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### Έρανόματα

J. TOULOUMAKOS

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## EPANISMATA

### ZUM SCHICKSAL GRIECHISCHER KUNSTWERKE UND INSCRIFTEN IN DER ZEIT DER TÜRKISCHEN HERRSCHAFT\*

#### I. Darstellungen aus einem Bericht über die Sammlung des Lord Elgin.

Über die Persönlichkeit und die Expedition des britischen Diplomaten Lord Elgin (zuletzt Botschafter in Konstantinopel)<sup>1</sup>, in Griechenland in den Jahren 1801-1803, zwecks Aufzeichnung und Anwerbung von Kunstwerken und Inschriften, ist bekanntlich viel geschrieben worden, grösstenteils im Hinblick auf die Frage nach der Rückgabe der Parthenonskulpturen<sup>2</sup>. Die umfassende, und m.W. dank der Vielfältigkeit der Aspekte und der Fülle der Informationen -instruktivsteinschlägige Studie ist der im *JHS* 36, 1916 (anlässlich des 100. Jahrestages der Erwerbung der Sammlung Elgins vom britischen Staat) erschienene Bericht von A. H. Smith («Lord Elgin and his Collection», 210 S., 19 Abb.). Durch die Auswertung von Informationen aus den vom Verfasser zitierten oder auch nicht zitierten zeitgenössischen Publikationen (Reiseberichten, Zeitungsartikeln, Sitzungsprotokollen des britischen Unterhauses u.a.), sowie durch den Vergleich mit der späteren einschlägigen Literatur, könnte aus dieser Studie eine weitere Untersuchung angestellt werden, die die mit Elgins Expedition verknüpften Haltungen und deren jeweilige Beurteilung aufzeigen könnte.

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\* Vgl. dazu meinen Aufsatz «Zum Schicksal von Inschriften und anderen Denkmälern in Kleinasien» *TEKMHPIA* 3 (1997) 181-190.

1. Thomas Bruce, seventh Earl of Elgin und eleventh Earl of Kincardine (1766-1841) trat zuerst (1785) den Militärdienst an, in dem er ohne jegliche militärische Aktivität den Rang des Generalmajors erreichte (1835). Von 1790 bis 1807 und von 1820 bis 1841 war er Pair von Schottland; seine diplomatische Karriere begann er als Gesandter an Kaiser Leopold I. (1790); anschliessend wurde er Gesandter in Brüssel (1792) und Berlin (1795); von 1799 bis 1803 wirkte er als Botschafter in Konstantinopel (A. H. Smith, *JHS* 1916, 163/4).

2. Hier eine Auswahl: A. Miliarakis, *Περί τῶν Ἑλγινείων μαρμάρων*, Athen 1994 (Nachdruck von acht im J. 1888 veröffentlichten Aufsätzen, hg. von A. Kalogeropoulou), und: W. St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles*, 1967; T. Vrettos, *A Shadow of Magnitude. The Aquisition of the Elgin Marbles*, 1974; B. F. Cook, *The Elgin Marbles*, 1984; Chr. Hitchens, *Τὰ Ἑλγίνεια Μάρμαρα* (angegeben von A. Kalogeropoulou in ihrer Einleitung zu der Schrift von Miliarakis) sowie E. Koukou, *Ἡ ἀρπαγή τῶν Γλυπτῶν τοῦ Παρθενῶνος ἀπὸ τὸν λόρδο Ἑλγιν*, Athen 2003.

1. Die Wegnahme eines Reliefs und einer boustrophedon-Inschrift  
aus Sigeion (S. 182-183)

«In the spring of 1801 Lusieri<sup>3</sup> paid a visit to Constantinople, presumably to report progress and to consult with Lord Elgin.

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

On the left of the door of the village church was the base with a relief of mothers and babies<sup>29</sup> placed as a seat; on the right was a low seat, consisting of the famous *boustrophedon* inscription. The relief had been seen and coveted by many travellers. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu<sup>30</sup> could have had it for a trifling sum in 1718, but the captain assured her he had neither gear nor a longboat, so her only acquisition was the important Sigeian inscription (*C.I.G.* 3595) relating to Antiochus, now in the collection of Trinity College, Cambridge. Pars drew the relief in 1764, and Sir Richard Worsley visited it in April 1786. I give an exact from his MS. diary (destroyed by fire at Brocklesby Park).

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

The archaic *boustrophedon* inscription (*B. M. Inscr.* No. 1002) had been first found by Sherard at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was seen by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (whose husband, as might be expected, found the reading too difficult for him) and discussed by Bentley. During the century the inscription was fast becoming illegible, and when Chandler<sup>32</sup> saw it in 1764, he

3. Der Italiener G. B. Lusieri, Spezialist für topographische Zeichnungen, war der aktivste von allen Mitarbeitern bzw. Agenten Elgins, d.h. seinem Sekretär (und Archaeologen) W. R. Hamilton, dem Tataren F. Iwanovich, der als Zeichner wirkte; dem Pastor der britischen Botschaft in Konstantinopel Ph. Hunt; dem Lehrbeauftragten für Arabistik in Carterbury Dr. Carlyle, den Architekten S. Ittor und V. Bulestra, sowie dem griechischen Notabel von Athen (und stellvertretenden Konsul von Grossbritannien) Sp. Logothetis (s. Miliarakis, a. a. O. S. 16ff.).

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

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

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

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

29. *B.M. Sculpt.*, No. 789.

30. Letter of July 31, 1718.

31. If the story is true the mutilation took place before 1764.

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

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

34. See *B.M.Inscr.* No. 1002.

2. *Aktivitäten der Agenten von Elgin Ph. Hunt und G. B. Lusieri auf der Akropolis (1801) (S. 196/7)*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

64. Dodwell, i. p. 354. "During my first visit to Athens, the Caryatides were nearly concealed by a modern wall, the removal of which has very much improved the appearance of the monument, and was done by the dilapidators, not with any intention of benefitting this singular edifice, but merely to examine which was the most entire of the statues, and to facilitate its removal." [Ed. Dodwell, (1767-1832): "A Classical and topographical Tour through Greece during the years 1801, 1805 and 1806].

### 3. Wegnahme von Inschriften und anderen Monumenten aus Knidos durch Ph. Hunt (1801) (S. 206).

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

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

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

85. Hunt to Elgin, Jan. 8, 1802.

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

87. There are two inscriptions connected with Artemidoros of Cnidos in the Brit. Mus. (Nos. 787, 792). One of them may be the inscription seen by Hunt.

4. *Wegnahme eines Altars aus Rheneia von Lord Elgin selbst (1802) (S. 223)*

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

116. There are two altars in the Elgin Collection, hitherto assigned to Delos, Nos. 2480, 2481 in the British Museum. The former seems to answer best to the description. The small sepulchral altar, No. 2287, to which no place of origin is assigned, is of a more suitable size, but being inscribed, we have already appropriated it to Hunt, p. 206 *supra*.

5. *Die "barbarische" Entfernung (von Lusieri) einer Metope des Parthenon und die Tränen des türkischen Garnisonskommandanten (1802) (S. 232).*

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

S. 236: Here My Lord is my plan! It is to execute here the best works of my life, and to devote myself to them with all my strength, in order to succeed. I must do more still, and I much want to try it, so that some barbarisms that I have been obliged to commit in your service may be forgotten. I must work quietly. When the work of collecting is going on so furiously, how can I find the time to draw, or have the head for it?»

113. Lusieri to Elgin, Sept. 16, 1802 -This probably refers to the incident described by Clarke, who was at Athens at the time. "After a short time spent in examining the several parts of the temple, one of the workmen came to inform Don Battista that they were then going to lower one of the Metopes. We saw this fine piece of sculpture raised from its station between the triglyphs; but the workmen endeavouring to give it a position adapted to the projected line of descent, a part of the adjoining masonry was loosened by the machinery; and down came the fine masses of Pentelican marble, scattering their white fragments with thundering noise among the ruins." (Clarke, *Travels*, ii. 2. p. 483). Clarke supplements this with the additional detail The Disdar who beheld the mischief done to the building, took his pipe out of his mouth, dropped a tear, and in a supplicating tone of voice said to Lusieri Τέλος. I was present

at the time'. Letter of E. D. Clarke to Byron, in Prothero's ed. of Byron's *Letters and Journals*, ii. p. 130. Quoted by Byron in a note to *Childe Harold* II. xii.

6. *Wegnahme und Verschickung von Inschriften aus Orchomenos und Daulis (1802) (S. 232).*

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

134. Lusieri to Elgin, Sept. 16, 1802. -The Elgin Collection contains two important inscriptions from Orchomenos (*B.M. Inscr.* 158, 159). They were shipped in November by Consul Strane from Patras. For others, less fortunate, cf. p. 238. The inscription from Daulis is no doubt the long inscription (Boeckh, *C.I.G.* 1732) which was copied by Leake, but was not acquired.

7. *Die "general ideas and plans" von Elgin für seine Sammlung in einem Brief an Lusieri (8. Okt. 1802) (S. 234).*

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



8. *Die Funde der Ausgrabungen Lusieri's in Athen (im sog. "Grab der Aspasia") und die Verschickung dieser sowie weiterer Metopen und anderer Kunststücke vom Parthenon (1804) (S. 258).*

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

In the meantime the workpeople were being employed in excavations elsewhere not whitout success, especially at the so-called : "Tomb of Aspasia".

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

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

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

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

9. *Weitere Ausgrabungen Lusieri's in Athen und die Verschickung der gefundenen Vasen (1805) (S. 261/262)*

«On August 30, Lusieri wrote that his excavations had been successful. He had been finding six marble urns, with vases and alabaster, beyond the Museum hill and near the Ilissos. He was hoping for a ship from Malta, for which forty cases were ready and waiting. "I have just, finished, entirely after nature, a coloured drawing of three feet, of the very picturesque monument of Philopappos, and am working at present on another, sitll larger". Presumably this drawing of the Philipappos monument is the one which is extant at Broomhal (see below, p. 289) and which is here published (Fig. 8) by Lord Elgin's permission as an example of the artist's finished work. Lusieri adds that the vases which he had been finding require mending and cleaning, and that they have designs which will come out after cleaning. This work was not undertaken until a century had passed, and the vases thus cleaned were shewn at the Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of ancient Greek art in 1903. The particular vases described in this letter were probably a part of the collection confiscated by Ali Pasha».

10. *Bereicherung der Sammlung durch weitere Funde und Erwerbungen Lusieris (1810) (S. 281).*

«The winter went by. Only in the following spring Hayes wrote from Malta that, after constant efforts to obtain a transport to bring away the remaining effects, he was at length able to report that the *Hydra* transport had sailed a few days before for Athens. Ropes, blocks, and other stores had been purchased to the amount of £ 200, but it might be hoped that most of the value would be recovered on resale. Lusieri had written that he had been very successful in his researches and acquisitions for the collection. The *Hydra*, with Lusieri and the marbles and Lord Byron<sup>215a</sup> on board, sailed from the Piraeus, after some day's delay, on April 22».

215a. Byron had written the *Curse of Minerva* a few days earlier. It is dated "Athens, Capuchin Convent, Marche 17, 1811." It was not published till 1828. Cf. note 287.

11. *Ein Kommentar zur Lord Byron's Kritik an Elgin (im Gedicht: "The Curse of Minerva") and deren Wirkung (S. 313)*

«<sup>287</sup> Hamilton to Lord Elgin, Aug. 2, 1811. In this letter Hamilton remarks, "I return you many thanks for the perusal of Lord Byron's letters [apparently lost] which are herewith enclosed. I do not consider him a very formidable enemy in his meditated attack, and I shall be much surprized if his attack on what you have done do not turn out one of the most

friendly acts he could have done. It will create an interest in the public, excite curiosity, and the real advantage to the country, and the merit of your exertions will become more known, and felt as they are more known." Byron (cf. p. 282) had reached England in the middle of July. The *Curse of Minerva* was kept back from publication in consequence, Moore suggests, of "a friendly remonstrance from Lord Elgin, or some of his connexions." (Moore, i. p. 352). Canto II of *Childe Harold* appeared in the following March».

12. *Elgins Sammlung als Staatsbesitz: Aus der Diskussion in einer ad hoc gebildeten Kommission des britischen Unterhauses (März 1816)*

- a) Der Hass der Türken gegen alle Christen, der Wille Elgins, die griechischen Monumente vor der Zerstörung zu retten und der entsprechende Abschluss eines Memorandums der Kommission (S. 336/7, 341)

«In the Letter to Mr. Long, ... you speak as having obtained these permissions after much trouble. ... What was the nature of the objections on the part of the Turkish Government? - Their general jealousy and enmity to every Christian of every denomination, and every interference on their part. I believe that from the period of the reign of Louis the Fourteenth the French government have been endeavouring to obtain similar advantages, and particularly the Sigean Marble.

They rested it upon that general objection? -Upon the general enmity to what they called Christian Dogs. ...

The objection disappeared from the moment of the decided success of our army in Egypt? -Yes; the whole system of Turkish feeling met with a revolution, in the first place from the invasion of the French, and afterwards by our conquest.

Your Lordship has stated in your Petition, that you directed your attention in an especial manner to the benefit of rescuing from danger the remains of Sculpture and Architecture; what steps did you take for that purpose?

My whole plan was to measure and to draw everything that remained and could be traced of architecture, to model the peculiar features of architecture. ...

You state, that you have rescued the remains from danger? -From the period of Stuart's visit to Athens till the time I went to Turkey, a very great destruction had taken place. There was an old Temple on the Ilissus had disappeared. ... Every traveller coming, added to the general defacement of the statuary in his reach. ... And the Turks have been continually defacing the heads.... It was upon these suggestions, and with these feelings, that I proceeded to remove as much of the sculpture as I conveniently could; it was no part of my original plan to bring away any thing but my models.

Then your Lordship did not do any thing to rescue them, in any other way than to bring away such as you found? -No; it was impossible for me to do more than that;

the Turkish government attached no importance to them in the world; and in all the modern walls, these things are built up promiscuously with common stones ...

Did the Turkish government know that your Lordship was removing these statues under the permission your Lordship had obtained from them? -No doubt was ever expressed to me of their knowledge of it ...

*S. 341:* The Committee added to their report a short discussion of the authorship of the Sculptures, and explained but did not accept the theory of Hadrian's additions to the pediment of the Parthenon. The Report concludes with a peroration appropriate to the occasion and the date.

In contemplating the importance and splendor to which so small a republic as Athens rose, by the genius and energy of her citizens, exerted in the path of such studies, it is impossible to overlook how transient the memory and fame of extended empires, and of mighty conquerors are, in comparison of those who have rendered inconsiderable states eminent, and immortalized their own names by these pursuits. But if it be true, as we learn from history and experience, that free governments afford a soil most suitable to the production of native talent, to the maturing of the powers of the human mind, and to the growth of every species of excellence, by opening to merit the prospect of reward and distinction, no country can be better adapted than our own to afford an honourable asylum to these monuments of the school of Phidias, and of the administration of Pericles; where secure from further injury and degradation, they may receive that admiration and homage to which they are entitled, and serve in return as models and examples to those, who by knowing how to revere and appreciate them, may learn first to imitate, and ultimately to rival them».

March 25, 1816.

b) Die Gegenposition (im dem Vorschlag für eine entsprechende Resolution):  
Elgin's Expedition sei eine in jeder Hinsicht gegen das Recht verstossende Aktion;  
Grossbritannien bewahre die Sammlung bis zur Rückgabe an die gegenwärtigen  
oder künftigen Besitzer der Stadt Athen (S. 343/4)

«Mr. HUGH HAMMERSLEY said he should oppose the resolution on the ground of the dishonesty of the transaction by which the collection was obtained. As to the value of the statues, he was inclined to go as far as the hon. mover, but he was not so enamoured of those headless ladies as to forget another lady, which was justice. He should propose as an amendment a resolution, which stated:

That this Committee having taken in to consideration the manner in which the Earl of Elgin became possessed of certain ancient sculptured marbles from Athens, laments that this Ambassador did not keep in remembrance that the high and dignified station of representing his sovereign should have made him forbear from availing himself of that character in order to

obtain valuable possessions belonging to the government to which he was accredited; and that such forbearance was peculiarly necessary at a moment when that government was expressing high obligations to Great Britain. This Committee, however, imputes to the noble Earl no venal motive whatever of pecuniary advantage to himself, but on the contrary, believes that he was actuated by a desire to benefit his country, by acquiring for it, at great risk and labour to himself, some of the most valuable specimens in existence of ancient sculpture. This Committee, therefore, feels justified, under the particular circumstances of the case, in recommending that £ 25,000 be offered to the Earl of Elgin for the collection in order to recover and keep it together for that government from which it has been improperly taken, and that to which this Committee is of opinion that a communication should immediately be made, stating that Great Britain holds these marbles only in trust till they are demanded by the present, or any future, possessors of the city of Athens; and upon such demand, engages, without question or negotiation, to restore them, as far as can be effected, to the places from whence they were taken, and that they shall be in the mean time carefully preserved in the British Museum».

Vgl. dazu die vorher (S. 327/8) zitierte Äusserung eines anderen Abgeordneten (Sir John Newport): *«He was afraid that the noble Lord had availed himself of most unwarrantable measures, and had committed the most flagrant of spoliation. It seemed to have been reserved for an ambassador of this country to take away what Turks and other barbarians had always held sacred».*

#### c) Die Ablehnung des Vorschlags und deren Begründung (S. 344)

«Mr. CROKER, commenting on Mr. Hammersley's arguments, had never heard a speech filled with so much tragic pomp and circumstance, concluded with so farcical a resolution.

After speaking of the glories of Athens, after haranguing us on the injustice of spoliation, it was rather too much to expect to interest our feelings for the future conqueror of those classic regions, and to contemplate his rights to treasures which we reckoned it flagitious to retain. ...

Considerations of economy, had been much mixed up with the question of the purchase; and the House had been warned in the present circumstances of the country, not to incur a heavy expense merely to acquire the possession of works of ornament. But who was to pay this expense? and for whose use was it intended? The bargain was for the benefit of the public, for the honour of the nation, for the promotion of national arts, for the use of the national artists, and even for the advantage of our manufactures, the excellence of which depended on the progress of the arts in the country. It was singular that when 2500 years ago, Pericles was adorning Athens with those very works, some of which we are now about to acquire, the same cry of economy was raised against him, and the same answer that he then

gave might be repeated now, that it was money spent for the use of the people ... But he would go to the length of saying that the possession of these precious remains of ancient genius and taste would conduce not only to the perfection of the arts, but to the elevation of our national character, to our opulence, to our substantial greatness...

But if the charges of improper conduct on Lord Elgin's part were groundless, the idea of sending them back to the Turks was chimerical and ridiculous. This would be awarding those admirable works the doom of destruction ... They would, however remain to animate the genius and improve the arts of this country, and to constitute in after times a sufficient answer to the speech of the hon. member, or of any one else who should use his arguments, if indeed such arguments could be supposed to be repeated, or to be heard beyond the bottle hour in which they were made.

The great Elgin controversy had now been settled by two of the most authoritative tribunals known to the constitution of this country. A Select Committee of the House of Commons had heard witnesses and had pronounced its opinion. Parliament, after full debate, had adopted the conclusions of the Committee. Some voices were raised in opposition at the time, and have made themselves audible at intervals ever since, but on the whole the great body of responsible and informed opinion has endorsed the verdict of the Committee and of Parliament». (A. H. Smith, S. 345/6)

## II. Der Verlust von Inschriften in Kleinasien zu Beginn des 20. Jhs.

In seinem Aufsatz "The utilisation of old epigraphic copies" (*JHS* 38, 1918, 124-192) sieht sich W. M. Ramsay, dem die Inschriftenkunde und historische Forschung Kleinasiens bekanntlich viel verdankt, öfter veranlasst, auf den Verlust von Inschriften in diesem Land in früheren Zeiten der türkischen Herrschaft, vor allem aber in der jüngsten Vergangenheit, hinzuweisen. Wenn ein Gelehrter wie er, der mit viel persönlichem Einsatz das Land bereist hat<sup>4</sup>, sagt: «I have often said from

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4. Bezeichnend dafür ist folgender Bericht: «I say nothing about myself, because my notebook with the complete text was lost the same year in the post; and there were some divergences of opinion between Hogarth and myself in front of the stone. It should also be mentioned that the inscription was copied by us in a state of considerable physical weakness. We came down to the coast expecting to buy food, but every native had gone up to the high inner country, and we arrived late in the evening, to find nothing. Next morning early we sent a man to the nearest town (six hours distant) to bring food, but he did not return till 10 P.M. Moreover the mosquitoes, which had driven even the natives up to the high mountain pastures, prevented sleep. Our purpose in that nine days' excursion across Taurus from Laranda to Olba and Korykos was mainly to recopy the great Korykian inscription for the benefit of Bent and (Bishop) Hicks in publishing; and we had nothing with us except what each carried on his own horse. These conditions are not suitable for making accurate copies of

experience in Turkey that, where reconstruction begins, more inscriptions are lost in four years than in the four centuries preceding, and stones appear and die in a day or a year» (S. 125), so kann es bestimmt keine Übertreibung, sondern vielmehr eine der Wirklichkeit durchaus entsprechende Feststellung sein.

Seine Kommentare zu zwei von ihm in dem genannten Aufsatz neupublizierten, durch Kopien bekannten (schon verlorenen) Inschriften, sind bezeichnend genug. Zu der ersten (einer Priesterliste aus Korykos; nach Ramsay die "best publication" bei Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, Wien 1896, Nr. 155) bemerkt er:

«All restoration remains hypothetical until it is definitely proved by reexamination of the stone, and I have spent much time in searching for the the inscriptions of former travellers. In many cases hypothesis has changed to certainty, and the hypothetical stage drops out of notice in republication, but frequently re-examination is impossible, as ancient stones have a short life above ground in Turkey» (S. 129).

Charakteristischer ist die gefühlsbetonte Bemerkung zu der zweiten (*CIG* 3988=*IGRR* III 248; Ehrendekret für einer Priester, gefunden (und kopiert) von Hamilton in dem Dorf Kadin-Khan) (S. 130).

«The text depends solely on Hamilton. The letters were evidently in good condition when he visited Kadin-Khan, and his copy is trustworthy, though a skilled epigraphist would doubtless have elicited more at some places. The great Khan at the village, full of inscribed stones, is crumbling into ruins as the years pass, stones disappear one by one, and others are disclosed:

οἷη περὶ φύλλων γενεή, τοιῆδε καὶ ἐπιγραφῶν.

This one has never been seen again, although I have repeatedly examined the ruins from 1886 onwards».

J. T.

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a difficult text. I was involved in an additional difficulty which at the time I did not appreciate. The inscription is engraved on the *anta* of a temple, and begins high up. It was necessary to build a platform of stones, gradually raising it as the copy progressed. The platform naturally was accommodated to the height of the taller; and Hogarth had the advantage of six inches or more. At that time I had not learned that it is difficult to see correctly when the eye is lower than the letters, and thus I was exposed to difficulties which in my later epigraphic life I would have avoided. Such are a few of the obstacles that occur in real life, even on a long excursion undertaken for the special purpose of copying afresh an important inscription. The life of an exploring archaeologist contains twenty disappointments to every success» (Ramsay, a. a. O. S. 128, Anm. 5).

