se sentir transporté de dévotion et d'extase, il ne vit en lui qu'une ruine vulgaire, qu'un tas de pierres, et ne comprit point qu'une âme d'harmonie respirait dans ce chef-d'œuvre de l'art, qu'en la détruisant il commettait le crime du meurtrier qui détruit l'homme vivant, le chef-d'œuvre de la création. Il jeta sans scrupule à terre et emporta en Angleterre deux cent quarante quatre bas-reliefs et statues, dont cinquante six pris du Parthénon; et le froid spéculateur d'antiquités vendit ce magnifique butin au gouvernement Anglais pour 35000 livres sterl. Une voix prophétique, cette voix qui ne parle qu'aux grandes âmes, ne s'éleva-t-elle pas en lui lorsqu'il dépouillait le Parthénon, pour lui dire que les fils de Périclès et de Phidias, dont la tyrannie étouffait alors la voix, se lèveraient bientôt et troubleraient jusqu'à sa cendre froide pour lui redemander leur précieux héritage? Ne prévoyait-il pas qu'une assemblée de Grecs, tenue sous ces mêmes colonnes du Parthénon, demanderait un jour raison à sa mémoire de la mutilation barbare de ce monument qui fait l'admiration des peuples? Non, il ne fut retenu ni par la révélation de l'avenir, ni par le respect du passé! Au contraire, comme pour éterniser la mémoire de son passage dévastateur à Athènes, ou comme s'il prétendait nous payer le prix de ces biens inestimables qu'il nous ravissait, il éleva dans la place publique de cette ville cette tour audacieuse, qui insulte à nos malheurs passés plus encore que la mosquée musulmane assise sur le Parthénon, cette mosquée que la justice divine fait écrouler sous nos yeux au moment même où le Parthénon s'élève. Après avoir fini son œuvre de destruction, après avoir arraché la plus part des sculptures de leur place, en avoir scié quelques unes, et brisé d'autres en les précipitant du

haut de l'entablement, semblable au vainqueur peu généreux qui fletrit du stigmaté l'ennemi qu'il a terrassé, le noble Lord inscrivit son nom et celui des ses compagnons sur une des colonnes du temple dépouillé. Mais lorsque la Grèce se fut relevée en protestant par les armes contre tous ses oppresseurs et toutes ses dévastations, et que les Grecs eurent assiégé Athènes, fut ce l'esprit de l'indignation nationale, fut-ce un souffle de justice divine qui dirigea la première bombe des assiégeans? Elle frappa droit sur la colonne, et lava tout d'abord la honte du Parthénon et de la Grèce en emportant le nom de L. Elgin et de ses complices!

Les amis de L. Elgin rapportèrent au parlement d'Angleterre que les Grecs d'alors virent en spectateurs froids et indifférens la profanation de leur Palladium, satisfaits de trouver du profit dans la présence des étrangers que cette grande spoliation attirait dans leur ville. Nous ne voulons pas examiner aujourd'hui ce qu'ont pu sentir ou dire les Grecs de ce temps, lorsque la parole indépendante était étouffée par la mort, lorsque le sentiment généreux était puni comme un crime; et cependant des témoins nombreux nous attestent que plus d'une protestation énergique a été faite, que plus d'une noble larme a coulé. Mais nous qui avons la parole libre, nous dont les mains ne sont pas retenues par des chaînes, déclarons hautement, et faisons entendre partout où des cœurs généreux battent en faveur de la Grèce, que nous ressentons profondément cette injure faite au peuple grec, qui, pour avoir subi pendant trois cents ans le malheur de l'esclavage, fut considéré comme un peuple rayé du livre des vivans, comme un peuple déshérité; que nous voyons avec horreur la mutilation du plus beau chef-d'œuvre de l'art, la destruction du plus vénérable monument de l'antiquité; ramassons



William Pars, The Parthenon seen from the east in 1765.
Unfinished watercolour. London, British Museum.



chacune de ses pierres, chacun de ses débris comme un objet précieux, élevons autour de lui pour le restaurer ces mêmes échaffaudages dont L. Elgin l'avait entouré pour le détruire, et que l'Europe, appréciant nos efforts, juge entre nous et lui, décide qui mérite mieux son intérêt et son soutien. Mais, que dis-je, le restaurer! Hélas! de quel espoir me bercé-je! Nous voici pleins d'ardeur, voici tous les amis de l'antiquité et de l'art prêts à nous seconder; voici nos travaux avançant à souhait, 42 tambours remis à leur place, une colonne restaurée toute entière, et toutes les pièces du socle retrouvées et rétablies. Mais lorsque nous aurons avancé plus haut..., la frise a été enlevée, les chapiteaux, les tambours des colonnes ont été emportés, notre ouvrage restera inachevé à jamais. Au moins si l'art, si la science avaient gagné à cet acte indigne! Mais les Muses ont couvert leur face pour pleurer (le jour de cette grande profanation. Les artistes de toutes les parties de la terre chercheront en vain ce modèle inimitable, pour y apprendre comment la beauté et la symétrie des détails doivent se combiner pour produire la magnificence de l'ensemble, pour découvrir quel est le lien que Phidias emprunta aux grâces pour attacher ces milliers de chefs-d'œuvre en un seul chef-d'œuvre. Que dirait l'Europe, ne frémirait-elle pas d'horreur sur quiconque aurait trouvé un tableau d'Apelles ou de Raphael, et ne pouvant l'emporter, en aurait coupé les mains, les pieds et les têtes? À ce zèle impie ne reconnaîtrait-elle pas un nouvel Erostrate? Mais respectons le seuil de la tombe. L. Elgin (et que cette nouvelle serve de complément à l'histoire du Parthénon) est mort, il y a quelques mois. Et tandis que l'ombre courroucée de Périclès qui plane audessus de

nous, se sent peut-être apaisée à cette annonce, désarmons-nous aussi de toute amertume envers tous ceux qui nous ont nui soit de propos prémédité soit avec des intentions excusables, et réjouissons-nous plutôt de voir le Parthénon mesurer son âge par des milliers de vies d'hommes, et s'élever de ses ruines, après que des générations de ses devastateurs ont passé et se sont éteintes à ses pieds comme l'écume du torrent. Pour toute protestation contre sa destruction sacrilège nous le rélevons aujourd'hui des débris que nous avons encore de lui, de même que nous avons rélevé la Grèce des débris de son existence politique.

Mais l'Angleterre, amie des grandes choses et des grandes pensées, si elle ne peut emporter chez elle ce temple tout entier, et avec lui ce ciel bleu sur lequel il se découpe en couleur d'un blanc éclatant, et cette atmosphère diaphane qui le baigne, et ce soleil brillant qui le dore, qu'elle imite les anciens rois et les peuples, qui du bout de l'univers envoyaient leurs offrandes pieuses au Parthénon et à l'Acropole, qu'elle paye aussi le tribut de son respect à cet ancien berceau de la civilisation humaine, qu'elle lui renvoie les ornemens dont il fut dépouillé. Ils n'ont loin de lui qu'un mérite très secondaire, de même que lui, privé de leur magnifique parure, attriste les regards par sa nudité. Comprenant les vrais intérêts de l'art d'une manière généreuse et désintéressée, qu'elle contribue à ce que ce temple rédevienne un objet universel d'étude du beau dans les arts, un modèle général, où les artistes viendront puiser leurs inspirations les plus sublimes. "Comment, disait Byron en parlant de ces objets immortels dans des vers aussi immortels qu'eux;" comment une langue britannique dira-t-elle jamais

qu'Albion se plait dans les larmes d'Athènes?... L'Angleterre libre et reine des mers emportera-t-elle les pauvres et dernières dépouilles de la Grèce expirante!"(*) Espérons que ces nobles paroles, qui trouvent un écho dans tout cœur Anglais, porteront un jour enfin leur fruit, et que nos travaux de restauration, couronnés jusqu'ici de succès, contribueront au de là de tout argument à faire luire le jour où notre vœu le plus cher, le vœu de tous les amis éclairés des arts pourra être réalisé.

* Childe Harold, Canto II.

F. HARRISON

Give Back the Elgin Marbles

It is surely high time for us to think how and when the Elgin Marbles are to be restored to the Acropolis. There they will have ultimately to rest: and the sooner, and the more gracefully it is done, the better. The ninety years which have passed since they left Athens have entirely changed the conditions and the facts. The reasons which were held to justify Lord Elgin in removing them, and the British Government in receiving them, have one and all vanished. All those reasons now tell in favour of their being restored to their national and natural home. The protection of these unique monuments, the interests of students of art, pride in a national possession, and the *vis inertia* of leaving things alone all call aloud to us to replace on that immortal steep the sacred fragments where Pericles and Pheidias placed them more than two thousand years ago.

It is usual to say, that in the British Museum these priceless works are safe, whilst they would be exposed to danger in Athens: that in London the art students of the world can study them, whilst at Athens they would be buried out of sight: that the Elgin Marbles are now become a 'British interest' as completely as Domesday Book: that as they have belonged to the nation for seventy-four years, it is too late to talk about disturbing them now.

Every one of these assertions is a sophism, and the precise contrary is in every case true. They would be much more safe from the hand of man on the Acropolis than they possibly could be in London; and whilst the climate and soot of Bloomsbury are slowly affecting their

crumbling surface, the pure air of the Acropolis would preserve them longer by centuries. Athens is now a far more central archaeological school than London; and the art students of the world would gain immensely if the ornaments of the Parthenon could be seen again together and beneath the shadow of the Parthenon itself. The Parthenon Marbles are to the Greek nation a thousand times more dear and more important than they ever can be to the English nation, which simply bought them. And what are the seventy-four years that these dismembered fragments have been in Bloomsbury when compared with the 2,240 years wherein they stood on the Acropolis?

The stock argument for retaining the marbles in London is that they are safe here, and nobody knows what might happen at Athens. In one sense, we trust they are safe in London; but they stand in the heart of a great city, and no man can absolutely say that the Museum might not be destroyed in some great fire in Bloomsbury. As to political or riotous commotions, they are no more to be dreaded in Athens than they are in London. Whilst Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and Rome have been the scenes of fearful street battles within fifty years, there has been nothing of the kind at Athens since the establishment of the kingdom. And, even if there were, it is inconceivable that either a street fight or a fire could touch the Acropolis. One might as well say that a row in the Canongate at Edinburgh might destroy the colonnade on Calton Hill. Even a bombardment of the city of Athens would not touch the Acropolis, except with direct malice aforethought. It may be taken for certain that the Museum now standing on the summit of the Acropolis is a spot ideally protected by nature from any conceivable risk of fire, accidental injury, civil or foreign war. One

can only wish that the contents of the Louvre, the National Gallery, and the Vatican were anything like as safe. And it so happens that this ideally safe spot for preserving priceless relics is the very spot where a glorious genius and a wonderful people placed them two thousand years ago.

Admit that the Elgin Marbles are (humanly speaking) safe in Bloomsbury from any conceivable risk of fire or riot—which is to admit a good deal—still it is certain that the climate of Bloomsbury is far more injurious to them than the climate of the Acropolis. The climate of the Acropolis is certainly the very best for their preservation that Europe could afford; and the climate of Bloomsbury is certainly one of the worst. Everyone knows that the marvellous Pentelic marble resists in the Attic air the effect of exposure for very long period whilst its surface is intact. When the surface is gone and the cracks begin to pass deep into the substance, the deterioration of the marble goes on rapidly. Go to our Museum and observe the cruel scars that have eaten in parallel lines the breast and ribs of the River God (Ilissus). Night and day those scars are being subtly filled with London soot. It is no doubt true that the antique marbles are occasionally washed and cleaned. But at what a cost, and at what a risk!

Of course the man in Pall Mall or in the club armchair has his sneer ready – ‘Are you going to send all statues back to the spot where they were found?’ That is all nonsense. The Elgin Marbles stand upon a footing entirely different from all other statues. They are not statues: they are architectural parts of a unique building, the most famous in the world; a building still standing, though in a ruined state, which is the national symbol and palladium of a gallant people, and which is a place

of pilgrimage to civilised mankind. When civilised man makes his pilgrimage to the Acropolis and passes through the Propylaea, he notes the exquisite shrine of *Nike Apteros*, with part of its frieze intact and the rest of the frieze filled up in plaster, *because the original is in London*. He goes on to the *Erechtheion*, and there he sees that one of the lovely Caryatides who support the cornice is a composition cast, *because the original is in London*. He goes on to the Parthenon, and there he marks the pediments which Lord Elgin wrecked and left a wreck stripped of their figures; he sees long bare slices of torn marble, whence the frieze was gutted out, and the sixteen holes where the two ambassadors wrenched out the Metopes. We English have wrung off and hold essential parts of a great national building, which bears wreckage on its mangled brow, and which, like Œdipus at Colonus, holds up to view the hollow orbs out of which we tore the very eyes of Pheidias.

When Lord Elgin committed this dreadful havoc, he may have honestly thought that he was preserving for mankind these precious relics. The Turks took no heed of them, and the few Greeks could only mutter their feeble groan in silence. But everything is now changed. To the Greek nation now the ruins on the Acropolis are far more important and sacred than are any other national monuments to any other people. They form the outward and visible sign of the national existence and rebirth. But for the glorious traditions of Athens, of which these pathetic ruins are the everlasting embodiment, Greece would never have attracted the sympathy of the civilised world and would not have been assisted to assert herself as a free State. At the foundation of it, Corinth, astride on both seas on her isthmus, had many superior claims as a capital. The existence of the Acropolis made

any capital but Athens impossible, as it makes Greece herself incorporated on the base of her ancient glory.

Thus to free Greece the Acropolis is the great national symbol: more than the Forum and the Palatine are to Rome, more than the Duomo and the Palazzo Vecchio are to Florence, more than Notre Dame and the Louvre are to Paris, more than the Abbey, Westminster Hall, and the Tower are to London. Rome, Florence, Paris, London, have scores of historic monuments and national memorials; and they all have many other centuries of ancient history and many other phases of national achievement. Athens has only one: Greece is centred round Athens: and ancient Athens means the Acropolis and its surroundings.

We profess to be proud of our Tower and Abbey and our national monuments. To the patriotic Athenian of today the Acropolis represents Tower, Abbey, St. Stephen's, Westminster Hall, Domesday Book, Magna Carta, and all our historic memorials together. He has nothing else; and the sight day and night of that vast, lonely, towering mass of ruin, with its weird but silent message from the past, produces on the subtle imagination of a sensitive people an effect infinitely deeper than even our Abbey produces on a Londoner. And every morning and evening that the Athenian raises his eyes to his Abbey he sees the scars where, in a time of national humiliation, a rich Englishman wrenched off slices of the building to place in his collection at home. What would be the feeling of an Englishman if he saw the Abbey gutted within this century, and knew that the shrine of the Confessor, the tombs of the Kings, the altar screen, the chair and sword, and the Purbeck columns from the transepts and the Chapter House, had been carried off, during the occupation of the country by a foreign

enemy, by an amateur with a fine taste for antiques, and a good nose for a bargain, to put into his 'collection'? The case is far stronger than this: for the Elgin Marbles are not statues, or tombs; they form indispensable parts of the most symmetrical building ever raised by man.

Naturally, the antiques found in Greece form a far more important interest to the whole nation than they can to a nation which has simply purchased or 'conveyed' them. No people in the world are so intensely jealous of their national memorials as the Greeks of today. They form their claims to sympathy as a people, the symbol of their traditional past, their peculiar claim to a unique interest, and no doubt much of what Demetrius the silversmith and Alexander the coppersmith told their fellow citizens was the practical value of Diana of the Ephesians. At a moderate computation the ruins and the museums are worth 100,000*l.* a year to the Greek people. They have made stringent laws not only to keep every fragment of antiquity in the country, but to keep every fresh discovery in the very district and spot where it is found. We need not discuss the policy of this. A very strong government recently found it impossible to move the *Hermes* of Praxiteles from Olympia to Athens. And no doubt the ruins of Olympia are now worth a new railway to the modern inhabitants of Elis.

Greece is now quite full of museums. In Athens alone there are seven or eight, of which three are principal and distinct national collections. These, at any rate, are as suitable, as well kept, and as accessible as are the museums of any capital in the world. They are year by year, and almost month by month, increasing in value and importance. With excellent judgment the Greeks have resolved to form a special Museum on the rock of the Acropolis, conveniently sunk in the south-eastern

angle, in which is placed every fragment recovered, not *in situ*, from any building raised on the Acropolis itself. This Museum, small as it is, is already to the art student one of the most indispensable in existence. Here are the exquisite reliefs of *Nike*: here are all the detached fragments which have been recovered from the Parthenon, from pediments, metopes, and frieze; here too are the archaic figures from the temples destroyed by Xerxes before Salamis. This last feature alone places this little Museum in the front rank of the collections of the world for purposes of studying the history of art. For the history of glyptic art, the Acropolis has within the last twenty years become the natural rendezvous of the student. The Greeks, Germans, English and French have founded special schools of archaeology, and other nations have formed less formal centres of study. The result is that Athens is now become a school of archaeology, far more important in itself, and far more international in character, than London is or ever can be.

By what right, except that of possession, do we continue to withhold from the students and pilgrims who flock to the Acropolis from all parts of the civilised world substantive portions of the unique building which they come to study, those decorations of it which lose half their artistic interest and their historic meaning when separated from it by 4,000 miles of sea? The most casual amateur, as well as the mere tiro in art, can at once perceive how greatly the Pheidian sculptures gain when they can be seen in the Attic sunlight, alongside of the architectural frame for which they were made, and at least under the shadow of the building of which they form part. The ruined colonnades are necessary to explain the carvings; and the carvings give life and voice to the ruined colonnades. These demigods seem to pine

and mope in the London murk: in their native sunlight the fragments seem to breathe again. On the Acropolis itself every fragment from Pheidias's brain seems as sacred and as venerable as if it were the very bones of a hero. In a London Museum they are objects of curious interest, like the Dodo or the Rosetta stone —most instructive and of intense interest— but they are not relics, such as make the spot whereon we stand sacred in our eyes, as do the tombs of the Edwards or the graves of the poets in our Abbey. In the British Museum the excellent directors, feeling how much the *genius loci* affects these Elgin Marbles, have placed models, casts, and various devices to explain to the visitor the form of the Acropolis and the place of these carvings in the Parthenon. They try to bring the Acropolis into our Elgin Room at Bloomsbury, instead of sending the contents of the Elgin Room to the Acropolis! One might as well imagine that the tombs of the kings in our Abbey had been carried off to put in a museum in St. Petersburg, and that the Russian keeper of the antiquities had set up a model of the Abbey beside them, in order to give the Muscovite public a faint sense of the *genius loci*.

It is enough to make the cheek of an honest Englishman burn when he first sees the ghastly rents which British (North British) taste tore out of this temple, and then passes into the humble museum below where the remnants are preserved. They are not so important as our Elgin trophies, but they are very important — beautiful, unique, and quite priceless. And then come long ranges of casts —*the originals in London*— and so the whole series is maimed and disfigured. In the case of at least one metope the Acropolis Museum possesses one half, the other half of which is in London. So that of a

single group, the invention of a consummate genius, and the whole of which is extant, London shows half in marble and half in plaster cast, and the Acropolis shows the other half in marble and the rest in plaster. Surely it were but decent, if we honestly respect great art, that the original should be set up as a whole. But it seems that in the nineteenth century we show our profound veneration for a mighty genius by splitting one of his works into two and exhibiting the fragments severed at opposite corners of Europe, as mediaeval monks thought their country's honour consisted in exhibiting here a leg and here an arm of some mythical patron saint.

No one in his senses would talk about *restoring* the Parthenon, and no one dreams of replacing the marbles in the Pediments. What might be done is to replace the Northern Frieze of *Nike Apteros*, and restore the Caryatid to her sisters beneath the cornice of *Erechtheion*. The difference between the effect of the Pheidian fragments as seen in Bloomsbury and that of the Pheidian fragments as seen on the Acropolis is one that only ignorance and vulgarity could mistake. Who would care for the Virgins, Saints, and 'Last Judgments' from the portals of Amiens, Reims, or Chartres if they were stuck on pedestals and catalogued at Bloomsbury, with or without cork models of the cathedral?

The notion that the interests of art demand the retention of parts of a great building in a foreign country is a mere bit of British Philistinism and art gabble. The true interests of art demand that the fragments which time and man have spared of the most interesting building in the world should be seen together, seen in their native sky and under all the complex associations of that most hallowed spot. One might as well argue that the interests of art would be served if Michael Angelo's

'Last Judgment' were stripped off the Sistine wall, cut up into square blocks, and hung in gold frames in Trafalgar Square.

It is idle now to reopen the story of the original plunder. British self-complacency has long been content with the old maxim – *fieri non debuit, factum valet*. Happily the English name and our national literature has cleared itself of offence by a noble protest which will outlive the names both of Elgin and of Herostratus. Byron said not one word too much. But since the days of Byron and Lord Elgin everything has changed. Athens is now a city as regularly governed, as much frequented, and nearly as large as Florence or Venice. The Greek nation, small as it is, is as much entitled to honourable consideration as Holland, Belgium, Denmark, or Switzerland. The familiar sneers of Pall Mall and Fleet Street about Greek democracy and the Hellenic blood have nothing to do with the matter. Greece is now a friendly nation with a regular government. It has also within twenty years become a settled country, open to all men, and one of the great centres of art study for the civilised world. To Greece the Acropolis is more important than are Malta and Gibraltar to England. The question is how long this country, in an ignorant assumption of 'the interests of art', will continue to inflict a wholly disproportionate humiliation on a small but sensitive and otherwise friendly people.

How the restoration could be managed it is not worth discussing here. Obviously by some kind of international treaty. The bulk of the Parthenon, of course, is now on the Acropolis. But London holds the most precious remnants from both Pediments. Paris, it seems, has one of the South Metopes, some fragments from the West Pediment, and a small section of the East

Frieze. London has fifteen Metopes, out of the original ninety-two. What remains of the rest are still *in situ*, or in the Acropolis Museum. London has the larger part of the South, North, and East Frize: the remainder is on the Acropolis, except a section at Paris. Happily the noble West Frize remains nearly perfect *in situ*. Thus the Acropolis now contains:

- (1) All that remains of the Building itself.
- (2) Some grand fragments from both Pediments.
- (3) All that remains of ninety-two Metopes, except sixteen.
- (4) About one-third of what exists of the Frieze.

The question is, how can all these sections be reunited on the Acropolis? Obviously by an international treaty, in which France, for reasons that need not be stated, would willingly join. She would be proud to lay down her petty fragments on the altar of Athene, for the pleasure of seeing Albion disgorge. The Greeks would accept any terms: —

Hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercentur Atridae.

It would not consist with our honour to make a paltry bargain. Let the 35,000 pieces of silver (or was it gold?) that we paid to Milord perish with him. We shall restore the Parthenon Marbles much as we restored the Ionian Islands and Heligoland to their national owners, because we value the good name of England more than unjust plunder. If the barkers of Pall Mall and the opposition rags have to be quieted, let us give them to munch a commercial treaty. A little Free Trade with England would satisfy the growlers, and would do the Greeks permanent good. But let us have no higgling. Let us do the right thing with a free hand.



South-east angle of the Parthenon after the removal of its metopes by Elgin.
J.C. Hobhouse, *A Journey Through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe
and Asia to Constantinople During the Years 1809 and 1810*. 2nd ed. London, 1813.



Is it too much to hope that such a treaty may be made by the Englishman whom the world knows as the lover of Homer, and whom the Hellenes of today always associate with their country and their hopes? He earned the gratitude of Greeks, the thanks of England, and the respect of honest men everywhere when he restored the Western islands to their own countrymen. Let him earn a more enduring and touching gratitude by replacing on the sublime rock wherein centre so many of the memories of mankind those inimitable marbles which Pericles and Pheidias set up there in a supreme moment of the world's history. It is a cruel mockery, in the name of 'high art', to leave them scattered about the galleries of Europe.

C.F. CAVAFY

Give Back the Elgin Marbles*

In the number for March the *Nineteenth Century* has published, under the heading of 'The joke about the Elgin Marbles', an article which is in one sense remarkable.

The readers of the *RIVISTA* are doubtless aware of the recent movement in England in favour of restoring to Greece the Marbles which some 80 years ago were seized and removed from the Acropolis by Lord Elgin, on the plea that he would take greater care of them.

The learned and eloquent Mr. Frederic Harrison advocated the restitution in his article, 'Give back the Elgin Marbles', in the *Nineteenth Century*. I will not dwell on the merits of Mr. Harrison's article, beyond to remark that all his statements and arguments are well-founded, besides being generous; but, strange to say, some people consider generosity incompatible with common sense.

The article, 'The joke about the Elgin Marbles', is written by the Editor of the *Nineteenth Century*, Mr. James Knowles, and purports to answer Mr. Harrison. According to Mr. Knowles, Mr. Harrison is not in earnest; his article is merely a test of his countrymen's sense of humour and a specimen of the art of the modern demagogue, who finds arguments in support of any theory.

Such is the opinion of Mr. Knowles. He appears to be thoroughly convinced, which is not unimportant, —it

* See ref. 71.

being thus certain that his doctrine has at least one follower. — But the impartial reader will differ, I think, from Mr. Knowles in spite of his fervency of faith which, it is commonly believed, is catching. His article is at once ungenerous and poor in argument. Aridity in style and prolixity of cheap wit render its perusal a heavy task even for those to whom the restitution of the Elgin Marbles is of direct interest, — I mean the true friends of Hellas and of the unity of Hellenic tradition.

Under the influence of his excitement — for I do not doubt that the article was written in a moment of mental paroxysm — Mr. Knowles makes the most audacious statements. He extols the vandalic act of Elgin, and his gratitude is so great that he would fain give Elgin a place amongst the benefactors of mankind — *δῖος ἀνὴρ, καλὸς κάγαθὸς ἀνὴρ*. He vilifies Byron. He associates the carrying away of the Marbles with the glorious victories of Nelson. He thinks that if the Marbles are restored, Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, India must be given away also — forgetting that if those possessions are necessary to British trade and to the dignity and safety of the British Empire, the Elgin Marbles serve no other purpose than that of beautifying the British Museum. He regards as trivial Mr. Harrison's remark that the climate of Bloomsbury is injurious to the sculptures and expresses the fear that, if handed over to Greece, they may be destroyed 'any day in the next great clash of the Eastern question', — forgetting that wisdom dictates the remedy of present evils before guarding against future ills. He observes that were Mr. Harrison's advice followed 'and what we hold in trust given back to Greece, how soon might not one of its transitory Governments yield to the offer of a million sterling from Berlin, or two millions sterling from New York — or for

dividing and scattering them among many such buyers'. This is a grave imputation on the character of Greek statesmen, and rests on no foundation of fact. To the best of my knowledge the 'transitory' or other, Governments of Greece have taken the almost care in their power of ancient monuments: they have made laws prohibiting illegal traffic in Greek antiquities; and they have established several well-stocked and well-managed Museums. He appears to question the claim to the Marbles of 'the mixed little population which now lives upon the ruins of ancient Greece', — which is treading on slippery ground as, although I know nothing of Mr. Knowles' ability in historical criticism, it is doubtful whether he is able to prove a theory, in attempting to support which even the renowned Fallmerayer failed. Mr. Knowles states also the financial part of the question. He says that Lord Elgin in all spent £stg. 74,000, and that the mere cash value of the marbles is at the present moment reckoned in millions. A very advantageous venture! — and so many millions' loss to Greece.

But I will transcribe no more of the remarks of the Editor of the *Nineteenth Century*. It is not clear to me what motive prompted him to write this article; whether solicitude for the artistic wealth of his country, or mere literary 'cacoethia scribendi'? If the former, it ought to be born in mind that it is not dignified in a great nation to reap profit from half-truths and half-rights; honesty is the best policy, and honesty in the case of the Elgin Marbles means restitution. If the latter, and he wrote merely in order to outrival the eloquent, clever and sensible article of Mr. Harrison, it is much to be regretted that he did not consider the great French author's wise warning: "Qui court après l'esprit attrape la sottise".

C. F. CAVAFY

The Latest About the Elgin Marbles

Oblivion results in the death of political or international issues. Fortunately, the issue concerning the return of the Elgin Marbles to Greece is still not fated to sink into oblivion. Two renowned English scholars Mr Frederick Harisson and the director of the journal *The 19th Century* Mr James Knowles disagreed on it and greatly contributed to its rekindling.

Mr Harrison replied to the criticism levelled at him by *The 19th Century* in the London journal *The Fortnightly Review*.

I shall not specify all the arguments Mr Harisson uses to support his theory regarding the return of the Marbles. I have already proved Mr Knowles' frivolity in my article printed in *The Ethniki* on 30th March. I would only like to translate some explanations which Mr Harisson gives in his new article.

He categorically states that he does not strongly condemn Lord Elgin who misappropriated the Marbles. However, he states four reasons which prove that the possession of the Marbles by Elgin and the British state contravenes the principles of equity:

“a) Lord Elgin did not obtain the Parthenon Marbles from the Greeks but from the Turks who were their oppressors.

b) The Greeks were opposed to their removal as much as possible and never did them any harm.

c) Lord Elgin's people removed whatever they wanted without the slightest concern for the monument which they laid bare.

d) The British state obtained the Greek Marbles for a trifling sum of money”.

In some other way he admits that Lord Elgin "may have honestly considered that he was saving these invaluable relics for humanity".

One of the main claims put forward by those opposed to the return of the Elgin Marbles is that their return would make England recognise the principle of restoration of what was acquired more or less without final or true legality. Thus its archaeological collections would have to be laid bare. However, this is the usual evasion of those who speciously wish to avoid performing a brave deed. They are afraid of the consequences. But, anyway, which are these consequences? Is one obliged to endure everything to a fault? Is one obliged to keep applying an honest principle until it becomes idiotic by its abuse? Shouldn't anyone, according to this reasoning, ever give charity to a pauper for, if he were to give it to all the paupers of the world, he would become a thousand times poorer than the poorest? After all, the consequence of the general rendition does not arise from the return of the Elgin Marbles. Mr Harisson reiterates what he wrote on it last year in order to prove it.

Mr Knowles, he says, uses glib rhetoric by enumerating various works of Greek art which Britain is in possession of and asks whether those works should be returned. "Certainly not! I made a clear distinction. I wrote that the Elgin Marbles are totally different from all other statues. They are not statues. They are fragments of a marvellous and unique monument which is still standing, though crumbling. It is the national symbol and palladium of a brave nation and a shrine for civilized humanity... Nowadays the ruins of the Acropolis are more significant and sacred to the Greek nation than any other national monument to any other nation. They are the exterior and visible monument of its national existence and regeneration... There is no other example in

the whole world of a nation which keeps the national symbols of another one, not by conquest, but by purchasing them from an oppressor recently. If our ambassador had purchased the royal tombs in St. Dionysius, Napoleon's tomb... from Bismarck, when the Germans were in Paris, I believe that the issue would be mentioned more widely. Perhaps Mr Knowles would not feel like singing 'Rule, Britannia' so provocatively".

This is what he thinks about the safety of the Elgin Marbles in Athens:

"The Acropolis is very well protected. It is not less safe than the British Museum. Nowadays Athens is an art school of all nations and has had the same number of visitors as Venice or Florence ever since the railway line Thessaloniki-Constantinople started operating. It is also as near Europe to the south or east of Munich as is London. Mr Knowles' idea which stems from the journeys of his youth is that Athens is a remote and grim place resembling Baghdad where Albanians and drunken sailors come to blows, where the streets are a sort of Petticoat Lion and Whitechapel and where an aristocratic Englishman once arrives together with his dragoman and his tents. If he asks anyone who has been there recently, he will marvel at the fact that Athens is now a town that is civilized, orderly, developed and teeming with bright visitors as any town in Germany, Italy or France. Athens, as a centre of archaeological studies, is a more important school than London".

Mr Harrison responds to Knowles' effrontery, regarding the Greek nation, as follows:

"The fanatical philhellenes have undoubtedly talked nonsense on occasion; Greece, however, is now a recognised and independent European nation. Its intelligence, reliability and progress are not contemptible if we compare it with Portugal, Brazil, Turkey and Russia... The Greek nation is new; its difficulties are great; its

policy is erratic as is that of more experienced bigger nations. Nevertheless, by behaving to the Greek nation as if it resembled mischievous children that we have to keep an eye on lest they do anything foolish or damage anything, by stating that we cannot entrust them with their own national monuments or that they would be interested in selling them to America, we provide a foolish and vulgar example of John Bull's effrontery".

In another part of his article Mr Harisson is pleased to point out that a lot of eminent men and important newspapers approved of his proposal.

"*The Flag* was the first to approve of it; its leading article caused a sensation in Greece... Some supported each word of mine. An excellent article actuated by this spirit appeared in *The Daily Graphic* and various other newspapers approved of my plea in England and abroad. Mr Xau-Lefevre acceded to the same policy in an invaluable article on modern Greece and I believe that other MPs support him in it... Two very honest and important non-partisan political unions addressed me in order to take the necessary steps in Parliament or elsewhere".

Despite these assurances, I do not believe that Greece will be fortunate enough to see the excellent sculptures of the Parthenon. The political party that opposes the restitution of the Elgin Marbles is large. Those who place selfishness above justice and interest above bravery belong to that party; they are numerous in England as, unfortunately, everywhere else.

Be it what it may, whether the struggle succeeds or not, we must honour and be grateful to F. Harisson not only on behalf of the Greeks but also on behalf of all the developed people as we reward those who are brave enough to speak correctly.

S. SÉFÉRIADÈS

Professeur à l'Université d'Athènes — Membre de l'Institut de Droit International

La question du rapatriement des "Marbres d'Elgin"
considérée plus spécialement
au point de vue du Droit des Gens¹

.....
Les faits que nous venons très succinctement de relever furent cependant la cause de violentes attaques, aussi bien en Angleterre même, qu'à l'étranger.

Des écrivains d'universelle renommée jugèrent l'acte d'Elgin avec sévérité et véhémence.

Lord Byron, qui offrit sa vie en holocauste pour la liberté de la Grèce, fulmina contre le ravisseur diplomate. Il l'appela 'sacrilège', 'profanateur' et, plus que n'importe lequel, 'spoliateur barbare et odieux'*; 'anglais indigne, mais digne écossais, plus barbare que le musulman et que le vandale'**.

Des voyageurs anglais qui se trouvaient à Athènes lors de ces événements ne manquèrent pas d'exprimer également 'leur mortification en voyant le Parthénon dépouillé de ses plus belles sculptures'. Le successeur d'Elgin même, au poste d'ambassadeur auprès de la Sublime Porte, Sir William Drumond, ne paraissait pas approuver la conduite de son prédécesseur. Les ap-

1. Extrait de la *Revue de Droit International*, No 3, 1932.

* *Childe-Harold*, Ch. II, Str. XI-XV.

** *La Malédiction de Minerve*.

préciations des politiciens du Parlement furent également d'une âcre dureté à son égard. Cependant, il est évident, la question de rendre au Parthénon, à cette même époque, les marbres enlevés, ne pouvait pas se poser. Aussi, lorsque la proposition de leur achat par le gouvernement anglais fut discutée devant le Parlement, Hammersley, après avoir qualifié de 'transaction déshonnête' la convention en vertu de laquelle les marbres d'Elgin furent acquis, accusant l'ex-ambassadeur de n'avoir pas respecté la haute fonction dont il était investi*, se rallia à l'avis de l'achat de sa collection par le Gouvernement britannique, 'aux fins d'une restitution à la ville d'Athènes en temps propice, sans formalités supplémentaires'. Malgré cette proposition transactionnelle, lors du vote concernant l'acquisition, trente parlementaires votèrent contre.

Depuis lors la question de la restitution ne se posa plus officiellement en Angleterre. Cependant, aussi bien en ce pays que partout ailleurs, le monde qui s'en occupa fut loin d'être d'accord sur la solution à donner. Des arguments d'ordre moral, ou artistique, ont été invoqués, pour ou contre, par des moralistes, des archéologues, des critiques d'art ou des poètes.

Il nous faut les résumer très succinctement, en les appréciant de notre côté, bien qu'en fait jamais, que nous sachions, les exigences seules de la morale pure ou de l'art ne constituèrent jusqu'ici des raisons suffisantes pour qu'un Etat se considérât comme obligé à se

* Cmpr. dans Ciceron, in C. Verrem, Actio Secunda Lib. IV, § IV "...mercatores cum imperio ac securibus in provinciam misimus, qui omnia signa, tabulas pictas, omnem argentum, aurum, ebur, gemmas coemeret; nihil cuiquam relinqueret".

dépouiller d'un objet faisant l'admiration universelle. Nous nous placerons ensuite sur le terrain purement juridique de la question, bien plus inexploré jusqu'à nos jours.

Arguments d'ordre moral et artistique.

Evidemment, certaines parties de l'argumentation avancée par Elgin, en faveur de l'enlèvement et du transfert à Londres des marbres portant son nom, du moins si on les compare aux syllogismes invoqués par les partisans du séjour permanent de ces pièces au British Museum, ne sont pas sans avoir une certaine valeur. Ces arguments furent du reste signalés, en partie, dès le début de cette étude. On peut les résumer comme basés:

a) sur le désir de devancer une spoliation qui aurait pu se faire par d'autres et plus spécialement par la France;

b) sur la possibilité d'une destruction des monuments de l'Acropole à la façon de Morosini ou autrement;

c) Enfin d'un côté sur l'incurie et l'indifférence des Grecs et des Turcs à l'égard de ces marbres, et de l'autre sur la haute culture intellectuelle, artistique et même athlétique de la nation britannique, seule, disait-on, et continue-t-on même de répéter quelquefois, en état, non seulement de comprendre et de profiter de l'enseignement des productions artistiques du siècle de Périclès, mais aussi seule capable de faire profiter le monde civilisé de l'enseignement résultant de ces productions.

Que vaut cette argumentation?

A' Tout d'abord ce serait porter atteinte à l'idée même de la morale que d'essayer de démontrer la futilité de la justification tendant à disculper la priorité d'une spoliation en raison de la possibilité d'une spoliation

ultérieure. Au surplus, une telle crainte était absolument imaginaire; en effet un arrêté, que nous rencontrerons dans les pages qui suivent, promulgué par le gouvernement français de cette époque, prohibait toute dégradation des monuments historiques, même en Italie, en vue de leur transfert en France.

B' Le second et le meilleur des arguments invoqués par lord Elgin —celui des risques courus par le Parthénon— aurait pu nous sembler absolument plausible, si, en vérité, les risques de destruction de ces édifices fussent apparus à la fois comme imminents et comme impossibles à éviter par tout autre moyen, dont l'Angleterre pouvait disposer à cette époque. Du reste en supposant même qu'il en fût ainsi, lord Elgin aurait dû se présenter par devant le tribunal de l'humanité pensante non point comme un ravisseur, agissant pour son propre compte, ou même pour le compte de son pays, mais comme un dépositaire nécessaire d'un objet dont il avait voulu assumer la garde, ayant, en conséquence, l'obligation de rendre cet objet à qui de droit. On ne saurait prétendre en effet qu'on se précipite au sauvetage d'une chose si on n'agit ainsi que pour se l'approprier.

Mais cette argumentation, dangereuse quant à sa base même, était loin de correspondre à la réalité des intentions du lord ambassadeur. En effet, et c'est là un fait incontestable, l'équipe de ses artistes démolisseurs, incapable l'arriver à enlever les édifices péricléens pour les sauver de la dégradation, à laquelle, prétendit-on, ils étaient destinés, n'hésita guère elle-même à les dégrader et à les mutiler, démontrant ainsi que le but essentiel qu'on poursuivait était: non point de prendre pour sauver, mais de prendre tout simplement et avant tout, même si pour arriver à ce but on devait commencer par tout abîmer.



The Acropolis of Athens.

L. Dupré, *Voyage à Athènes et à Constantinople*. Paris, 1825.

Athens, Gennadius Library.



Aussi, de propos délibéré, a-t-on fait descendre les métopes du Parthénon et les statues ornant la partie sud du fronton, où Phidias lui-même les avait fait poser, faisant subir lors de ces opérations au monument tout entier des dégâts, bien plus substantiels que les avantages retirés, et des écroulements inévitables, à la vue desquels des murmures d'indignation et de tristesse furent arrachés aux gens du pays, impuissants à protester autrement. Enfin, on n'hésita guère à enlever de l'Erechteion la statue de la Caryatide, au risque de voir s'effondrer le temple tout entier.

Un tel esprit de destruction a-t-il jamais été le guide de vrais amis des objets d'art, en dehors bien entendu des amis de l'art mercantile? Bonaparte et ses commissaires, —qu'Elgin, mauvais copiste, a voulu prendre pour modèles— tout en raflant l'Italie, ont toujours reculé devant des confiscations dont la prise aurait pu causer des dégâts à l'objet envié. Ainsi, —suivant l'exemple de Charles VIII qui malgré son désir de transporter en France la *Cène* de Léonard de Vinci, la laissa aux Milanais, craignant que le déplacement du mur ne détériorât le chef-d'œuvre,— on s'est bien gardé de toucher à la colonne Trajane; mieux encore, nous rencontrons en France à l'époque napoléonienne l'arrêté déjà mentionné, portant qu'aucun monument public ne devrait être touché*.

Au surplus, en supposant toujours que lors des enlèvements elginiens des risques immédiats, ne pouvant être conjurés autrement, menaçaient les monuments de l'Acropole, et que, de ce fait, des circonstances

* V. Muntz. *Les annexions de collections d'art ou de bibliothèques*, etc. In *Rev. d'hist. diplom.* 1896, p. 486.

atténuantes devraient être accordées en faveur d'Elgin, on ne saurait soutenir qu'il en est de même de nos jours, et qu'ainsi le rapatriement des marbres enlevés doit être indéfiniment différé. De nos jours en effet les attaques par la voie des airs ou par des obus aveugles des canons à très longue portée sont tout aussi possibles contre Londres que contre Athènes; elles peuvent même apparaître comme bien plus dangereuses dans la première que dans la seconde hypothèse. En effet dans le cas d'attaques analogues contre Athènes, la limpidité de l'atmosphère guidera assurément les attaquant à viser d'autres buts que l'Acropole, aujourd'hui absolument inoffensive, et protégée par des accords internationaux que nulle raison stratégique ne saurait engager à enfreindre.

C' La troisième partie de l'argumentation de la thèse elginienne n'est certainement pas plus heureuse que les deux premières que nous venons d'examiner; c'est celle basée d'un côté sur l'incurie et l'ignorance des gens d'Athènes et de l'autre sur les profits de l'enseignement artistique que le transport à Londres des marbres du Parthénon n'aurait pas manqué de verser sur l'Univers civilisé en général, et plus spécialement sur la population anglo-saxonne.

Aussurément on ne saurait douter de l'état lamentable de l'intellect des Athéniens lors de l'enlèvement elginien. Quelques siècles d'asservissement, sous des maîtres plus serviles que des serfs, ne contribuent certainement pas au perfectionnement de l'éducation littéraire et artistique d'un pays. Cependant, à cette même époque, en dehors de regrettables exceptions, bien compréhensibles, la population d'Athènes avait envers les temples de l'antiquité un respect presque légendaire, comme si elle sentait que de multiples affinités la rattachaient aux monuments dont elle soupçonnait la puissante beauté.

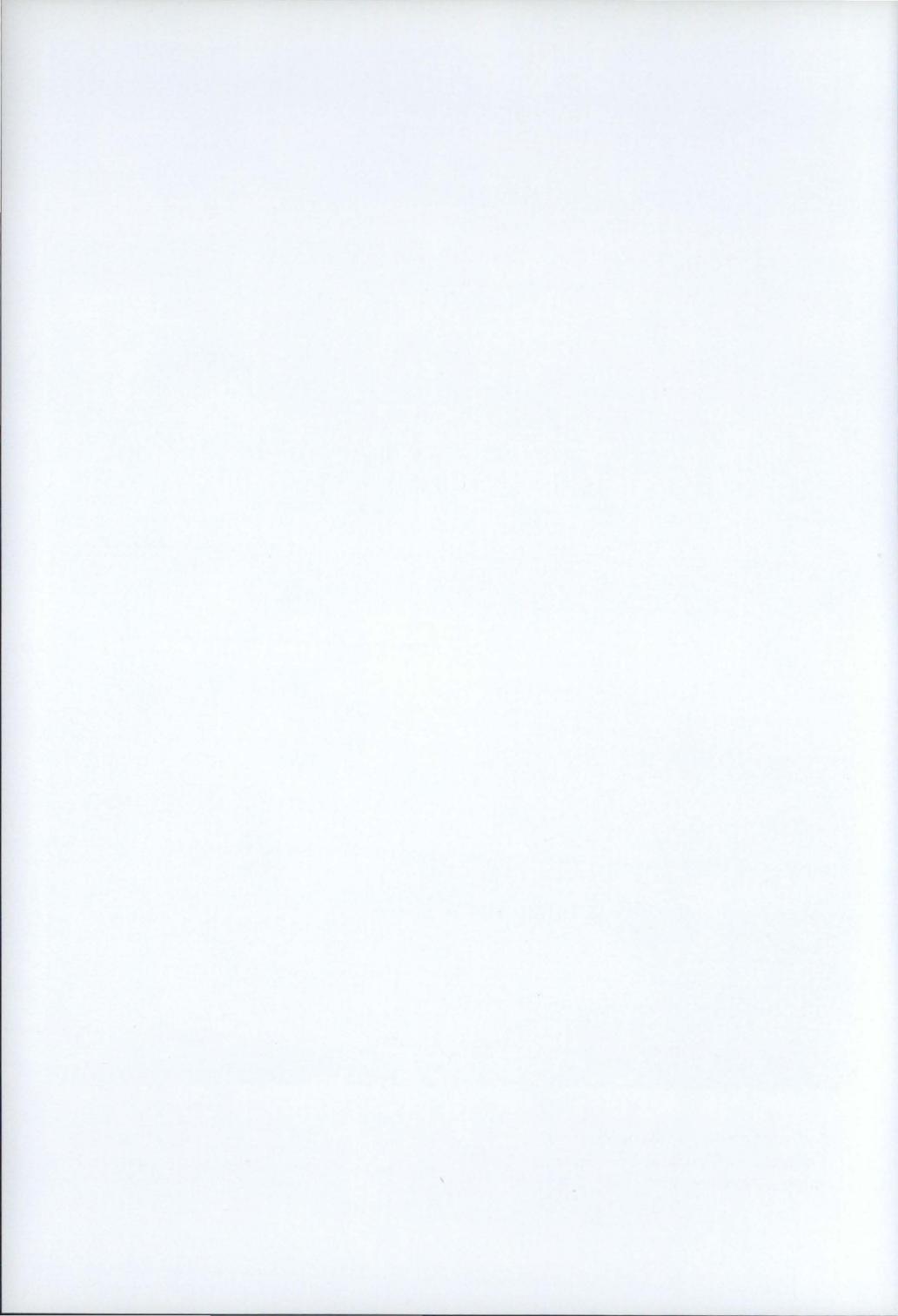
Ainsi, —tous les voyageurs de l'époque le constatent de la façon la plus unanime—, jamais les Athéniens n'auraient laissé commettre les exsangues massacres de lord Elgin sans un ordre, réel ou non, de leur seigneur*. Tel était du rest l'ascendant mystique qu'exerçaient sur ces gens les marbres de l'antiquité, que des voyageurs nous font savoir qu'une légende, généralement admise, voulait que la Caryatide arrachée de l'Erechteion, par les gens d'Elgin, appelât ses sœurs en sanglotant tous les soirs, tandis que de leur côté les Caryatides abandonnées se lamentaient en appelant l'absente.

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* Cmpr. le passage suivant de Cicéron: *Credite hoc mihi, iudices: nulla unquam civitas tota Asia et Graecia, signum ullum, tabulam pictam, ullum denique ornamentum urbis, sua voluntate cuiquam vendidit. In Verrem, de signis, Actio II, Lib. IV, § LIX.*

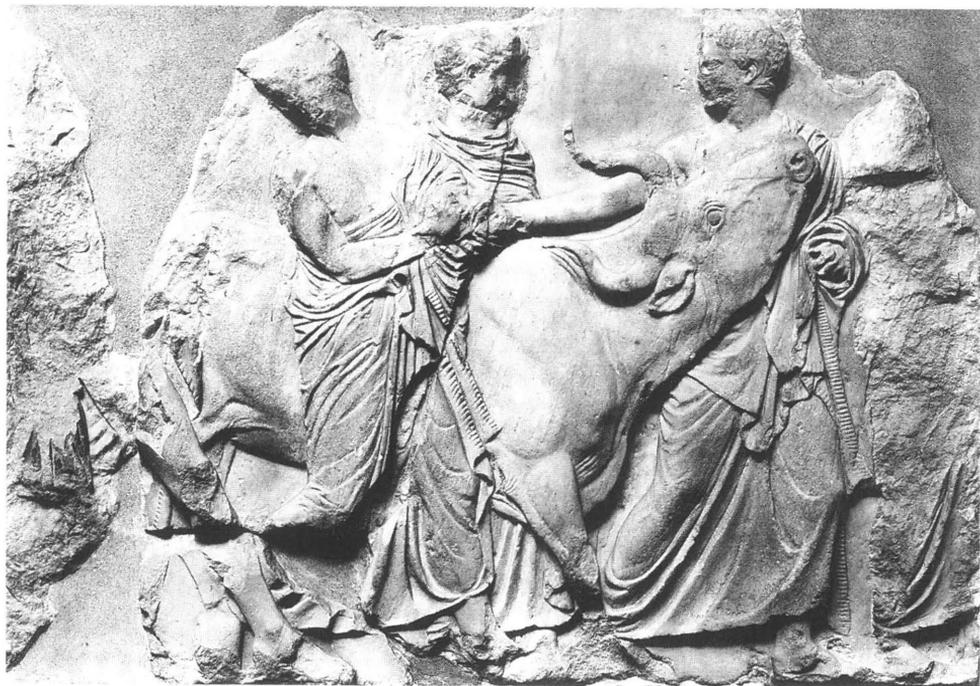


Lord Byron on the Acropolis.
Oil on canvas attributed to Charles L. Eastlake.
Athens, Museum of the City of Athens.



IV

Catalogue of the Greek Antiquities
of the Elgin Collection



Youths leading a cow for sacrifice. South frieze slab XL 112-115.

Catalogue
of the Elgin Marbles, Vases, Casts and Drawings,
Prepared from the MS of Mons. *Visconti*

- A. — The Pediments of the Parthenon.
- B. — The Metopes.
- C. — The Frize - (East end.)
- D. — Ditto ----(north side.)
- E. — Ditto ----(West end.)
- F. — Ditto ---- (South side.)
- G. — Ditto ---- (not ascertained.)
- H. — Frize of the Temple of Victory.
- I. — Doric Architecture.
- J. — Ionic Architecture.
- K. — Monuments relating to Bacchus.
- L. — Detached Heads.
- M. — Detached pieces of Sculpture.
- N. — Urns—Marble, Bronze, and Earthen.
- O. — Altars.
- P. — Cippi or Sepulchral Pillars.
- Q. — Casts.
- R. — Greek Inscriptions.
- S. — Drawings.

PARTHENON

Statues and Fragments from the Eastern Pediment

- A. — 1. Two Horses Heads in one block.
2. One Horse's Head.
3. Statue of Hercules or Theseus.
4. Groupe of two Female figures.
5. Female figure in quick motion — Iris.
6. Groupe of two Female figures.

Statues and Fragments from the Western Pediment

7. Part of the Chest and Shoulders of the colossal figure in the center (supposed to be Neptune).
8. Fragment of the colossal figure of Minerva.
9. Fragment of a Head (supposed to belong to the preceding).
10. Fragment of a statue of Victory.
11. Statue of a river-god called Ilissus.

Fragments of Statues from the Pediments,
(the names or places of which are not positively ascertained)

12. Female figure, sitting (supposed to belong to groupe, marked No. 6).
13. Fragment of a Female figure, (resembling Victory, No. 10).
14. Fragment of a Female figure, seated (supposed to have been Latona, holding Apollo and Diana in her arms).
15. Fragment (supposed to have belonged to a groupe of female figures).
16. Fragment of the Neck and Arms rising out of the sea, called Hyperion or the rising Sun.

17. Torso of a Male figure with drapery thrown over one shoulder.

The Metopes

- B. — 1. A Centaur with a long beard; raising himself for the purpose of striking with a club a Lapitha, who attacks him.
2. A Lapitha has overpowered a Centaur, whose hands are tied behind his back.
3. A Centaur, who has thrown down a Lapitha.
4. A Centaur is carrying off a Woman.
5. A Centaur has thrown down a Lapitha, who is still defending himself, and holding up a shield.
6. A Lapitha struggling with a Centaur, whom he holds by the hair and ear.
7. A Centaur is nearly overcoming a Lapitha.
8. A Lapitha seems to be successful against a Centaur.
9. A Centaur is throwing down a Lapitha, whom he holds by the hair.
10. A Lapitha upon the croup of a Centaur, seizes his neck, and endeavours to throw him down.
11. A Centaur successful against a Lapitha.
12. A Lapitha, with covered legs, appears to be successful against a Centaur, who is retiring, and holds a lion's skin over his left arm.
13. Combat between a Centaur and Lapitha quite naked.
14. A Centaur is rearing up; the figure of the Lapitha is detached from the marble, but the Torso is adjoining.

The Frize, Representing the Procession for Celebrating
the Panathenaean Festival

The East End

- C.— 1. The Slab which formed the south-east angle; representing a Bull on the south, and a Magistrate or Director of the procession on the east side.
2. Fragments of four Male figures moving to their right.
3. Six Female figures, moving to their right, and holding vases in their hands.
- 4, 5. Six Female figures, preceded by two Directors.
- 6, 7. Eight Figures; the four which are standing supposed to be four Directors; the others are called Castor and Pollux, Ceres and Triptolemus.
8. Slab, on which are five figures: called respectively, beginning from the left, Victory, Minerva, Jupiter, two Canephorae.
9. Slab, on which are five figures: *i.e.* a Priestess, or the Archontissa; a Boy receiving the peplum from the Archon, or one of the Directors; Hygaeia, and Esculapius.
10. Two Directors.
11. Five figures corresponding with those marked No 6 and 7.
12. Five Females; carrying respectively, a candelabrum, vases, and paterae.

From the North Side of the Frize

- D.— 1. Two Scaphephori moving towards the left.
2. A Female in a car drawn by three horses, with one of the Directors.
3. A Female in a car with two horses, and one of the Directors.

4. A Female in a similar car; with two Men, one of them in armour.
5. Two Men, in a car drawn by three horses.
5. Fragment of a Car with two Horses; the point of a sceptre appears above the horses.
6. Eight young Men on horseback, clothed in tunicks, which are raised above the knee.
7. Four Horses and three Riders.
8. Three Horsemen with tunicks and buskins.
9. Three Horsemen in the same costume.
10. Three Horsemen; one of them is naked, the feet of the others are uncovered.
11. Three Horsemen; one of which is almost effaced.
12. Four Horsemen; two with helmets, the others naked.
13. Four Horsemen with tunicks: The last has a large Thessalian hat hung over his shoulders.
14. North-west Angle of the Frize: — It represents three Men and a Boy, on the western side, and one of the Directors on the north side.

The Western End

- E.—15. A single piece of the Frize, being a continuation of the foregoing No. 14: two Horsemen, the one nearly naked; the other has a breastplate: both wear buskins.

South Side

- F. —1. A Bull, with three Men, one of whom holds back the animal.
2. Two Bulls and two Men.
 3. Two Bulls and four Men; one of the men places a

- crown on his head, preparatory to the celebration of the sacrifice.
4. Two Bulls and four Men.
 5. One Bull and four Men; one of whom holds back the animal.
 6. A car with two Horses and four Figures: among them is a young Man, whose tunick is drawn up above the knee, and who holds a shield; he appears ready to mount.
 7. A Car with four Horses: in it is a Warrior standing up, with helmet, shield and chlamyde; the other figure is seated, and drives the car.
 8. A Car with two Horses moving in the same direction; two Figures; of which one, who is getting into the car, holds a large shield.
 9. Fragment of another Car, moving in the same direction.
 10. Fragment of a similar subject.
 11. Two Horsemen; one nearly naked, seems to have a Thessalian hat thrown over his shoulders.
 12. Three Horsemen, all clothed in tunicks.
 13. Two Horsemen, one with buskins.
 14. One Horseman, with several Horses.

Detached Parts of the Frize of the Cella of the Parthenon
(the exact situations of which are not yet ascertained)

- G.—A. A Quadriga in slow motion; a Youth in the tunick, with a shield, accompanies it; another points behind him, with his arm naked.
- B. Three Horses in quich motion towards the right; the Riders wear the tunick.
- C. Three Horses; the Riders are all clothed in tunicks.

- D. Three Horsemen in armour.
- E. Two Horsemen in tunicks; one has his right hand on his horse's head.
- F. Two Horsemen in armour: the foremost has an helmet; the other appears, from the holes which are in the Marble, to have had some ornament of metal fixed on the head.
- G. Two Horsemen in tunicks; part of three Horses.
- H. Part of three Horses, and three Riders in cuirasses.
- I. Fragment of Horsemen and Horses.
- J. Fragment of four Horses and two Riders.

From the Temple of Victory

- H. — 1. Bas-relief, representing a Combat between Greeks and Barbarians.
- 2. Another, representing the same subject.
- 3. Another, representing the same subject.
- 4. Similar Bas-relief, representing a Combat between Greeks and Amazons.

Fragments of Architecture, from the Parthenon,
Propylaea, and Other Doric Buildings

- I.— 1. A Doric Capital from the Parthenon, in two pieces.
- 2. One layer of a Doric column, from the same.
- 3. Fragments of the Frize of the Parthenon.
- 4. Fragments of the Architrave of Ditto.
- 5. Doric Capital from the Propylaea.
- 6. Part of a Doric Entablature, plain.
- 7. Two Tiles from the roof of the Ambulatory of the Temple of Theseus.

From the Temple of Erechtheus and Adjoining
Buildings; also Specimens of Ionic Architecture

- J.— 1. One of the Caryatides which supported a roof,
under which the olive-tree sacred to Minerva was
supposed to have been preserved.
2. Part of a Column from the Temple of Erechtheus, of the Ionic order.
 3. Base of Ditto.
 4. Capital of Ditto.
 5. Detached part of the rich Frize, from the same Temple.
 6. Four fragments of ornamented Ionic Entablature.
 7. Three large Ditto.
 8. One small Ditto.
 9. One large Fragment, with inscriptions.
 10. Ditto, Ditto, Ionic Entablature.
 11. Three upper parts of Columns of the Ionic order.
 12. Three large pieces of fluted Ionic Shaft.
 13. One Ditto, short.
 14. Two pieces of small Ionic Shaft, fluted and reeded.
 15. One Capital of Ionic pilaster.
 16. Two Ionic Capitals.
 17. Two parts of Ionic Entablature.
 18. One large Ionic Capital.

Monuments Appertaining to the Worship
and the Theatre of Bacchus

- K.— 1. A colossal Statue of Bacchus, which was placed
over the Theatre.
2. A Sun-dial, from the same.

3. A complete Series of Casts from the Bas-reliefs on the Choric Monument of Lysicrates.
4. A Bas-relief with four figures, representing a Bacchanalian Dance.

Detached Heads

- L.—1. Portrait, larger than nature, with long beard and deeply cut eyes, a diadem round the hair; perhaps Sophocles.
2. Portrait, somewhat similar to the preceding one.
 3. Fragment of Augustus.
 4. Fragment: the style, times of the Republic.
 5. A bearded Hercules.
 6. Same subject, smaller size.
 7. Bacchus crowned with ivy.
 8. Female Head.
 9. One-half of a Head, without any beard, with long hair, in the costume of Alexander, or of the Dioscuri.
 10. Fragment of an old Head, larger than nature.
 11. Fragment of a Head with a beard; it has a conical cap: perhaps Ulysses of Vulcan.
 12. Female Head, smaller than nature: the head-dress of one of the Muses.
 13. Female Head, smaller than nature.

Detached Pieces of Sculpture

- M.— 1. Small Figure erect, in the costume of the Muse Polymnia: Found at Thebes.
2. Torso of a Male figure found at Epidauria.
 3. Statue; supposed to be Cupid.
 4. A Choric Bas-relief on which is represented a Temple of Apollo, with two figures.

5. Bas-relief of a Quadriga, in which is a Female figure; a Victory in air is approaching to crown her.
6. Female Figure, without a head; small size.
7. Figure of a Telesphore, attendant of Esculapius; without a head.
8. Fragment of a Bas-relief, on which is a young Man, who appears to be on a chariot led by Victory.
9. Fragment of a Boy in alto relievo.
10. Bas-relief, representing a young Wrestler with his Preceptor.
11. Bas-relief, representing Minerva in armour, and a young Athenian.
12. Fragment of a Bas-relief; a Sacrifice, of which a Hog is the victim.
13. Ditto, in which the victim is a Ram.
14. Two divinities—Jupiter seated, a Goddess standing up.
15. Two Goddesses taking a young Athenian under their protection.
16. Fragment of a Bas-relief, on which are two young Greeks, one holding an instrument of sacrifice, called by the Romans *capeduncula*.
17. Small round Altar: four Female figures sculptured on the four sides of it, are dancing, holding each others hands; the first seems to be playing on a lyre.
18. Torso of a Female figure in drapery.
19. Figure of a Horseman, apparently an ancient imitation of part of the Frize of the Parthenon, in smaller proportions.
20. Figure of a young Divinity, probably Bacchus, taking an Athenian under his protection; the latter of smaller dimensions.

- 20b. Minerva, standing up in a kind of small temple.
21. Figure of Hygeia: she is offering her cup to the serpent, which is her symbol; she is holding in her left hand a kind of fan in the form of leaves of ivy; her head is covered with the high dress called *tutulus*.
22. Bas-relief, on which are represented five Figures: in the midst is a goddess on a kind of throne, the other four are smaller; three of them are imploring the Goddess on behalf of their children, whom they carry in their arms; the fourth is bringing oblations and votive offerings. This bas-relief is from Cape Sigeum near the plain of Troy.
23. Fragments similar to Nos. 12 and 18. There are five figures, of which two are Youths preparing to celebrate a sacrifice: the last of the large figures has a basket on its head.
24. One small Bas-relief: one sitting, two standing figures.
25. One Female figure sitting (much mutilated).
26. One trunk, with drapery (a young Man).
27. Two fragments of Grecian ornaments.
28. One Grecian fragment, with Vase in bas-relief.
29. One fragment, with two Figures in high relief.
30. One Grecian Pilaster, with Corinthian Capital.
31. Fragment of a Female.
32. Fragment of a Female figure enveloped in drapery.
33. Sundry small fragments.
34. Egyptian Scarabaeus, brought from Constantinople.

Urns a (Marble)

- N— 1. Solid Urn, with Groupe in bas-relief, superscribed.
2. Ditto Ditto Ditto.
3. Ditto Ditto Ditto.
4. Ditto Ditto Ditto.
5. Ditto Ditto Ditto.
6. Ditto Ditto Ditto.
7. Ditto Ditto Ditto.
8. Ditto Ditto Ditto.
9. One Ditto Ditto ornamented Sepulchral Urn.
10. Small fragment of a Vase, with figures.
11. Spherical Sepulchral Urn, broken in pieces.
N.B.— This contained the Bronze Urn (No. 12).

Urns b (Bronze)

12. Richly wrought Urn, from the tomb called “of Aspasia”, in the plain of Attica.
13. Two bronze Urns, of rude shape and workmanship.

Urns c (Earthen)

14. Some hundreds of large and small earthenware Urns or Vases, discovered in digging in the ancient Sepulchres round Athens: none of great beauty, or richly ornamented.

Altars

- O.— 1. Altar, with female Figure and Child.
 2. Smaller Altar, with figures and inscription.
 3. Fragment of a small Bacchanalian Altar; on one side is a Bacchante, on the other a Fawn.
 4. Small Altar, with inscription and figures.
 5. Ditto.
 6. Ditto.
 7. Ditto.
 8. Ditto.

Cippi, or Sepulchral Pillars

- P.— 1. One large Sepulchral Pillar, with inscriptions.
 2. One smaller Ditto Ditto Ditto
 3. One small Sepulchral Pillar.
 4. One Ditto Ditto.
 5. One Ditto Ditto.
 6. One Ditto Ditto.
 7. One Ditto Ditto.
 8. One Ditto Ditto.
 9. One Ditto Ditto.
 10. One Ditto Ditto.
 11. One Ditto Ditto.
 12. One Ditto Ditto.
 13. Three fragments, with circular Pedestals and Festoons.

Casts

- Q.— 1. Eighteen Casts, from the Frize of the Cella of the Parthenon.
 2. Twenty-four Ditto from the Frize and Metopes of the Temple of Theseus.

3. Twelve Ditto from the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates — (mentioned above).
4. One Cast from the great Sarcophagus in the cathedral church at Girgenti in Sicily.
[Also the Moulds of the above].

Greek Inscriptions

- R.—
1. Epitaph in four lines, on two brothers, Diotrephes and Demophon.
 2. Sepulchral Column of Thalia.
 3. Ditto of Theodotus.
 4. Ditto of Socrates.
 5. Ditto of Menestratus.
 6. Votive Inscription of certain Sailors.
 7. Sepulchral Column of an Athenian.
 8. Fragment.
 9. Decree of the People of Athens in favour of Isacharas.
 10. Votive Inscription of Antisthenes.
 11. Votive Inscription of Polyllus.
 12. Sepulchral Column of Anaxicrates.
 13. Votive Inscription of a Woman.
 14. Agonistic Inscription.
 15. Fragment of Sepulchral Inscription.
 16. Choragic Inscription in the Doric dialect.
 17. Epitaph in Verse, in two parts. *Vide* No. 34.
 18. Votive Monument to Mercury and Hercules.
 19. Sepulchral Stèle of Hierocléa.
 20. Ditto of Callis.
 21. Ditto of Callimachus.
 22. Fragment of a Decree, probably an ancient Treaty between Athens and some other People.
 23. Catalogue of Athenians who died in battle in the year 424 B.C.

24. Epitaph on Plutarchus.
25. Fragment of a Decree.
26. Ditto from Tenos.
27. Fragments of a Stele of Euphrosynus.
28. Ditto of a Sepulchral Stele of Musonia.
29. Fragment of an Epitaph in honour of Briseis.
30. Fragment of an Address to Hadrian.
31. Ditto of a Decree of the People of Athens.
32. Decree of the general Council of Baeotia.
33. Inscription of the Gymnasiarch Gorgias.
34. The other part of No. 17.
35. Catalogue of the Public and Sacred Treasures at Athens.
36. Ditto of Ditto.
37. Ditto of Ditto.
38. Ditto of Ditto.
39. Fragment of a Treaty between Athens and Rhegium.
40. Ditto of a Column which supported the Statue of Pison.
41. Ancient Sepulchral Inscription.
- 42, 43. Catalogue of precious objects in the Opisthodomus.
44. Treaty between Erchomenos and Elataea.
45. Similar to Nos. 42, 43.
46. Similar to the preceding.
47. Fragment of a Decree.
48. Ditto of a Decree from Corinth.
49. Ditto with the name of Hiera Pytna.
50. Catalogue of Public Treasures, more recent than Nos. 42, 43, &c.
51. Decree in honour of Bacchus and Antonius Pius.
52. Sepulchral Stele, with the names of Hippocrates and Baucis.

53. Sigaeen Inscription, commonly called the Boustrophedon.
54. Sepulchral Inscription on an Entablature.
55. Sepulchral Column of Biotius.
56. Ditto ----- of Thysta.
57. Dito ----- of Thrason.
58. Stèle of Asclepiodorus.
59. Sepulchral Column of Aristides.
60. Eleven votive Inscriptions consecrated to Jupiter Hypsistos, bearing respectively the names of Claudia Prepousa, Evhodus, Paederos, Philemattium, Onesimê, Isias, Eutychis, Olympius, Tertia, Syntrophus.
61. Fragment of a Decree between Athens and some other People.
62. Sepulchral Column of Botrichus.
63. Public Act of Athens respecting the Roads.
64. Epitaph in twelve elegiac verses, in honour of those Athenians who were killed at the Siege of Potidaea in the year 432 B.C.
65. Sepulchral Stèle in honour of Aristocles.
66. Ditto in honour of Aphrodisias of Salamis.

For a Description of the preceding Inscriptions, reference is given to the printed Catalogue drawn up by Mons. Visconti: the numbers of which are here preserved.

Drawings

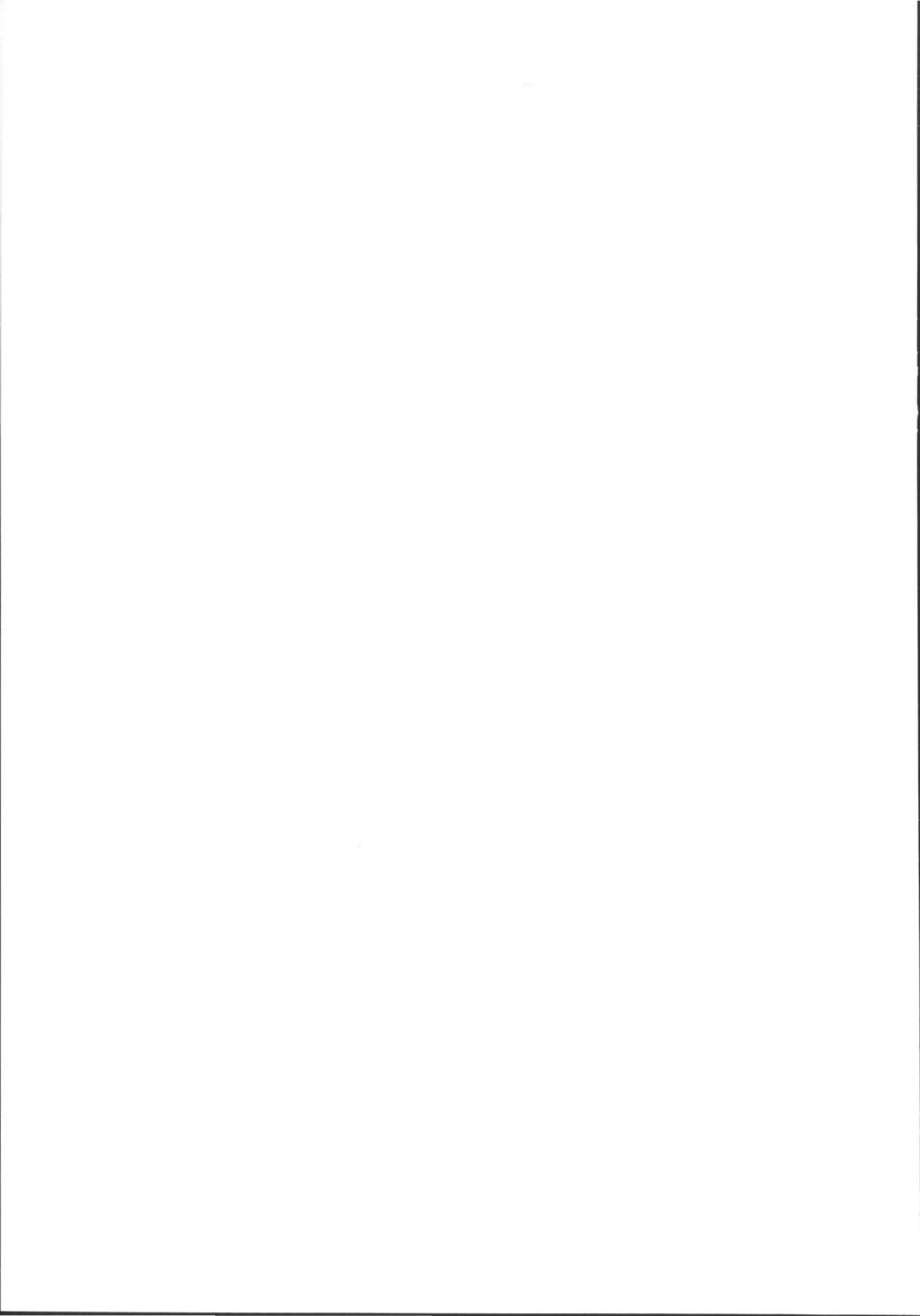
- S.— 1. Plans and Elevations of the Temples of Minerva and Theseus at Athens.
2. Architectural details of the Temples of Minerva and Theseus; of Minerva at Sunium; Plan of the

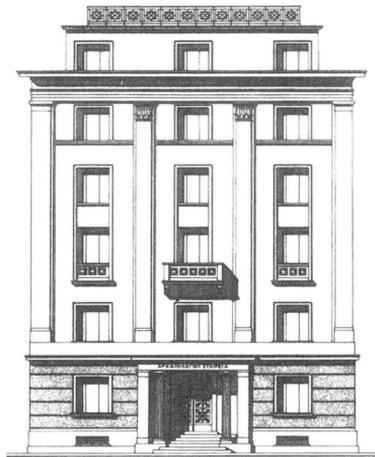
- Pnyx; Plans and Drawings of the Theatre of Bacchus.
3. Drawings of the Sculpture on the Temples of Minerva and Theseus; on the Temple of Victory; on the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates.
 4. Ground-plan of Athens, marking the Walls, and the site of the existing Ruins: Drawings of the Tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes; of the Propylaea; of the triple Temple, of Minerva Polias, Erechtheus and Pandrosus.
 5. A series of Drawing and Plans of ancient Remains in many parts of Greece, taken in the year 1802.

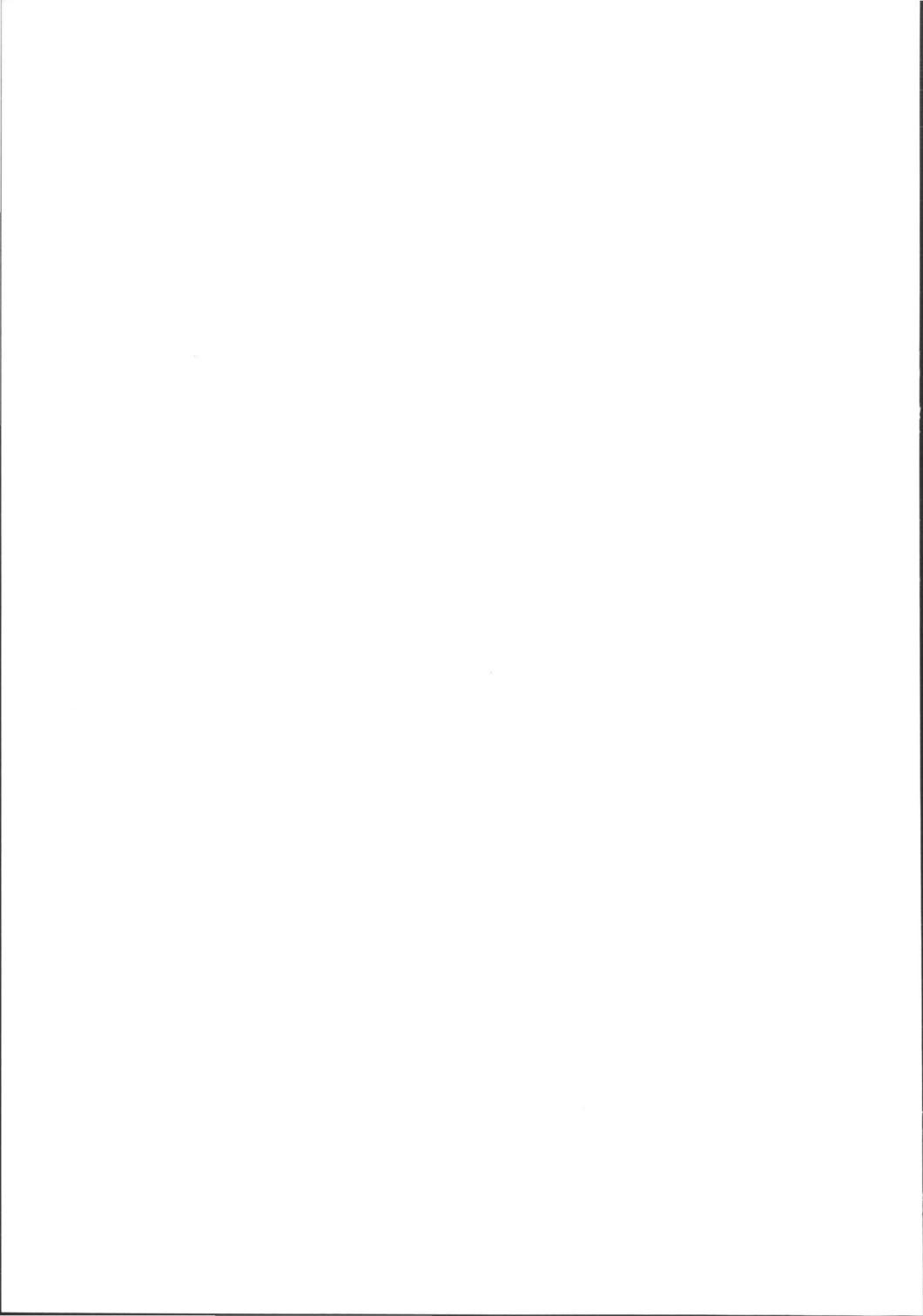
Addenda

One Lyre in Cedar wood; and,

Two Flutes of the same material; found during the excavations among the Tombs in the neighbourhood of Athens.







The Archaeological Society at Athens

When the state of Greece was founded in 1830, after the War of Independence, the first governments were immediately faced with the great problems of the economy, public administration and education. The last of these also included the question of the country's ancient treasures, which had been looted and destroyed over the centuries by traffickers in antiquities. However, the official Antiquities Service was undermanned and incapable of taking proper care of the ancient remains, and so on 6th January 1837, on the initiative of a wealthy merchant named Konstantinos Belios, a group of scholars and politicians founded *The Archaeological Society at Athens* with the objects of locating, re-erecting and restoring the antiquities of Greece.

The Presidents and Secretaries of the Society in its early days were politicians and diplomats, whose enthusiasm was such that in spite of the shortage of funds—for it was financed entirely by members' subscriptions and voluntary donations and received no assistance whatever from the State—they were able to carry out a number of ambitious projects such as the excavation of the Acropolis, the restoration of the Parthenon and excavations of the Theatre of Dionysos, the Odeion of Herodes Atticus and the Tower of the Winds, all in Athens.

Until 1859 the Society was in such a precarious financial position that it was constantly on the verge of collapse. In that year the distinguished scholar and epigraphist Stephanos Kumanudes became its Secretary, and he held the position until 1894. With his expertise, his methodical mind and his energy he breathed new life into the Society, and on his initiative large-scale excavations were carried out in Athens (the Kerameikos, the Acropolis, Hadrian's Library,

the Stoa of Attalos, the Theatre of Dionysos, the Roman Agora), elsewhere in Attica (Rhamnous, Thorikos, Marathon, Eleusis, the Amphiaracion, Piraeus), and in Boeotia (Chaironeia, Tanagra, Thespiiai), the Peloponnese (Mycenae, Epidaurous, Lakonia) and the Cyclades. Meanwhile the Society founded several large museums in Athens, which were later amalgamated to form the National Archaeological Museum.

Kumanudes was succeeded by Panayiotis Kavvadias, the General Inspector of Antiquities (1895-1909, 1912-1920), who carried on his predecessor's work with undiminished energy and presided over excavations in other parts of Greece —Thessaly, Epiros, Macedonia and the islands (Euboea, Corfu, Kefallinia, Lesbos, Samos and the Cyclades)— as well as the opening of numerous museums in provincial towns. Kavvadias was succeeded by three university professors, Georgios Oikonomos (1924-1951), Anastasios Orlandos (1951-1979) and Georgios Mylonas (1979-1988). Under them the Society managed to keep up its archaeological activities in spite of the difficulties caused by the Second World War and its aftermath, which hampered its work for a considerable length of time.

As an independent learned society, the Archaeological Society is in a position to assist the State in its work of protecting, improving and studying Greek antiquities. Whenever necessary, it undertakes the management and execution of large projects: this has happened with the excavations in Macedonia and Thrace in recent years and with the large-scale restoration projects in the past.

An important part of the Society's work is its publishing. It brings out three annual titles: *Praktika tes Archaialogikes Hetairias* (*Proceedings of the Archaeological Society*) (since 1837) containing detailed reports on the excavations and researches carried out in all parts of Greece; the *Archaialogike Ephemeris* (since 1837), containing papers on subjects to do with Greek antiquities, including excavation reports; and *Ergon tes Archaialogikes Hetairias* (*The Work of the Archaeological Society*) (since 1955), published every

May, with brief reports on its excavations. *Mentor* is a quarterly whose contents consist mainly of short articles on ancient Greece and the history of Greek archaeology, as well as news of the Society's activities. All these are edited by the Secretary General.

Besides the periodicals, there is the series of books with the general title *The Archaeological Society at Athens Library*: these are monographs on archaeological subjects and reports on excavations, mostly those carried out by the Society.

The Society is administered by an eleven-member Board, elected every three years by the members in General Meeting. Every year, in May or thereabouts, the Secretary General of the Board reports on the Society's activities over the past twelve months at a Public Meeting.



THE BOOK
*BYRON AND THE ANTIQUITIES
OF THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS*
BY EUGENIA KEFALLINEOU
No 192
IN *THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY AT ATHENS*
LIBRARY SERIES
WAS PRINTED IN 1999
BY 'GRAPHIKES TECHNES E. BOULOUKOS - A. LOGOTHETIS'
26 MILONOS STREET, ATHENS

