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The Architectural and Cultural Reception of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai and its Frieze from 1811 to 2009

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SUMMARY

This thesis is an analysis of the architectural and cultural reception of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai and its frieze from 1811 to 2009. The reception of this globally important UNESCO listed monument is an area of research that has been largely overlooked by academics. The aim of this multi-disciplinary thesis has been to fill this obvious academic void.

Chapter One is a cultural biography of the frieze that examines the artefact's life history in the British Museum. The biography examines the different ways the frieze has been displayed and reveals that the British Museum's stewardship of the frieze has been problematic. The artefact has suffered damage, theft and was not on public display for a period of thirty years. Access to the frieze is still limited. Specific instances of the frieze's poor treatment have been used by the Greek Government to gain political capital in their crusade for the return of the Parthenon marbles. Indeed, the frieze's life history has been almost continually informed by its relationship with the Parthenon marbles (with the latter always considered superior) as the two sets of sculptures were commoditised and exhibited as trophies of the British Empire.

The reception of the frieze via the production and dissemination of plaster casts is analyzed in Chapter Two. It is demonstrated that these plaster casts have been used by the British Government, the British Museum and the excavators of the frieze for their own promotion. Also, it is argued that some plaster casts of the Bassai frieze have become important historical artefacts in their own right and have subverted the frieze's inferior artistic and cultural standing in relation to the Parthenon marbles. The study also shows how plaster casts of Classical sculpture in Greece are used as memory signifiers to remind the public that the original artefacts have been looted.

Chapter Three of this thesis analyses the reception of the temple's architecture from 1819, when the first known instance of its features were replicated by C.R. Cockerell (who excavated the temple) through to 1928. Features from the temple have been very rarely used by architects and only occur in England and Ireland. It is argued that almost every example of the temple's architectural replication can be traced back to Cockerell, as he has exerted a significant influence on subsequent architects who have reproduced the temple's features. There is a clear process of value creation operating between Cockerell and the temple. In the last two decades there has been a sharpening in this process, which has influenced the recent uses of the temple's architecture.

These recent uses are analysed in Chapter Four. They are shown to be set against a bitter polarised debate between Classical and Modernist architects. Cockerell is a much admired figure of current Classical architects, such as John Simpson, who recreated the interior of the temple at Cambridge University (1998) and Robert Adam, who incorporated Bassai features into his designs for the Sackler Library at Oxford University (2001). It is argued that in recent years the temple has significantly increased its cultural value amongst these elites, who include the Prince of Wales.

Chapter Five examines the reception of the temple in visual and literary images. It is argued here that these highly managed and marketed images of the temple have played a significant role in the creation and perpetuation of the idealized Western concept of Classical Greece. Despite its romantic image, the temple does not appear to have directly inspired any truly great works of visual art or literary masterpieces. Under the aegis of nationalism and archaeological preservation the temple is now covered by a tent. The academic and philosophical discourses which this controversy has provoked are also analysed in this chapter.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BM C	Minutes of the British Museum Standing Committee of Trustees
BM OP	British Museum Original Papers
BM OR	British Museum Official Reports
C.M.S.S.C.	Culture, Media and Sport Select Committee Reports
D.N.B.	Dictionary of National Biography
E.S.N.E.A.	Committee for the Preservation of the Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites.
L.R.I.	Liverpool Royal Institute
P.S.C.	Parliamentary Select Committee Reports
R.I.B.A.	Royal Institute of British Architects
U.C.C.	University College Cork
U.C.L.	University College London
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
W.A.G.	Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool

INTRODUCTION.

Phigaleia is surrounded by mountains ... Kotilion is just five miles from the city; there is a place there called Bassai, with the Temple of Apollo the Helper, even the roof of which is made of stone ... Elaion, the other mountain is about four miles from Phigaleia: there is a cave of Demeter, with the title Black Demeter ... This Demeter was my principal reason for coming to Phigaleia (Pausanias 8.41.7- 8.42.1).

It appears that when the above quote was written, circa 170 A.D., the Classical Greek Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai, which was built in the remote mountains of ancient Arkadia, was not the main tourist attraction in the environs of the small settlement of Phigaleia, let alone the region of Arkadia or the wider Peloponnese. Pausanias, a Greek traveller who wrote his famous *Guide to Greece* during the days of the Roman Empire, is the first known of a long line of intellectual tourists to visit Bassai. His description of the temple is notable for its briefness. Despite its brevity, the testament of Pausanias has been a crucial factor in the reception of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai and its frieze. Such importance stems from the testament being the only known direct reference to the temple by an ancient writer and it continues to influence how people perceive and think about this important UNESCO listed monument. Following Pausanias there is no historical mention of the temple until the late eighteenth century. Consequently, this thesis is largely an analysis of what people have said and thought about the temple and its frieze in the modern era. It also examines how certain groups and individuals with vested interests have commoditized, used and presented this key example of Classical Greek material culture for public consumption. As such, the thesis will also show how what is said

and written about things often has a history perhaps more potent than the things themselves.

As Pausanias was the first to talk and write about the temple he has provided the literary foundation for almost everything that has since been said about the monument and its sculpture. Significantly, Pausanias tells us that the temple was built by Iktinos who designed the Parthenon in Athens and that it was the second most beautiful temple in the whole of the Peloponnese after the Temple at Tegea. He also tells us that Apollo received the epithet of Epikourios (helper) at the time of the Peloponnesian War (431 B.C. - 404 B.C.) because he saved the Phigaleians from a plague (Pausanias 8.41.8). Notably, he does not mention the temple's interior architecture or sculptural decoration.

The Temple at Bassai is of the Doric peripteral style and its exterior was encircled by a Doric frieze that consisted of plain metopes and triglyphs. It is now thought certain that there was no sculpture in its pediments (Cooper 1996, 249). The exterior of the cella wall also had a Doric frieze which was decorated with twelve carved metopes. These marble metopes appear to depict Apollo's return from the Hyperborean lands and the abduction of the daughters of the King of Messene (Tzortzi, E.S.N.E.A. 2000, 32). The temple is especially famous for having an unusual architectural design that differs from the standard Classical Greek temple. First, it has a north-south orientation, which contrasts with the east–west orientation of most temples of the period (Fig. A:1). Second, it has three features which are indicative of earlier Archaic temples. It has an elongated plan, due to the ratio of columns being 6 x 15, as opposed to the Classical canon of double the number of columns on the short side plus one (6 x 13). Related to this, the stylobate proportions (the columns stand on the stylobate) are also predictably elongated, being 1:2.64 width to length (Cooper 1996, 369). Finally,

the intercolumniations are greater on the short sides of the temple than those on the long sides (Tzortzi, E.S.N.E.A. 2000, 19).

The interior design of the temple is also highly original (Fig. A:1). The cella gives the impression of having an Ionic colonnade, but the unusual columns are, in detail, carved spur wall ends which feature curvaceous Ionic capitals and widely flaring bases. Despite this novel arrangement, the carved spur wall ends are known as Bassai Ionic columns and they differ greatly from the standard Greek Ionic order. The most distinct feature of the standard Ionic order of column is the volute or scroll capital. This capital is rectangular, with two volutes (spirals) visible on the front and back that are connected at the sides by cushions (Fig. 3:17). Because the capital had no corner volutes it caused unsightly design problems at the corners of buildings which had a peristyle. The Bassai Ionic capital is different from this standard Ionic capital because it *has* corner volutes (Fig. A:1, Fig. 3:17). These volutes project at 45 degrees angles and there are four of them in all, although the famous architect C.R. Cockerell (1788-1863), who first excavated the temple in 1811, believed that there were six (Fig. 4:6). The design of the Bassai Ionic capital is also different because the upper line of the channel that joins the volutes arches upwards and forms a distinct curve. This gives the capital a 'hump backed' look as opposed to the usual flat or horizontal Ionic capital. In short, this 'hump backed' capital combined with the column's wide flaring base, represent the most conspicuous differences of the Bassai column as compared to the traditional Greek Ionic order.

Four of these unusual Ionic columns are set at right angles along the inside of both walls of the cella, but a fifth pair, placed at the end of the cella, are set diagonally. The position of these diagonally set columns anticipates the position of the first known Corinthian column, which stood at the intersection of the line connecting the two

columns and the main axis of symmetry of the cella (Tzortzi, E.S.N.E.A. 2000, 20). It has been argued that there were in actuality three Corinthian columns in the cella (Fig. A:1), but it is probable that there was only one (Cooper 1996, 303). The Corinthian column is, in fact, a Corinthian capital placed on an Ionic column (Cooper 1996, 303). It is therefore evident that it is not a true Corinthian column. What is indisputable is that the Corinthian capital is the *first* known in history, and this was one of the temple's three main attributes that persuaded ICOMOS to recommend the monument to UNESCO as a world heritage site (http/whc.unesco.org/en/list/392/documents/). The other two attributes which impressed ICOMOS (and UNESCO) are the originality of the temple's design and the monument's location in a conserved natural environment.

The temple is also noteworthy for having the first known example of an internal Ionic frieze in a Classical Greek temple. This dynamic frieze swung around the four interior walls of the cella above the Corinthian and Ionic columns (Fig. A:1). It was carved in high relief and featured mythical battles between Greeks and Amazons and Greeks and Centaurs (Fig. 1:1).

It seems anomalous to the modern reader that Pausanias did not mention these unique architectural features or the vibrant frieze in his travelogue. This omission has been interpreted by some academics as proof that the frieze was considered by Pausanias to be a very poor example of Classical sculpture. For example, Beard and Henderson state that although Pausanias tells us that 'Bassae was designed by Iktinos, no less: his silence on the frieze allows us to berate the local peasants for failing to do justice to that design' (Beard and Henderson 1995, 83). The idea that Pausanias thought that the frieze was artistically inept is based almost entirely on speculation regarding his 'silence'. This is strange, because when Pausanias visited the Parthenon, he recorded

the temple's pedimental sculptures and the huge statue of Athena, but he is silent about the frieze (Pausanias 1.24.5). No academic or artistic commentator has ever used *this* silence as an excuse to 'berate' the much admired Parthenon frieze. Indeed, it is no surprise that the application of such negative interpretations to the Bassai frieze fit in neatly with some of the modern value judgements that have been made regarding its alleged 'poor' artistic quality.

Interestingly, Pausanias appears unreliable in his writings about Bassai and modern scholars have questioned whether the epithet 'Epikourios', which was given to Apollo at the sanctuary of Bassai, actually does mean helper or the saviour from the plague. It has been argued that Pausanias misunderstood the meaning and that the epithet meant that Apollo at Bassai was the (martial) deity of the 'epikouroi', who were the famous Arkadian mercenary troops (Cooper 1996, 61). Material evidence found at the site, which in part consists of votive offerings of miniature armour, suggests that Apollo did have a role as a martial deity (Snodgrass cited in Cooper 1996, 71).

Other anomalies in Pausanias' testament centre on the question of the plague in the Peloponnese. The ancient Greek historian Thucydides tells us that the plague never reached Arcadia or its neighbouring regions during the Peloponnesian War (Thucydides 2.54-55). Furthermore, the fact that Pausanias does not mention the temple's frieze and highly unusual interior suggests that if we believe he *did* physically visit the temple, he probably never went inside it. It is possible that Pausanias may have just seen the temple from afar on his way to his prime destination of the Cave of the Black Demeter. He may have gleaned basic information about the Temple at Bassai from local people he met on his journey which he then noted and recounted to his readership. Importantly, Pausanias *did* go into great detail about the interior architecture of the Temple at Tegea (which he visited after Bassai) and he

appeared fascinated that it had Doric columns on the exterior and Corinthian and Ionic columns in the interior (Pausanias 8.45.4-6). It therefore seems strange that he did not mention the interior of Bassai because, as we have seen, it too had this unusual combination of columns. In short, it is probable that Pausanias never entered the Temple at Bassai. This is a more plausible explanation for his lack of a description of the frieze or the temple's interior architecture – as opposed to the idea that he thought they were inferior or uninteresting. In this instance of historical interpretation, especially with regard to the frieze, it can be seen that what is *not* said about something (as opposed to what *is* said) can also have a significant effect on how that thing is perceived.

In the centuries following the visit of Pausanias to Phigaleia the temple fell into ruin and was forgotten about outside of the region. This changed in 1765 when a Frenchman named Joachim Boucher re-discovered the ruin and found it to be remarkably well preserved: a fortuitous result of the temple's remote location away from dense human settlement. He became the first known person in a new succession of intellectual tourists who began to visit Bassai. This modern breed of travellers to the temple came at a time when the scientific and artistic exploration of the interiors of Greece and Asia Minor had become both a focus of intense interest and a magnet for the energies and intricate alliances of intellectual and commercial elites all over Western Europe.

Against this background, when material culture of Classical Greece was starting to become the most valued cultural commodity in the Western World, it is unsurprising that in 1811 the temple was eventually excavated by a motley band of adventurers. This group can succinctly be described as a band of educated looters from Western Europe who sought wealth, fame and cultural gain for themselves and their respective

countries. In 1812 they removed the marble sculptured frieze from the temple's ruins and it was shipped from the Peloponnese to the island of Zante on a British gunboat for 'safety'. Once on the island it was purchased by the British Government from the temple's six principal excavators. Three of these excavators, C.R. Cockerell, John Foster (c.1786-1846) and Thomas Legh (1792-1857) were English. In 1815 the frieze was placed in the British Museum (Fig. 1: 11).

The life history of the Bassai frieze from this time, along with the architectural and general cultural reception of the temple itself, is the focus of this thesis. It is evident that the temple and the frieze had not been adequately studied from this perspective, prior to this thesis. As such, the thesis makes an important and worthwhile contribution to the both the history of the monument and to the field of reception studies and the politics of Classical heritage in general.

The underlying methodology for this multi-disciplinary project is one of reception and cultural biography. The key questions in the thesis are concerned with the artistic and intellectual processes that have been involved in selecting, imitating or adapting architectural features from the temple and how this was 'received' and 'refigured' by architects such as Cockerell in the nineteenth century and Robert Adam in the twenty first century, and how their works relate to the original source, the temple itself. In relation to this it has been imperative to consider the relationship between this process and the contexts in which the reception has taken place. These contexts have included examining the receiver's knowledge of the source and how this knowledge was obtained. For example, Cockerell knew about the temple because he excavated it, whereas other nineteenth century architects knew about it through owning copies of books such as *The Antiquities of Athens, Vol IV* (1830). Other important considerations within this methodological framework are the role and intentions of the

patron in funding a building or a work of art that features Bassai and the reaction of the public or the viewer of these works, whether real or imagined. Related to this is the analysis of the purpose or function for which the new work is made, for instance – its use as an authority to legitimate something, or someone, in the present or the past, whether political, social, artistic, educational or cultural in the broadest sense. With regards to public architecture this is of paramount importance as perhaps more than any other art form it is entwined in the political processes of society and linked to the exercise of power.

The methodology of cultural biography is used in the thesis to examine the life history of the Bassai frieze in the British Museum. This methodology was developed in anthropology, for example in Arjun Appudurai's *The Social Life of Things* (1986), and it was used in Greek archaeology by Yannis Hamilakis in his seminal article "Stories from exile: fragments from the cultural biography of the Parthenon marbles" in *World Archaeology* (Oct 1999). The methodology is useful because it illustrates how artefacts or monuments gather time, change and sometimes even movement to another country. It also shows how some artefacts or items of material culture are sacralised or invested with such worth by a nation or section of society that they in return begin to influence the thought processes and psyche of those very social groupings.

The very nature of the multi-disciplinary approach to this study of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai and its frieze means that sources relating to the various topics are wide and varied. The consultation, collection and analysis of primary source material coupled with the detailed study of the actual structures themselves were an essential part of my methodology. This was obviously important as the analysis between the actual source (the temple and the frieze) and the new work or receiving culture and of

the principles and assumptions underlying selectivity and contextual comparisons are vital tools in reception and related cultural biographical studies.

Chapter one of this thesis is a cultural biography of the Bassai frieze. The application of this methodology to the Bassai frieze represents a new area of research and it has demonstrated the artefact's complex and eventful life history at the British Museum. It is evident that the different ways in which the frieze has been displayed at the British Museum have been directly linked to its perceived artistic and cultural value at various given times. Furthermore, over the past two hundred years the cultural value of the frieze has ebbed and flowed on the fickle tide of changing taste, fashion and international politics. More significantly, the frieze's life history has been almost continually informed by its relationship with the Parthenon marbles as the two sets of marbles were commoditized and used as trophies of the British Empire.

A vast amount of primary source archival material and secondary literature has been examined in the process of creating a cultural biography of the Bassai frieze. British Museum Original Papers (BM OP), Officer's Reports (BM OR) and Minutes of the Trustees Standing Committee (BM C) have provided much useful information. Personal correspondence (held at the Greek and Roman Department in the British Museum) relating to Cockerell and Foster and their discovery and sale of the frieze was equally relevant. Further crucial evidence relating to the frieze has been gleaned from 1816 onwards in Parliamentary Select Committee Reports (P.S.C.), and in Culture, Media and Sports Select Committee Reports (C.M.S.S.C.) from 1999 to the present day.

In his monograph *Archaeologists and Aesthetes* (1992), Ian Jenkins has illustrated the different rooms in which the Bassai frieze has been displayed from 1815 to 1939. Informative though this book is, it does not deal with the overall reception of the

frieze or sensitive issues regarding damage and cleaning or how effective the British Museum's stewardship of this important artefact has been. Most significantly the study stopped at 1939, which left seventy years of the frieze's life history in the British Museum totally unaccounted for. The period from 1939 to the present day has arguably been the most eventful in the frieze's history and this thesis demonstrates how the artefact has suffered neglect (locked away for thirty years) theft and become embroiled in international politics concerning the restitution of the Parthenon marbles and the Benin bronzes.

The touchstone of the popular reception of an artefact is the press and the examination of newspaper and magazine articles from papers such as *The Times*, *The Observer*, *Guardian*, *Telegraph*, *Morning Chronicle, Quarterly Review* and various local papers in places as diverse as Ipswich and Bristol has provided much interesting and relevant information for the whole thesis. Newspaper articles were a particularly good source for finding information and viewpoints/editorials regarding the sensational and political events in the life history of the frieze, such as the theft of a Greek warrior's head from the frieze in 1969 or the outrage of the Greek Culture Minister at the theft of a hand from the frieze in 2001. Information such as this is not found in the many academic books about Greek art which comment on the frieze.

Despite this, academic publications are extremely important in formulating artistic opinions about the frieze and are a barometer of the frieze's shifting artistic and cultural value over the past two centuries. In conjunction with the previously mentioned monograph by Ian Jenkins, an extremely wide range of these secondary sources has been consulted. Many of these publications have provided relevant information regarding the frieze's life history. These range from G.M. Wagner, *Bassorilievi antichi della Grecia o sia fregio del tempio di Apollo Epicurio*, which

was the first publication of the frieze in 1814, The Dilettanti Society, *Antiquities of Athens, Vol IV,* which was the first publication of the temple's architecture in English in 1830, through to modern examples such as R. Osborne, *Archaic and Classical Greek Art* (1998) and J. G. Pedley, *Greek Art and Archaeology* 1998 and 2007. The most comprehensive secondary source relating to the temple and its frieze is F. Cooper, *The Temple of Apollo Bassitas, Vol I,* (1996) and F. Cooper and J. Madigan, *The Temple of Apollo Bassitas, Vol II,* (1992), the latter of which deals exclusively with the temple's sculpture. The foundation for Cooper's in-depth architectural study of the temple and its frieze were the William Bell Dinsmoor papers held at the Blegen Library in the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. Dinsmoor's manuscript was consulted and provided some interesting and obscure information for this thesis, for example the fact that John Foster's Greek wife visited the temple with her husband on the way back to England from Smyrna. The British Museum's own early publications concerning Greek sculpture have also been especially useful, for example, *A Description of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum, Vol IV,* (1820) and A.H.S. Smith's *Guide to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (1902).

Chapter Two of this thesis analyses the reception of the frieze via the production and dissemination of plaster casts. Casts carry with them the cultural weight and some of the perceived value of the original object. This makes them an ideal medium to study the reception of Classical art. It would be beyond the scope of this study (with time and financial constraints) to identify every instance of the frieze's reception through the production of casts, but an analysis of certain important examples demonstrates the artefact's artistic and commercial appeal and its continuing association with the Parthenon frieze.

The examination of the cultural life of various casts of the Bassai frieze has shown that some of these casts have become important historical artefacts in their own right. It is clear that some Bassai casts have achieved a very high status within specific settings. One such example is the cast at the Travellers Club which was presented to that establishment by C.R. Cockerell. Remarkably, these casts have succeeded in subverting the Bassai frieze's perceived inferior cultural value in relation to the Parthenon marbles. The use of primary source material from locations as diverse as the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool and the Travellers Club in London was vital in the construction of this chapter.

Finally, the use of plaster casts of the frieze in Greece is shown to be complex and related to the politics of the restitution of cultural property. On one level plaster casts of Greek sculpture are used as memory signifiers that the original artefacts have been stolen from their native land and the fight for the return of these artefacts must go on.

Chapter Three and Chapter Four are an in-depth examination of the architectural reception of the temple between 1819 and the present day. Chapter Three analyses the reception of the temple's architecture from 1819 to 1928 and Chapter Four deals with the most recent manifestations of the temple's forms at Cambridge in 1998 and Oxford in 2001. It is argued in this thesis that architects directly intervene into the public and the private world and that whether they are conscious of it or not, they act politically, with even the purely formal decisions they make being paraphrased in metaphors from the social sphere. Key research questions in these chapters are concerned with the artistic and intellectual processes that have been involved in the selecting, imitating or adapting architectural features from the temple and how this was received or re-figured by architects such as Cockerell and John Millar in the

nineteenth-century, F.R. Atkinson, J. Henbrow and John Simpson in the twentieth century and Robert Adam in the twenty-first century.

Significantly, the only known places where Bassai architectural features are replicated are in England and Ireland. The temple's architecture was considered peculiar and unattractive by the many in the nineteenth-century architectural fraternity, and Cockerell stands alone as the only man to utilize forms from the temple in England at this time. Millar is notable for being the only architect to use the temple's forms in Ireland. He replicated the unique Bassai Ionic column at Castlereagh Presbyterian Church in 1834 and used it again at Portaferry Presbyterian Church in 1841. Primary source material was consulted at both these locations which provided interesting evidence as to how and why the idiom of ancient Greece and the unusual architecture of Bassai were popular in Ulster Presbyterian communities.

Cockerell was driven by the aspiration to create unique Classical designs and equally by the desire to advertise his archaeological achievements. He created some of the most critically acclaimed Classical buildings in the world. Furthermore, his most praised designs, such as the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford and the interior of St. Georges Hall in Liverpool all contain architectural features from the temple. This thesis argues that without Cockerell there would be no architectural replication of the temple's forms. This is because his personality, ability and success has exerted a strong influence on the very few other architects who have used forms from Bassai in their designs. Indeed, Cockerell became so inextricably linked to the temple that values have been attached to the monument by the English architectural fraternity because of its historical associations with him. Consequently, in many cases the reception of the temple became a reception of Cockerell and his Bassai inspired designs.

Furthermore, this thesis shows that the most recent use of the temple's forms is set against the background of a current 'battle of the styles' that is being waged between traditional Classical architects (supported by the Prince of Wales) and those in the Modernist camp. This conflict is similar to the 'battle' that occurred in Victorian Britain between Neo-Gothic and Neo-Classical architects, which Cockerell himself was involved in. Cockerell is much beloved by many modern day Classical architects and both he and his main inspiration, the Temple of Apollo at Bassai, have played a significant part within the polemics of these current 'style wars'. In this context, the Temple at Bassai is shown to have stepped out of the shadow of the Parthenon as an almost direct consequence of its association with Cockerell.

Of all the research aspects of this thesis it was the architectural study that demanded the most travelling, time and expense. The places where the temple's features occur are identified and analysed in this thesis. Also, new examples of the use of the temple's features have been re-discovered in Liverpool and Manchester which had been lost or forgotten about in the modern architectural record.

An examination of Cockerell's diary and his correspondence held at the R.I.B.A. Archive at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London has been crucial in the gathering and analysis of information for these chapters. Equally relevant has been the consultation of articles from various newspapers printed in Britain and Ireland, and most importantly, in architectural journals such as *Architecture Today*, *R.I.B.A. Journal*, *Building*, *City Journal, Perspective* and *Ulster Architect.* Other periodicals such as *Country Life*, *Apollo* and *The Caian* have also provided useful information.

Chapter Five analyses the reception of the temple via the production and display of visual images and through the opinions postulated in travel books and articles. It also examines the presence of the temple within other areas of the arts, such as poetry and

philosophy, determining how the monument has impacted on various genres of cultural creativity and discussions regarding the pervasive efforts of modern conservation. The study analyses the impression the temple made on the thoughts and creative impulses of some of those famous people who have visited the temple, for example Nikos Kazantzakis and Oscar Wilde. Clearly, the cross-disciplinary nature of this chapter required the consultation of varied sources that ranged from paintings, photographs, travel books, and monographs and journals that dealt with art, literature poetry, philosophy and photography. In a study of this nature (with time and economic constraints) it would be impossible to identify and analyse the thoughts of every person of note who has visited the temple, but the research has strived to provide a comprehensive overview.

The Temple at Bassai occupies a unique place in the history of Western representations of the Classical world. Bassai is a site where, in the nineteenth-century European imagination, two of the most lauded paradigms of Classical Greece and Rome, Periklean architecture and Virgilian poetry could be combined. This precipitated a consumer demand for images of the site that carried with it all the cultural weight of centuries of imagined pastoral Arkadian nirvana. This thesis demonstrates how many artists, photographers and travel writers have presented a stereotypical view of the temple and its environs in order to satisfy the Western public's demand for idealized images of the Classical world.

It is evident that in many ways Bassai was an ideal visual tool to express this view of Greece's Classical past, even though it lacked the wealth of historical references to famous people or events that other sites, for example the Athenian Acropolis possessed. The temple's great advantage was that it did not have to be cleared of centuries of human use or Ottoman mosques like the monuments in Athens had to be

in order to match up to Western idealized notions of the Classical world. Additionally, Hamilakis has pointed out how the Athenian Acropolis was photographed in the nineteenth century at certain times of the day to avoid 'un-slightly' crowds in order to present the monuments as standing in eternal splendid isolation (Hamilakis 2001, 10). The remote Temple of Bassai did not have this problem of crowds. Nevertheless, this thesis demonstrates how the images of the temple were still highly managed to fit in with Western perceptions of Arkadia and to make them more economically marketable.

Remarkably, in a fascinating destruction of the romantic image of the temple, the Greek Archaeological Service covered the monument with a huge tent in 1987. This was done under the aegis of nationalism and archaeological preservation. The temple is an important cultural and economic commodity for the Greek nation and ironically, it is clear that its conservation overrides all other considerations regarding the aesthetic look of the site. Such actions have provoked much controversy and academic discourse regarding the pervasive efforts of modern conservation techniques and how a globally important object of art should be treated.

Moreover, in a UNESCO periodic report of 2006, one of the weakenesses that was listed regarding the management of the site was the application of the tent in 1987 (http/whc/unesco.org/list/392/documents/). This was because the synthetic shelter separated the monument from the landscape. The thesis demonstrates that the nineteenth-century idea of the romantic and eternal Classical ruin is still prevalent and deeply rooted in the psyche of many individuals in the West. Furthermore, those who hold sway in the corridors of political and cultural power in Greece appear equally fixated with the material remains of the Classical world and determined to ensure that

these monuments do last for eternity, albeit with the help of civil engineers and modern building techniques.

CHAPTER ONE.

A CULTURAL BIOGRAPHY OF THE BASSAI FRIEZE FROM 1812 TO 2009.

This kind of analysis [of the Bassai frieze] insists that we should look very closely at what the sculpture shows, that there is more to see here than 'just' the standard repertoire of mythical battles. But it does not depend on making judgements about the artistic quality of the frieze as a work of art. It is not a question of stylistic or aesthetic success. All the same, as you examine the battered remains that our analysis has tacitly restored to their original form (we did not stop to point out that Herakles has lost his leg or that his Amazon opponent has literally lost her head) you will probably have wondered how far you admire or like what you see in front of you. (Beard and Henderson 1995, 82).

The above quote from Beard and Henderson in 1995, which summarised their analysis of the 'wider cultural meaning' of the imagery displayed in the marble frieze from the Temple of Apollo at Bassai, is important as it represented a relatively new academic methodology being applied to the study of the most complete Classical Greek frieze known to scholars. This methodology was a departure from the enduring art-centric approach (with its emphasis on making value judgements regarding the quality and style of the sculpture) that has informed the general reception of the frieze for most of its life history in the British Museum. The quote is also interesting because the two respected academics in question refer specifically to frieze slab BM 541 (Fig. 1:1), which is thought to depict Herakles fighting the Amazon Queen Hippolyte. They point out in their 'jaunty' style of writing that two obvious pieces of the battered sculpture are missing: Herakle's leg and Hippolyte's head. This is

significant as a detailed drawing of the frieze slab, published officially by the British Museum, *A Description of the Ancient Marbles in the British Museum, Vol IV*, 1820, with text by Taylor Combe and drawings by Henry Corbould, clearly shows the Amazon Queen *with* her head intact. Furthermore, Herakles, in agreement with Beard and Henderson's twentieth-century observations, is depicted *without* his leg (Fig. 1:1). What Beard and Henderson failed to mention is that a Greek warrior standing directly behind the 'legless' Herakles (on the same frieze slab) has also 'lost his head'. As with the Amazon Queen, this warrior is depicted with his head fully intact in the 1820 publication. It is actually known when the Greek warrior's head disappeared, as the British Museum reported the marble head as stolen to the police in 1969, but this is not the case with the head belonging to Hippolyte, the Amazon Queen.

There is of course the chance that the artist, Henry Corbould, deliberately embellished the drawings and in the spirit of artistic licence simply gave the Amazon Queen a head. However, this seems highly unlikely as the publication was commissioned by the British Museum as a true record of the sculptural remains of the Bassai frieze. Furthermore, other prominent figures in the frieze, for example the deities Apollo and Artemis on frieze slab 430, are truthfully depicted by the artist *without* their heads. Consequently, it would have been strange and inconsistent for Corbould to 'artistically restore' Hippolyte's missing head in the drawings and not to do the same for the important figures of Apollo and Artemis. The excellence of these drawings is attested to by the nineteenth-century academic Adolf Michaelis. Michaelis praises the British Museum's publication of the marbles as 'splendid' and describes Corbould as having a 'master-hand' (Michaelis 1882, 151). Crucially, and in further support of the drawing's accuracy, the Amazon Queen's head is shown intact and attached to her body in various other later nineteenth-century publications of the frieze. The most

respected of these publications is A.S. Murray's *History of Greek Sculpture, Vol II,* (1883). Murray was a serious academic who succeeded Charles Newton as the Keeper of Greek and Roman sculpture at the British Museum in 1886. It is unlikely that he would have allowed the missing head to be falsely represented in the drawings of the frieze that feature in his monograph (Murray 1883, 170). What cannot be disputed is the fact that in the nineteenth-century publications which do depict Hippolyte with a head, it is not stated in the text that the head has been artistically restored; therefore the readers would have gone to the British Museum expecting to see the Amazon Queen fully intact. Interestingly, pre-1820 drawings of the frieze, for example those by John Foster, show Hippolyte *without* a head and this is verified by early plaster casts of the frieze. More importantly, plaster casts of the frieze made after 1820 show the Amazon Queen *with* a head, for example a cast that was made in the 1840s by the British Museum for Oxford University. This cast (Fig. 1: 2) clearly shows Hippolyte with a head. Considering this evidence, it appears that from 1820 onwards Hippolyte did have a head and that this fragment of the frieze (as with the stolen Greek warrior's head) had been lost or detached by 1969. There appears to be no published documentation explaining the disappearance of this important fragment of the frieze, or the fact that the head was once attached to frieze slab BM 541 and has now, most definitely, been removed from it.

In short, these are disturbing observations, and the 'disappearances' of pieces of the Bassai frieze demand further investigation. It is the purpose of this chapter to examine the life history of the frieze in the British Museum, charting the different ways it has been displayed and discussing how effective the Museum's stewardship has been of this valuable artefact. This chapter will also analyse the artistic, academic and cultural reception of the frieze and demonstrate how this has shifted over the past two

centuries. It will also examine the Bassai frieze's 'special relationship' with the Parthenon marbles and demonstrate how the frieze was initially used as material evidence to affirm and explain the narrative of Wincklemann's idea of the chronological progress of art. Finally, it will discuss what possibilities the future holds for this important example of Classical sculpture.

(i) The Life History of the Frieze from 1812 to c.1840.

The Bassai frieze was purchased by the British Government on the Isle of Zante from the six men who had been responsible for its discovery and excavation in 1812. These six proprietors were Charles Robert Cockerell, John Foster, Thomas Legh, Baron Haller Von Hallerstein, George Gropius and James Linckh. The frieze was purchased from the group for the agreed sum of £15,000 sterling or 60,000 Spanish dollars, which amounted to £19,000 sterling because of the exchange rate at the actual time of the sale in May 1814 (P.S.C. 1816, 27). Once purchased, the frieze arrived at the British Museum on 20th October 1815 and was placed in a room in the northwest corner of Montague House, which was the old British Museum building (BM C 2614, 11.11.1815).

The Museum took the decision not to restore the frieze, which was unusual as the general fashion in Europe around this time was to fully restore ancient sculpture. However, as the frieze was in a shattered state, the sculptor Richard Westmacott was instructed to carry out necessary repairs. Mr Taylor Combe, the first Keeper of Antiquities at the British Museum commented that:

> The marbles arrived in 1815 and the great number of fragments of which they had been composed have been carefully united and firmly secured by

> bolts of copper under the direction of Mr Westmacott; but the sculptures remain perfectly in their genuine state. The value of these marbles is indeed not a little enhanced by the certainty that their effect is not heightened by any adventitious aid and though mutilated by the injuries of time they remain free from the still greater injuries of the modern chisel (Taylor Combe 1820, 3).

This quote illustrates the beginning of the new trend in the period for 'un-restored authenticity' as the preferred artistic standard for antiquities, which the arrival in London and Paris of dilapidated Greek sculpture (most notably the Parthenon marbles – but also the Bassai frieze) had helped to establish. The quote also shows that in the early nineteenth century fastening the frieze together by copper bolts was evidently not regarded as causing 'injury' to the sculpture. Such procedures obviously did cause damage to the frieze and would be regarded as an anathema by the standards of twenty-first century conservation. In addition to this, further invasive treatment occurred when Westmacott used cement to fill the fractures in the frieze (Dinsmoor 1933, 217). There is also evidence that in the nineteenth century plaster was used to fill a number of holes in the frieze slabs (Jenkins and Williams 1993, 63).

In relation to this early treatment and archaeological assessment of the frieze, Combe conjectures that the frieze was originally attached to the wall of the temple by 'lead pins' as this was the case with terracotta friezes in antiquity. To prove this theory he points to the lack of 'ferringous' stains around the dowel holes that are present in the frieze slabs (Combe 1820, 5). In opposition to this, both Haller and Baron Otto Von Stackleberg, in their contemporary observations, allude to the discovery of bronze dowels in the frieze when it was excavated (Dinsmoor 1933, 220). If this is correct, it

would appear that by 1820 (when Combe published his findings) evidence of these 'bronze dowels' had been lost. Additionally, the most recent examinations of the Bassai sculptures have shown traces of iron in a hole in frieze slab BM 527. It has been conjectured that this could be the remains of an iron pin that was used to attach the slab to the temple's architrave (Jenkins and Williams 1993, 69). It is possible that iron pins were used to attach the slabs to the architrave, and the bronze dowels noted by Stackleberg were the remains of decorative weaponry attached to (and held by) the figures of Greek warriors and Amazons in the frieze.

In 1820, Combe also made several comments regarding the arrangement of the frieze. He states that the exact sequence in which the frieze slabs were originally arranged at the temple is not known and that the display order of the slabs 'might be changed without any disadvantage' (Combe 1820, 11). This unscientific approach is typical of the early nineteenth century and understandably stands in stark contrast to recent academic study, much of which has focused on fastidious attempts to establish the *correct* sequence of the frieze. Methods used by modern academics involve using physical evidence that is revealed by the technical components of the frieze, the Ionic entablature and the frieze backers to which it was fixed, for example, Dinsmoor 1956, Corbett 1969 (unpublished), Cooper and Madigan 1992 and Jenkins and Williams 1993, or in some circumstances focus on reconstruction based solely on the grounds of composition and narrative, as found in Liepman 1970, Hofkes-Brukker 1975 and Felten 1984. It can be assumed that in the early nineteenth century the frieze was displayed in the sequence in which the drawings of the slabs appear in the British Museum's 1820 publication of the sculptures. There is evidence that Cockerell may have influenced the arrangement. An article published in the *Morning Chronicle* and

recorded by the artist, Benjamin Robert Haydon (1786-1846) in his diary, dated 23.2.1816, states:

> The interesting Grecian sculpture discovered in the Temple of Apollo, in Phigaleia, by Mr Cockerell and other artists ... have been bought by the British Museum, where they are now arranged from the drawings of Mr. Cockerell, taken on the spot ... (Taylor 1853, 304).

This quote from Haydon's diary (as edited and published by Tom Taylor in 1853) indicates that the frieze was arranged to Cockerell's drawings and specifications. Throughout the early part of the nineteenth century the British Museum continued to acquire fragments of the frieze. In March, the year after the British Museum had acquired the frieze, John Spencer Stanhope presented them with a piece of the frieze, which is the left top corner of slab BM 534. A note in a book containing basic sketches of the Bassai frieze (drawn by Foster) held at the British Museum in the Greek and Roman Department, states that William Stanhope Junior had purchased this piece from a Greek herdsman who lived in the region of the temple and that when he brought it back to London he initially had it on display 'at his father's house, the corner of upper Grosvenor Street' (B.M. Drawing Book 42C 1816, unpaginated). The Stanhope donation was followed by the presentation of several further small fragments of the frieze to the British Museum by Charles Bronsted in 1824. These examples of donations demonstrate the severe fragmentation of the frieze and the fact that the archaeological site was crudely and unsystematically excavated. This unfortunately reflects the standards of a time when archaeology was not a science and

excavations were carried out in Greece by enthusiastic amateurs ruthlessly seeking fame and fortune for both themselves and their respective countries.

Overall, it is evident that the British Museum's stewardship of the Bassai marbles in this period resulted in damage to the frieze because of the 'primitive' methods of conservation applied to the sculpture. Accepting the fact that it would be unfair to evaluate these actions by modern standards, it is also clear that the argument put forward by the British in relation to the Parthenon: that by taking the sculptures down from the structure they 'saved' them from destruction (either by the Ottoman Turks or later from the pollution of Athens), cannot be applied in any sense to the Bassai marbles. The Bassai frieze would have benefited from being left where it was, buried and preserved in the ruins of the temple, until a later period in time when improved archaeological and museological procedures would have resulted in a greater standard of conservation.

The initial arrival of the Bassai frieze in Britain from Greece excited much public interest and comment. An article printed in the *Morning Chronicle* in early 1816, said of the Bassai marbles that:

> ... They are believed to be the only examples extant of entire subjects of the admirable school of Phidias and exhibit the sublimity of poetic imagination united to the boldness and power of execution resulting from extensive practice in the greatest school of antiquity. The energy and force displayed in the action of the figures are wonderful and the variety and unity in the composition show how far the arts must have been carried in the age of Pericles (Taylor 1853, 304)).

This remarkable newspaper article lavished praise on the Bassai marbles and claimed that they were the only extant work of Phidias. The statement is incorrect in its latter claim and it went against the majority of nineteenth-century opinion. The article was written by the famous art connoisseur Richard Payne Knight (1750-1824), whose opinions were supported by several of his friends in the Dilettanti Society. The Dilettanti Society, founded in 1732, was an elitist club of wealthy art enthusiasts and collectors that included men like Lord Aberdeen who emanated from the top strata of society.

Payne Knight's article was penned in the midst of a 'battle' that ensued between a section of the Dilettanti and a cohort of 'professional' artists and sculptors. As well as praising the Bassai frieze, Payne Knight had also dismissed the Parthenon marbles (which had recently been brought from Greece by Lord Elgin) as 'overrated' and being 'of the time of Adrian [the Roman Emperor Hadrian]' (Penny 1982, 13). His views contrasted sharply with the 'group of artists and sculptors', who were notable for publically admiring the Parthenon sculptures and 'the union of nature with ideal beauty' (Haydon 17.3.1816, 16) that they were seen to epitomise. Haydon was the most passionate and vociferous of those enthusiasts who 'revered' the Parthenon sculptures, and he became (in a sense) their 'self appointed' leader. Haydon responded to Payne Knight's comments by writing in another newspaper, *The Champion,* that:

> This is written I suspect by the same hand who said the Elgin marbles were the work of journeymen ... Now so far from these Phygaleian marbles [Bassai frieze] being the only work of Phidias, they have not the slightest pretensions to be considered by his hand at all ... they do not

> unite the boldness of execution resulting from practice influenced by principle, but the rashness of violence, their energy and force are not wonderful, because they overstep the simplicity of temperance ... they are evidently the production of a country sculptor, one who forgot hands were not longer than faces ... (Taylor 1853, 304).

This article illustrates Haydon's view that the Bassai frieze was clumsy, provincial and totally inferior to the Parthenon frieze. He followed up his attack on Payne Knight's opinions regarding the Parthenon and Bassai marbles by writing in *The Examiner,* that 'I have been roused to these reflections from fearing that the opinion of Mr Payne Knight and other connoisseurs may influence the estimation of the Elgin marbles' (Haydon 17.3.1816).

It is evident from these exchanges between the two men that that they were basically engaging in a public argument over which of the two groups (the artist or the connoisseur/collector) should ultimately be considered the highest artistic authority in Georgian society. In 1815-1816, this debate focused upon value judgements made by the two sides regarding the artistic merit of the Parthenon Marbles and ultimately their monetary worth and the price the British Government should pay Lord Elgin for these sculptures. The Bassai frieze was brought into this argument because it was an example of Classical sculpture that had recently been acquired by the British Government, and was believed by many (at this point) to have been created at the same time as the Parthenon sculptures, or immediately subsequent to it, and carved by either Phidias or his contemporaries (P.S.C. 1816, 27).

Significantly, Cockerell (who would in his later career as an architect use plaster casts of it in many of his designs) agreed with Haydon's assessment of the two sets of

sculptures at this time. This is proved by the contents of correspondence he wrote to his father from Rome in 1815. Cockerell considered himself foremost as an artist at this early stage of his life. He proclaimed to his father in a letter that 'art is certainly my forte and I was born a painter *not* an architect'. Like Haydon, he clearly regards the Bassai frieze as inferior to the Parthenon marbles, as he also stated to his father in the same correspondence that:

> The Phygaleia marbles are hardly to be compared to those of the Parthenon in any way, they should be considered as the sketches of a great artist, calculated for the temple of a province and done for effect adapted to their situation ... the idea composition and style are admirable but the parts as in a sketch neglected and sometimes merely indicated. They must not be regarded as the works of a Phidias or a Pericles which were to show how far the refinement of art could reach and the glory of a great nation could inspire and produce (Cockerell Letter, 28.12.1815).

In this quote Cockerell is strongly siding with the 'artists' in his assessment of the Bassai frieze in relation to the Parthenon marbles. Cockerell was acquainted with Haydon. He was also very familiar with the Parthenon sculptures as, between the years 1807-1810, both he and Haydon had been given permission by Lord Elgin to draw the Parthenon marbles, which were then stored at the peer's Park Lane mansion in London.

This passionate debate concerning the two groups of Classical sculpture and the question of 'who was best to judge art' prompted further responses from educated individuals outside the warring factions. A letter published in *The Examiner,* under

the heading 'Fine Arts', illustrates this point. The substantial letter (by an unknown author) begins by saying that had Haydon confined his comments to Mr Payne Knight's judgement of the Elgin marbles he would not have troubled himself to write to the paper, but felt it was his public duty to write because :

> [Mr Haydon] endeavours to re-establish the long contested but long exploded maxim that "Artists are the best judge of Art"... Mr H has yet to learn that there have been and may still be medical men, most experienced in the art of healing, who never dressed a wound ... poets the most eminent, who could not criticise the very art in which they excelled ... He has stepped forward on this occasion as the champion of his fellow artists (*The Examiner* 7.4.1816).

The writer of the article agrees with Haydon's judgement concerning the supreme quality of the Parthenon marbles but does not agree with his view that artists are the best judge of art. In the midst of this public debate, the one fact most contemporary commentators appear to have agreed upon was that Payne Knight was wrong in his artistic assessments of the two sets of marbles.

In short, the artists and their supporters, who correctly refuted Payne Knight's earlier ludicrous claims concerning the time period of the Parthenon Marbles, also won the public debate concerning their supreme quality in relation to both the Bassai frieze and all other sculpture. They did not however completely win the argument over who was generally best to 'judge' art and this remained contested. The consequences of losing the debate were damaging for Payne Knight because his reputation as a leading art connoisseur and expert was tainted for the rest of his life. The Royal Academy of

Art decided immediately to omit Payne Knight's name from its list of invitations for that year (St Clair 1967, 260).

An analysis of Payne Knight's disastrous championing of the Bassai frieze has been largely ignored by scholars who have tended to focus instead on his denigration of the Parthenon marbles, searching for reasons why he promulgated such low artistic opinions about them. However, a close examination of the facts concerning the debate between the two sets of sculptures indicates that Payne Knight genuinely did prefer the Bassai frieze to the Parthenon marbles. Furthermore, his resultant humiliation by the British press because of this preference had a subtle but negative effect on how the Bassai frieze was viewed by the public.

To begin, the most convincing argument for Payne Knight's 'heretical' denigration of the Parthenon marbles is that he feared they would eclipse and devalue his own collection of art work (Felhman 2007, 47). His collection was based on examples of art where the natural human form was aesthetically improved and perfected by the artist. The best known example of this type of sculpture was the statue of the Apollo Belvedere (a Roman copy of a Greek bronze by Leochares from the fourth century B.C.) which was owned by the Vatican and was regarded in the early nineteenth century as the epitome of the ideals of beauty and grace in artwork. The arrival of high Classical Greek sculpture in London and Paris challenged these aesthetic ideals and the realistic, veined and naturalist human forms of the Parthenon marbles initiated a change in the appreciation of art and the development of artistic taste. The Parthenon sculptures became the basis of a new artistic canon, replacing the old Roman Italianate canon.

However, although this argument may explain in *some* part why Payne Knight denigrated the Parthenon marbles it does not explain why he so fervently promoted

the artistic quality of the Bassai frieze, which was clearly of the same Classical Greek genre as the Parthenon sculptures. Possible explanations for this can be found in the fact that the Dilettanti Society and their associates were heavily involved in the acquisition of the Bassai frieze, as William Hamilton's evidence to the Parliamentary Select Committee on the purchase of the Parthenon marbles shows. William Hamilton, who was the undersecretary of state to Lord Castlereagh at the Foreign Office, recalled how drawings of the Bassai frieze made by Cockerell were shown around London's educated elite in 1813. He also stated that this visual evidence of the frieze's content and artistic worth prompted him to urge the government to purchase it. In his evidence, Hamilton also gave verbal support to the Dilettanti Society's expertise in matters of judging art when he stated:

> These drawings I saw frequently exhibited to persons the most competent to form a judgement of the merit of the originals, and they met with universal admiration, both in general society and particularly at the meetings of the Dilettanti society ... these feelings were also expressed by several Trustees of the British Museum (P.S.C. 1816, 27).

Unsurprisingly, Hamilton followed in the footsteps of aristocrats such as Lord Castlereagh and Lord Aberdeen and subsequently became a member of both the Dilettanti Society and the Travellers' Club in London; the latter has extremely strong and ongoing connections to the Bassai frieze and the relevance of this is fully analyzed in Chapter Two. It is also significant that Payne Knight was a Trustee of the British Museum at this time (Penny 1982, 7) as well as Lord Hardwicke (P.S.C. 1816, 28) and both were members of the Dilettanti. Consequently, the evidence suggests

that the upper class Dilettanti and their circle of influence had a special involvement with the purchase of the Bassai marbles for the nation, and this may have influenced Payne Knight to speak so highly of it. Additionally, as previously mentioned, there is also the genuine possibility that, in stark opposition to the accepted artistic views of the day, he actually did prefer the vigorous force and energetic movement of the Bassai frieze in comparison to the Parthenon sculptures.

The architect John Foster, (who was also one of the original excavators of the frieze with Cockerell), most definitely preferred the Bassai frieze to the Parthenon sculptures. Foster wrote that if the frieze was by Phidias, then:

> He has not done his duty to Minerva since those of the Parthenon are much inferior in many instances to those we have found ... Sculpture of such high relief I do not believe exists in the world, and certainly a frieze so perfect and of such magnitude and beauty is neither to be seen at Rome or Paris. In many instances the limbs of the men and also of the centaurs are entirely free from the original surface and being of such high wrought sculpture have the most sublime effect (Foster Letter, 7.9.1812).

Foster's high admiration of the Bassai frieze could be interpreted as being biased and merely the actions of a proprietor wishing to increase the price of the commodity he had discovered and was about to sell. But, accepting that there is probably an element of truth in this cynical commercial motivation, it cannot be denied that Foster, who was an accomplished artist as well as an architect (his paintings of the temple are discussed in Chapter Five), really did admire the artistic quality of the frieze. Furthermore, he clearly considered it first rate - which was in direct opposition at this

time to his fellow excavator and friend, Cockerell. The language Foster uses to describe the Bassai frieze is very similar to Payne Knight's who, as we have seen, until the dispute over the quality of the Parthenon marbles, was widely regarded as the leading art expert in England. Moreover, Payne Knight's early reputation was so great that he had even received praise for his writings on art from European cultural giants such as J.W.Goethe. This obvious talent was also verified later in the century by Adolf Michaelis, who described Payne Knight's publication '*Specimens of Ancient Sculpture in Great Britain*' (1809) as a 'brilliant conclusion to the century of antique dilettantism' (Michaelis 1882, 123). Additionally, Michaelis mentions the fact that Payne Knight preferred the Bassai frieze to the Parthenon marbles but offers no clear explanation as to why.

An analysis of Cockerell's comments concerning the Bassai frieze shows that he exhibits an artistic preference for the Parthenon marbles that is combined with typical early nineteenth-century British imperial attitudes. This is demonstrated by the fact that he almost naturally dismisses the Bassai frieze as inferior because it was merely calculated for the temple of a 'province', as opposed to the refined art produced by and for Athens, which was the glittering cultural and economic centre of a large Aegean Sea empire. An appendix attached to the Elgin Marbles Parliamentary Select Committee Report illustrates this colonial ideology and the view that London was now considered by the British as the 'new' Athens, and the Parthenon marbles were considered the ultimate cultural symbol of the expanding British Empire - which had just defeated Napoleon at Waterloo. In *History of Ancient Art* (1764) Wincklemann had explicitly connected the great art of Classical Greece with freedom (Jusdanis 2004, 47) and in a British development of this idea, the jingoistic conclusion to the Parliamentary report appendix proclaims:

> 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 those monuments of the school of Phidias and of the administration of Pericles (P.S.C. 1816, 15).

Against this sort of political rhetoric it would seem to be career suicide for an art critic to suggest that the Bassai frieze was superior to the Parthenon sculptures - yet *this* was exactly what Payne Knight did. He was forced to defend his opinions (once again) after scathing reviews of the evidence he gave to the 1816 Parliamentary Select Committee were published in *The Examiner* and the *Quarterly Review*. *The Examiner* concluded that in relation to Payne Knight's views on art 'the [Parliamentary] Committee seems to have thought very little of them' (*The Examiner* 28.4.1816, 269). In response to what Payne Knight described as 'gross misinterpretation' of his evidence, the beleaguered connoisseur stated in a newspaper article entitled 'Mr Payne Knight Answers to the Quarterly Review, Number XXVIII' that:

> The Frieze of Phygaleia is unquestionably inferior to the best specimens from Athens, but it is unquestionably superior throughout to the worst even of the metopes; and the Reviewer by calling it low relief, proves that he is unacquainted with it. The figures being very highly relieved while those of the Parthenon are in low or flat relief (Payne Knight 9.6.1816, 2).

Payne Knight is clearly backtracking here (probably as a result of public and media pressure) on his previous very grand (but wrong) claims that the Bassai frieze was the only known work of the 'school of Phidias' - but interestingly, he is *still* claiming that the frieze is better than some of the Parthenon Marbles. It is also evident that Payne Knight had studied both friezes, pointing out to the reviewer the differences in their contrasting sculptural relief. In his previous writings *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture in Great Britain* (published by the Dilettanti in 1809), and in his actual evidence to the Parliamentary Committee, he also shrewdly pointed out that these sculptures were architectural decoration meant to be viewed from afar and that they were in a fairly poor state of preservation (P.S.C. 1816, 41). Consequently, he thought the Bassai frieze was more valuable than the Parthenon frieze because it was in high relief with movement and vigour and also, more crucially, because unlike the Parthenon frieze, it was almost entirely complete, stating that it was 'far superior in preservation than the [Parthenon] frieze' (P.S.C. 1816, 41).

Payne Knight was evidently not influenced by all the political and cultural hyperbole surrounding the Parthenon marbles at the time he gave his evidence in Parliament. Ironically, his analysis could be described as 'modern' in some senses, because he was looking with a critical eye at the actual state of the preservation of the dilapidated sculptural remains before him and deciding whether he found them interesting or attractive. By contrast, this was something none of the eminent artists who were called to give evidence to Parliament did. They tended to be carried along by the new fashion for Greek sculpture and generally exhibited an unquestioning awe about the supreme nature of the battered and incomplete remains of the Parthenon marbles.

It is evident that Payne Knight was at times an unusual and independent thinker and he attempted (in a simplistic way) to decipher some of the 'wider meanings' of the images in Greek art. He is quoted by Taylor Combe, in relation to the depiction of Amazons fighting Greeks, as stating 'By giving the full prominent form of the female breast on one side, and the flat form of the male on the other, the artist meant to express the union of the two sexes' (Combe 1820, 14). Furthermore, Payne Knight was the type of connoisseur who had no moral difficulty finding interest in works of art which would offend the average nineteenth-century person's sensibilities. This is illustrated by the fact that he produced a learned discussion on the 'worship of Priapus' which was published by the Dilettanti Society in 1786. This shocking publication on penis worship was limited in its distribution, but was not withdrawn as has often been claimed (Penny 1982, 5). It is therefore probable that Payne Knight viewed and commented on the vigorous and violent rolling action of the Bassai frieze free from the restraints which had led Haydon and others to denigrate the Bassai frieze for showing 'the rashness of violence' and crudely overstepping 'the simplicity of temperance' (Taylor 1853, 304).

Finally, Payne Knight did say of the Bassai marbles that 'I have never seen anything so fine' (P.S.C. 1816, 42). But, as we have seen, he was pressurised by popular opinion to retract publically his supremely flattering opinions of the frieze. Furthermore, he never fully acknowledged the absolute superlative quality of the Parthenon sculptures – unless we credit the unlikely story that he visited the British Museum shortly before his death in the company of Elgin and confessed his mistake (Penny 1982, 13). Considering all these facts, there is a cogent argument that the gifted Payne Knight (and Foster) genuinely viewed the Bassai marbles with more insightful and independently thinking artistic minds than the vast majority of their

contemporaries who firmly regarded the Bassai frieze as second rate when compared to the Parthenon sculptures. Payne Knight was a remarkable man who was not afraid to attack on one occasion the Prince Regent's 'meretricious taste' (Penny 1982, 13) and he evidently had an unusual and extremely high opinion of the Bassai frieze. This admiration has been overlooked by the many academics who have tended to focus on him as the expert who failed to appreciate the Parthenon sculptures.

By the end of 1816, the Bassai frieze had in a sense become connected with Payne Knight's downfall and it had been unanimously judged to be artistically inferior to the Parthenon marbles in both Parliament and the popular press. Therefore, it was the view postulated by Cockerell and Haydon, which labelled the frieze as an example of crudely executed provincial sculpture that was to prevail amongst artists, scholars and laymen alike. The Bassai frieze was of course still greatly valued at this time because, although branded provincial, it was still considered as Classical Greek sculpture from the time of Phidias, but it would have to wait until the latter half of the twentieth century to receive (once again) anything close to the level of high praise that had been lavished on it by Payne Knight and Foster in the early nineteenth century.

Following the conclusion of the Parliamentary Select Committee Report the monetary value of both sets of sculptures was clearly set in the public domain and the Parthenon marbles were finally purchased from Lord Elgin. In 1816 the British Museum instructed the architect Robert Smirke to build temporary accommodation to house them. He designed a large pre-fabricated structure which had skylights and a pine floor (Jenkins 1992, 76). At the eastern end of the building Smirke placed a small ante room which was to house the Bassai frieze.

By placing the Bassai frieze in this small room the British Museum was basically using the Bassai frieze as an introduction to the greater glory of the Parthenon

sculptures. Most crucially, this display arrangement emphasised the Wincklemann teleological narrative concerning the progress of art and the related idea of exhibiting sculpture in a sequence of rising artistic achievement. In this concept, the newly discovered Bassai frieze, which was thought by many in the early nineteenth century to have been made in the same time period as when Perikles and Phidias lived, takes its place as a stepping stone in the development of art. This progress reached its apex in the creation of the Parthenon sculptures.

The arrangement at the British Museum also reflected the other perceived relationships between the two sets of marbles, both historically, as they are connected via Iktinos, the architect of both the Parthenon and Bassai, and in a contemporary nineteenth–century sense, as they were both now trophies of the British Empire and exhibited together as such in the same specially designed building. The architect, T.L. Donaldson further illustrated this strong connection between the Parthenon and Bassai marbles in the British political and cultural psyche when he commented in the *Anitiquities of Athens, Volume IV, 1830,* (which was the first publication in English of the temple's architecture) that:

> It is a singular and in some respects gratifying coincidence that the sculptures designed by Phidias and that by his contemporaries or rivals, should after a lapse of twenty two centuries, be reunited under the same roof in a distant and enlightened capital (Donaldson 1830, 7).

It is interesting that in the nineteenth century Classical sculpture, and most especially the Parthenon marbles, became a form of material evidence for men like Robert Knox, who developed a set of racial and physical constructs that were intended to

prove not just a cultural affinity between Classical Greeks and Britain, but a physical and racial one as well. Knox would advocate, based on racial physiognomic studies, that ancient Greeks had a northern Scandinavian or Saxon racial origin and that the Classical racial type was now found in London and not in Greece (Hamilakis 2007, 253). Against these forms of ideological developments, the actual content of the Parthenon frieze, which shows a parade of beautiful young cavalrymen engaged in a civil ceremony, can be seen to represent a national self image that the British wished to convey both at home and abroad in their Empire. This most definitely contributed to the Parthenon frieze's popularity and potency as a cultural device. In contrast, the figures in the Bassai frieze, which are generally not as elegant as those in the Parthenon frieze, and convey an image of individuals engaged in violent conflict, clearly could not be viewed or used in the same way as the Parthenon frieze. Moreover, the disturbing images not only challenged the viewer to think about the unpleasant side of human nature (Fig 1:3) but could also be aligned to the darker side of glorious empire making. Events such as the terrifying unglamorous side of war, brutal suppression of other races and the death and rape of women and children were questions and images that many contemporary nineteenth-century viewers did not want to address or visually consume. As we have already seen, Haydon had expressed the view of most art critics when he commented in 1816 that the Bassai frieze 'overstepped the simplicity of temperance' (Taylor 1853, 304).

Against this cultural ferment, at a time when museums were beginning to become arenas of public indoctrination, it is unsurprising that the Bassai frieze was considered inferior to the Parthenon marbles and was displayed as such. In short, the majority of the educated early nineteenth-century public who viewed the frieze (with the exception of men like Payne Knight and Foster who had the temerity to think it

superior to the Parthenon sculptures) had a dichotomous relationship with it; they admired it as an example of Classical Greek sculpture with a connection to the Parthenon, but found much of its content and execution disturbing and unappealing.

In 1832 a permanent 'Elgin Room' was constructed on the west side of the new British Museum building (C.M.S.S.C. 1999/00, 207) and both the Parthenon and Bassai marbles were removed from the temporary pre-fabricated room that had been hastily erected to house them over a decade earlier. However, despite both sets of marbles being moved to this new accommodation, nothing was to change in the hierarchy of how they were exhibited and the Bassai frieze continued to be displayed as a precursor to the greater glories of the Parthenon marbles. The frieze was placed in a small ante-room that formed an entrance court to the permanent Elgin Room (Fig 1:4). It was displayed at eye level around the walls of this small room in conjunction with the plaster casts of the Aegina marbles. On one level, this arrangement reflected the Bassai frieze's perceived role in the second decade of the nineteenth century as an aesthetic link between the Aegina marbles and the Parthenon marbles in the progress of art.

In relation to the temporary (1817) and permanent (1832) displays of the Bassai frieze and Parthenon marbles, Ian Jenkins has argued:

> Thus in both the temporary and permanent displays of the Phigaleian and Elgin Marbles, the former - although known to be chronologically later – were placed in an ante-room … to the principal room where even greater treasures might be found. When chronology became the governing principal of arranging the sculptures, the officers would strive to correct

> this solecism, but the Phigaleian marbles ... would long remain a prelude to the greater glory within (Jenkins 1992, 62).

Jenkin's argument is in need of some modification with regards to his suggestion that the positioning of the Bassai frieze as a precursor to the Parthenon marbles, in the display arrangements of 1817 and 1832, only reflected the notion that the frieze was considered lower down the scale in terms of artistic accomplishment - and went against what was thought to be the correct chronological dating of the sculpture. This is debatable because in 1817, when Smirke erected the temporary display rooms for both sets of marbles, the Bassai frieze was *not* universally thought by all to be of later date than the Parthenon frieze or the age of Phidias. Pausanias, writing circa 170 A.D., recounted that the Temple at Bassai was designed by Iktinos, who also built the Parthenon, and that Apollo received his epithet of Epikourios for saving the Phigaleians from the plague in the Peloponnesian War; an epithet he had also received at Athens. The text does not say *exactly* when the temple was built and the frieze is not mentioned at all (Pausanias 8.41.9.). Of course, the temple and its frieze were created after the Parthenon, but this was not clearly known or a totally accepted fact in 1817. For example, William Hamilton, in his evidence to the Elgin Marbles Parliamentary Select Committee in 1816, described the Bassai frieze as 'Grecian art executed in the age of Pericles' (P.S.C. 1816, 27). Furthermore, Taylor Combe, in the British Museum's own publication of the sculpture does not give a specific date for the temple and frieze. He merely stated that 'This temple was erected in the time of Pericles, when the arts had reached their highest state of perfection in Greece' (Combe 1820, 3). The dating of the Bassai frieze as being contemporary with the Elgin marbles – not specifically after them - was still accepted by some experts

around the time the permanent Elgin room was completed in 1832. Professor Thomas Leverton Donaldson (later of University College London) wrote in 1830 that the Bassai frieze was designed and made by the 'contemporaries or rivals' of Phidias (Donaldson 1830, 7). Consequently, if the Bassai frieze was considered as being made around the same date as the Parthenon sculptures, it could, without losing any academic or chronological credibility, be displayed as coming before them, especially when considering the nineteenth-century view that the frieze represented a lower level of artistic accomplishment. Therefore, as with the temporary room in 1817, the new permanent display of the two sets of marbles in 1832 was acceptable to many as the correct order for the aesthetic progress of art and as a vague chronological sequence. It was also in the British Museum's interests as proprietors of the Bassai frieze to present it as second in point of hierarchy to the Parthenon sculptures in the ascent of art. Overall, the British Museum was committed at this time to the principle of chronological display, but as Jenkins has pointed out, they often did not achieve their aims, as the interesting example of the Museum displaying some Mexican antiquities in the Egyptian gallery demonstrates (Jenkins 1992, 62).

(ii) The Life History of the Frieze from c.1840 to c.1900.

The view that the Bassai frieze was 'second best' only to the Parthenon marbles continued to be generally supported by the British Museum into the following decade. Material that both agreed and disagreed with this view was circulating in the public arena in the 1840s. Contrasting examples are to be found in the medium of fine art and the fashion for 'informative dictionaries' - with the latter being regarded as an especially important tool for self improvement in Victorian society. Most notably, a painting created by James Stephanoff (Fig. 1:5) charts the ascent of the fine arts and

sculpture from primitive beginnings in oriental India and Central America, through Achaemenid, Egyptian and Etruscan art to Archaic and Classical Greek sculpture, culminating in the perfection of the Parthenon marbles. The Bassai frieze is placed directly underneath the Parthenon frieze, second in the hierarchy, with the late Archaic sculptures from Aegina placed third.

Stephanoff's painting visually demonstrates the previously discussed nineteenth-century aesthetic theory regarding the progress of art and mankind. When the painting was exhibited in 1845, it was described in the catalogue of the Old Watercolour Society as 'An Assemblage of Works of Art in Sculpture and Painting, from the earliest period to the time of Phydias' (Jenkins 1992, 61). The painting also reflects the arrangement of sculpture in the galleries at the British Museum, as opposed to the generally accepted chronology of when the sculptures were made, as by 1845, most academics had come to the conclusion that the Bassai frieze was made later than the Parthenon marbles - although as can be seen, this was still contested by some individuals. The most popular view concerning the frieze's dating is expressed in a *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, which was published in London in 1842. The *Dictionary* provides interesting information regarding the artistic reception of the frieze and the published literature relating to it. The entries for the Parthenon and the Bassai marbles run concurrently, with the former being placed first. The sequence reflected the dating of the sculptures as the descriptions of Archaic Greek art are placed before the entries concerning Classical sculpture, with Hellenistic and Roman examples coming afterwards. The author, with an assured sense of authority, informs the reader of the 'errors' of the Bassai frieze and the sublime greatness of the works of Phidias at the Parthenon. In reference to the Parthenon sculptures the author states:

> The free and noble spirit of the Athenian democracy showed its influence in all departments of literature and art and among the latter reached its culminating point in the sublime and mighty works of Phidias ... The greater part of these works [Parthenon marbles] is in the British Museum and they have been described and commented on so often they require no further mention here (Smith 1842, 903-904).

This entry proves that the Parthenon marbles were exhaustively documented in the public arena and that their pre-eminent position in the field of Greek sculpture is taken as common knowledge. On the following page the 'Phigalian marbles [Bassai frieze]' are described in an unflattering and negative way. The *Dictionary* informs the reader that:

> Many of the attitudes of the figures appear to be repetitions of those seen on Attic temples, but there are at the same time great differences, for the Phigalian marbles sometimes show a boldness of design which almost borders on extravagance, while some figures are incorrectly drawn and in forced attitudes. The best descriptions of them are those in *Bassi relieve della Grecia disegn,* da G.M Wagner 1814 and in Stackleberg's *Apollotempel zu Bassai in Arcadien,* Bildwerke 1828 (Smith 1842, 905).

This entry is significant because it indicates that the Bassai frieze is now considered to be second rate not only in comparison to the Parthenon marbles - but also when compared to the sculpture on other Attic temples. The author is referring to the Temple of Athena Nike on the Athenian Acropolis, and the Hephaistion which is

situated in the ancient Athenian Agora. This represents a shift in the reception of the frieze, which, although always regarded as inferior to the Parthenon marbles, had generally been considered to be of higher value than the other known examples of Classical Greek art.

The quote also informs the reader that the best written descriptions of the frieze are *not* to be found in the British Museums official publication of the Bassai sculpture in 1820, but in two foreign publications, by the Estonian, Baron Otto Von Stackleberg in 1828 (the actual publication date was 1826) and the German, G.M. Wagner in 1814. Stackleberg was a friend of Cockerell and was present at the excavation of the Bassai frieze in 1812, but he was not one of its proprietors. Wagner's book was written in Italian and was the first publication of the frieze. He makes some very insightful comments concerning the stylistic differences and quality in the sculptural workmanship of the frieze, which Smith obviously thought were academically useful to his prospective readership. Wagner wrote:

> Riguardo allo stile e l' eseczione risulta dalla gran differenza del lavoro no essere tutto il fregio da un artista solo scolpito, ma essere l'opera di molti. Si distinguono almeno chiaramente du differenti maniere nel trattemento del marmo: la piu gran parte e trattato e grassa senza e ser per altro troppo in dettaglio, il che osservasi in tutta la serie di questi bassorilievi ... (Wagner 1814, 3).

Wagner was pointing out in this quote that the Bassai frieze was definitely carved by many different sculptors and that the quality of execution ranges from 'grandiose' to rough workmanship. His analysis was correct and the question of how many sculptors

worked on the frieze has been the subject of several academic investigations in the latter half of the twentieth century. The various studies have produced estimates ranging from between three and nine sculptors, according to how subtle the distinctions are that are made between the various frieze blocks (Cooper and Madigan 1992, 91-94).

Interestingly, Wagner's book had been strongly condemned by Cockerell and Stackleberg. This was because it had been hastily printed in Rome without their knowledge and before they themselves had a chance to publish the frieze. Wagner was an agent of the Crown Prince of Bavaria and had gained access to the frieze whilst it was in safekeeping on Zante waiting to be auctioned. He drew the frieze and published it in Rome in 1814 as a special monograph - just before the British Government purchased it. Cockerell and Stackleberg were outraged and Cockerell wrote to his father from Rome saying Wagner had 'sold a prodigious number of copies' (Cockerell Letter, 18.8.1815). Sales of an item are the touchstone of its reception, and it is evident that the growing European desire for Classical Greek sculpture and the sensational discovery of the Bassai frieze combined to make Wagner's book a good commercial venture. A copy of the book was even purchased by the architect, Sir John Soane.

At the time Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* was being published in 1842, it is significant that Cockerell's career as an architect was reaching its zenith in the construction of the University Galleries and Taylorian Institute (Ashmolean Museum) at Oxford (Fig. 3:11). Cockerell famously incorporated a plaster cast of the Bassai frieze into his designs for the building (discussed in Chapter Two) even though in his earlier life he had condemned the frieze as provincial and incomparable to the Parthenon marbles.

Perhaps in response to the publicity afforded to the Bassai frieze by Cockerell's use of the plaster casts at the Ashmolean (Fig. 2:5) and as a riposte to the meagre unflattering entry in Smith's *Dictionary*, a full description of the Bassai frieze and temple was published in the *Builder* on July 19th 1845. It was written by Edward Hawkins of the British Museum. Hawkins gives a much more flattering description of the Bassai frieze than Smith. He recounted that the Bassai marbles are full of vigour and movement and that they 'hold a high place, not just from their character but also from being from a temple contemporary with the Parthenon and by the same architect' (Hawkins 1845, 338). Hawkin's article in the *Builder* is an advertisement of the British Museum's ownership of the Bassai frieze, whilst also being a positive retort to the rather negative and almost dismissive view of the marbles perpetrated in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. Hawkins also emphasised the Bassai frieze's connection to the Parthenon, as a further reason for its high value, something not mentioned in Smith's *Dictionary*. It appears that Hawkins is attempting to reaffirm the Bassai frieze's lofty position in the hierarchy of Greek sculpture. As has been noted previously, the eminent T.L. Donaldson had confidently stated in 1830 that in relation to the best examples of Classical sculpture the Bassai frieze held 'the next distinguished place in point of real interest and merit' (Donaldson 1830, 16) to the Parthenon marbles. This once accepted artistic opinion was evidently beginning to be questioned in the mid-nineteenth century, as demonstrated by unenthusiastic and negative entries in publications such as Smith's *Dictionary*.

Moreover, it can be assumed that Cockerell, who in 1840 had been appointed the Professor of Architecture at the Royal Academy, would have been annoyed to read in Smith's *Dictionary* that one of the two best descriptions of the Bassai frieze was to be found in Wagner's book. He would also have been disappointed with Smith's

negative description of the frieze. This was because, with the passing of his youthful days (when he had primarily considered himself an 'artist') and whilst forging an architectural career for himself in the highly competitive Victorian Age, Cockerell had become ever increasingly aware of the value of being associated with the discovery of the Bassai frieze.

Consequently, as well as using the frieze in his greatest public building, he also spoke highly of it at this time and he later commented that he detected in Michelangelo Buonarroti's sculpture something of the vigour and roughness of the Bassai frieze (Watkins 1974, 97). In relation to Michelangelo, Cockerell published a book entitled *Illustrations, Architectural and Pictorial of the Genius of Michelangelo Buonarroti* in 1857, which featured a drawing by a young Michelangelo (aged nineteen) of a battle between Centaurs and Lapiths (Cockerell and Harford 1857, plate 9). Cockerell also gives a vivid analysis in the monograph of the painted groups from Michelangelo's last judgement scenes in the Sistine Chapel. This insightful literary sketch could almost be a description of the horror and despair displayed in parts of the Bassai frieze. Cockerell recounts 'Michelangelo displays his wonderful power of vividly giving expression to the strongest feelings and emotion of the human mind, under the influence of terror and anguish' (Cockerell and Harford 1857, viii).

Despite Cockerell's efforts, the Bassai frieze, by the late nineteenth century, began to lose this elevated 'second place' in the hierarchy of Greek sculpture. This phenomenon had been alluded to in 1842 in Smith's *Dictionary*, when he hinted that the frieze was inferior to the sculpture on all 'Attic temples', not just the Parthenon. The reasons for this downturn in the artistic and cultural valuation of the frieze are multifarious, but are basically linked to academic advances in the understanding and

stylistic dating of ancient Greek art and the arrival in Western Europe of new discoveries of Classical sculpture which eclipsed it.

By the mid-nineteenth century academics had come to the definite conclusion that the Bassai frieze was created after the Parthenon marbles and was not contemporary with, or made immediately prior to, the 'golden age' age of Perikles and Phidias - as had been postulated by some scholars earlier in the century. This placed the frieze on the *downward* curve in the 'ascent of art' and it was metaphorically plunged into the beginning of the age when Greek art and literature was perceived to have begun its slow descent into the corruption and demoralization of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

A lengthy and detailed article in the *Quarterly Review* in 1882 entitled 'Greek Sculpture' supports this argument regarding the changing reception of the Bassai frieze and the decline in its perceived artistic status. This article also highlights the mass popularisation of Greek art to the English speaking public via the medium of print culture as it provides an interesting review of the current literature available on the subject. The author critically claims that up to the publication of two new books, A.S. Murray's *A History of Greek Sculpture, Vol I,* (1880), and Walter Copeland Perry's, *Greek and Roman Sculpture: A Popular Introduction* (1882), the only other publications in English that gave a systematic account of Greek sculpture were 'the translation of Ottfried Muller's *Ancient Art and its Remains* and the summaries in Dictionaries and Cyclopaedias [sic]' (*Quarterly Review* 20.10.1882, 369). The author is evidently referring to dictionaries such as the one compiled by William Smith in 1842, discussed earlier. In 1880, Murray's book on Greek sculpture (Volume I) was well received, and as has already been noted, in 1883 he published *A History of Greek*

Sculpture, Volume II, which contained an excellent discussion of the Bassai frieze and an illustration of frieze slab BM 541, which showed Hippolyte with her head intact. The *Quarterly Review* article also welcomed the foundation of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* in London in 1880-1881 and described the Parthenon marbles and Bassai frieze in detail. The author commented that the Parthenon sculptures brought into focus all the 'excellencies in Greek art' and that they 'somewhat baffle the cold understanding'. Furthermore, in a clear reference to previous commentators on Greek art, and possibly Cockerell, the author states:

> Another feature of the art of the Phidean period is that while very noble, it is of an extreme childlike simplicity. The works of Phidias must not be compared to Michelangelo ... but with the Aegina pediments (*Quarterly Review* 20.10.1882, 383).

This quote is a further affirmation of the Bassai frieze's dating as being firmly after Phidias, because the frieze is no longer considered as being any form of aesthetic link between the Aegina marbles and the Parthenon marbles. Consequently, the author argues that the Parthenon sculptures by Phidias should only be compared to the Aegina marbles. The Aegina marbles represented a stylistic bridge between the late Archaic and early Classical period and they predate the Parthenon sculptures by circa fifty years. Furthermore, in relation to both the errors of comparing the Parthenon marbles to the challenging humanistic Renaissance art of Michelangelo, and the dating of the Bassai frieze, the *Quarterly Review* article notes that:

> We have fairly extensive remains of several friezes from the period immediately succeeding that of the Parthenon. Among these may be specially mentioned those from the temple of Apollo at Bassae and the temple of Nike Apteros at Athens ... Battles are the subjects of these friezes and both are remarkable for the vigorous attitudes of the fighters and the beauty of the design. But already something is lost of the truth and simplicity of the Phidian style ... (*Quarterly Review* 20.10.1882, 386).

These two related quotes from the *Quarterly Review* demonstrate that the Parthenon sculptures are considered truthful and innocent. They are simplistic and morally pure like an uncorrupted child and are almost comparable with the naked Adam and Eve before they were cast out of the Garden of Eden. Consequently, this renders them beyond comparison to the highly expressive Renaissance art of Michelangelo, especially the rugged unfinished sculpture of the Taddei Madonna (which Cockerell especially admired) and the figures writhing in fear and desperation at the biblical judgement of God on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. In contrast, the vigorous and savage Bassai frieze, which was now collectively recognised as emanating from a time that signalled the end of 'innocence' and 'truth' in Greek sculpture, could justifiably be compared to Michelangelo's art. As we have seen, this comparison had been made by Cockerell several years earlier.

It is no surprise that the late Victorian period, which saw the publication of several 'popular' books on Classical art, also witnessed a substantial revival in the appreciation and drawing of Greek sculpture, as exemplified by artists like Frederick Lord Leighton and Albert Moore. The trend for Gothic architecture and the Pre-Raphaelite movement in art was waning and the sculpture galleries of the British

Museum became so popular that Charles Newton, the Keeper of the time, commented in 1878 that 'the galleries are now so crowded with easels that on public days it is exceedingly difficult to keep a clear gangway' (Jenkins 1992, 39).

The main attraction for the artists was the Parthenon marbles and within a decade of Newton's comments about artists once again crowding the British Museum's sculpture galleries there was a change in the arrangement of the Bassai frieze. It was removed from the small ante room, where it had served for many years as a precursor to the Parthenon sculptures. This reflected the Bassai frieze's definite dating as being after the age of Phidias as it was illogical with reference to the accepted museological theory of the time (with its focus on chronology) to have it situated as a precursor to the iconic Parthenon marbles. In short, the Bassai frieze was aesthetically and chronologically placed on the *downward* curve in the pantheon of Greek art, coming after the high point of the Parthenon marbles.

The Bassai frieze was finally displayed in a new gallery in 1889. In 1887, the old print room in the British Museum (which was situated to the north west of the permanent Elgin Room) was renovated and altered for the purpose of exhibiting sculpture. Space had become available at the museum due to the removal of the Natural History collections in 1883. The treasury sanctioned expenditure amounting to £1,250.00 for the building work (Jenkins 1990, 318) and Alexander Murray determined that the Bassai frieze, along with various examples of Greek funerary stelai which the Museum owned, should be housed there.

A photograph of the new Phigaleian Room (Bassai room) in the old print room (Fig. 1: 6) shows that the frieze sequence is broken by displays of funerary stelai and the entrance door into the gallery. This proves that Murray and his cohorts were not concerned with presenting the frieze in an unbroken consecutive sequence. A division

of the slabs into groups that represented the Amazonomachy and Centauromachy appears to be the only constant rule that was adhered to when displaying the sequence of the frieze at the British Museum in the nineteenth century. Interestingly, an article in *The Times* describes the opening of the new Phigaleian Room (Bassai Room) at the British Museum in 1889. The article states:

> The room, relatively small in size leads out of the end of the Elgin Gallery, and will be called the Phigaleian Gallery ... Ictinus has been credited with the sculpture of the frieze, but this is not likely ... the properties of the figures and their general sentiment savours of rusticity ... they are placed at a disadvantage also in respect to their material, a dark brown limestone, which shows dull and opaque beside the translucent clearness of the Elgin marbles. But they still hold a high rank in the history of sculpture and are worthy of a distinguished place in a collection even so rich as the British Museums (*The Times* 26.9.1889).

The article is almost an apology for the Bassai frieze, claiming that it still holds a high place in the history of sculpture despite its rustic nature and dull colour. Years of accumulating grime in the London atmosphere, combined with nineteenth-century washing techniques will have added to the Bassai frieze's natural darkish colour when compared to the Parthenon sculptures. It is interesting that the frieze's colour (Fig. 1: 3) is stated as being a disadvantage. This view is almost certainly linked to enduring ideas that Greek sculpture should be white and pure, despite the fact that it was known by academics at this time to have been painted. The frieze is not made of the same Attic Pentelic marble as the Parthenon sculptures. It is made of marble from the

Peloponnese area and Keith Mathews of the British Museum has isolated the quarries at Mani and Cape Tainaron as the most likely sources for the marble (Jenkins and Williams 1993, 75). Mathews also discovered that at some point in the frieze's history its surface had been covered with a layer of gypsum (Jenkins and Williams 1993, 69). It is also evident from the *The Times* article of 1889 that the frieze is not ranked as highly as it was in 1817 or 1832. Moreover, its positioning in a new room that is placed *after* the Elgin gallery reflects the post-Phidian dating of the frieze and its standing as an example of sculpture that is now undisputedly placed on the downward curve in the aesthetic theory regarding the history of art. It is significant that the Nereid monument was placed in the vacated old Phigaleian Room, because it was believed in the nineteenth century that the monument dated from before 500 B.C. when the Persian General Harpagus conquered Xanthus. This was the view of Sir Charles Fellows who excavated the monument and delivered it to the British Museum. The contested dating of the monument is mentioned over a decade later by A.H.Smith. In 1902 Smith postulated 'the date and occasion of the [Nereid] building has been much discussed, but is now assigned to the end of the fifth century B.C.' (Smith 1902, 55). Smith's excellent book *A Guide to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (1902) also provided a plan (Fig. 1:13) of the ground floor of the British Museum which illustrates the layout of the Greek and Roman rooms from 1889.

The problem of determining who actually made the frieze is also demonstrated in *The Times* newspaper article of 1889. Up to 1993 scholars had continually attempted to localise the source of the marble to help identify the homeland of the frieze's maker. As we have seen above, the issue of where the marble came from was solved by Keith Mathew's scientific investigations at the British Museum. It is clear that by 1889

Iktinos has been suggested by some academics as the possible sculptor. Previous options included Phidias, put forward by Payne-Knight and some members of the Dilettanti, provincial artisans, supported by Haydon, and Alkamenes, the pupil of Phidias, suggested by Stackleberg (Smith 1892, 279). The writer of *The Times* article concurs with the view postulated by Haydon that it was made by a provincial or rustic sculptor. As with many questions about the Temple at Bassai, this view was contested, with Alkamenes being the most popular (late nineteenth-century) alternative as the creator of the frieze. This appears to be the case in the United States, as demonstrated when the *Boston Daily Advertiser* reported in 1876 that the Greco-Roman Room in Boston's new Museum of Fine Arts 'has a [plaster] frieze from the Temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae in Arcadia, attributed to Alcamenes 430 B.C.' (*Boston Daily Advertiser* 31.8.1876). The British Museum did not specifically say who they thought created the Bassai marbles but Smith states that the frieze 'perhaps shows the hands of local sculptors' (Smith 1902, 47).

Alexander Murray's views of the Bassai frieze, as expressed in his book, *A History of Greek Sculpture, Volume II,* (1883) are analytical, whilst also reflecting the accepted artistic perception of the frieze that had been postulated above in *The Times* (1889) article and the earlier *Quarterly Review* (1882) critique. A similar viewpoint is also promulgated in Perry's book *Greek and Roman Sculpture: A Popular Introduction* (1882). Significantly, both Murray's and Perry's popular publications, which were clearly intended for mass circulation as opposed to a purely academic readership, emphasise the presence of very small children in the violent action of the frieze. The Bassai frieze is unique in being the only known sculptured Classical frieze that depicts babies in the midst of such brutal action. Murray, in a moralistic tone, mentions the presence of 'puny children' in the frieze (Murray 1883, 171) and Perry

contrasts the 'disciplined freedom' of the Parthenon frieze with the scenes of 'uncontrolled savagery, in which the wildest passions remain unchecked' in the Bassai frieze (Perry 1882, 311). Perry further states in relation to the depiction of children in the frieze that:

> Short as is the distance of time which separated the frieze of the Parthenon from the one before us, we seem to have passed into a different moral world and artistic world ... the horror and pathos of the scene are still further enhanced in some groups by the introduction of children, who the terrified women vainly endeavour to protect ... (Perry 1882, 311).

It is clear that the 'uncontrolled' and 'unchecked' violent content of the frieze was distasteful to Perry. His analysis of the frieze was shared by most people and the publication of these views served as a further public affirmation of its unpleasant content (Fig. 1: 7). Perry uses the same analysis as the author of the *Quarterly Review* (1882) article in explaining the frieze's savage and intemperate content by reason of it having been sculpted in the period of moral and artistic decline in Classical Greece. Interestingly, the very fact that the distressed babies in the frieze are now mentioned in detail by Perry and Murray (they are not described in text by most earlier commentators such as Wagner, Stackleberg, Smith, Cockerell or Donaldson) shows a general improvement or shift in artistic critical analysis, and also a greater awareness or interest at this time in the general plight of children. This is an actuality which is demonstrated in the art, literature, philanthropic action and governmental reforms of the period.

Significantly, Murray was the first to publish (in English) the archaeological observation that several of the frieze slabs had been 'barbarously reduced in length' when placed in position in the temple – because the completed frieze was too long for the cella's rectangular dimensions (Murray 1883, 170). Murray also provides a detailed drawing of the frieze and as has already been noted, this illustration shows the Amazon Queen Hippolyte (featured on frieze slab 19 or BM 541) with her head intact (Murray 1883, 170). This head is also shown to be present in a drawing of the frieze in Perry's book (Perry 1882, 312). In short, Hippolyte's head (like the stolen Greek warrior's head, also from slab BM 541) had definitely been removed from the frieze by 1969 and this date provides a *terminus ante quem.*

In his discussion of the Bassai frieze, Murray also recalls the existence of 'three marble slabs, the property of Mr Henry Green of Patras, which are copied from slabs 15, 17 and 19 of the Phigalean frieze' (Murray 1883, 177). He further states that they were for some time thought to be 'ancient copies' but are now considered to be modern replicas or fakes because they have an 'obnoxious border' around them. This is interesting as it shows that the frieze was valued. Europe was flooded in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with fake antique sculpture, but this is one of only two known recorded instances of marble full size copies being made of the Bassai frieze. It appears that these fake slabs are now the property of Patras Museum (Corbett 1965, 157). The other example of the existance of a marble copy of the Bassai frieze came to light in 1965 when a panel was discovered set in the wall of a private chapel in a cemetery in Catania. In the early twentieth century the chapel was owned by a Catanian antiquary. The marble panel featured scenes from the Bassai frieze that have been identified as coming from slabs BM 526, 527 and 528. This

panel has also been recognized as having being made in the nineteenth century (Corbett 1965, 156).

(iii) The Life History of the Frieze from c.1900 to 1945.

By the end of the nineteenth century, a new wave of Classical scholars emerged who subsequently passed comment on the Bassai frieze. The most famous of this generation was Sir James Frazer, and he and his contemporaries, Francis Comerford, A.B. Cook and Jane Ellen Harrison could be described as early Classical anthropologists. This charismatic group, often termed the 'Cambridge Ritualists', explored links between the Greeks and the so-called primitive cultures and showed them as possessing values that were alien to nineteenth-century philosophies. Despite Frazer's new approaches to Classicism, his opinions regarding the Bassai frieze surprisingly represent entrenched and established mainstream opinion. They are also echoed by other academics at the beginning of the twentieth century, who like him continue to persist with an art-centric view when discussing the frieze, or in the case of some Classical art experts, simply not thinking that the frieze was worthy of mention. Frazer said of the Bassai frieze that:

> No person of taste but will set the pathetic force and beauty of the two battered heads from this temple [Tegea] above all the coarse vigour of the Phigalean frieze (Frazer 1900, 100).

This quote shows that by the end of the nineteenth century the Bassai frieze was now not even considered by intellectuals to be the best Classical art from the Peloponnese

in the post-Phidian phase - as Frazer clearly prefers the two sculptured heads that were created by Skopas and which once adorned the Temple at Tegea.

A further indication of just how far the artistic opinion of the Bassai frieze had fallen by the first decade of the twentieth century is shown by the fact that the Professor of Fine Art at Kings College Cambridge, Sir Charles Waldstein, who had actually visited Bassai with the German archaeologist Wilhelm Dorpfeld in 1888 (Beard 2000, 74), does not even mention the frieze in his monograph, *Greek Sculpture and Modern Art* (1914). The revival of interest in Classical sculpture by artists, which had begun in the late nineteenth century, lasted until the outbreak of the Great War in 1914. This renewed fashion for drawing and studying Classical sculpture was accompanied by what Waldstein termed as 'a return to pure Hellenistic principles in architecture' (Waldstein 1914, 31). However, in the detailed examples which this avowed Hellenist uses to illustrate the progression of Greek sculpture and its superior place in world art, the Bassai frieze is surprisingly omitted. Waldstein, stated in his 1914 monograph that:

> As you advance in the development of Greek sculpture to the highest period in the age of Pheidias through the wonderful art of the fourth century B.C., as chiefly represented by Skopas, Praxiteles and Lysippos, until we come to the decline in the vigorous and sensational art of the schools of Pergamon, which led over to Graeco-Roman art, marking the not inglorious end of the Greek artistic spirit (Waldstein 1914, 49).

The total omission of the Bassai frieze from such a book by an eminent Professor is extremely significant, as almost every other important example of Greek sculpture is

mentioned. It is more remarkable because Cockerell was a central figure of admiration for the architects involved in the late nineteenth-century (or second) Greek Revival in architecture (discussed in Chapter Three) which Waldstein passionately championed. It is evident that Waldstein does not consider the frieze important enough to mention, and this glaring omission is something which would not have occurred in the previous century in any publication that aimed to provide an overview of Greek sculpture. It is probable that Waldstein regarded the Bassai frieze's energetic and violent content as similar to the 'vigorous' Pergamon frieze and a precursor to that 'sensational' sculpture, which he regards as being indicative of the decline in Greek artistic standards.

Despite the relative lack of interest from scholars like Waldstein at this time, the Bassai frieze remained on display in its new gallery at the British Museum until the advent of World War I. The Greek and Roman galleries were dismantled in 1915 as a precaution against possible enemy damage and were reassembled in autumn 1919 - following the conclusion of the Great War. The further threat of German bombing raids on London following the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 precipitated a second dismantlement of the sculpture galleries. The Parthenon marbles remained in the Elgin rooms up to 1938, when the new Duveen gallery was built at the Museum to house them. However, the outbreak of the war prevented the Duveen gallery from publically opening and the Parthenon marbles were removed to safety, with the frieze going to a secure area of the London Underground, and the metopes and pedimental sculpture being placed in the Museum's vaults (C.M.S.S.C. 1999/00, 208). The Bassai frieze was also moved to safety and was stored in the Museum's basement vaults.

(iv) The Life History of the Frieze from 1945 to 2009.

During the war the British Museum suffered from bomb damage, most notably to the Duveen Gallery (C.M.S.S.C. 1999/00, 208). Following the end of the war in 1945, the Museum was subject to a lack of investment as the country struggled to pay the huge costs incurred by six years of war. The famous archaeologist Bernard Ashmole was entrusted to return the Museum's Greek and Roman objects to display and in 1949 he hired Peter Edgar Corbett as the assistant keeper in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. Corbett held this position until 1961 when he became Yates Professor of Classical Art and Archaeology at University College London, succeeding Ashmole in this post. He retired in 1982 after having devoted much research time during his career to establishing the correct order of the Bassai frieze slabs and it is his preferred sequence that is currently on display at the British Museum.

This new post-war era at the British Museum witnessed the adoption of a new museological theory where any lingering vestiges of the desire to chronologically chart the progress of civilisation as a single and finite construct was abandoned in favour of a new positivist and culturally relativist approach. These new approaches meant that artefacts from places such as India and the Far East, which in the previous century had achieved very little visual presence in the British Museum, were in the following decades to be liberated from the Museum's storage areas by the new thinking of the later twentieth century. Despite these developments and the cultural fashion for Modernism, it is evident that the Parthenon marbles remained one of the most important and valued objects in the museum. The precious marbles were brought out of their wartime storage in 1949 and according to a Parliamentary Select Committee Report 'most observers were happy to herald them as a symbol of the regeneration of post-war Britain' (C.M.S.S.C. 1999/00, 208). Here we see evidence of

the Parthenon sculptures in a sense still being regarded as a symbol of democratic *Britannia Victrix*, although this time the defeated enemy was the dictator Hitler, as compared to the previous century when it was Napoleon. By stark contrast, the Bassai frieze, which prior to the war had also been prized and visible in the Museum's space (albeit as Greek sculpture inferior to the Parthenon marbles – but indelibly connected to them), was *not* brought out of storage and was *not* displayed for almost thirty years. The reasons for this treatment of the Bassai frieze are varied. As we have seen, the Museum at this time was suffering from lack of finances and bomb damage, and this clearly resulted in considered judgements having to be made about which artefacts were considered 'most deserving' of exhibition. In this economic climate the Bassai frieze was obviously not valued highly enough by the Museum's Trustees to warrant public display. Other possible reasons why it was not displayed in these initial post-war years, and in a sense lost some of its 'former value', can possibly be found in the advent of the previously mentioned Modernist movement, which generally rendered both Classical architecture and sculpture unfashionable. It is interesting that the Parthenon and its marbles remained largely immune from such shifting fashions. This was in the main part because it was considered aesthetically superior and historically much more important than the Bassai frieze. In addition to this, it is also significant that the Parthenon was regarded by one of the 'founding fathers' of the Modernist movement, the architect Le Corbusier, as 'the high point' of ancient Greek temple designs.

In an attempt to illustrate the progress of Greek architecture in his 1923 publication, *Towards a New Architecture*, Le Corbusier famously compared the Archaic Greek Temple at Paestum to a bulky 1907 'Humber car' and the Parthenon with a 1923 streamline 'Delage grand sport car' (Le Corbusier 1987, 134 and 135). He was also

critical of Iktinos's design for the Temple of Apollo at Bassai and the Telesterion at Eleusis when he proclaimed, in the same monograph, that:

> Phidias made the Parthenon, for Ictinus [Iktinos] and Callicrates [Kallikrates], the official architects of the Parthenon built other Doric temples which seem to us cold and uninteresting ... Phidias, Phidias the great sculptor, made the Parthenon (Le Corbusier 1987, 219).

It seems evident that the Bassai sculptures, which emanated from a Classical temple that was bereft of endorsements from giants of the Modernist movement such as Le Corbusier, and also lacked the overall aesthetic and historical weight of the Parthenon marbles, were in a *sense* destined in this post-war 'Modern period' to be confined to the British Museum's store rooms.

This situation began to change when a group of academics began to actively lobby the British Museum regarding its low standard of displays, with special reference being made to the Bassai Frieze and Nereid monument. In a public speech delivered on October 6th 1960 at Colchester Museum, the famous archaeologist, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, made a robust attack on the British Museum, citing its inadequate displays and poorly trained staff as areas of particular grievance. Following on from this a series of letters related to the 'British Museum's inadequacies' was then sent to *The Times* newspaper in London by Ralph Holland of the Department of Fine Art at Durham University, C.M. Robertson of the Department of Archaeology at University College, London and H. Malcolm Carter of Colchester. Ralph Holland scathingly stated in *The Times* that:

> May I say how welcome I find Sir Mortimer Wheeler's criticism of the British Museum, the timeliness of which is underlined by the complacency of the official rebuttals? A just standard for judging the post war management of the Museum is that established by the Victoria and Albert Museum, which has suffered equally from war damage, unsuitable buildings and inadequate funds. If the British Museum is judged by continental standards, beginning shall we say with the Louvre, the comparison is even more damaging ... why do they permit the extraordinarily low standard of display that prevails almost universally (Holland 12.10.1960).

Holland's evaluation of the poor displays at the Museum was compounded by Mr Malcolm Carter, who had been present at Colchester Museum when Mortimer Wheeler publically criticised the British Museum. Carter wrote in *The Times* that the situation at the Museum 'disgraces us all in the eyes of foreign students' (Carter, 12.10.1960). In conjunction with these attacks, the U.C.L. archaeologist, C.M. Robertson, stated that:

> The situation in the sculpture galleries is as bad or worse. Of the great series of Greek architectural sculpture only those of the Parthenon, the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus and the Mausoleum [of Halicarnassus] are even partially displayed: those of Bassae and the Nereid monument are not even, or barely accessible to study (Robertson 12.10.1960).

It is interesting that in conjunction with the Parthenon marbles, which as we have seen were put on exhibition in 1949, the other two groups of sculpture that are displayed at this time emanate from monuments that are included in the 'seven wonders of the ancient world'. These 'seven wonders' are listed by several ancient authors, but described most famously by the Hellenistic author, Philo of Byzantium, in 225 B.C. It is clear from the Museum's display choices that sculpture from buildings with multiple ancient historical connections and endorsements are valued (in this instance) above the sculpture from the Temple of Apollo at Bassai, which has only one small reference in the writings of Pausanias, and the Nereid monument, which has no references.

It is also evident from the letters sent to *The Times* that the British Museum was regarded as being quintessentially emblematic of the British nation and the authors are clearly concerned about how the poor displays will affect the image of Britain aboard. Significantly, the decision not to display the Bassai frieze at this time was made at the highest level of the British Museum's management, as a report made in March 1960 by Denys Haynes of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities proves. Haynes's report was read to the British Museum standing committee in April of that year and it outlined proposals for the display of the frieze in the Elgin room alongside the Parthenon sculptures. The minutes of the Standing Committee record the following information:

> Read a report by Mr Haynes, 25th March, requesting permission for the frieze of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai to be temporarily accommodated in the Large and Small Elgin Rooms. The frieze was at present stored, under removable protective covers, in the South Slip room of the Duveen

> Gallery, but the Ministry of Works has asked that for this room to be cleared as soon as possible so that work may begin on its restoration. To take the frieze down to the basement again would be a lengthy and retrograde operation. On the other hand, placed on two wooden bankers along the wall behind the pedimental sculptures of the Parthenon, it would not be unduly obtrusive, yet it would remain easily accessible for visitors wishing to see it (BM C 7346, 9.4.1960).

This report, made several months before the verbal and written attacks by academics on the British Museum, indicates that Haynes was fully aware of public opinion regarding the lack of access to artefacts such as the Bassai frieze. The astonishing reply to the request by Haynes is noted in one line: 'The Trustees were not prepared to sanction storage of the Bassai Frieze in the Elgin Room' (BM C 7346, 9.4.1963). No explanation is given as to why the Trustees refused to allow the Bassai frieze to be displayed along with the Parthenon sculptures and the frieze was returned to the basement. The Duveen Gallery, which had suffered bomb damage in the war, was duly renovated and fitted with an electrostatic precipitator (to improve the air quality) and in 1962 the Parthenon marbles were moved into the newly renovated Duveen Gallery from the Elgin Rooms, and they remain there to this day.

It can be surmised that the Museum's Trustees did not want the Bassai frieze on display in the same room as the Parthenon marbles because they possibly regarded its presence as detracting in some way from the glory of those famous sculptures, which were still considered the high point of Classical art and, more significantly, as a symbol of post-war Britain's victorious regeneration. In short, they clearly do not place a high enough value on the Bassai frieze to display it in these circumstances,

and appear to consider that it would be 'obtrusive' to the aesthetic experience of viewing the Parthenon marbles - despite Mr Haynes of the Greek and Roman Department arguing to the contrary.

Their decision not to display the Bassai frieze at this time went against both academic opinion and student needs and, as we have seen, six months later the British Museum suffered a very public and critical attack on its management and display policy.

By 1964 the Bassai frieze was still in storage when the British Museum announced that there was going to be an extensive reorganisation of its Classical collections. An article in *The Times* stated that the reorganisation was planned by Professors R.Y. Gooden and R.D. Russell in association with the chief architect of the Ministry of Public Works and that 'the total cost will be £120,000' (*The Times*, 14.7.1964). The newspaper report also informs the reader that the present large Elgin room was to house the interior frieze from the Temple of Apollo at Bassai and the Nereid monument from Xanthos, whose facade was to be reconstructed. It also enthusiastically mentions that the 'Bassae frieze is raised to mezzanine level at the south end [of the large Elgin room] and will be seen for the first time since 1939' (*The Times* 14.7.1964). The very fact that the newspaper report specifically states the length of time the Bassai frieze had been in storage, which was something it did not do in relation to the other artefacts mentioned in the article, proves that the lack of access to the frieze was still a contentious issue. The British Museum Trustees were clearly aware of their failings with regards to the display of the frieze and the information provided in *The Times* article was a notice of intent that the unsatisfactory situation was to be rectified.

The Bassai frieze was to remain out of public view for a further five years until the new Greek and Roman galleries were eventually opened by the Duke of Edinburgh

(apparently Queen Elizabeth was unable to attend as she was unwell) in July 1969. The displays were almost universally hailed by the British Press as revolutionary and innovative, with special mention being given in many reports to the display of the Bassai frieze. Bryan Robertson, the arts correspondent of the *Spectator* dedicated almost half of his entire article on the revamped galleries to the Bassai frieze and gave a brand of almost 'Eleusinian' style spiritual advice to people visiting it when he stated:

> I should advise anyone exposing himself to this revelation for the first time to walk slowly through, without dwelling on anything, and make straight for the mezzanine upstairs, where arriving in a darkened room ... one is surrounded by the sculptured frieze from the Temple of Apollo at Bassai: not exhibited since 1939, this is one of the marvels of the Western world. It was carved by a master around 400 B.C. (Robertson 9.8.1969).

Robertson's description of the Bassai frieze as one of 'the marvels of the western world' and being 'carved by a master' represents some of the highest critical praise the frieze had received since the days when John Foster and Richard Payne Knight had described it in such glowing terms the previous century. He also recognises that the Bassai frieze was not made in the manner of the Parthenon frieze, whose content was carefully chosen to convey a grand civic ceremony which show-cased the perfectly proportioned youth and cavalry men (epheboi) of Athens. More crucially, as a modern critic, he is free to publically admire the savage and breathtaking uncontrolled passion which this piece of high relief architectural sculpture was

intended to convey. He goes further in his critical acclaim of the Bassai frieze, commenting that:

> It is without the grandeur of the Parthenon frieze but it has a compensating richness and intimacy: the forms are marvellously alive and the manipulation of volume, emerging from and receding into an imaginary space is quite breathtaking. Watch the shields and the gestures of arms, the counterpoint between taut and slack bodies ... the coordinating series of climaxes in the mural as a whole. It is enthralling, and made particularly immediate by the warm ash-honey colour of the stone ... (Robertson 9.8.1969).

It is evident that Robertson appreciates the frieze as an innovative, unique and consciously stark rendition of the horrors of war and the rapid brutality of man-to-man combat. Robertson highlights the 'ash-honey colour' of the sculpture in a positive way, which contrasts with the nineteenth-century opinion that the frieze's 'dark brown colour' was a disadvantage (*The Times* 26.9.1889). In addition to numerous newspaper articles, such as the above example by Robertson in 1969, the frieze has continued to analysed in a positive way by many eminent academics, such as John Boardman (1995), Nigel Spivey (1997), Robin Osborne (1998) and J.G. Pedley (1998). The erudite Boardman refuted the accusations that the Bassai frieze was an example of crude artwork which was the result of provincial ineptitude. This negative label, which as we have seen was initially attached to the frieze by Haydon in 1816, has continued to be applied to the frieze by numerous academics throughout the past two centuries. In contrast, Boardman stated in relation to the frieze:

> The style is distinctive ... In sculptural terms one thinks of the thick-set Polyclitan figures, but there is more to it than this, and incompetence and provinciality are unjust accusations to level against scenes of such a vigorously successful narrative content (Boardman 1995, 24).

The reasons for the Bassai frieze's relative modern day appeal (and approval) are varied, but primarily lie in the fact that it can now be viewed free from the cultural, moral, academic and artistic constraints that dominated public society in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Other reasons can almost certainly be found in the advent and popularity of cinematography, television and computer games, because the whole impression conveyed by the frieze is one of an action packed violent movie scene. Osborne has vividly described the rolling action in the frieze as creating the sense that 'a moment has been caught that will pass, the situation will change, and lives will have been lost – or saved' (Osborne 1998, 210).

Additional to this is the fact that, since World War II, society has become accustomed to viewing on an almost daily basis, extremely disturbing images of war, whether it be Vietnam, Bosnia, or most recently the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. Furthermore, the televised images from these wars, showing terrified women fleeing with babies or staring with pleading eyes out from the screen as pathetic innocent victims, sharply contrasted with the now familiar images of pro-active female combat soldiers, all find clear parallels in the Bassai frieze in the form of passive violated Lapith women and their powerful antithesis, the female Amazon warriors (Fig. 1: 8).

The viewer of both mediums is forced actively to engage with the individuals involved in the shocking events unfolding before their eyes. Therefore, the frieze

represents a striking and horrific illustration of the events of war and its victims, and its tense unbroken rolling action is more naturally understood by the modern viewer inculcated with the genre of movie and television culture and well used to grim un-sanitised images of war.

In 1969, the new dramatic lighting of the frieze by spotlights, in an otherwise darkened room, certainly added to this sense of cinematic theatre and the rolling continuous drama of the frieze was enhanced by this striking atmosphere. This novel aspect of the display was popular and the violent action packed Bassai frieze proved to be more interesting than the Parthenon frieze to a group of schoolchildren in their early teens, who visited the new Greek and Roman Galleries in 1969 (Fig 1: 9). The group were so engrossed with the new displays and especially the drama of the Bassai frieze in its new room that they had 'no time' for the Parthenon marbles.

Soon after the opening of the new Greek and Roman galleries reports appeared in the British press regarding the theft of a '£10,000 marble head the size of a tennis ball' (*Guardian* 21.7.1969) from the frieze. This newspaper article from the *Guardian* estimates the complete Bassai frieze to be valued in 1969 at one million pounds sterling. These monetary amounts, estimating the cost of both the frieze and marble head, are verified by another report written by Barrie Stuart-Penrose, which had been published the previous day to the *Guardian* article, in *The Sunday Observer*.

The 'stolen head' in question was the marble head of the Greek warrior from frieze slab BM 541, which has been mentioned previously. The theft of this valuable piece of the Bassai frieze had been discovered almost a month earlier on 17.6.1969. However, the British Museum asked Scotland Yard (British police) not to give any publicity to the theft. Sir John Wolfenden, the director of the British Museum, is quoted in *The Sunday Observer* as saying that the reason for the delay was because

the museum was fearful of attracting similar attacks against other museum exhibits and that 'Perhaps the time has now come however to see whether publicity will help in recovering this unique item' (Stuart-Penrose, 20.7.69). The four week delay in announcing this theft amounts to a form of negligence by the British Museum (and the police) regarding their stewardship of the frieze - because valuable time was lost in publicising details of the marble head in those areas of society where it may have been circulating or being sold. The *Art and Antiques Weekly* magazine gave a full description of the stolen head (valuing it at five thousand pounds as opposed to the ten thousand stated in other newspaper reports) and published a photograph of the artefact (Fig 1: 10) to increase public awareness. They also alluded to the ineptitude of the official response to the theft, detailing the four week delay, and also stating that when Scotland Yard finally circulated a picture of the stolen head they did *not* include information regarding the artefact's origin or importance (*Art and Antiques Weekly* 19.7.69).

Denys Haynes, who was Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the Museum in 1969, appeared keen to distance himself from the scandal as he told the *Arts and Antiques Weekly* that he was on holiday when the theft occurred, and he further stated:

> It was first noticed that the head was missing while I was on holiday about four weeks ago. It was part of the frieze from the Temple of Apollo at Bassae and was wrenched off. The head had been detached before and we will be able to put it back so that nobody can notice – provided it can be recovered (*Arts and Antiques Weekly* 19.7.1969).

Hayne's comments also highlight the difficulty of protecting the fractured frieze, as pieces can be, and have been, stolen or removed and lost from the main body of sculpture during its tenure at the British Museum. As was previously discussed, there appears to be no documentation, certainly none published, that explains what happened to the 'other lost head' from slab BM 541 - that of the Amazon queen (Fig 1:1). Consequently, the head may have been lost, stolen or simply removed from the frieze by museum staff and placed somewhere in the storerooms. Furthermore, Cooper and Madigan (1992) in their extremely detailed study of all aspects of the Bassai frieze do not mention that after 1820 Hippolyte had a head or, more crucially, the fact that now the head is missing. Jenkins and Williams do not make reference to Hippolyte's head either, although they do mention that Peter Corbett (who worked on the frieze in the 1960s) located and joined a fragment of a missing head from a centaur on frieze slab BM 520 (Jenkins and Williams 1993, 65). Consequently, it is possible that Corbett removed the head from the frieze and placed it in storage at the Museum, but this is difficult to verify as he did not publish his work relating to the frieze. There is a small female head listed as BM 1815-10-20-182 in the British Museum catalogue of fragments from the sculptural decoration of the temple, but it has not yet been ascertained by the author of this thesis if this is the Amazon queen's head which was attached to the frieze in the nineteenth century, but was missing by 1969.

The British Museum's reasons for delaying publicity about the theft of the Greek warrior's head from the frieze in 1969, stated as being because they 'were fearful of attracting similar attacks', do not make sense or stand up to logical analyses. To begin, it is evident that the head was stolen outside visiting hours (Stuart-Penrose 20.7.69), therefore the crime was committed by someone who had access to the

Bassai frieze when the new reconstructed galleries were still closed to the public. So the question can be asked: just who were the British Museum fearful of attracting similar attacks from: their own staff or other people who had privileged contact with the frieze?

This indicates that the real reasons for the delay in publicising the theft from the frieze are to probably be found in the *in-house* circumstances of the crime. Also, the fact that the theft was discovered just ten days before the grand opening of the reconstructed rooms (*Guardian* 21.7.1969), meant that publicising the theft would have provided negative newspaper headlines at a time when the British Museum wanted the media focus to be fixed on the new and innovative Greek and Roman galleries.

The arrangement of the Bassai frieze in its new room remained unchanged for the next twenty-one years. In 1990-1991 a refurbishment of the British Museum installation provided an opportunity for a re-examination of the frieze. This study was conducted by Ian Jenkins and Dyfri Williams of the British Museum. Its main purpose was to test the arrangement of the frieze made by Corbett in 1969 against a new arrangement made by Professor Frederick Cooper. As we have already seen, Cooper is the author of *The Temple of Apollo Bassitas,* which is a comprehensive study of the temple's architecture and sculpture. Jenkins and Williams concluded that Corbett's arrangement was the most fitting (Jenkins and Williams 1993, 57) and the frieze has remained displayed in Corbett's sequence from July 1969 to the present day (Fig 1: 11).

Following the 1991 refurbishment of the Bassai room the British Museum continued to be criticised by various people, including the Greek government, for its stewardship and display of the frieze. The theft of a marble hand from the frieze in 2001 resulted

in more negative newspaper headlines for the British Museum, as well as an angry and damning response from the then Greek Minister of Culture, Evangelios Venizelos.

Two articles appeared in the *Telegraph*, entitled 'Light-fingered Visitor Takes Museum's Hand' (Barwick 10.3.2001) and 'Greece attacks British Museum over marble hand' (Demetriou 3.7.2001). The Barwick article published in March 2001 recounted how the marble hand had been added to the frieze in 1990 after having been rediscovered 'in another part of the museum's collection by a curator who realised it was an exact match'. The hand was subsequently re-joined to the frieze with a metal dowel but was wrenched off again. Finally, the article stated that the theft was 'thought to have taken place in November [2000]' (Barwick 10.3.2001). This article highlights the previously discussed problems regarding the security of the frieze and the issue of missing and lost fragments in the British Museum's storerooms and collections. It is probable that the marble hand was rediscovered during the refurbishment of 1990-1991 by Jenkins and Williams and after being re-joined to the frieze it was subsequently stolen.

Barwick's article also indicates that the British Museum kept news of the theft relatively quiet for several months (from November 2000) and did not inform the Greek Government of the full facts – probably because they anticipated the political reaction it would precipitate. Danielle Demetriou's article concerning the stolen hand is highly political and focuses on the Greek government's response to the theft. Venizelos is quoted as saying with regards to the larceny that:

> I do not know when it [the hand] was stolen. What interests me is the protection of cultural assets ... I have sent a letter to my [British]

> counterpart asking him for an explanation in this matter ... as a gesture of generosity [in relation to official requests for the restitution of the Parthenon marbles] Greece had not demanded the return of other Greek antiquities in the museum, but that does not mean we have lost interest in these cultural treasures of humanity ... I am very sad that this has occurred at this moment because of the events in Afghanistan [the disgraceful destruction of religious statues and two ancient Buddhas by the Taliban] (Demetriou 3.7.2001).

Venizelos' comments regarding the theft of the marble hand demonstrate the Greek government's position with regards to the Bassai frieze in 2001. It is evident from the article that the theft from the frieze was used as a form of cultural bargaining tool in the Greek Government's endeavours to implement the return of the Parthenon marbles to Athens. The whole incident provided a political opportunity for the Greek Culture Minister to focus public attention on issues concerning the restitution of cultural property and it is clear that the Greeks are willing to 'sacrifice' the possibility of the restitution of the Bassai frieze to ensure the return of the iconic Parthenon marbles. Prior to this, it appears that some Greek politicians did make a specific request for the return of the Bassai frieze. A Parliamentary Select Committee meeting convened to discuss cultural property in 1999, reported in relation to the restitution of both the Parthenon and Bassai marbles that:

> The claim by the Greek government that the Parthenon sculptures are a special case is not matched by their actions. Since the 1965 demand for all Greek antiquities, there have been requests from Greek politicians for the

return of the Bassai sculpture (British Museum), the Nike of Samonthrace, (Louvre), and the Venus de Milo (Louvre) (C.M.S.S.C. 1999/00, 211).

This report demonstrates the position of some Greek politicians with respect to the Bassai frieze and does not reflect any unified official government movement agitating for the frieze's return. It also shows (yet again) how the life histories of the Bassai and Parthenon marbles have continued to intertwine, as the report suggests that after 1965 there was some kind of official policy in place regarding the restitution of the Bassai frieze and other artefacts held in the Louvre. In a sense, this C.M.S.S.C. report of 1999/2000 uses this allusion to try and undermine the current Greek government's policy regarding the restitution of the Parthenon marbles. The restitution of the Parthenon marbles became an official matter of the Greek Government in 1981 - under the aegis of the socialist PASOK party and their appointed Minister for Culture: the famous Melina Mercouri. All subsequent Greek Governments have continued this official line and the fight for the return of the Parthenon marbles is a highly political and emotional subject for many Greeks. What is also evident is that the Bassai frieze, which began its cultural life in the British Museum in 1817 as a visual aid to demonstrate the 'progress of art' and the glory of the Parthenon marbles, has now in the new millennium become a pawn in the Greek Government's crusade to get the Parthenon sculptures back.

The theft of the hand also enabled Venizelos to question the British Museum's stewardship of the frieze and of Greek artefacts in general. Greece had for many years been under the negative gaze of the Western world regarding how effectively it looks after its heritage and the disgraceful theft enabled them to turn the tables on the British. The response by Venizelos was not a new form of political action against the

British Museum, as for several decades Greece has been closely monitoring the stewardship of the Parthenon marbles and publically condemning any perceived neglect of the sculptures. In 1984 a Greek newspaper headline announced 'Buckets for the rain water next to the marbles: the British Museum leaks' (Hamilakis 2007, 262).

With further regards to the question of whether the British Museum has been a worthy steward of the Bassai frieze, a letter printed in the *Guardian* in October 2003, entitled 'Shutting the door on cultural treasures' highlights several faults. It was written by a frustrated visitor to the British Museum, who tried on four consecutive days to gain access to the Benin Bronzes from Africa and the Bassai frieze and illustrated some of the most recent (and ongoing) problems regarding public access. The author recounts that:

> After taking in the Parthenon sculptures I naturally wanted to visit the equally breathtaking frieze removed from the Temple of Apollo at Bassae in Greece and which, according to the museum's website, is housed in Gallery 16. Not only was there no sign for Gallery 16, but the gallery is closed because of staff cuts. I found it rather ironic that this museum that calls itself the 'collective memory of mankind' suffers from amnesia when it comes to displaying the Bassae frieze or the Benin Bronzes (Vardas 8.10.2003).

The letter was written by George Vardas. It was published after Neil MacGregor (the director of the British Museum) had addressed the Museums Association Conference in Brighton in 2003, and argued the case that the British Museum was a universal

museum of mankind, which should keep its rich collections together as a resource for education and enjoyment, independent of nationalistic and political symbolism. This argument was formulated after the British Museum and Government had endured a particularly intense period of international pressure for the restitution of the Parthenon marbles to Greece. Vardas is highlighting the fact that the British Museum, for all these universal claims, still prioritises which artefacts are available for visual public consumption by using a colonialist agenda, and that the African Benin Bronzes (which are also subject to restitution arguments) and the Bassai frieze are not adequately accessible to the visitor, especially when compared to the Parthenon marbles. In short, he is using the examples of the Bassai frieze and Benin bronzes to challenge the British Museum's assertions that it is a competent steward of all the artefacts it possesses and treats them all with equal cultural parity.

For Vardas, the Bassai frieze is as 'equally breathtaking' as the Parthenon frieze, yet in the new millennium this is a view still not reciprocated by the British Museum, as the access arrangements prove. Vardas actually ends his letter by claiming that the Museum is still a 'citadel of colonialism'. This is a view held by many commentators around the world, for example Ulick O'Connor, who reported a speech made by the Irish Minister for the Arts, Dr. Martin Mansergh, at the opening of the new Acropolis Museum in June 2009. O'Connor quotes Mansergh as saying "Lord Elgin had as much right to take them away [Parthenon sculptures] as to sign away the Irish Parliament at the same time in College Green" (O'Connor 27.6.2009). The Irish Government obviously supports the Greek state in their battle for the return of the Parthenon marbles and on this occasion they blatantly emphasised the 'mutual' instances of cultural injustice that the two nations have suffered at the hands of the British Empire. O'Connor also states in the same article 'Why should the British

continue to blow the horn of cultural imperialism in the 21st century' (O'Connor 27.6.2009). Considering the evidence presented in this chapter it is apparent that the points made by Vardas in his letter with regards to the British Museum's displays are valid. This is because the Parthenon marbles, along with the Rossetta stone, are arguably the greatest visual symbols of Britain's past colonial might and they certainly receive precedence in display space and access over other artefacts. Furthermore, the Museum enjoys a direct economic benefit from them, as the Museum shop is packed with postcards, books and souvenirs of these two extremely famous artefacts that were plundered from Egypt and Greece in the days when Britain was a world super-power.

Access to the Bassai frieze in 2009 is still problematic. With regards to the frieze's security, it is evident that its high relief sculpture and fractured state (which render it liable to have pieces easily broken off – especially as it is not behind protective glass), combined with its display in a separate enclosed space, results in it being particularly vulnerable to theft. This means a member of staff obviously needs to be present for security reasons whenever the Bassai room is open. Consequently, it seems evident that the Museum does not consider that the frieze warrants the level of expenditure of resources that would be required to enable all day access. The current situation regarding public access to the frieze, as stated on the British Museum's official website (accessed 2.3.2009), is that the frieze can be viewed in Room 16 for one hour each day, between 10.00 am and 11.00 am. Any visitor wishing to see the frieze outside these hours can make a special arrangement to do so by contacting the Greek and Roman Department at the Museum, but this obviously depends on there being sufficient staff available to supervise any visit. This level of access is clearly very

limited and leaves the Museum open to justifiable criticisms that it is not providing the frieze with the highest level of museological stewardship.

Furthermore, the access staircase to the mezzanine level, were the frieze is displayed, can be easily missed by visitors. A similar problem was pointed out to the British Museum in 1969 by John Sharwood Smith, the senior lecturer in Classics at the London Institute of Education at that time, who published an article (which otherwise generally praised the new rooms) in *The Times Educational Supplement* (*The Times* 3.10.1969.). Additional to this unsatisfactory arrangement, there is a small display area at the base of the access staircase which has two information boards placed on the walls. These boards impart basic information to the visitor regarding the temple, its 're-discovery' and the sculpture that was excavated from the site. Also present in this area are glass exhibit cases which contain several small fragments from the temple's architectural sculpture and a few pieces of the acrolithic marble statue (of Roman date) which once adorned the temple's interior.

A visitor entering this area outside of the allotted public access hours of 10.00 am to 11.00 am, faces the prospect of not only being denied access to the frieze up the stairs, but also of being unable to properly see the information boards and exhibits, as there is limited lighting in this area when the frieze is closed off to the public. As we have seen, this situation leaves many casual visitors wishing to see the Bassai frieze perplexed, disappointed and in the case of Vardas, very angry.

This state of affairs is compounded by the almost certain fact that if the frieze was given back to the Greek nation, it would be exhibited with a much greater degree of public access. However, the irony remains, that at this moment in time, the Greek government has abandoned any attempt to have the Bassai frieze returned to its place

of origin, because such requests may detract from their primary aim of getting the Parthenon marbles back (pers. comm. E.S.N.E.A. 15.10.2008).

With further reference to the British Museum's stewardship of the frieze, it is a relief to discover that there is no evidence to suggest that the Bassai frieze was subject to the aggressive cleaning with copper scrapers and chisels that befell the Parthenon marbles in 1937, when they were being 'prepared' for display in the new Duveen Gallery. This cleaning episode allegedly resulted in them losing up to as much as one-tenth (2.5mm) of their surface in some areas, according to a 1938 British Museum report into the scandal (Oddy 2002, 149). It is evident that the Parthenon sculptures in this instance were a victim of their own iconic status and the belief (despite archaeological knowledge to the contrary) that Greek sculpture should be pure and white. The Bassai frieze was probably saved from such a 'cleansing' project because of its secondary status and its previously discussed naturally darker colour. However, despite being spared an assault of this extreme nature, the frieze has been cleaned several times during its tenure at the British Museum using various processes.

The Bassai and Parthenon sculptures were not the only artefacts that needed to be repeatedly cleaned at the British Museum. The infamous London pollution and smog that habitually beset the British Museum before the Clean Air Acts of 1956 and 1968 resulted in the need to regularly clean all the exhibits on display. On the 27th March 1886, the satirical magazine *Moonshine* published a poem by an anonymous author which was inspired by the periodic washing of sculpture at the British Museum. An extract of the poem, entitled 'Washing the Statues' reads:

> Niobe weeps no sooty tear-
>
> On Clytie's face there's not a smear,

Nor can bankholidayers sneer

At Jupiter's black eye ...

... Sublime Apollo's face divine

Of London's chimneys bears no sign,

And Juno looks superbly fine

With all her classic airs.

Would that the process that restores

So soon be practised out of doors

On all the sculptured blackamoors

That fill our streets and squares (*Moonshine*, 27.3.1886)

The poem (cited in Oddy 2002, 145) clearly illustrates the problem of pollution both inside and outside the British Museum and the need to regularly clean the artefacts. During the latter half of the nineteenth century the marble sculptures were cleaned using clay-water. On the 10th February 1858, Richard Westmacott wrote to the British Museum Trustees asking permission to commence cleaning the sculptures using this method. Permission was granted. Westmacott also used Fuller's earth (soft opaque clay used as a filtering medium in clarifying and bleaching fats) for stains or dirt that required a stronger solution than normal clay-water. Significantly, Westmacott informs the Trustees in a letter dated 10th March 1858 that some of the marble sculptures have been damaged and discoloured by 'ignorant and careless moulding' and that this process has caused discolouration. Westmacott was referring to the techniques that were used to make the moulds to create plaster casts. The use of clay-water to clean the marbles which Westmacott mentions, ceased in the late nineteenth century (Oddy 2002, 148).

In recent years the British Museum's marbles have been cleaned using the sepiolite method. *The British Museum Report of the Trustees 1966-1969*, stated that 'the sculptures in the new galleries have been successfully cleaned by a new method [sepiolite] developed at the Victoria and Albert Museum' (BMR 1969, 34). This new treatment of the marbles was well publicised, and an article in *The Times* by William Gaunt stated that 'sculptures not seen by the public since 1939 and recently cleaned by the mud poultice method, are the frieze from the Temple of Apollo at Bassae' (Gaunt 16.7.1969). Another newspaper report from the previous year published in the *The Sunday Times,* dated 31.3.1968 and under the offensive headline 'Mudpack lift for some dirty old Greeks' (Fig. 1: 12) demonstrates this further. The article provided the reader with a simple explanation of the new sepiolite method and featured a photograph which visually illustrated how well the method worked. This photograph resembles an advert for kitchen or bathroom cleaner, as the sepiolite solution is shown to be effective by applying it to a small area, whilst leaving the rest of the surface untreated. Consequently, the gleaming 'clean patch' is highlighted amidst the remaining dirty area. In the photograph, the clean white body of a warrior treated with sepiolite stands out amongst the rest of the dark un-cleaned figures on the Nereid Monument. This photograph was clearly designed to demonstrate the effectiveness of the treatment and the British Museum appears keen to publicise (via the popular press) that fact that they are cleaning the marbles using a safe method. This was probably a re-active response to the criticisms they had received regarding the earlier aggressive and detrimental cleaning of the Parthenon marbles.

Sepiolite is a mud solution of ground magnesium silicate which is applied to the marble surface and left to dry for twenty four hours. It acts as a poultice drawing the dirt out of the marble. When the Greek marble friezes at the British Museum were

cleaned by this method in May 1968 they were left with a hazy milky appearance. Tests were subsequently carried out and it was decided to treat the marble surfaces with a 10% solution of polyethylene glycol 6000 in distilled water. This protected the sculpture from the further ingress of atmospheric dirt and overcame the hazy appearance. Since the sepiolite cleaning campaign of the late 1960s the Classical sculptures at the British Museum have not had to be re-treated because of improved environmental control (Oddy 2002, 152).

The cleaning of the Bassai frieze appears to have conformed to what was considered acceptable methods in relation to the standards of the changing times, although the nineteenth-century methods were primitive and probably detrimental. It is also evident that the nineteenth-century process of making moulds of artefacts to produce plaster casts did have a harmful effect on the Greek sculpture in the British Museum, as Westmacott pointed out in 1858. Furthermore, it is significant that the Parthenon marbles were not cleaned by the sepiolite method until March 1970. This was almost two years after the Bassai frieze and the other Greek sculpture had been successfully cleaned and the Museum knew for certain that the method was safe.

In conclusion, it is evident that the reception of the Bassai frieze is both dichotomous and complex. Over the course of two hundred years the artistic and cultural value of the frieze has ebbed and flowed on the fickle tide of changing taste, fashion and international politics. More significantly, the frieze's life history in the British Museum has been continually informed by its relationship with the Parthenon marbles. The two sets of sculptures were commoditized and used as trophies of the British Empire. Together they were perceived to form the finest collection of Greek sculpture in the world and were successfully marketed as such. A crucial aspect of this complex relationship was that the Bassai frieze was always considered inferior to

the Parthenon marbles. It was initially used as a second rate Classical model by which to evaluate the monetary worth of the Parthenon marbles. Furthermore, following a Parliamentary affirmation of the latter's superior standing, any person who had the temerity to suggest they saw something in the rugged vigour of the Bassai frieze, which was in any way superior to the Parthenon marbles, was either ignored or publicly humiliated. This was followed by the frieze's use in the British Museum as part of a visual display narrative which explained and affirmed the nineteenth-century theory of the progress of art. An aesthetic belief which determined that art reached its apex in the works of Phidias and saw the Bassai frieze positioned in the Museum's galleries as an artistic precursor to the Parthenon marbles. In the years after 1832, and once the Bassai frieze was universally accepted as definitely dating after the time of Phidias, and was not contemporary with, or made immediately prior to this perceived 'golden age', the frieze continued to be used as part of a chronological sequence. The subtle difference at this stage was that it was now aesthetically considered to be part of the downward curve or the decline of art - as opposed to the ascent of art. Consequently, once space became available at the Museum in 1889, the frieze was removed from the small entrance-room to the Elgin Gallery, were it had acted as a precursor to the Parthenon marbles and placed in new room. This reflected its dating and also, on a further level, the negative shift in its perceived cultural value.

Following World War Two and the decline of interest in Classical art - juxtaposed with the advent of the Modern Movement - the Bassai frieze, which had previously always been valued (to greater or lesser degrees) as an example of Classical Greek art, found itself languishing in the British Museum's basement for thirty years. This unsatisfactory absence from display, which was highlighted by academics in 1960, combined with its re-emergence into the public arena 1969, saw the cultural value of

the Bassai frieze rise to its highest level since the early nineteenth century. Moreover, in the last fifty years the frieze and its content has generally been subject to a greater level of academic study, understanding and artistic appreciation. Unlike Haydon, Perry and Frazer in the nineteenth century, the rolling cinematic like violent action of the frieze is more naturally understood by modern audiences, as these viewers are inculcated with the genre of movie and television culture and are well used to grim unsanitised images of war being beamed directly into their homes. Despite this, the frieze still remains indelibly connected to the Parthenon sculptures and in their shadow on the world stage. Moreover, the Bassai frieze is now being used as cultural capital in the Greek Government's political bartering and negotiating to secure the return of the Parthenon marbles.

The British Museum's stewardship of the frieze has clearly been problematic. Pieces of the frieze have been lost or stolen over the years and the correct prompt action too recover these fragments has - on at least one known occasion - not been satisfactorily implemented. The frieze has been subject to cleaning and restoration processes which although considered unharmful at the time of their application would be considered an anathema to modern conservationists. It is probable that the frieze would have suffered less harm had it been left in its protective buried location until a time when archaeological methods had improved, as opposed to being crudely excavated in 1812 by a group of self-interested adventurers. Consequently, there is no powerful argument that the British 'saved' the Bassai frieze from destruction - in contrast to the authoritative (but contested) claim that they rescued and preserved the exposed marbles from the Parthenon. Equally, the British Museum has not consistently provided high levels of public access to the frieze. This is especially evident when you consider the fact that the frieze was in storage for many years and can now only

be viewed for one hour per day without gaining prior special permission from the Greek and Roman department. Finally, it is evident from Westmacott's testimony that the nineteenth-century technique used to make moulds of sculpture to produce plaster casts resulted in damage and discolouration to artefacts in the British Museum's collection. Similar techniques were used all over Europe so it would be unfair to single out the British Museum for criticism. The British Museum has made and distributed around the world many plaster casts of the Bassai frieze and several of these have become important artefacts in their own right. An analysis of the Bassai casts is the subject of Chapter Two.

CHAPTER 2

PLASTER CASTS OF THE BASSAI FRIEZE: MAKING, DISPLAYING AND SELF-AGGRANDIZEMENT.

They are ignoramus's, you will find their homes full of plaster busts of Chrysippus, for their greatest hero is the man who has brought a likeness of Aristotle or Pittacus (Juvenal, *Satire* 2. 2-4).

This acidic quote from Juvenal highlights the role plaster casts played as the transmitters of Greek culture in the Roman world. This textual evidence is verified by archaeology, for example, the plaster cast of Aristogeiton (the Athenian Tyrant Slayer) that was found in the excavation of a Roman copyist's shop at Baiae near Naples in the 1950s. Consequently, it is evident that by the time the British Museum made its first moulds and casts of the Bassai and Parthenon marbles in the early nineteenth century and set up its regularised cast making service circa 1835 (closed 1997) plaster casts already had a significant social history as purveyors of Greek art and culture to an audience who had little or no opportunity to own or view genuine examples. Casts carry with them the cultural weight and some of the perceived value of the original object. This makes them an ideal medium to study the reception of Classical art and architecture and this chapter analyses the reception of the Bassai frieze via the production and dissemination of plaster casts. It would be beyond the scope of this study to identify every instance of the frieze's reception through the medium of casts, but an analysis of important examples of this form of reception will illustrate the artistic and commercial appeal of the Bassai frieze and highlight its continued association with the Parthenon frieze. The use of this methodology also

demonstrates how some early casts of the frieze have become important artefacts in their own right and in some remarkable cases have subverted the Bassai frieze's perceived inferior cultural value when compared to the Parthenon sculptures. As we have already seen in Chapter One, this is something which has not happened in relation to the original marbles held at the British Museum. It will also demonstrate the different ways in which the British Government, the British Museum and the various English members of the 'band of travellers' who excavated the temple in 1812 used casts of the frieze for their own promotion and self-aggrandizement on both the national and international scene. The aggressive and competitive collecting of antiquities by rival European nations to fill their public museums and artistic institutions was also extended *en masse* to the acquisition of plaster casts. At this time, the British controlled the supply of the most wanted and valued casts in the Western World and this analysis will show how their use of casts as cultural and economic commodities resulted in the greater fame and higher elevation of Classical Greek sculpture. A result of this extended fame was that the marbles held at the British Museum became the 'must see' originals of this mass production. Finally, the chapter will analyze the connected and contrasting life histories of plaster casts of the Bassai and Parthenon marbles in Greece. It will show how the casts are now used by the Greek state as both memory signifiers of Greece's Classical past and as political tools to demonstrate the fact that the original sculptures were looted from Greece and the fight for the restitution of this material culture must go on.

(i) Richard Westmacott's Early Plaster Casts of the Bassai Frieze.

Significantly, the first ever moulds and casts of Classical Greek sculpture made on behalf of the British Museum Trustees were of the Bassai frieze - not the Parthenon

marbles. This was because the Bassai frieze was purchased and deposited at the British Museum before the Parthenon marbles. Additionally, it was part of the frieze's sale agreement that the proprietors who had excavated it, John Foster, C.R. Cockerell, Thomas Legh, Jacob Linkh, G. Gropius and Baron Haller Von Hallerstein, should each receive a full set of casts. These six casts of the Bassai frieze were completed by the 14th December 1816 (BM OP IV, 27th February 1817). The moulds and casts were made by Richard Westmacott who was a well known Neo-Classical sculptor. In this period Westmacott was commissioned by the Museum's Trustees to make casts on an *ad hoc* basis. In 1817 he produced the first casts of the Parthenon marbles following their purchase for the British nation in 1816 and their subsequent arrival at the British Museum in August of that year. Apart from the moulding of the Bassai frieze and the Parthenon sculptures there was no concerted effort at this time by the Trustees of the Museum to provide a professional and full time cast making service along the lines of that which operated in the Louvre (Jenkins 1990, 101-2).

As the nineteenth century progressed and the fashion for creating public museums and galleries gained momentum, the demand for casts of the Parthenon marbles was to be far greater than the British Museum had initially anticipated. These market forces had initially been fuelled by Lord Elgin who made concerted efforts to spread the fame of the marbles when he 'owned' them by allowing artists such as Haydon and Cockerell to draw them. Elgin also arranged for the famous actress Sarah Siddons to perform in front of them and paraded muscular naked boxers alongside the sculptures so that gentlemen connoisseurs could compare the physiognomy of living athletes with the Greek figures (Felhmann 2007, 49). As the popularity and demand for casts of the Parthenon marbles grew in the early nineteenth century so did the demand for casts of other examples of sculpture held at the British Museum. Casts of the Bassai frieze

were the most wanted examples after those of the Parthenon marbles. As we saw in Chapter One, this was largely because of the Classical and Iktinian connection between the two groups of sculpture and the fact that the Bassai frieze was regarded as a good tool to teach the aesthetic theory of the progress of the art and highlight the supremacy of the Parthenon marbles. Haydon wrote in the *Champion* newspaper in 1816 that:

> There are one or two groups very fine in these Phygaleian Marbles but still approaching to manner; and in most instances they are entirely mannered. United with the Elgin collection their errors will do no injury to the student and both together will form the finest museum in Europe (Taylor 1853, 304).

When Haydon pointed out that the 'errors' of the Bassai frieze would serve as a foil to demonstrate to students the brilliance of the Parthenon marbles, he was in a sense expressing the aesthetic theory of the progress of art that was illustrated in Stepanhoff's painting (Fig. 1:5). Moreover, the Wincklemann initiated progress and decline theory was demonstrated whether you placed the Bassai frieze on the ascent of art, coming before the Parthenon marbles, or on the decent, being post-Phidian. Furthermore, Haydon's comments that both sets of marbles together would form the 'world's finest museum' is expressive of most academic opinion of the period. The general acceptance of the 'progress of art' theory resulted in the phenomenon that when educational institutions and museums requested plaster casts of the Parthenon marbles they often also ordered a cast of the Bassai frieze. The two sets of sculptures were perceived to go hand in hand, with the latter serving to illuminate the perfection

of the first. This was the case in most Western European countries in the nineteenth century, where cast collections were seen as an important tool in the education of public taste, in the training of art students and, most notably in Germany, in the tuition of Classical archaeology students. An example of this dual ordering was the request made to the British Museum on the 19th April 1838 by the Austrian ambassador for a complete set of casts of the Parthenon and Bassai marbles to adorn the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna (BM OP 18 and 19, 1st August 1838). Vienna had a particularly strong tradition of philhellenism and connections with educated modern Greeks who shared the Western European cultural view of ancient Hellas, in that Kapodistrias (who became the first Governor of the new Hellenic State) had founded a sister branch of the Philomousos Etaireia (Society of Friends of Arts) there, shortly after the original society was founded in Athens in 1813 (Hamilakis 2007, 80).

The Austrian request for casts of both the Parthenon and Bassai sculptures came after news spread around Europe that the British Museum was to set up a 'manufactory of casts' and had decided to remould the Parthenon sculptures (BM OR 17 and OP 13, 20th October, 1835). The decision was made by the Trustees in the wake of repeated requests for casts of the Parthenon marbles and the acceptance of the fact that, following a Select Committee Report of 1835, the Museum needed to have a cast making service similar to that attached to the Louvre, as opposed to the inadequate *ad hoc* system being operated by Westmacott and his associates. The French, for example, had first made an official request for casts in 1819, which was unsuccessful, and in 1835 they tried again when L.A Thiers requested casts from the entire marbles of the Parthenon to place in the *Ecole des Beaux Arts* (Jenkins 1990, 103). This latter request was successful and the moves towards the creation of a formal cast making service at the British Museum were, for the most part, a commercial response to

popular demand for casts of the Parthenon sculptures and (to a lesser extent) the Bassai frieze. It was also related to the knowledge that the wide proliferation of casts was a means of promoting national good taste as well as increasing both the Museum's and Britain's international status. Finally, it was a means of obtaining casts of works of art held in France (via mutual exchange) because two decades had passed since Waterloo and relations between the two countries were by now more cordial.

By 1835 Westmacott's original moulds of both the Parthenon and Bassai marbles were almost twenty years old and in a very poor condition, and in 1837, following the decision to remould the Parthenon marbles, the Museum Trustees discussed the possibility of remoulding the Bassai frieze. In November 1837 Edward Hawkins reported to the Trustees the projected costs (Fig. 2:1) of making new moulds and plaster casts of the 'Phigaleian marbles' outlined by the *formatore* Mr Sarti (BM OR 19, November 1837). It can be seen from the report that the production of casts was a highly commercial venture, with expected huge profit margins that were well over double the cost of the cast production. Interestingly, Hawkins outlines how the British Museum is likely to sell more casts of individual slabs rather than the whole set. This was because of the high cost of purchasing the full frieze, which was estimated at eighty pounds sterling. He also envisages that some of the frieze slabs will not sell well. This is probably because their content and execution was considered unappealing. By contrast, the most popular individual piece of the frieze, the slab which features Herakles and Hippolyte (BM 541) was listed as 'No 18' and is priced at seven pounds sterling. This is more expensive than any of the other individual slabs, and the high price assigned to this piece is due to both the popularity of its subject and the fact that it is slightly bigger than the others and more costly to make.

Ultimately, the Trustees procrastinated on the decision to remould the frieze in 1837.

This was probably because the Trustees initially did not envisage the same extremely high demand for the Bassai frieze as there clearly was for the Parthenon marbles. They may have come to this erroneous conclusion because of wrong information supplied to them by Richard Westmacott in 1837. Westmacott was evidently asked by the Trustees to supply a list of all the casts he had made of the Parthenon and Bassai marbles. He sent a letter to the British Museum dated 2nd November 1837 (Fig. 2:2) detailing all those who had received casts from his moulds in the previous twenty years. Westmacott's letter read:

> Dear Sir ... I find from my memoranda that in 1818 the Court of Tuscany had a complete set of casts from the Elgin marbles paid by the Treasury; 1819 the Court of Rome, Naples and Prussia had each a complete set paid by the Treasury; 1819, the Academy at Venice a part only of the Elgin marbles paid by the Treasury; 1819 the Academy at Plymouth - order, the Prince Regent, paid by Sir B. Blomfield; 1821, the town of Liverpool - order His Majesty, a complete set paid through Sir Blomfield but I believe by the Treasury; the Royal Academy in 1817 and the Institution at Bristol in 1823 had each part of the Phigaleian frieze but which were paid for by those institutions; St. Petersburg, Bavaria and Wurtenburg had each part of the Elgin Marbles but which were paid for by their respective courts... (BM OP 17, 2nd November 1837).

This letter demonstrates the early commoditization of the Parthenon and Bassai sculptures and the British Government's use of plaster casts of the Parthenon marbles in the immediate years after Waterloo as diplomatic gifts and high status items of

cultural exchange to several of the Royal Courts of Europe. Many of these cities had suffered from cultural looting under French occupation, for example Rome, which Napoleon had literally emptied of all its most valued Classical statues, removing them to Paris which was to be his 'new' Rome. As we have seen in Chapter One, Classical Greek sculpture in the British Museum, most notably the Parthenon marbles, but also to a lesser extent the Bassai frieze, played a role as paradigms of a new cultural identity for *Britannia Victrix* and the immediate post-war and anti-Napoleon climate probably explains why the French government's first official request for casts of the Parthenon marbles in 1819 was unsuccessful.

What Westmacott's letter does *not* demonstrate is that casts of the Bassai frieze were also used as diplomatic gifts from Britain to other European governments. Westmacott states that he had only made casts of the Bassai marbles for The Royal Academy and the Bristol Institute but it is clear from evidence published in 1818 that Westmacott's recollections are wrong or incomplete. *The Times* printed 'a letter from Berlin to the Prince Regent' on Friday May 8th 1818, which states that plaster casts of the Bassai frieze sent from Britain had just arrived. The letter said:

> The casts of the Phigaleian marbles [Bassai frieze], sent as a present by the Prince Regent of England have just arrived and been safely landed. They excite considerable curiosity (*The Times* 8.5.1818, 3).

It is evident from this diplomatic letter that the Royal Court in Berlin (the Prussian capital) must have received casts of both the Bassai frieze and the Parthenon sculptures, yet in Westmacott's letter of 1837, only the casts of the Parthenon sculptures are mentioned as being sent to Prussia. Westmacott is clearly unreliable

and it is very possible that he made and sold casts of the Parthenon and Bassai marbles for his own gain and without the Trustee's knowledge in these early un-regularised years of cast making at the British Museum. It is unlikely that this would have been the case in such a high profile case of a request made by the Prince Regent and in this particular instance Westmacott may have just forgotten making the Bassai casts for Berlin in 1818. What is clear is that Westmacott definitely made more casts than he admitted to (or remembered) and that casts of the Bassai frieze were definitely used as high status diplomatic gifts in the early nineteenth century in a similar manner to the more glamorous Parthenon marbles.

A possible result of Westmacott's wrong information was that the Austrian government's request for casts of *both* sets of marbles in April 1838 appears to have caught the British Museum by surprise. Once the request was received from Vienna it immediately prompted them to move quickly and remould the Bassai frieze. These new Bassai moulds were completed by Messrs Loft and Fletcher. The actual casts produced from the new moulds were made by Mr W. Pink, who in 1839 succeeded in securing the contract as the museum's *formatore*, in place of Loft and Fletcher. The Royal Academy had recommended Pink and also, more importantly, he submitted substantially lower estimates for work completed (Jenkins 1990, 105). Pink initially made two sets of plaster casts of the Bassai frieze from the moulds, the first set was sent to the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna and the second set was kept as *sopra formas* in case the need to create new moulds arose again in the future. This arrangement meant any new moulds could be taken from this cast, thereby protecting the actual frieze from damage. The *Champion and Weekly Herald* newspaper reported that the casts from the British Museum were sent off to Vienna as diplomatic gifts courtesy of Queen Victoria. The reporter stated:

> Her majesty has had them all done at the expense of the Civil List and the casts are now on their way to the Austrian capital as a present to the Academy (*Champion,* 26.5.1839, 1)

Westmacott's 1837 letter had mentioned that two centres of teaching, the Royal Academy in 1817 and the Bristol Institution in 1823, ordered and received casts of parts of the Bassai frieze, which they had to pay for themselves. This demonstrates that casts of the Bassai frieze were regarded as early as 1817 as a necessary acquisition for institutions wishing to provide students and the public with a full and comprehensive education in the arts. An interesting point which may further explain the Bristol Institution's purchase of partial casts of the Bassai frieze in 1823 is the fact that Cockerell had designed that Institution in 1821 (discussed fully in Chapter Three) reproducing the Bassai Corinthian order in the building's front portico.

(ii) John Foster and Plaster Casts of the Bassai Frieze in Liverpool.

Interestingly, Westmacott's letter also shows that the provincial 'town of Liverpool' received a full set of Parthenon casts in 1821 paid for by the Treasury. It is remarkable that Liverpool received official casts of the Parthenon sculptures before capital cities such as Edinburgh, Dublin and Paris did. Furthermore, Liverpool was already in possession of casts of the Bassai frieze before the donation of the Parthenon casts. An examination of the arrival and impact of both sets of casts in the city demonstrates why Liverpool was so favoured and abundant in these 'modern' status

symbols and also provides an insightful micro-history of the reception of the Bassai frieze over the last two centuries.

Liverpool has a special connection with the Bassai frieze as John Foster (Fig. 2:3), was a native of the city. Foster was also the Liverpool Corporation architect between 1816 and 1832 (Mariller 1904, 123) during which time he created some of the finest Greek Revival buildings in Britain. Liverpool was one of the richest cities in the world and the major port of the British Empire. Its cultural aspirations matched its immense wealth and under the aegis of Foster, and other philhellenes, the city embraced Greek art and architecture with great enthusiasm. J.A. Picton in his *Architectural History of Liverpool* (1848) commented that:

> The public admiration thus excited speedily assumed the character of a mania or rage. Greek architecture was to be adopted in all possible and some almost impossible situations. Shop fronts, porticoes of dwelling houses, banks, gin palaces ... The late Mr John Foster, architect to the Liverpool Corporation, had visited Greece, in company with Mr Cockerell, R.A., and was naturally imbued with a love and admiration for the glorious remains of antiquity in that country. Greek architecture, in one or other of its forms was introduced by Mr Foster into most of his principal works. Hence it is not surprising that, in designing the Church for the Blind he should have adopted for the west portico an adaptation of the Temple of Jupiter Panhelleninus, in the island of Aegina (Picton 1848, 65).

Significantly, this Church for the Blind (now sadly demolished) appears to be a very rare example of the direct use of architectural features from the Temple of Aphaia on Aegina (then thought to be of Jupiter Panhelleninus) and it represents John Foster's only known (or identified reference) to his archaeological discoveries in his architectural designs. Interestingly, Foster did not use any features from the Temple of Apollo at Bassai in his buildings (unlike Cockerell) even though he designed almost totally in the Greek Revival style.

John Foster was not only responsible for introducing fine examples of Greek architecture to Liverpool but also for making important plaster casts of Greek sculpture accessible to the general public in that city. Before Foster and his colleagues excavated the Temple at Bassai in 1811-12, they had travelled to Aegina and examined the site of the Temple of Aphaia. They discovered the sculptures from the east and west pediments of the temple and these were purchased by Prince Ludwig of Bavaria for six thousand pounds. As with the Bassai frieze purchased by Britain, a condition of the sale was that Foster and the other proprietors should receive a plaster cast of the marbles. Foster donated the Aegina plaster casts he received from the Glyptoteck Museum in Munich, and the casts of the Bassai frieze, which he had received from the British Museum, to the Royal Liverpool Institute.

Foster's generous donation of these plaster casts to his native city combined with his fame as the discoverer of such important Greek sculpture reaped rewards and he was elected president of the Liverpool Academy of Arts in 1822. He held the post till his retirement in 1841 despite it being noted that he exhibited very little (Marillier 1904, 123). The Liverpool Academy of Arts exhibited in rooms at the premises of the Liverpool Institute, which had received royal sanction from George IV in 1817. The *Resolutions, Reports and Byelaws of the Liverpool Royal Institute 1814-1822*

confirms that Foster deposited the cast of the Bassai frieze at the Institute long before 1822. A report by Thomas Martin, the Institute's secretary in 1822 (L.R.I. Secretary's Report 1814-1822, 1-13) and a series of letters between Martin and Foster (L.R.I. 1814-1822, 7-9) verify Westmacott's letter (BM OP 17, 2nd November 1837) that the city had been presented with a full set of casts of the Parthenon marbles, courtesy of the Treasury and His Majesty King George IV. They also show that Foster did not make his donation of the Bassai frieze cast official until after the Institute had received both its Charter and the Parthenon casts.

A letter sent from the king's agent, Sir Benjamin Bloomfield, to the Right Honourable George Canning at the Liverpool Royal Institute, dated 6th July 1821, stated:

> I beg to acquaint you that the casts from the Elgin marbles are at length completed, and that it is particularly gratifying to the King to offer them, through you, to the Institution at Liverpool. His majesty is assured that Mr Westmacott has given particular attention to this work and that it is most successfully executed (L.R.I. Secretary's Report 1814-22, 5).

Six months after the Parthenon marble casts had been received John Foster wrote to the Institute, in a letter dated 30th January 1822, saying:

> I take this opportunity of acquainting the Committee of the Liverpool Royal Institute, that I have received intelligence that my casts of the statues discovered by myself and others in the Island of Egina, are now on their way to England, which, as the Charter of the foundation of the Institution, lately received, prevents the possibility of their future

> dispersion, I beg to offer, as now on board, to the acceptance of the Committee of an Institution so creditable to my native town, and for whose prosperity I feel so great an interest. The only remaining copy of the same statues which will be in England, is, I believe, presented by my fellow traveller [C.R.Cockerell] to the British Museum; and as the Liverpool Institution is already in possession of Casts of all the best specimens of Grecian Sculpture in the Museum, I am anxious that, by its possession of those of Egina, its examples of the history of art should be equally complete. I beg leave to add, that I should in that case request also their acceptance of the casts of the Phigalian Frieze, already deposited in the Institution by me, which I have hitherto delayed presenting to them in consequence of their non possession of the Charter (L.R.I. Secretary's Report 1814-22, 7-8).

All of the above points are affirmed in a letter of gratitude sent by Mr Martin on behalf the Liverpool Institute to John Foster on 31 January 1822 in recognition of his gift, which states:

> I am directed by the committee of the Liverpool Royal Institute, to express to you their sincere thanks for the very rich donation which you have made to the Institution, of a set of Casts from the Egina marbles, now coming to Liverpool, and the casts from the Phigalian Frieze already deposited by you in this Institution. The great value of these Casts, particularly of the Egina, as one of only two sets from the most ancient Grecian statues likely to be in this country, forms by no means the only

> obligation of the Institution to you for them; a taste for the Fine Arts, now that we are presented with Casts, which together with those from the Elgin Marbles given to us by His Majesty, constitute a series of examples of Grecian sculpture from so early a period to its perfection, cannot fail to be promoted; and we may flatter ourselves with the hope of seeing a Liverpool School, creditable alike to your native town, and to the Society of Artists of which you are President … (L.R.I. Secretary's Report 1814-22, 8-9)

An analysis of these three letters again reveals the great cultural value that was placed on acquiring and owning plaster casts of Greek sculpture in this period, and that casts of the Parthenon marbles were the most universally prized and admired. It is also evident that casts which were perceived as rare, such as those of the Aegina marbles, of which there were only two sets in Britain at this time, were more valued than those of the Bassai frieze, of which there were several casts in circulation. This pattern is true for all elite high status objects where rarity often greatly increases worth and the committee of the Liverpool Royal Institute are keen to point out the extra value of the 'rare' Aegina casts in comparison to those of the Bassai frieze. It is significant that the Parthenon marbles generally stood above this rule in the nineteenth century as they were still the most glamorous and sought after casts no matter how many copies there were in existence. It is also clear that the majority of the learned men of Liverpool in this period, and to a lesser extent John Foster, all subscribed to the aesthetic theory of the progress of art so vividly illustrated in Stepanhoff's painting. This is demonstrated by Foster who talks of the Institute's collection of the history of Grecian art now being 'complete' with the addition of the casts of the Archaic Aegina sculptures, and

the committee, who articulate that the Institute now has 'a series of examples of Grecian sculpture from so early a period to its perfection'. This view, as we have seen, places the Bassai frieze below and before the Parthenon marbles, as a stepping stone in the progress of civilisation and the ascent of art.

A provincial city such as Liverpool, which in 1822 could boast a public cast collection consisting of the Elgin marbles, the Bassai frieze and the Aegina sculptures would have seen its cultural profile greatly enhanced on both the national and international stage. Whilst visiting John Foster and his Greek wife Maria in Liverpool, C.R. Cockerell noted in his diary on Saturday 1 November 1823 that:

> [I] arrived at Liverpool about three, sent Foster a note, was glad to find my old friend and she looking older but happy. Talked over old times ... Went with him to see his market at night, a superb establishment built by the Corporation at expense of £45,000 ... Also saw the Institution with the Aegina Phygaeleian casts, really a most striking display and to me most pleasing, accompanied by all that is Grecian (Cockerell Diary, 1.11. 1823).

Cockerell is primarily interested in the plaster casts that represented his (and John Foster's) stunning archaeological discoveries and it is noteworthy that he does not specifically mention the casts of the Parthenon marbles donated by King George IV which were also on display at the Liverpool Royal Institute. Cockerell's acute sense of his place in history is very evident in his writings; as well as his keen aesthetic interest in how plaster casts which advertised his Archaic and Classical Greek finds were displayed. The Bassai casts stayed on what Cockerell described as 'a most

striking display' at the Liverpool Royal Institute until 1893 when they were transferred, along with the Parthenon and Aegina casts, to the Liverpool Walker Art Gallery. The casts were not listed in the annual report of the Walker Art Gallery that year and the Liverpool Royal Institute Collection is simply described as the Roscoe Collection (W.A.G. Foster Folder). The casts were placed on display at the Walker Art Gallery until c.1910 and then deposited in storage for the next seventy-eight years. This changed in the 1980s when the decision was taken by the Walker Art Gallery to renovate their sculpture gallery. The director of the Walker Art Gallery in this period was Edward Morris who decided in 1988 to take the plaster casts out of storage and put them on public display in the newly refurbished sculpture gallery. This enterprise came at a time when, after decades of relative neglect, the aesthetic and archaeological importance of casts was being revaluated in the academic world culminating in the formation in France of the 'Association International pour la Conservation et la Promotion du Moulage'. Also in this period the international profile of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai was heightened when it received UNESCO World Heritage status in 1986.

According to the Walker Art Gallery's records they did have a full set of plaster casts from the Bassai frieze (W.A.G. Bassai Folder) and the Parthenon marbles (W.A.G. Parthenon Folder) but only two pieces, in the form of 'dying warriors', from the Aegina marbles (W.A.G. Aegina Folder). Morris chose to display seventeen slabs from the Bassai frieze. There are nine panels exhibited from the Amazonomachy and eight from the Centauromachy. The casts are placed around three walls of the sculpture gallery just below the ceiling, with several casts from the Parthenon frieze occupying the remaining fourth wall (Fig. 2.4).

This is a significant instance of the modern reception of plaster casts of the Bassai frieze, as part of the reason they are displayed is because of their connection with John Foster. Foster, as previously discussed, had served as President of the Liverpool Academy of Arts, was one of Britain's finest Neo-Classical architects and could also be termed Liverpool's first internationally famous Classical archaeologist. Edward Morris stated (Morris. pers. comm. 12.3.2008) that he chose to put the casts on display for aesthetic reasons but also to demonstrate the long and rich history of art in the City of Liverpool. The display was well received and Morris received a prize from that steadfast supporter of Classical art and architecture, HRH the Prince of Wales, for his efforts in exhibiting these (now fashionable again) plaster casts for the visual consumption and appreciation of a new late twentieth-century audience.

This example of reception demonstrates that plaster casts carry much of the cultural weight of the original work of art and as time progresses they can accumulate their own histories, so that their present significance derives from the persons and events to which they are or have been connected. In short, Foster's plaster cast of the Bassai frieze has now acquired a life history which in a sense places it, in terms of cultural value, above the casts of the Parthenon marbles in Liverpool because of its direct connection to him and its long association with the history of art in that city.

(iii) C.R. Cockerell and Plaster Casts of the Bassai Frieze at the Travellers Club and in Country Houses.

This mutual process of value creation between the Bassai frieze, the personalities who discovered it, and the plaster casts of the frieze, is best illustrated in the self promoting endeavours of C.R. Cockerell. Cockerell used plaster casts of the frieze in three of the buildings he designed or decorated, with it becoming an important

'signature motif' for him and a personal advertisement of his archaeological discoveries. His most well known use of the frieze cast was in the Great Staircase area at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (Fig. 2:5). He also used casts at Oakley Park Country House in 1823 and in the Travellers Club in London in 1821. Of all the personalities involved in the excavation of the Bassai marbles Cockerell is the person most famously associated with them and this was largely due to his use of plaster casts of the frieze.

Cockerell was a prominent member of the Travellers Club from 1819 to 1830. The establishment was an elite gentlemen's club for those who were wealthy and internationally out looking. It was an original rule of the club that no person could be a member who had not travelled outside the British Isles to a distance of at least five hundred miles from London in a direct line. This qualification seems humorous in these days of cheap global travel, but in 1819 international travel (apart from soldiers and sailors) was a privilege enjoyed by only the rich. In 1821 Cockerell donated a plaster cast of the Bassai frieze to the club. An analysis of the life history of this cast at the Travellers Club demonstrates the different ways the frieze has been received over the last two centuries and illustrates the fact that Cockerell was a keen self promoter whose enduring (and actively cultivated) connection with the frieze deeply influences current modes of its reception.

Unsurprisingly, the antiquarian spirit and a strong philhellenism expounded by men like Cockerell and his peers found expression in the prominent use of plaster casts of Greek sculpture at several other nineteenth-century English gentlemen's clubs. This phenomenon was fuelled by the arrival of the Bassai frieze and the Parthenon marbles in London, by the British support for the Christian Greek fight for independence against the Ottoman 'infidels' and finally by the strong cultural association of Britain

with Periklean Athens, that ran concurrently with the push for parliamentary reform and the reinvention of Athenian democracy as a positive ideological model for nineteenth-century liberalism. The most obvious example of the use of plaster casts in this context was the Athenaeum Club built in 1829-1830 and designed by Decimus Burton. Burton placed a cast of the Parthenon frieze, in white on a blue background, around the exterior of the building, in a similar position to where the original frieze was placed on the Parthenon itself. Following on from this ostentatious example, the architect Sir Charles Barry used gilded casts of the Parthenon frieze to decorate the interior of the Reform Club in 1837 (Saxl 1948, 77). Barry also incorporated plaster casts of the Bassai frieze into the architectural decoration of the new Travellers' Club premises at 106 Pall Mall, London (Fig. 2:6), which was built to his designs in 1829-1832. The Bassai frieze cast used by Barry was that which Cockerell had donated to the club in 1821. This cast had been displayed for several years in the old club house.

It is ironic that although Cockerell's cast was used to decorate the new club house designed by Barry he actually rescinded his membership of the Travellers Club when it moved from its old premises. A Travellers Club minute dated February 1832 states that 'Mr Cockerell having withdrawn his name from the list of members of the Club in November 1830, an order was given for the repayment of his subscription for the year 1831 and 1832 which had been paid by his bank by mistake' (Travellers Club Minute, 1.2.1832). It can be speculated that Cockerell was not happy with Barry getting the commission to design the club house when he himself had drawn up designs for a new club building in 1820 - which had remained unexecuted. Furthermore, Cockerell also created designs for the Reform Club in 1837 (Watkin 1974, 252) which also remained unexecuted, with the commission being awarded to Barry.

It is likely that Barry only used the Bassai frieze casts in the new building because the club already owned them and because the frieze was a traditional element of the old club house's décor before the completion of the new premises in 1832. Also, the cast was a symbol of Cockerell, arguably the Travellers Club's most famous member, and of the very wealthy Thomas Legh M.P. who was also a club member and one of the original group of six involved in the excavation of the frieze in 1812. Another club member connected with the frieze was William Hamilton, who as we saw in Chapter One, was Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign Office and had been heavily involved in the logistics of purchasing the frieze and bringing it to the British Museum. He was also a close friend of the Cockerell family. Considering these facts it is clear that even if Barry did not find the Bassai frieze attractive (which the circumstantial evidence suggests, as he did not use the frieze in any of his other buildings) it would have been almost inconceivable for him not to incorporate it into the new premises. In short, the cast was synonymous with the club and its members who had been so heavily involved in the discovery and excavation of this internationally famous Classical Greek frieze.

An entry from the Travellers Club's minutes, dated 5th October 1821 records:

> That Mr Robertson be authorised to agree with Mr Westmacott to put up the Fygolian [Bassai] frieze in the dining room of the new house, for the sum of £55, and the Parthenon frieze in the dining room at an expense of £82 (Travellers Club Minutes, 5.10.1821).

It is clear from this that the club originally had casts of both friezes but significantly the Parthenon frieze was not retained when the club moved to their new premises in

1832. This indicates that the members clearly valued the Bassai frieze above the Parthenon frieze and adds further support to the argument that by 1832 the cast had already become a treasured motif of the club.

A minute from the 13th May 1822 thanked Mr Cockerell for the time 'bestowed on the superintendence of the new house and the taste and ability that he displayed in the fitting thereof' (Travellers Club Minutes, 13.5.1822). This minute illustrates Cockerell's strong influence and involvement with the interior decoration of the old club house at 49 Pall Mall and it is evident that the casts of the Bassai frieze erected in the dining room were those he received from the British Museum that had been cast by Richard Westmacott in 1816. There is no record of payment by the club for these casts as they were evidently a donation from Cockerell, whereas the club's minutes from July 1822 state that Mr Westmacott be paid 'for the Elgin casts £157.30 according to his agreement with the Committee' (Travellers Club Minutes, 4.7.1822).

It is significant that both sets of casts were in the dining room, which was the communal heart of the club, and meant they were being displayed very conspicuously in the most used and popular area within the club's architectural space. This would have reminded every dining member of the glories of Classical Greece and the cultural parallels of that perceived 'golden age' with victorious post-Waterloo Britain. On a more personal, and mercenary, level for a young ambitious man like Cockerell, it was also a visual advertisement of his archaeological achievements. The advertisement appears to have worked as he obtained several architectural commissions because of his connections at the Travellers Club. These were most notably from Robert Clive, (the wealthy grandson of the famous Clive of India) and from the great Whig magnate, Lord Lansdowne. Cockerell met both these men whilst sitting on the actual committee of the club (Watkin 1974, 159 and 165).

Cockerell used several architectural features from the Temple of Apollo at Bassai when he remodelled Oakley Park in Shropshire, the country house of Robert Clive. As a club member, Clive would have been familiar with the plaster casts of the Parthenon and Bassai friezes in the dining room and it is no coincidence that Cockerell also placed casts of the Bassai frieze in an elegant staircase hall he designed for Clive at Oakley Park. Cockerell obviously had the full approval of his patron to do this and it is noteworthy that he only used casts of frieze slabs from the Amazonomachy, placing three plaster panels above a distyle in antis arrangement of columns which he derived from those at the Temple of the Winds in Athens. The particular choice of the three panels appears to have been based on personal preference, but the very presence of the Bassai frieze in this fashionable country house, at a time when it was considered to be artistically inferior to the Parthenon frieze, is an indication that Clive valued the Bassai frieze because of its connections to the Travellers Club. Cockerell probably gained an advertising advantage from this display as eminent visitors to Oakley Park would be rendered instantly aware of his architectural work at the house and reminded of his famous archaeological discoveries.

Clive was not the only Travellers Club member to display casts of the frieze in his home. Thomas Legh placed the cast he received from the British Museum, as one of the original proprietors of the frieze, on display in his stately home at Lyme Park in Cheshire, England. Legh was massively wealthy (with a yearly income estimated in 1814 to be £30,000) and an MP, but he defined himself primarily as a traveller and antiquarian (Fig 2:7). He travelled extensively in Greece, Asia Minor and Egypt recounting some of his experiences in a book titled *Narrative of a Journey in Egypt and the Country beyond the Cataracts* (1816). Legh gave a copy of this book to the

Travellers Club in 1819 and it remains in their library to this day. The importance of the Bassai frieze to Legh is evident by the fact that he displayed it in a prominent place in his home in the Bright Gallery (Fig. 2:8). The Gallery was so called because of the light from its many windows and was constructed in 1735 under the direction of John Moore who was paid for 'Two Dorrick [Doric] door cases and surrounds' (Rothwell 2007, 14). One of these Doric doors, situated at the south end of the central corridor of the Bright gallery, led into the eighteenth century State Rooms at Lyme and it is evident that the cast of the frieze was placed in this high status area of the house to demonstrate to important guests Legh's archaeological exploits and his involvement with the excavation of this famous example of Classical Greek sculpture. There is no evidence to suggest that Legh displayed any other plaster casts of Greek sculpture in his house, but he did display three original Classical Greek stelai, which he had acquired in Athens in 1812, on the walls of his library.

The casts of the Bassai frieze remain in the Bright Gallery and are regularly seen by many twenty-first century tourists to Lyme Park as the stately home is now owned by the National Trust and open to the public. Legh had the Bassai casts mounted in three separate frames, two long frames depicting the Amazonomachy and Centauromachy and a third small frame which contained the single frieze panel which depicted Apollo and Artemis on a chariot (BM 523). The Centauromachy is placed above the Amazonomachy and the Apollo and Artemis panel is placed on the opposite wall. It is clear from this that Legh took great pride and care in how the casts were displayed. Legh's obituary in the *Manchester Guardian* (1857) makes much of his travels and states that he had assisted 'both by his purse and his active personal exertions' with the excavation and removal of the frieze from the Temple of Apollo at Bassai. It appears that in Legh's death, as much as in his life, he is presented as a traveller and

antiquarian whose most famous exploit was to excavate the Bassai frieze. This is remarkable as Legh was not involved in the actual excavation. A series of letters sent from Zante, between the dates of September 7th and September 25th 1812, by John Foster to his father demonstrates Legh's financial involvement with the excavation. Foster mentions how he desperately travelled to Zante to raise three thousand Spanish dollars to pay Veli Pasha (the Turkish governor in the Morea) so that he would be allowed to 'get our prize [the Bassai frieze] out of Turkish Dominions'. Foster goes on to say that he had been 'liberally assisted by Thomas Legh of Haydock Lodge near Warrington'. According to Foster, Legh had just fortuitously arrived on Zante from Chios and he gave him half the sum required to pay the Veli Pasha off (Foster Letter, 25.9.1812). Legh's meeting with Foster and his subsequent financial assistance to the excavation at this critical time ensured that he was listed as one of the Bassai frieze's proprietors when it was removed from Arcadia to Zante and finally sold to the British Government almost two years later in May 1814. Legh was only a young man of twenty when he purchased a stake in 'the prize' of the Bassai frieze and yet the fame attached to being involved in such a sensational archaeological discovery was of such importance to him for the rest of his life that he conspicuously displayed the casts at his luxurious stately home and in his obituary his part in its excavation is both proudly stated and slightly embellished.

This strong identification by the members of Travellers Club with the Bassai frieze would have been thrown into sharper focus by the fact that the club is situated directly next door to the Athenaeum Club, which as we have seen was visually identified with the Parthenon and its frieze. There was a veiled element of competitive anxiety between the various 'gentlemen's clubs', although individuals were sometimes members of more than club.

What is clear is that for the larger part of two centuries the Travellers Club members, whilst sitting in their library, have been able to ponder the plaster cast of the Bassai frieze and identify themselves with the adventurous spirit of Cockerell and his cohorts who founded the club in 1819.

The significance of the frieze has not always been recognised by those studying the architecture of the club as an article published in the Architectural Review in 1913 demonstrates. In this article the author (Stanley C. Ramsay, A.R.I.B.A.) describes the library as 'the most striking room in the club' but he reveals his total ignorance of the Bassai frieze by stating that:

> One very characteristic feature of the library is the frieze of classic figures which makes the complete circuit of the room. These figures are Greek in feeling and, if not borrowed direct from some Greek temple, have evidently been inspired both in the design and modelling by a Hellenic prototype. Reference has been made previously to the influence of the Greek school on Barry's work; whether the employment of this frieze was a lingering of the old [Greek Revival] traditions, or was merely used because the architect felt that the introduction of so distinctly a classic note would serve to emphasise the chamber of the apartment and impart an atmosphere of scholarship, such use was in no way accidental as we find a similar frieze employed in the library of the Reform Club, where the figures are from the well known frieze of the Parthenon (Ramsay 1913, 32).

Ramsay was an architect and it is revealing that he does not recognise the plaster cast of the Bassai frieze; but he does recognise the cast of the Parthenon frieze placed in the library of the Reform Club. This demonstrates that in the first decades of the twentieth century the Parthenon frieze was still widely recognised by educated society, whereas the Bassai frieze had slipped into relative obscurity in terms of it being instantly identified by those outside the field of Greek art. As we saw in Chapter One, Sir Charles Waldstein did not mention the Bassai frieze (though as an expert he definitely knew about it) in his 1914 monograph *Greek Sculpture and Modern Art.*

In recent years there has been increased interest in the Travellers Club cast of the frieze and in 1997 the members organised an exhibition entitled 'English Travellers and the Bassai Frieze Library' and Graham Binns wrote an essay (unpublished) to accompany the event. This exhibition showcased the Travellers Club's connections with the Bassai frieze. It displayed many books from the library which relate to the Temple of Apollo at Bassai and nineteenth-century travels in the Mediterranean region. These included monographs such as: *Narrative of a Journey in the Morea* (1823) by Sir William Gell, *Travels in Southern Europe and the Levant 1810-1817: The Journal of C R Cockerell* (1903) ed. by S.P. Cockerell, *Narrative of a Journey in Egypt and beyond the Cataracts* (1817) by Thomas Legh, *Travels in the Morea* (1830) by Colonel William Martin Leake and *The Life and Work of C. R. Cockerell* (1974) by David Watkin.

Significantly, Professor David Watkin of Cambridge University was a member of the Travellers Club in this period and the exhibition happened at a time when the interior of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai was being recreated (complete with a plaster cast of the frieze) at Gonville and Caius College in Cambridge by the architect John

Simpson. This example of the architectural recreation of the temple's cella was also deeply influenced by Cockerell (discussed in Chapter Four) and both instances of reception are connected via him and his biographer, David Watkin.

It is evident that the cast of the Bassai frieze, set in the elite surroundings of this exclusive gentleman's club, which has boasted politicians, architects, academics and aristocrats amongst its members during the past two centuries, has over time acquired its own status as an important historical artefact. Equally, the cast has in recent times regained that high level of symbolic capital that it was first invested with by early members of the Travellers Club, such as Thomas Legh, William Hamilton, Sir Robert Clive and C.R. Cockerell. In short, the frieze operates as a memory signifier of the club's early history and its most famous members (especially Cockerell) and it is a physical manifestation of the travelling antiquarian spirit that epitomised these men. It is a relic from the 'glory days' of the British Empire and its importance in this setting is clearly not based on any value judgements about its artistic content but on the persons and events to which it is linked.

(iv) C.R. Cockerell and Plaster Casts of the Bassai Frieze at the Ashmolean Museum.

Cockerell's use of Bassai frieze plaster casts reached its greatest public audience on the Great Staircase at the Ashmolean Museum. This building was conceived as a temple to the arts and its design was largely inspired by the Temple of Apollo at Bassai. Cockerell installed a complete plaster cast of the frieze around the stairwell below the ceiling. Each corner is marked by a pair of roundels, one with the date 1845 (when the frieze was installed) and the other with the head of Apollo or (alternated) of Artemis (Fig. 2:9). These plaster casts of the Bassai frieze were acquired by Cockerell

while the building was under construction in the early 1840s. It is highly probable that they were made by the *formator* Pink, who began working at the British Museum in 1839, and not by Richard Westmacott, who took the first moulds in 1816. Casts of three panels of the Bassai frieze (BM 534, 531, 542) that were acquired for study in the Ashmolean's Cast Gallery in 1890 were transferred from the adjoining Taylorian Institute and were most likely to have been made by the firm of Domenicho Brucciani, who took over production from Pink in 1857 (Kurtz 2000, 136 and 338).

In the mid-nineteenth century the highlights of a visit to the Ashmolean Museum (then known as the University Galleries) was Sir Thomas Lawrence's collection of drawings by Michelangelo and Raphael, the collection of plaster casts and Cockerell's architecture, especially the Great Staircase, the West Gallery, the Long Gallery and the Great Niche. The *Oxford City Guide* (c.1846) describes the architecture and exhibits in glowing terms but the Ashmolean's shortcomings as an educational institute for the instruction of students was commented on by the archaeologist J.W. Burgon. Burgon criticised the content of the plaster cast displays at the University Galleries in *Some Remarks on Art with Reference to the Studies of the University* (1846). He noted in a postscript that:

> The portions of the Panathenaic and Phigaleian friezes which are inserted in the wall *just below the ceiling,* however tastefully introduced, and admirable in an *architectural* point of view, are not calculated at that elevation, to answer the requirements of a student of art (cited in Kurtz 2000, 194).

In this postscript Burgon is commenting on, and praising, Cockerell's aesthetic and architectural use of casts of the Bassai frieze on the Great Staircase and the Parthenon frieze in the grand West Gallery (which is now used as the Ashmolean Museum shop). Burgon also correctly points out that the positioning of these casts is not practical for student study and it is evident that the Ashmolean at this time did not have casts of the friezes on display for didactic purposes, a situation which was not rectified until 1890 when partial casts of both friezes were transferred from the adjoining Taylorian Institute (Kurtz 2000, 260). This would have been highly unsatisfactory for a Classical archaeologist like Burgon, who at the age of six months had been carried up to the top of the Acropolis by Cockerell (who was a friend of his father) and dedicated to Pallas Athena (Kurtz 2000,194-5).

Burgon's admiration for Cockerell's use of the Bassai cast and the Victorian tourist view that the Great Staircase represented one of the highlights of a visit to the Ashmolean has persisted to the present day. Cockerell's elegant staircase remains one of the grandest structures in the building. The Bassai frieze around the stairwell is thrown into active relief by a blue background which produces a vivid and striking effect. In contrast, the casts of the Parthenon frieze have no colour background and their once important setting in the West Gallery, which in the nineteenth century was a pivotal space for the visual consumption of the Ashmolean's finest exhibits, is now the museum shop.

Cockerell's use of the Bassai cast at the Ashmolean advertised his archaeological achievements just as his use of the casts at Oakley Park and the Travellers Club did. The frieze represented a symbolic 'calling card' for Cockerell in these instances and the frieze is most strongly associated with him above all the other excavators because of his prevalent use of it in his famous buildings. Cockerell's use of the frieze in

architectural settings was generally well received and admired in his own lifetime and remains so by many commentators today. The cast of the Bassai frieze at the Ashmolean operates as a visual memory signifier of Cockerell, and a mutual process of value creation has occurred between the cast, the renowned architect and the building itself. This has resulted in the Bassai casts now being more prominently displayed than the Parthenon frieze casts, and (either consciously or unconsciously) being more valued than them, with the Parthenon frieze casts finding themselves relegated to the shop area, albeit for practical reasons regarding the general commercial operation of the Ashmolean.

(v) John Henning's Miniature Plaster Casts of the Bassai Frieze.

A further testament to both the popularity of casts of the Parthenon and Bassai friezes, and their related cultural reception in the nineteenth century, is the commercial success of a series of miniature plaster casts of the friezes that were made and sold by John Henning in London between 1817 and 1845. Henning was the son of a carpenter in Scotland and began working as a wax modeller in 1799. In 1811 he moved to London and began experimenting with paste and enamel. In 1812 he gained access to the Elgin marbles and began drawing them. Encouraged by a royal patron, Princess Charlotte, he carved a miniature version of the Parthenon frieze in ivory, restoring the fragmentary or missing portions. The princess had herself portrayed on the miniature frieze as one of the goddesses and was said to have 'luxuriated' in the idea of casts of the ivory frieze being 'distributed among her friends' (Malden 1977, unpaginated).

Henning, with the permission of Princess Charlotte, then made slate intaglios from which casts could be made and he reproduced the miniature ivory frieze in plaster. An

advertisement of 18th December 1820 tells prospective buyers that a complete set of miniature casts of the Parthenon frieze cost 30 guineas and that the casts had:

> been done to a scale of a twentieth of the originals, being two inches high and twenty four feet four inches long; published in six parts, from forty six to fifty inches long, each part framed at length separately; they form elegant ornaments for a chimney piece; or fitted up in emulation of volumes, are adapted to the library, any part or portions of a part can be had separately (Penny 1992, 100).

This advert is possibly meant to capitalise on a form of Christmas gift market amongst the relatively wealthy and illustrates the highly commercial nature of the venture. The high cost of 30 guineas for a complete set of casts meant that only the very affluent could afford them and it is at this elite educated group, who understood and appreciated their value, that the product is aimed. However, the fact it was possible to purchase a part of the frieze, or even a part of a part, meant that the less wealthy could still afford to adorn their home with some part of the frieze. This brought plaster copies of Classical Greek sculpture into the homes and onto the 'chimney pieces' of many middle-class consumers and would have greatly increased the fame and cultural impact of the Elgin marbles and Greek sculpture in general.

The presence of Princess Charlotte on the frieze in the attitude of a goddess gave the product royal endorsement and will definitely have increased the product's popularity. It is also indicative of the high regard in which the Parthenon frieze was held that it was deemed fitting that the royal image could be reproduced in association with it and here we see a clear process of value creation between the British Hanoverian royal

family and the marvels of Classical Greece. Against this background it is unsurprising that Henning's plaster casts of the Parthenon frieze were a commercial success which prompted him to produce, between the years 1820 to 1825, miniature plaster casts of the Bassai frieze (Fig. 2:10). Henning evidently wanted to expand his successful venture and the Bassai frieze, on display in the British Museum with the Parthenon frieze and artistically linked to it via Iktinos, was a natural commercial choice. The Bassai miniature casts, at 6.2 cm high, are slightly taller than the Parthenon casts which are 5.2 cm but, like the Parthenon casts they are of varying lengths.

An advert, dated the 10th August 1841, states that due to piracy the whole series of Henning's casts was offered for sale at a reduced price, complete in a mahogany cabinet with nine drawers, for ten guineas (Penny 1992, 100). The problem of piracy was widespread as moulds could easily be taken from the miniature casts themselves and be reproduced by unscrupulous *formatori* wishing to cash in on what was obviously a popular and money spinning product. In 1837 Henning himself verbally abused a Mr J.G. Grace in the British Museum after he actually witnessed him buying pirated casts from an Italian *formatore* on the Museum's premises. Mr Grace sent a letter of complaint, dated 18th January 1837, to the Museum remonstrating that a member of staff stood by and did not intervene in the incident (Jenkins 2000, 150).

Henning also complained of the piracy of his work to a Parliamentary Select Committee on Arts in 1835. Henning told the committee that his miniature casts were purchased by the 'Duke of Devonshire, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Duke of York and George the Fourth, with other nobles and gentlemen and ladies' (P.S.C. 1835, 61) and when asked by the committee 'Do you consider that you would have made a greater number of purchases for those articles if the law had protected you [from piracy] as fully had it ought ...?' he retorted 'I have no doubt at all about that'. In

response to the next question 'Do you believe the public demand for those articles is almost unlimited, if the public had free scope for them...?' Henning replied 'No doubt of it' (P.S.C. 1835, 61). Cockerell was fully aware of the public demand for the miniature casts of the Parthenon and Bassai friezes. This would most probably have pleased him as their commercial proliferation would have increased his own fame as the discoverer of the Bassai frieze. Henning actually wrote to Cockerell in 1847. In the letter he reminded him that it was thirty years since they first met as young men to sit together and draw the Parthenon marbles (then owned by Lord Elgin and housed in a shed at Burlington House) and he also recounted how he made intaglio engravings on slate of 'subjects from the Phygalian Marbles'. Henning also told Cockerell that in order to counteract a Parisean piracy he engraved his miniature plaster casts by the anaglyptic process (Henning Letter, 20.12.1837).

Henning stamped his casts of the Bassai frieze with his name and the dates 1822 and 1823 in an attempt to distinguish his work from the pirated versions. It is interesting that a set of Henning's Bassai casts held in the Ashmolean Museum (Catalogue No. 521, Penny 1992, 102) are not stamped by him, but as they are of a very high quality, it is possible that they were made by Henning before the fake casts appeared and consequently before the need to commercially distinguish them arose. What is certain is that the miniature plaster casts of the Bassai and Parthenon friezes were a success, with their 'piracy' standing as clear testimony to this. The casts also represent an interesting document in the social history of these friezes and serve as another example of the interlocking reception of the Parthenon and Bassai marbles that occurred in the nineteenth century.

(vi) Plaster Casts of the Bassai Frieze in Ireland.

Whilst this cultural reception was happening in England it is significant that the presence of casts of the Bassai frieze in Ireland is extremely rare, despite the fact that Ireland is the only country outside England which has examples of architectural features reproduced from the temple (discussed in Chapter Three). Bassai casts appear in only one place, amongst a multifarious selection of Classical casts held at University College Cork. The Bassai casts at U.C.C were purchased in the mid-nineteenth century from the British Museum under the direction of the College's first Professor of Latin, Bunnell Lewis (1824-1908).

This relative lack of interest in casts of the Bassai frieze stands in contrast to the urgency expressed by the Committee of Fine Arts for the Dublin Society who requested casts of the Parthenon marbles as early as 1816 (BM OP 4, 19th August 1816), which was almost immediately after they had been acquired by the British Museum. The request was unsuccessful and in 1838 Martin Cregan requested casts of the Parthenon marbles to endow the Royal Hibernian Academy of Dublin (BM OP 18, 15th March 1838). These casts were all lost when the Academy was burnt down in 1916. The National Gallery of Ireland, officially opened in 1864, also acquired and displayed casts from the Parthenon marbles - but not the Bassai frieze. An N.G.I. minute book of June 1861, records that sixteen cases of casts had arrived from the British Museum made under the direction of Domenico Brucciani. In February 1862, an N.G.I. Building Committee approved the display and position of casts of the metopes and frieze from the Parthenon marbles, but found some of the casts to be of very poor quality because the moulds were evidently worn out and requested replacements from the British Museum. The N.G.I. cast collection suffered a dire fate. In 1937 there were negotiations to lend some casts of the Parthenon Frieze to

University College Dublin and, following this, the collection was put into storage. In 1992 all but fifteen of the remaining cast collection was officially disposed of after inspection by the N.G.I. board (pers. comm. Le Harviel 3.6.2008). Of those casts saved, eleven are kept in storage at the N.G.I. and four (three of which are from the Parthenon frieze) were attached to the exterior wall of the Royal Hibernian Society in Dublin in 1993.

The cast collection at University College Cork has fared better and survived into the current period where it is now valued again. In the nineteenth century Lewis had sought to make the material remains of the Classical world an integral part of a Classical education at U.C.C. In 1855 he secured the formal approval of the college for a Museum of Classical Archaeology (Cronin 2002, 1). On May 24th 1856, President Kane of U.C.C. sent a hopeful letter to the British Museum requesting a gift of casts. The British Museum replied that no funds were available for this purpose so the University had no choice but to purchase the casts it required. A Presidential Report by Kane (dated 1856-7, 7) stated:

> ... there has also been obtained, under the advice of Professor Lewis, an extensive series of casts, in plaster, of Bas Reliefs and other objects of Classical Art, made from the collections in the British Museum by permission of the Trustees, the special objects copied being elected, and the copying executed under the superintendence of Mr G. Scharf (Cronin 2002, 2).

The casts and other items were displayed in the West Wing at U.C.C. until a fire in this building on May 13th 1862 destroyed many of the exhibits. Lewis secured a grant

of one hundred pounds from the college to replace the casts and the new consignments were also displayed in the West Wing up to c.1973 when they were removed to a store room (Cronin 2002, 4). The eighty surviving plaster casts are now in the Fota House storeroom and include a panel from the Bassai frieze, BM 534, which is a scene from the Amazonomachy. Several casts from the Parthenon frieze also survive in the U.C.C. collection. It is evident that Lewis, who was educated at the University of London, had a good knowledge of the exhibits at the British Museum, which is located a mere half mile away from his *alma mater*. With this experience he was obviously keen to provide his students with a thorough overview of all Classical sculpture, which included examples from both the Parthenon and Bassai marbles. Lewis clearly had an understanding of the importance of the Bassai frieze and probably subscribed to the nineteenth-century views concerning the chain of art illustrated by Stepanhoff. U.C.C. is the only known place in Ireland where there are examples of Bassai frieze casts and this indicates that the frieze was generally not considered culturally or educationally important enough, or sufficiently beautiful enough (unlike the Parthenon frieze), to be purchased and displayed by the educated elites of Ireland in their institutions.

(vii) Britain Donates Plaster Casts of Bassai Frieze to Greece in 1847.

As the fashion for plaster casts increased during the nineteenth century, with casts of the Parthenon sculptures and to a lesser extent the Bassai frieze becoming *de rigeur* for academic institutions and museums across the western world it was inevitable that the British Museum would receive a request for casts from Greece, which achieved independence from the Ottomans in 1830. In 1845, the Archaeology Society in Athens (founded 1837) requested casts of the Parthenon marbles. In response to this

the British Museum decided to set aside a sum of five hundred pounds to provide the King of Greece with a full set of casts of the Parthenon marbles. These casts, which were made of cement as opposed to plaster, arrived in Athens in autumn 1846 and were greeted with great applause and celebration at Piraeus, although it was noted by the Greek scholar Rangraves that they were 'dark shadows of the splendid originals' (Gazi 1998, 88).

The following year (1847) the British Museum decided to send a full cast of the Bassai frieze to Athens. The Treasury also footed the bill for this, at a cost of one tenth of the price to send the Parthenon casts, due to the smaller size of the collection. In this instance the Bassai frieze once again trails in second to the Parthenon frieze, the Cinderella of the two groups of sculptures, yet always inextricably connected as examples of Classical sculpture associated with Iktinos. As we have already seen, the Bassai frieze was deemed as a necessary complement to the Parthenon frieze for any institution wishing to provide students and the public with a full and comprehensive education in the history of Greek sculpture.

There appears to have been no flag waving when the cast of the Bassai frieze arrived in Athens but they were still highly valued. The casts where deposited in the Temporary Cast Museum that was given to the Athens Archaeology Society in 1846 by the Greek government. This building was an old Turkish bath house identified as the Bath of Oula Bei (Fig. 2: 11) and operated as the Cast Museum from 1846 to 1874. Contemporary reports suggest conditions were very cramped and a French scholar wrote after visiting in 1852 that the casts were kept in 'a small mosque as big as a hand' (Gazi 1998, 88). In 1874 the Parthenon casts were transferred to the newly built Acropolis Museum where they were displayed in the so called 'Parthenon Room' whereas the Bassai casts were stored in a guard house on the Acropolis. In

January 1878 the Bassai frieze cast was transferred to the Hephaistion, which had become the State Archaeological Museum in Athens. The casts were displayed very prominently on a wooden 'scaffold' in the centre of the Museum for the visual consumption of the public which is an indicator of their perceived high cultural value at this time.

The high cultural value placed on the casts of the Bassai frieze in nineteenth-century Athens has not lasted and the casts are now held in a poorly lit narrow corridor in the non-public area of the National Museum. In comparison, the Parthenon casts continued to be exhibited very publically in the Centre for Acropolis Studies and in 2004 (with the holding of the Olympic Games in Athens) casts of the Parthenon frieze were put on permanent public display in the Athens Metro at the Acropolis Station. Moreover, casts of the Parthenon marbles are now on display in the New Acropolis Museum that was opened in June 2009. The reasons for the contrasting fortunes of the Parthenon and Bassai casts in Athens are multiple and complex.

Firstly, in England some casts of the Bassai frieze have acquired a very high status and cultural value as important historical artefacts in their own right because of their connection to acclaimed Englishmen like C.R. Cockerell and John Foster, whereas this is just not the case in Greece where these men are (understandably) generally regarded as the people who stole the original frieze from Greek soil. Secondly, the Bassai frieze and its casts or replicas do not share the same iconic status as the Parthenon marbles in the national imagination and psyche of many Greek citizens. Paradoxically, the casts of the Parthenon frieze and sculptures in the New Acropolis Museum and the Athens Metro can (and do) act as memory signifiers that the originals are not in Greece and that the fight for the restitution of the marbles (which famously became a matter of official government policy in 1981 under the auspices of

Melina Mercouri and the Socialist PASOK Party) must go on. In short, the nineteenth-century Bassai casts in Athens are not valued highly enough by the current Greek state to warrant public display and this stands in direct contrast to the very high profile public displays of Parthenon casts - which are being actively used to advertise Greece's Classical past and to make a visual political statement regarding the restitution of the originals.

(viii) Production of Bassai Frieze Casts since 1968.

The most recent examples of the production of casts of the Bassai frieze have occurred when a major event has happened in the life history of the frieze or the temple and those famous people and institutions associated with them. In March 1998, the reproduction of the interior of the cella of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai at Cambridge University by John Simpson (an instance of reception heavily connected to Cockerell and examined in Chapter Four) resulted in Simpson obtaining casts of the frieze from the British Museum to decorate the room. The British Museum cannot find any record of providing these casts in their archives, despite extensive searches by British Museum staff on behalf of the author of this thesis (pers. comm. Clarke 13.3.2008). This could be because their cast-making service was shut down around this time; nevertheless Professor David Watkin states very clearly in an article in the *Country Life* magazine that the casts were definitely obtained by Simpson from the British Museum (Watkin 1998, 52).

Other instances of cast production were generated when it became known that the British Museum was planning to exhibit the Bassai frieze for the first time in over thirty years. The *London Evening Standard* (Fig. 2: 12) reported in 1968 that the British Museum had received a request from the Greek Government for a cast of the

frieze to be placed in a public library that was 'being built near the site of the temple of their origin in the ancient city of Phigaleia in the Peloponnese' (*Evening Standard*, 27.2.1968). The article also mentions the new galleries being constructed at the British Museum to display the Bassai frieze and that the Museum had kindly offered to give the Greek Government the cast they requested for free. The assistant secretary, Mr G.B. Morris, is quoted as telling the reporter that replicas of the originals are quite frequently given to other museums in this country 'but it is rare that such presentations are made to museums abroad' (*Evening Standard*, 27.2.1968). The newspaper states that the cost of the cast is four hundred pounds. What Mr Morris and the newspaper article do not mention is that in 1967 Nikolaos Yalouris had published in Athens the material recovered during the Greek excavation at the temple from 1902 - 1908, as well as his own recent investigations at the site (Cooper and Madigan 1992, 1). More significantly, the Greek Archaeological Service had provided the British Museum with plaster casts of the sculptural fragments found during these excavations, and these included casts of several newly discovered pieces of the frieze (Jenkins and Williams 1993, 58 and 76).

It seems evident that the Greek government's request for a plaster cast of the Bassai frieze was triggered by the events surrounding the temple and its sculptural decoration during the 1960s. The Bassai frieze was the focus of high profile academic study in this period as it was about to be placed on public display once again after a period of thirty years. A direct diplomatic request of this nature can also be viewed as an assertion by the Greek Government of the origin of the marbles and a reminder to the British and the rest of the Western World of the cultural debt they owe to Classical Greece and, by proxy, to the Modern Greek State. The British Museum, by offering the casts for free (as it did in the nineteenth century) was clearly acting

diplomatically. In terms of public relations, this was a way of demonstrating their responsible stewardship of the marbles, whilst also acknowledging that many worldwide commentators would find it morally absurd that Greece should have to pay for casts of its own ancient sculptures – especially when the Greek Archaeological Service had provided the British Museum with casts of newly discovered sculptural fragments of the frieze

This analysis is thrown more clearly into focus by the fact that two British Prime Ministers in the previous seven years, Harold Macmillan in 1961 and Harold Wilson in 1965, had considered the restitution of the Parthenon marbles and decided against it. A further newspaper article published in the *Sunday Times* in 1968 (Fig. 2:12) again demonstrates the connections between the Parthenon and Bassai sculptures and the growing political sensitivity regarding the issue of the restitution of Greek material culture. The article mentions the Greek Government's recent applications to the British Government to have the Parthenon marbles returned and the subsequent request for a plaster cast of the Bassai frieze. It also reports a disparaging neo-colonial remark that was made by a British Museum custodian who said that the Greeks can have the Parthenon marbles back 'when Nelson gets his other eye' (*Sunday Times,* 25.2.1968). The article also claims (in a patronizing way) that 'nowadays the B.M is more warm-hearted' and that the Trustees will be sending casts of the Bassai frieze to Greece in the summer of 1968 as a gift.

This cast of the Bassai frieze was placed on public display in the Nikolopouleios library in the town of Andritsaina, which is situated near to the temple. It is an important library that was founded in 1838 and in the late twentieth century a new extension was built. The Nikolopoulios contains a substantial collection of rare books and it is the only known place in Greece where plaster casts of the Bassai frieze are on

public display. In this instance of reception cultural value is attached to the Bassai casts because of the town's close geographical proximity to the temple itself and their presence in the library advertises this fact. As with the Parthenon casts in the New Acropolis Museum and in the Athens Metro, the casts are also a reminder of the looting of the original sculptures. They also act as memory signifiers of the region's Classical Greek past, acting as a historic link between the current residents of the town and the ancient Greeks who built the Temple at Bassai. This suggests to tourists and visitors an unbroken line of descent between the two groups, which on one level is erroneous as the area has been subject to significant movements of population over the centuries. The general importance of the material culture of the Classical world to the Greek state, both in terms of tourism and in the building of a national identity based on that past is evident in this instance of reception. It also shows how local connections to the Bassai frieze have resulted in the casts being highly valued and displayed in the region's most prestigious library. This contrasts sharply with the treatment of the Bassai casts held in Athens, which as we have already seen, are not on public display.

The *Willesden Mercury* (Fig. 2:12) recounts a further example of cast production prompted by the re-emergence of the Bassai frieze into the public arena after thirty years in the British Museum's storage space. An article published in April 1968 recounts that a newly built public house in Marylebone, London (aptly named the Apollo) had ordered a plaster cast of the Bassai frieze and a bust of the god Apollo to adorn the bar. The article states:

> A bust of Apollo - god of flocks and herds - looks down on customers, and behind the bar is a copy of the fifth century frieze in the Temple of

> Apollo at Phigaleia in Greece. Both the 25 ft frieze and the bust were made by the British Museum from moulds of the originals. They cost the brewers, Ind Coope about £400 (*Willesden Mercury* 5.4.1968, 2).

It is evident that in 1968 the Bassai frieze was becoming known to a much wider audience and this resulted in further requests for casts. The high (or snobbish in this instance) cultural capital attached to Classical art is attested in this newspaper article, as it appears that the comfortable lounge of the Apollo, adorned with the plaster cast of the Bassai frieze is thought to be the type of place which 'should attract office staff' (*Willesden Mercury* 5.4.1968). It seems the brewery decorated the pub with Classical sculpture in order to target and appeal to the white collar workers in London. They, and the reporter, do not appear to envisage blue collar workers being attracted to the premises. This type of marketing is reminiscent of Henning's nineteenth-century miniature plaster casts of the Bassai frieze, which as we have seen, were also made for the visual consumption of a 'certain class' of people who would appreciate their cultural value.

In conclusion, it is evident that the plaster casts of the Bassai frieze were important cultural and commercial commodities which were used as items of diplomatic exchange or gifts by the British Government and other institutions and individuals with vested interests. By their nature these plaster casts were exact copies of the Bassai frieze and their proliferation around the world meant they acted as key transmitters of Greek culture on a global level. This increased the fame of the British Museum, Greek sculpture in general and the Bassai frieze, with the frieze becoming the 'must see' original of this mass production of plaster casts. Furthermore, it is evident that the reception of Bassai casts was often influenced by and linked to the

reception of those of the Parthenon frieze, with the Parthenon frieze almost universally having a greater cultural value – as was the case with the original marbles. Most interestingly, it is also clear that some casts of the Bassai frieze have become important historical artefacts in their own right, acquiring their own fascinating life histories connected to famous people or institutions. Furthermore, as the casts at the Travellers Club, Oakley Park, Lyme Park, the City of Liverpool, Gonville and Caius College and the Ashmolean show, there are instances where the generally accepted inferior value of the Bassai frieze as compared to the Parthenon marbles has been (in a sense) subverted. The Travellers Club is the strongest example of this and the cast of the Bassai frieze that was donated by Cockerell in 1821 has accumulated an extremely high level of cultural capital. The Bassai cast has remained continually on display at the Travellers Club. In contrast, the casts of the Parthenon frieze that were once on display in the club were removed and disposed of when the members moved to a new club house in 1830. Consequently, the different cultural biographies of the various casts of the Bassai frieze serve as an example of the dangers of applying a simplistic approach to the reception of Classical sculpture, as it is evident that there are many nuanced historical, regional, financial and political reasons that determine how an artefact is culturally received and valued. Finally, it is also evident that plaster casts of the Bassai frieze and the Parthenon sculptures are being used in an overtly political manner in Greece where they act as memory signifiers of both the Classical Greek past and the looting of arguably the nation's most valued material culture. In short, the casts are powerful symbols of the *absence* of the original sculptures and a reminder that the fight for the restitution of culturally property, most notably the Parthenon marbles, must go on.

CHAPTER THREE.

A MOST PECULIAR TEMPLE: THE ARCHITECTURAL RECEPTION OF THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO AT BASSAI IN ENGLAND AND IRELAND FROM 1819 TO 1928

The temple is very peculiar; its dimensions are not large ... The cell is very peculiar, the interior having an arrangement of half columns, the stones of which are thoroughly bonded to the walls and appear coeval with them ... these columns have very peculiar bases ... the columns project angularly all having a very strange effect (George Ledwell Taylor 1870, 133).

The above quote by the architect George Ledwell Taylor in his *Autobiography of an Octogenarian Architect* (1870) is a typical example of how the innovative design of the interior of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai (Fig. A:1) was perceived by many architects and antiquarians in the nineteenth century. Taylor visited the temple on July 9th 1818 and recorded his observations in his travelling notes. It is clear that the 'peculiar' columns (Fig. A:1, Fig. 3:17) and unusual design of the building (which did not conform to the standard canon for a Classical Greek temple), did not appeal to him. Taylor's conservative view explains why features from the temple were not used by him or by other mainstream architects in their designs in this period; the outstanding exception being C.R. Cockerell whom, as we have seen in Chapter One and Chapter Two, was involved in the temple's excavation and made extensive use of plaster casts of the Bassai frieze. It is the purpose of this study to analyse the physical reception of the temple architecturally and, as the chapter title suggests, the vast majority of known examples occur in England and Ireland from 1819 to 1928. Such is the rarity of the use of architectural forms from the temple that only two known

instances exist outside of this time period, at Cambridge University in 1998 and Oxford University in 2001, and these remarkable examples are the subjects of Chapter Four.

Cockerell stands alone as the only known architect to utilize forms from the temple in nineteenth- century England. This chapter analyzes the reasons why he was so keen to use 'unattractive features' from the temple in his designs and the architectural establishment's subsequent reaction to his use of them. The study will prove that Cockerell was driven by a desire to advertise his archaeological discoveries combined with a genuine impulse to create innovative and fresh architectural designs within the parameters of the Classical tradition. Cockerell's bravery and ingenuity in using features from the 'peculiar' temple resulted in him designing some of the most original and critically acclaimed buildings of the nineteenth century. I argue here that without Cockerell there would be no replication or use of architectural features from the temple, because it is clear that his personality, ability and success exerted a strong influence (both directly and indirectly) on the very few other architects who have used forms from the temple over the past two hundred years. Furthermore, the study will also show that although the temple was famed and valued for its architecture in the nineteenth century, this was not because it was considered beautiful and worthy of replication - like for example the Parthenon in Athens or the Pantheon in Rome - but rather because it was strange, innovative, designed by Iktinos and situated in a remote mountainous location. It was often described by architects and other commentators as being 'encircled by the captivating scenery of a province [Arkadia], the cradle of poetry, musical and pastoral fable' (Donaldson 1830, 3). Hence, the romantic Arkadian temple was painted and photographed many times by artists and photographers, but was not reproduced by architects, who found the temple's

elongated exterior and, more importantly, its extremely peculiar interior, both unsettling and unattractive. Consequently, the temple's architecture sat uneasily with Classical architects and although they knew it had the earliest known example of a Corinthian capital not one of them used it in their designs, except for Cockerell. Furthermore, the chapter will prove that Cockerell was to become so inextricably linked to the Temple of Apollo at Bassai, that values were later attached to it within the English architectural fraternity because of its historical associations with him; thus the reception and architectural manifestation of the temple became, in large part, a reception of Cockerell and his 'Bassai inspired' designs.

This study will also demonstrate that the only other architect in the nineteenth century to use any forms from the temple in his designs was the enigmatic and relatively little known Belfast architect, John Millar. Millar created two Presbyterian churches in Northern Ireland at Castlereagh in 1834 and Portaferry in 1842, both of which feature Bassai Ionic columns. Additionally, the chapter will analyse the specific cultural, religious and social conditions that existed in the Ulster Presbyterian community which provided the impetus for this remarkable and extremely positive instance of reception of the temple's architecture. It will also explore Millar's possible links with Cockerell and his personal reasons for choosing to use the temple's unusual architectural features in his designs.

(i) C.R. Cockerell's Early Use of Architectural Features from the Temple.

Cockerell was an internationally well known figure in the fields of architecture and archaeology in the late Georgian and early Victorian periods. He was made Professor of Architecture at the Royal Academy in 1840 and, in 1860 he became the first professional president of the Royal Institute of British Architects. He was also an

associate member of the Academie des Beaux-Arts in France, a member of the Archaeological Society of Athens, the American Institute of Architects and the Academies of Bavaria, Belgium and Denmark (*D.N.B.* 2007, 358). Cockerell was profoundly influenced by the temple, especially the innovative features of its interior, which as we have seen, displayed a daring element of design. In many ways Cockerell modelled himself as a nineteenth-century Iktinos, whom he firmly believed was the architect of both the Temple of Apollo at Bassai and the Parthenon, in accordance with the evidence presented in the texts of Pausanias.

Cockerell first used features from the temple in his architectural designs in 1821. This was at the Bristol Literary and Philosophical Institute and St. Mary's Church in Banbury, Oxfordshire. The Bristol Institute was a substantial commission for Cockerell as Bristol was a very wealthy port city that wished to demonstrate its cultural aspirations within the expanding British Empire. The building he designed is in a relatively simple Neo-Classical style (Fig. 3:1). Its one notable feature was the striking entrance portico, which consisted of six columns whose capitals are derived from the Corinthian capital which Cockerell had discovered at the Temple of Apollo at Bassai (Fig. 3:2). In 1821 features from the temple at Bassai would only have been recognised in Bristol by a very elite group of scholars and architectural associates of Cockerell. The reason for this is because the architecture of the temple was not published in England until 1830, when it appeared in *The Unedited Antiquities of Athens (Volume IV)*.

The Bristol Institute was constructed on a slope and its exterior design was not well received by critics, being described by members of the Royal Academy in 1823 as 'nothing better than a shop front' (Watkin 1974, 146). Cockerell himself was not happy with the completed building and especially the lack of integration between the

portico of 'Bassai inspired'Corinthian columns and the façade behind. He noted in his diary that 'my impression of the elevation [sic] always unfavourable in respect of the portico inharmoniously attached' (Cockerell Diary, 19.6 1823).

One of the leading figures at the Bristol Institute was Cockerell's friend John Scandrett Harford (1785-1866), who gave Cockerell several architectural commissions in the region. Scandrett was the wealthy son of a Bristol banker and a keen scholar and collector. Significantly, one of the important artistic attractions at the Bristol Institute were plaster casts of the Aegina marbles, which Cockerell in his diary actually described seeing there. Cockerell commented that he 'was greatly struck with the site of my Aegina casts' and in a revealing flight of fancy he imagined a display where the casts are dramatically lit with a revolving light whilst an expert described the history and composition of the marbles. Following his day dream he concluded 'I have no doubt that such an exhibition in London would produce money and fame if I had time to attend to it' (Cockerell Diary, 9.2.1825).

Although Cockerell was glad to see the casts of the Aegina marbles present in a building which he had designed, it appears that he was not very impressed with how they were displayed. This contrasts with his favourable comments on how the casts were displayed at the Liverpool Royal Institute, which was mentioned in Chapter Two. Nevertheless, Cockerell was aware that this display at Bristol was a public advertisement of his archaeological discoveries in tandem with his architectural achievements. His business acumen (and desire for fame and wealth) is highlighted by the fact that he realised the almost certain commercial rewards of staging an extremely dramatic exhibition of the casts in fashionable London. It is strange that Cockerell did not mention the partial casts from the Bassai frieze that the Bristol Institute had purchased in 1823 from the British Museum. There is a possibility that

he was disappointed that the Institute only had part of the frieze from the temple on display, instead of casts of the whole 100 foot length of sculpture.

It seems evident that in Cockerell's designs for the Bristol Literary and Philosophical Institute, he was attempting to both incorporate and advertise his archaeological discoveries and the displays of the Aegina and Bassai casts inside the building would have served to emphasise these achievements. Although the design of the Bristol Institute was not critically acclaimed, the building is important in architectural history because of its connections with Cockerell and because it represents the first time an architectural feature from the Temple of Apollo at Bassai was used on the exterior of a building. By 1939 the Bristol Institute was being used as a Masonic Hall and it was bombed in World War II. The only part of the original building that survived the bombing was the curved entrance portico with its columns surmounted by Bassai Corinthian capitals. The portico is an important cultural landmark in Bristol today (Fig. 3:2) and has been dubbed by some locals as the 'gate of enlightenment'.

Around this time, Cockerell also used the Bassai Corinthian column to decorate a tall circular bell tower at St. Mary's Church in Banbury, Oxfordshire (Fig. 3:3). This building had been started by Cockerell's father, who entrusted its completion to his son (Watkin 1974, 148). Significantly, Cockerell changed his father's original designs by substituting the Bassai Corinthian column in place of an Ionic order. As at Bristol, this can be interpreted as Cockerell promoting his archaeological discoveries and striving for individuality in his architectural designs.

Further uses of architectural features from the temple occurred in 1823 when Cockerell was given the task to remodel Grange Park country house in Hampshire, by his father, S.P. Cockerell, who had initially received the commission from Alexander Baring, who later became Lord Ashburton. Keen to impress, he created a unique

Classical design for the dining room at Grange Park (Fig. 3:4). He achieved this by using six marble columns that were topped by the highly unusual 'hump backed' Bassai Ionic capital. Cockerell placed the columns close to the wall of the dining room, supporting an entablature in a vaguely similar fashion to those in the temple's cella. His design differs from the temple's cella plan in several ways. The most obvious difference is that the columns in the dining room are not attached to the wall in the manner that the columns in the cella are. Additionally, Cockerell's columns do not have flutes or the distinctive flared bases. Also, there are only six Ionic columns in Cockerell's design as opposed to ten at the temple. Cockerell's diary proves that he used the Bassai Ionic in an attempt to make his design original and distinctive. The diary shows that he considered using an Ionic capital found at Pompeii but instead opted for the Bassai Ionic. Cockerell wrote that he 'Drove at novelty to avoid common place. Made out Ionic of Pompeia, inferior to angular volutes of Phygaleia' (Cockerell Diary, 23.4.1823). This diary entry demonstrates that he found the Bassai Ionic capital aesthetically pleasing (especially when compared to an example of Roman Ionic) and shows that his use of the column was not merely for uniqueness, but also because he thought it was a superior example of an Ionic capital.

The year 1823 was an extremely prolific period for Cockerell as he also used Bassai Ionic capitals in his creation of an elegant staircase hall at Oakley Park country house in Shropshire. As discussed in Chapter Two, this was the home of fellow Travellers Club member Robert Clive and Cockerell also incorporated a plaster cast of the Bassai frieze into his designs for this building (Fig. 3:5). At Oakley Park, Cockerell placed the Bassai Ionic capitals on two columns at the entrance to the staircase hall. These columns are freestanding and executed in smooth grey marble with no fluting.

They are designed in a similar fashion to those at Grange Park and do not have the distinctive flared bases that are present in the Ionic columns at the temple.

Remarkably, Cockerell never reproduced the Bassai Ionic column in its full entirety during his career. This was probably because he was never content to produce a mere transcript of any of the Classical orders in his designs. With one hand Cockerell clasped the dead hand of Iktinos and received inspiration, but with the other hand he breathed new life into the Bassai Ionic form and re-interpreted it to suit his own aesthetic taste. It is clear that these 'half columns' which were 'bonded to the cella wall' were considered even by Cockerell to be strange and not conducive to the creation of an attractive design. In fact the only person to apply the Bassai column in its full archaeological form to a building in Cockerell's lifetime was the Irish architect John Millar.

(ii) John Millar and the Architectural Reception of the Temple in Ulster.

John Millar (1807-1876) used architectural features from the Temple of Apollo at Bassai in his designs for two Greek Revival style Presbyterian churches which were built at Castlereagh in 1834 and Portaferry in 1841. Both of these churches are in County Down in Northern Ireland and were critically acclaimed in the contemporary Ulster press when they opened for worship, with an extraordinary reference being made to the 'beauty' of the Bassai Ionic columns, which as we have seen, was a view that ran contrary to the mainstream English opinion of the aesthetic value of the columns. A study of the architectural details and historical events surrounding the construction of the churches will expose the multi-layered and complex social, political and religious objectives of both John Millar and the Presbyterian

communities who built them and explain why the Temple of Apollo at Bassai and Greek architecture in general was so appealing to them.

Ever since the colonisation of Ulster in the seventeenth century the majority of the new Scottish settlers and their descendants have been concentrated in the counties of Down and Antrim. Most of these settlers were Presbyterians and in the nineteenth century they comprised thirty three per cent of the population of what is now the 'six county' area of Ulster. This assured them of a powerful and distinctive influence in the region and they developed their own culture (McCartney 1987, 31). In the early nineteenth century Presbyterian ministers were almost exclusively trained at Scottish universities; their educated were heavily influenced by Scottish academics, and even their poets were in the tradition of the Ulster Scots vernacular (Herbison 2000, 2). Additionally, the very structure of Presbyterianism, which is based on a series of voting committees, encouraged democratic sentiment at a time when 'democracy' was considered to be representative of popular anarchy and associated with the French and American revolutions. Presbyterians had taken the lead in the tradition of religious dissent in the eighteenth century, when penal laws had excluded them, like the Catholics, from civil office and the government of Ireland (McCartney 1987, 32). Therefore, it is no surprise that many Ulster Presbyterians, including one third of their church ministers (Curtin 1998, 134), supported the 1798 United Irishmen's rebellion against British rule. However, after 1801, and the union of the Irish and British parliaments, the situation improved for Presbyterians, as the state successfully began to realign them with the established Protestant church and Ascendancy and extinguish the grievances which had caused them to rebel alongside the Catholics. As a result, Presbyterians were given a much freer reign and royal grants and annual stipends for the upkeep of their clergy were increased (McCartney 1987, 33). Presbyterians also

benefited from the rapid industrialisation of Belfast that occurred in the nineteenth century and these combined factors served to propel the majority of them towards a conservative stance in favour of the preservation of the union and Protestant dominance. The leading figure in this stance was the Rev. Henry Cooke; however, he was strongly opposed by a significant number of Presbyterians who were led by the Rev. Henry Montgomery, a staunch Ulster Liberal of the old order and advocate of parliamentary electoral reform (Campbell 1991, 159).

It is against this political and cultural ferment in the 1830s that the now wealthy Presbyterian congregations in Castlereagh took the decision to invest in a new meeting house. They chose John Millar to design the church because he was a fellow Presbyterian, whose brother was a minister at Cookstown, and because he had already successfully designed a stunning Greek Revival style church for the Presbyterian congregation at Rosemary Street in Belfast in 1829. The Castlereagh congregation wanted their new church to be in the same genre. A crucial question that needs to be addressed at this point is why such fervent nineteenth-century Christians should choose to build their new place of worship in the architectural style of the Classical Greek pagan world? The Presbyterian drive for Classical learning and the fact that they looked to the academics of the 'Scottish Enlightenment' has been mentioned, but the initial answer to this question can be found in the sixteenth-century teachings of the Protestant reformer, John Calvin, who is basically the father of Presbyterianism.

Calvin used the term 'temple' to designate churches devoted to his cause. This is clearly a reference to the Temple of Solomon alluded to in the Old Testament. His use of the term and the subsequent intended association of Calvinist churches with Solomon's temple was an attempt to differentiate them from those of other denominations. More importantly, it also emphasised the belief that Protestantism was

a continuation of a much older faith that predated the Church of Rome (Curl 2002, 83). The concept of Protestantism being a link with the original pre Roman Church and with the earliest versions of the bible was a major part of the reason why the idiom of ancient Greece was so popular with Presbyterians. Presbyterians at this time can be seen in a similar context to Wincklemann and his fellow German elites, who several decades earlier had resisted French Imperial assertions of its Roman credentials by formulating Protestant Germanic ideas of getting back to the original pure Greek unencumbered by Latin and papal commentaries. It was of supreme significance to Ulster Presbyterians that the Old Testament was translated into Greek long before Latin, and most importantly, the New Testament was written in Greek from its inception in the first century A.D. It was not until the adoption of Christianity by the Roman Empire in the fourth century A.D. that the bible was translated into Latin by St Jerome. Additionally, Classical Greek architecture was regarded as pure, chaste and ordered, directly fitting with Calvin's teaching on art and architecture; 'But for as much carving and painting are the gifts of God, I require that they be both pure and lawfully used, lest these things which God hath given us for His glory be not only defiled by disorderly abuse, but also turned to our own destruction' (Calvin Institutes 1.11 cited in Ramsay 1938, 25). This was an ideology adhered to by Millar, as a letter he sent to the building committee of the Presbyterian church he designed at Rosemary Street in Belfast illustrates. In the letter he states:

> I see that we must entirely depend on pure and massive proportions ... I have kept up a simple combination of parts, an unassuming grandeur, which in my mind should be the case in a house of worship, having that which may strike the mind with awe (cited in Kerohan 1923, 47).

It is therefore evident that the use of the austere Neo-Classical Greek style for Castlereagh Church, and for almost all Presbyterian churches of the period, falls happily within the moral parameters of Calvinist teaching. What further increased Presbyterian resolve to build in the Greek Revival style was the adoption of the Neo-Gothic style at this time by both the Established Protestant Churches (who were being influenced by Newman and the Oxford movement), and the Roman Catholic Church. In this period, the famous architect and fanatical Catholic convert, A.W.N. Pugin (1812-1852), designed many Neo-Gothic style places of worship in England and Ireland for the Roman Catholic Church. In 1836, Pugin published *Contrasts,* a monograph in which he advocated the use of Gothic architecture and blamed the evil of society on the Protestant Reformation and the fashion for Classical architecture. Pugin claimed:

> Protestantism and revived Paganism [Neo-Classical architecture and art] both date from the same epoch ... the ravages of the former were carried on by plunder and violence; the inroads of the latter by pretended improvement and Classic restoration. On the whole, however, it must be admitted that the axes and hammers of the Puritanic factions were far less dangerous or productive of lasting evils than the chisels and brushes of the modern Pagan artists (Pugin 2003, 13).

As a result of these factors Ulster Presbyterians at this time consciously distanced themselves from Neo-Gothic architecture because they perceived it to be papist.

Millar's Castlereagh Church sits high on a ridge in the Castlereagh Hills looking westward over Belfast towards the Divis mountains and is clearly visible from any location within the city. The architecture of the church is as striking as its location. The front façade of the church is executed in a severe 'stripped Classical' style, whereby all decorative elements are reduced to a pure and simple form, devoid of any architectural enrichment. This style was chosen because of its stark visual impact and because it clearly reflects the austere plain Presbyterian self image and Calvinist ideology concerning art and architecture (Fig. 3:6). The façade is divided into three bays; the central bay is receded and has one large door. It is described by a newspaper critic in 1835 in the following terms:

> What is most extraordinary and unusual, the façade is pierced by only one opening, a door of Herculean dimensions, placed between the attached columns, which are raised on a podium or plinth, the deep recesses of which contribute not only a fine degree of chiara oscuro [dramatic shadow] but great perspective variety and force (*Belfast Newsletter* 21.8.1835).

The columns described by the *Belfast Newsletter*, are two massive Bassai Ionic columns which are each set on a spur wall and placed in antis (between two wall ends or antae). The columns are directly copied from those in the interior of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai (Fig. 3:7) and Millar was displaying his impressive architectural knowledge in reproducing the Bassai Ionic column in its correct archaeological form. This was a remarkable and highly unusual choice of column for a building of this

period and it represents the first ever known use of the Bassai Ionic capital and column on the exterior of a building.

Millar's knowledge of the Bassai columns, and his pioneering early use of them, can be partially explained from the learning and influences he received in London whilst training at the offices of the wealthy architect Thomas Hopper. Millar would have had access to Hopper's library, but most importantly, he owned a copy of the *Antiquities of Athens, Volume IV* (his name is on the subscriber's list) in which the temple's architecture was first fully published in English by T.L Donaldson in 1830. It is clear that the Temple of Apollo at Bassai captured his imagination and it would have had extra cultural value because of its links with the Parthenon, Iktinos, and the well known Cockerell.

What is further significant about Millar's ground breaking use of the idiosyncratic Bassai Ionic column on the exterior of Castlereagh Church in 1834 is the extremely positive reception it received from the Presbyterian community. The *Northern Whig* newspaper in 1835 describes the Bassai columns in glowing terms:

> A most creditable example of good taste has been set to other districts in Ireland, in replacing the old edifice with the present elegant building. The new house (Castlereagh church) has been erected from a design and under the superintendence of our talented young townsman, Mr John Millar, Architect, to whom the lovers of classic architecture owe a debt of gratitude … The columns, we understand, are adopted from a beautiful example of the Ionic, in the Temple of Apollo Epicurius, in the Peloponnesus (*Northern Whig* 13.8.1835).

This is the first time the Bassai Ionic columns are described in print as 'beautiful', indicating that they held great aesthetic appeal to some contemporary commentators in Ulster. This is worthy of note, because as we have seen, previous descriptions of the Bassai Ionic columns from the London architectural fraternity describe them as being strange and even in the *Antiquities of Athens, Vol IV*, 1830, which Millar owned, they are described as being of a certain 'peculiarity' and of being 'an Ionic order of a very ancient character' (Donaldson 1830, 8 and 10)

Millar may have known Cockerell as he spoke in later life of knowing Robert Smirke (who designed the British Museum) and the famous painter J.W.M. Turner (Brett 1994, 4). Both these men were personal friends of Cockerell (Watkin 1974, 5 and 92), therefore it is highly likely Millar could have met Cockerell and this may also have influenced him to use the Bassai columns. Even if Millar did not directly meet Cockerell he would have been very aware of him within the London architectural fraternity and will also have visited the British Museum and seen the Bassai frieze. Like Cockerell, Millar was also involved in the cultural life of the Royal Academy and exhibited three paintings there between 1828 and 1829. His name is spelt incorrectly in the Academy records, (being spelt with an 'e') as he is listed as 'J. Miller ... Architect' but his address is correct being recorded as 'Mr Hopper's, 40 Connaught Terrace, London' (Graves 1905, 252).

Equally significant to the possibility of Millar or his associates having met Cockerell is the fact that Cockerell had visited Northern Ireland in late October 1823. Whilst there, he made sketches in his diary of Antrim Town Hall, Shanes Castle at Lough Neagh and the Market House at Hillsborough in County Down, of which the latter is only a few miles from Castlereagh. Cockerell also remodelled a Classical house for a Mrs Anna Marie Thompson: Greenmount in County Antrim. His diary entries at this

time show that he was impressed with the Presbyterian faith and that he had contact with Presbyterian ministers. He recollects how he met a Scottish Presbyterian minister who educated him on the 'constitution of the kirk'. Cockerell then describes his thoughts on Presbyterianism and concludes by stating in his diary that 'this church is a democracy' (Cockerell Diary, 30.10.1823). This comment by Cockerell demonstrates the democratic essence that was at the heart of Presbyterian Church and is part of the reason why they favoured the Classical Greek idiom in both architecture, learning and (to an extent) democratic politics.

Additional to the fact that he visited Down and Antrim, Cockerell would also have been well known in Millar's home region of Ulster because, in 1822, he had been chosen to design the National Scottish memorial on Calton Hill in Edinburgh. This monument was to be a replica of the Parthenon and its purpose was to celebrate the British victory at Waterloo. The choice of the Parthenon was fitting as Edinburgh was known as the 'Athens of the North' because of its brilliant scholars and its plethora of Neo-Classical buildings. Cockerell had been recommended for the commission by Lord Aberdeen, who was a member of the Travellers Club. The Earl of Elgin was on the selection committee for the monument and appointed Cockerell after liaising with Lord Aberdeen, and controversially, before consulting other committee members who wished to see a Scottish architect get the Edinburgh commission (Watkin 1974, 151). This whole affair was another example of just how important Cockerell's contacts at the Travellers Club were to the advancement of his career. The National Monument design brought Cockerell great fame in Scotland in the 1820s. His public profile in Ulster would also have been greatly enhanced as a result of this grand public commission in the Scottish capital, because of the (previously mentioned) extremely strong connections that existed between Ulster and Scottish Presbyterians. These

connections are further demonstrated by a newspaper article which reported that the new Castlereagh Church in Down was officially opened by the 'Rev Duncan Macfarlan of Renfrew, near Glasgow' (*Belfast Newsletter* 21.8.1835).

The fact that Cockerell was known by Presbyterians in Millar's home region may have further influenced Millar to use the unusual Bassai Ionic columns that were so closely connected with the famous archaeologist and architect. Additionally, the circumstantial evidence would suggest that Millar admired Cockerell and his unique designs, as apart from the Bassai columns, he also used other architectural features that were hallmarks of Cockerell, such as Greek Doric columns with fluting confined to the top and bottom of the shaft. Cockerell had used these Doric columns in his designs for Holy Trinity Church, Hotwells, Bristol (designed 1828) and his acclaimed Sun Fire Office, Threadneedle Street, London (designed 1839). Cockerell would have known these Doric columns from the Classical Greek Temple of Rhamnous, whose architecture was illustrated in the 1817 edition of *The Unedited Antiquities of Attica, Vol III.* Cockerell found the Temple at Rhamnous extremely interesting and mentions it several times in his 1860 monograph *The Temples of Jupiter Panhellinus at Aegina and Apollo Epicurius at Bassae*. At the Sun Fire Office (1839) Cockerell used this unusual Doric column on the exterior of the building and the Bassai Ionic column on the interior of the building.

Interestingly, Millar uses the *same* two types of rarely used columns in his designs for Portaferry Presbyterian Church in County Down (1841). Portaferry Church is as impressive as Castlereagh Church in terms of both its architecture and location. It is a Greek Revival 'temple' with a six columned portico on each end that consist of Doric columns with fluting confined to the top and bottom of the shaft that were derived from those at the temple of Rhamnous (Fig. 3:8).

The church stands imposingly on an Egyptian 'pyramidical' style base which is eleven feet high and overlooks Strangford Loch. Like Castlereagh Church, it is executed in a severe 'stripped Classical' style with no fussy architectural embellishment. The purity of style, combined with the solid geometry of its architectural design, creates a visually powerful building that perfectly reflects the austere plain image of Calvinism that Presbyterians wished to convey to society. Furthermore, the argument that Presbyterians strongly associated themselves with the culture of Classical Athens is supported by a contemporary article published in the *Downpatrick Recorder* (reprinted in the *Civil Engineer and Architects Journal* in 1842) which recounts:

> A Presbyterian Church has been erected at Portaferry ... The style of architecture is that which prevailed in Greece during the architectural age of Perikles; its dimensions are sufficiently large to produce an impression of grandeur and sublimity ... circumstances which form the first and most remarkable characteristics of the great prototypes erected during the purer age of Grecian art.' (*C.E.A Journal* 1842, 67).

This article succinctly illustrates the previously discussed view that Classical Greek architecture was considered 'pure' and hence the most fitting style for a Calvinist church. Also, by comparing the church's architecture to the great prototypes of Periklean Athens, it is literally associating the church with the Parthenon, which was one of the greatest examples of power architecture in the ancient world and a statement of the hegemony of the Athenian Empire and the democratic system that had made this possible. It is interesting that at this time many Presbyterians in Ulster

and Scotland were agitating for the political reform of parliament and the extension of the franchise.

In particular, the Portaferry congregation of 1841 knew exactly who Perikles was and what democratic Periklean Athens stood for, as for several generations they had been educated at the church's renowned Classical school. This Classical school was founded in 1780 by the famous United Irishman and liberal, the Rev. W. Steele Dickson, who was imprisoned in Scotland following the 1798 rebellion against British rule in Ireland. The school's Classical traditions continued in the nineteenth century under the Rev. Orr, and it is clear that the presence of the Classical School was a contributing factor in the congregation's choice and approval of such a bold and obvious Greek style for the new church (Baili n.d., 2).

Millar clearly modelled Portaferry Church on the Classical Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous (Larmour 1994, 56). This temple overlooks the Aegean Sea by Marathon in Attica and in the nineteenth century it was perceived to have had links to Phidias, as it was stated by Pausanias that Phidias created the temple's cult statue of the goddess Nemesis. Like Cockerell, Millar would have known the temple's architecture from the *Unedited Antiquities of Athens, Vol III,* (1817), and there are several possible reasons for his choice, aside from the Presbyterian appetite for Classical Greek architecture and culture.

First, the church is located on the shores of Strangford Loch and therefore shares a similar waterside location as the temple. Second, the temple at Rhamnous differs in its proportions to most Greek temples as it has six columns at the front and twelve at the sides, as opposed to the usual Classical architectural canon of double the number at the front plus one (6:13). This meant that the surface area of the temple represented a parallelogram the length of which is equal to twice the width (1:2), and this

corresponds with the proportions of Solomon's sacred building in the Old Testament (Kings 1.7.2). This biblical resonance would have directly appealed to Calvinist theological ideology and was probably a factor in Millar's choice of design for the house of worship.

Evidence that these ideas were prevalent amongst certain nineteenth-century Neo-Classical architects is provided by Cockerell, who made notes in his diary in 1823 concerning the construction of the Temple of Solomon, and also stated in his publication, *The Temples of Jupiter Panhellinus at Aegina and Apollo Epicurius at Bassae,* that the Temple of Jupiter Panhellinus has:

> six columns at the front and only twelve at the flanks, differing from the rule of Vitruvius, differing also from the usual arrangement in Greece … The coincidence in the number twelve with the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnus, suggests the probability of a higher antiquity and sanctity attached to this archaic arrangement. The lowest step of the stylobate represents a parallelogram, the length of which is equal to twice the width…and was probably a general rule applied to the most sacred temples; the square and four square being the figures in which Classical architecture delighted, no less than Jewish and Egyptian architecture (Cockerell 1860, 23).

Although the exterior of Portaferry Church is clearly derived from the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous, the interior is adorned with four columns that feature the highly distinctive Bassai Ionic capital (Fig. 3:9). Millar's columns at Portaferry are not on spur wall ends and do not have the fluting or the flaring bases that clearly

distinguish the Bassai Ionic column. The columns inside Portaferry Church are positioned in pairs either side of large windows on the front and back interior walls of the church. Their presence in the church is extraordinary and represents the only known use of the Bassai Ionic capital inside a modern place of religious worship. Millar would have been confident of the favourable reception of the design because of the positive reviews he had received six years earlier when he used the Bassai Ionic column at Castlereagh Church.

The crucial differences between Millar's use of the Bassai Ionic column at Portaferrry, as opposed to his earlier use at Castlereagh, is that at Portaferry the Bassai column is not reproduced in its full and exact archaeological form. This could be seen as a development in Millar's architectural style and may be related to his knowledge or awareness of Cockerell's very free interpretations of the Bassai Ionic column in several of his famous buildings.

Once again, Bassai's links with Iktinos and Classical Athens combined with the perceived 'greater antiquity' of the design of its unique Ionic columns can be seen to greatly appeal to Millar and Ulster Presbyterians. Additionally, it seems strangely coincidental that prior to Millar, Cockerell had been the only architect to regularly use both the Bassai Ionic columns and the Rhamnous Doric columns in his designs. Moreover, at the Sun Fire Office building Cockerell had actually used both of these unusual columns – just as Millar did at Portaferry Church. It is therefore highly possible that Millar was influenced by Cockerell in his application of these otherwise rarely used columns.

A further reason why the Bassai Ionic column would have appealed to Millar and his fellow Presbyterians is because they already favoured the mainstream Ionic and Doric orders and used them extensively in their Neo-Classical churches, with the Corinthian

order at this time being distinctly unpopular. This was because in the Classical language of architecture for the period, as originally propounded by the Roman architect Vitruvius and later by the Italian Renaissance scholar, Sebastiano Serlio (1475-1554), the Doric order is associated with strength and masculinity and Ionic order is associated with either a matronly woman or with the wise academic mind. Serlio mused that: 'If you had to make a building, whether public or private for men of letters and of a quiet life ... the Ionic order would be for them (Serlio 1996, 320). The highly decorative Corinthian order was considered by Serlio to be representative of a young female and suitable for religious buildings dedicated to the Virgin Mary. In post-Reformation Britain, Serlio's opinions on the Ionic and Doric orders were generally accepted, but in opposition to Serlio, the Corinthian order was considered by many to be distinctly un-virgin like and dangerously feminine and alluring. In the seventeenth century the Corinthian order was described by the English architect, Sir Henry Wotton, as being 'lascivious' and 'decked like a wanton courtezan' (Summerson 1991, 15). Wotton also remarked that 'the morals of Corinth were bad anyway' (Summerson 1991, 15). Interestingly, Cockerell propounds this view that the 'highly ornamented' Corinthian order was unfit for a place of Christian worship, as a diary entry he made in 1824, whilst visiting St Philip's Church in Regent Street, London, proves. Cockerell commented that:

> Corinthian, highly ornamented, ill adapted to seriousness of worship... The scagliola (coloured plaster) columns most inappropriate ... finery misplaced in a temple' (Cockerell cited in Watkin 1974, 67).

Cockerell's comments are remarkable as he himself had used the Corinthian order inside the Hanover Chapel in London, which he designed in 1821 (demolished 1896). The Corinthian column he used inside this church was loosely based on that of the Golden Gate at Constantinople erected by Theodosius II in the fifth century (Watkin 1974, 142) and he may have justified its presence because it emanated from an early Christian setting. It is interesting that Cockerell's comments come after 1823 and his visit to Ulster, where in late October of that year, he had talked in depth to a Presbyterian minister. Whatever Cockerell's reasons for these comments, it is clear that in the year 1823 there was some form of evangelical development in his moral thought and by 1824 he shared the same views as many Presbyterians (of that specific period) in considering the Corinthian column unsuitable for a Christian church. Against this blend of architecture and morality it is clear that the unique Bassai Ionic, perceived to be of a particularly 'ancient character', would be considered appropriate for a Presbyterian church, especially with the added esteem of it having been designed by Iktinos.

The 'distyle in antis' arrangement of columns found at the entrance to Castlereagh church was extremely popular in Presbyterian Church architecture of the period (Curl 1980, 18). The explanation for this can once again be traced back to the Calvinist ideology of associating the reformed faith with its biblical roots. In the Old Testament, the description of the Temple of Solomon describes the temple as having had two giant bronze columns at its main entrance. These columns are called Jachim and Boaz (Old Testament Kings 1:7:21). Jachim is associated with wisdom and foundation, meaning 'he shall establish' and Boaz is associated with strength (Curl 2002, 29). It is significant that Freemason's halls often have this column arrangement for similar theological/ideological reasons and many nineteenth-century Ulster

Presbyterians were dedicated Freemasons. Ivan Herbison (2000) has highlighted this strong Masonic culture amongst the mainly Presbyterian Ulster Scots Rhyming Weavers and their associates in Down and Antrim, and James Stevens Curl (2002), via the medium of architecture and public monuments, has illustrated its presence throughout much of Ulster Protestant society. It is also significant that many extremely famous nineteenth-century architects were Freemasons, for example Sir John Soane. This makes it highly probable that John Millar and other Presbyterians are emulating this biblically inspired architectural arrangement at the entrances to their churches in this period.

This blend of Calvinist religious ideology and Greek architecture lasted for a large part of the nineteenth century in Ulster and especially in Portaferry, as a sermon preached in the church in September 1891 illustrates. The Reverend John Boyd proclaimed proudly to the congregation that:

> Our church is in the philosophy and culture of an Athenian temple, in which are supplied full supplies of light with superior acoustic qualities, these latter generally accompanying square flat ceilings, illustrating Mr Spurgeon's saying that "The devil invented Gothic that the people might not hear"... John Miller was architect of the building; but the whole work was faithfully superintended by the Rev. John Orr ... (Boyd 1892, 10).

Boyd's reference to the popular Baptist preacher, Charles Haddon Spurgeon, who regularly preached to crowds of several thousand in Victorian London, emphasises once again how the Presbyterians consciously went against the trend for Gothic architecture because they perceived it to be papist. Spurgeon was adamant that the

only sacred architecture for a Protestant Christian place of worship was Greek, as this was the language of the New Testament. At the laying of the foundation stone for the New Tabernacle Church in London on August 16th 1859, Spurgeon stated:

> Every Baptist place should be Grecian - never Gothic ... We owe our scriptures to the Grecian language ... and God gave us the power and life of that master of the Grecian language, the apostle Paul (Spurgeon, 16.8. 1859).

In summary, a nineteenth-century viewer could not have failed to be struck by the sheer austere force of Castlereagh Church's minimalist Greek architecture. The monumental doorway, with its massive Bassai Ionic columns copied from *The Antiquities of Athens, Vol IV,* and set 'distyle in antis' with resonances of the Old Testament, was a very powerful public display of Calvinist ideology and Classical learning. Millar's application of the complete Bassai Ionic column at Castlereagh Church resulted in one of the most unusual and bold entrances to a place of worship in the period. As we have seen the church's design and, most importantly the Bassai columns, were well received by critics in contemporary reports, with the columns being described as 'beautiful'; a view which ran completely contrary to accepted opinions.

At Portaferry, Millar created an austere Greek 'temple' which was also a powerful advertisement of Presbyterian values. Additional to the press reports, where the church was described as being of the architectural style from the 'time of Pericles', it was further praised as being an example of 'perfection and harmonious beauty, without stooping to the factious aid of adventitious embellishment' (*C.E.A. Journal*

1842, 67). It has also been demonstrated that in his designs for this building, Millar used the unusual Doric columns from the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous and the capitals from the strange Bassai Ionic column, and it seems more than a coincidence that both these idiosyncratic columns were favourite motifs of Cockerell.

Furthermore, it is clear that a combination of extraordinary cultural, religious and political circumstances in Ulster, which resulted in the Presbyterian community at this time considering Classical Greek architecture as the only fitting architecture for their places of worship, precipitated both these historically significant instances of the temple's reception. Millar would not have been able to create and build such unique designs that featured Bassai Ionic columns without the approval of the congregation's ministers and building committees, who would have nearly all been well educated in the Classics. Additionally, it is clear that Millar was inspired by the 1830 edition of *The Antiquities of Athens,* in which the temple's architecture was first published. Finally, it appears highly likely that Millar was greatly influenced by Cockerell, who was synonymous with Temple of Apollo at Bassai and was already famous in Ulster and throughout Britain at the time when Millar was training and practising as an architect.

(iii) C.R. Cockerell's Designs at Cambridge and Oxford.

At the time Millar was designing and building Portaferry Church Cockerell was designing and overseeing the construction of two of his greatest buildings, the Cambridge University Library, followed shortly by the Ashmolean Museum and Taylorian Institute. The Cambridge University Library was built in 1837 and Cockerell used the Bassai Ionic column in his design for the interior of the building. The design has been hailed as Cockerell's 'noblest interior' (Watkin 1974, 194).

Cockerell placed pairs of Bassai Ionic columns at both ends of the principle floors of the library (Fig. 3: 10). These columns are *not* exact archaeological reproductions of the Bassai Ionic order as they are free standing and not bonded to the wall. They do have a flared base and the distinctive Bassai Ionic capital, but overall they can be described as a free interpretation of the Bassai Ionic column. What is important here is that Cockerell is yet again employing a Bassai theme within his designs for a major architectural commission.

The building has long ceased to be the Cambridge University Library, as the rapid growth of Cambridge University rendered it too small. In 1988 the building was acquired by Gonville and Caius College and was converted into their own personal library in 1996. This purchase of Cockerell's old library was to precipitate a remarkable example of the architectural reception of the Temple at Bassai which is analysed in Chapter Four.

Cockerell's Ashmolean Museum is an extraordinary building that is arguably his greatest design. It was constructed in the years 1840 to 1845 and was highly acclaimed by many architectural critics in the nineteenth century. The design represents Cockerell's most famous use of the Bassai Ionic column. Cockerell drew on his immense knowledge of all the various forms of Classical architecture in his designs for the building, but his main inspiration was the Temple of Apollo at Bassai. He clearly conceived the building as a 'temple to the arts' - which was fitting as Apollo was worshipped in ancient Greece as a god of the arts. The concept of the 'temple of the arts' was an ideal that expressed the historicist and didactic premises of Neo-Classical thought in the nineteenth century because it combined a reverence for the creative achievements of antiquity with a desire to display those achievements for the education of mankind (Crook 1972, 107). Cockerell achieved this ideal in his

architecturally eclectic Classical design for the Ashmolean Museum, which as we saw in Chapter Two, housed (amongst other works of antiquity) complete casts of both the Bassai (Fig. 2:9) and Parthenon friezes.

The plaster cast of the Bassai frieze at the Ashmolean Museum acted as an internal advertisement of Cockerell's archaeological discoveries made in Greece in 1811, and the exterior of the building, with its giant columns topped with the Bassai Ionic capital, made an even grander public statement of these achievements. The building itself consists of a centre, composed of a tetrastyle portico with a statue of Apollo on top and two projecting wings (Fig. 3:11). The east wing houses the Taylorian Institute, which is a bold aggressive design with a high attic and four huge columns with Bassai Ionic capitals each surmounted by female statues which represent the languages of France, Italy, Germany and Spain. The vigorous curves of the Bassai Ionic capitals (that top the columns in both the central portico and the two side wings) add to the unsettling and forceful feel of the building. Cockerell's use of the capital was remarkable enough to be noted in the local newspapers of provincial towns such as Ipswich. The *Ipswich Journal* of Saturday 31st October 1846 reported the opening of the Oxford University Galleries (Ashmolean Museum) and stated that:

> Although the order is Greek, taken from the Temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae near Phigalia - a very singular and little used example - the building must be considered Italian in disposition, and claims for its architect great praise for originality and elegance (*Ipswich Journal* 31.10.1845).

The newspaper article demonstrates that Cockerell's high profile uses of Bassai features had resulted in the temple's unique architectural forms reaching a much wider audience. As we have already seen, details of the temple's architecture were published in English for the first time in 1830. Consequently, the temple's architectural forms were now being discussed by journalists in provincial towns of England such as Ipswich, which was a town that had no examples of Bassai architectural features in its own civic buildings. The quote also shows that the Bassai Ionic order was very little used and not popular amongst architects. Furthermore, it intimates that the Ashmolean's design was a success because of its 'Italian disposition' rather than the unusual Greek columns.

David Watkin has pointed out that in his original plans Cockerell intended to use the Roman Ionic capital, but then changed his designs at the last minute to include the Bassai Ionic capital. Watkin argues that Cockerell's hesitation to use the Bassai Ionic on the '*exterior*' of a building may have been because at the temple it was positioned on the '*interior*' (Watkin 1974, 202). This is not a plausible argument, as Cockerell appears to have had no hesitation in using the Bassai Corinthian capital on the exterior of buildings, yet it too was positioned on the interior of the temple. As we have seen, Cockerell used the Bassai Corinthian in his very early designs, in the portico at the Bristol Institution and on the bell tower at St Mary's Church in Banbury. Cockerell's uncertainty with regards to using the Bassai Ionic mirrors his experience at Grange Park in 1823, when his diary shows that he pondered over whether to use the Bassai Ionic in his designs for the dining room, and eventually opted to use it in place of a Roman Ionic. Cockerell clearly had reservations about using the Bassai Ionic capital and this must have emanated from the fact that he knew it was considered unattractive and odd by most of his contemporaries. However, it seems clear that his desire to

advertise his achievements at the Ashmolean and leave his own indelible and original stamp on a major public building eventually overrode these negative considerations. The Ashmolean represents the first use of the Bassai Ionic capital on the exterior of a building in England and came several years after Millar had used them on the exterior of Castlereagh Church.

The reception of the Ashmolean as a building is inextricably linked to the reception of the temple itself and the reputation of Cockerell as an architect. As previously stated it was not well received by all critics in the nineteenth century and this was also the case in the twentieth century. The most well known contemporary attack on the design of the Ashmolean came from Pugin, who in 1843 famously said of Cockerell and his building:

> It is a perfect disgrace to the Royal Academy that its Professor of Architecture should be permitted to poison the minds of the students ... A man who paganizes in the universities deserves no quarter ... the same architect is erecting another unsightly pile of pagan details ... which if it pleases the admirers of gin palace design ... will draw down the indignation of every true disciple of catholic and consistent architecture ... (Pugin 1969, 3).

Pugin's attack can be largely dismissed from the point of view of the critical analysis of both the Ashmolean's and the temple's architectural merits, as it was based purely on a sweeping ideological stance he had taken against all Classical architecture, which he believed to be pagan and representing the pre Christian age. Pugin's career had witnessed the rise of the popularity of Gothic architecture in the Victorian period, a

phenomenon which, as we saw above, the Ulster Presbyterians resisted for many years for morally similar - but diametrically opposed ideological and religious reasons.

A more positive and reasoned reception of the Ashmolean was articulated by the Victorian architectural critic, James Fergusson. Fergusson pointed out what he considered to be certain defects of the design, such as the fact that the two wings are of higher elevation than the centre. He does not mention the Bassai Ionic columns and overall he admired the building, recognising the learned knowledge of both architecture and archaeology expressed by Cockerell in his designs. Fergusson stated in 1873 that:

> In spite, however, of these and other defects which could be pointed out there is perhaps no building in England on which the refined student of architecture can dwell with so much pleasure. There is no chisel mark anywhere which is not the result of deep study ... It is quite refreshing, among the barbarism of both ancient and modern Gothic art in that city to dwell on something so pure and elegant as this (Fergusson 1873, 349 and 1891, 83).

The architectural historian, Nikolaus Pevsner, was less flattering of Cockerell's design for the Ashmolean, although he admires its force and originality and considers it a building which marks the transition from the strict Grecian style to a flamboyant Victorian Baroque style. Pevsner is critical of Cockerell's treatment of the corners in his design, focusing on the point where the two wings meet the centre section of the building, claiming that a column placed in these corners 'can neither be enjoyed or

justified' (Pevsner 1974, 269). Pevsner reserves special mention for Cockerell's use of the Bassai Ionic column, stating that the building has:

> ... a tetrastyle portico of Ionic columns of the variety of capital found at the Temple of Apollo at Bassae, which Cockerell had been amongst the first to study. It is an inelegant capital when compared with those of the Erechtheum or the Temple of Nike, but it has more force, and Cockerell evidently wanted a forceful building (Pevsner 1974, 268).

Pevsner clearly articulates the view that the capitals are inelegant and this is especially evident when it is compared to those of the Erechtheion or the Temple of Athena Nike, which are both situated on the Athenian Acropolis. It is significant that Pevsner's architectural comparison of the 'inelegant' Bassai Ionic capitals with the Ionic capitals of the two small temples on the Athenian Acropolis, almost mirrors what critics had generally said previously about the Bassai frieze – in that the frieze was considered inelegant when compared to those friezes which belonged to the Parthenon or the Temple of Athena Nike, but was more bold and forceful than them. Here we have the often repeated idea/view that the Temple of Apollo at Bassai and its frieze lack the elegant refinement of the material culture produced in the glittering metropolis of Classical Athens.

Following chronologically on from Pevsner, the director of Classical America (a society which promotes the Classical tradition in arts in the United States of America) H. Stafford Bryant, actually questions whether the Ashmolean Museum should even be categorised as a Classical building. In 1982, in his introductory notes for a new edition of Sir Albert Richardson's *Monumental Classic Architecture in Britain and*

Ireland (first published 1914), Stafford Bryant commented on Cockerell's design for the Ashmolean, claiming that:

> The free standing Ionic columns supporting entablatures have almost the character of Gothic buttresses or even structural supports in some Bauhaus exercise, and the buildings are full of curious ornament. The Ionic capitals are oddly modelled, to say the very least, and the reliefs on the convex frieze member seem more Coptic and Arabic ... "Odd" or "curious" seems the word ... Original certainly, but is it classical? (Stafford Bryant 1982, xvi).

Stafford Bryant describes the Bassai Ionic capitals as 'odd' in exactly the same manner as the English architect G.L. Taylor did over a century earlier, which demonstrates that the column is still unpopular. Strafford Bryant's comments offer an insight into why there appears to be no physical manifestation of the temple in the United States of America, an omission that is anomalous considering the popularity of Greek and Roman Classical architecture in that country. It is clear that the Ashmolean is not considered by Stafford Bryant to be a 'pure' example of a Classical building, and the Temple at Bassai, which was Cockerell's main inspiration for the design, with its elongated exterior and innovative interior with unusual Ionic columns, also shares some of this perception. As a result of this it has sat uneasily with most Neo-Classical architects and commentators of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Consequently, whilst many acknowledged the temple's archaeological and historical importance, in that for example it housed the earliest known example of a Corinthian capital, most Classical architects did not find the temple's architectural features aesthetically

appealing and this may explain why Bassai features have not been replicated in America.

Equally relevant in explaining the temple's lack of appeal in the United States of America, as compared to Britain, is the fact that Cockerell is not lauded there to anywhere near the same extent that he is in his home country. With regards to Cockerell, Stafford Bryant states:

> Cockerell is something of a beloved architectural figure in England ... He is the subject of an admiring biography by David Watkin ... and has been praised by Sir John Summerson (Stafford Bryant 1982, xvi).

Stafford Bryant is correct in his observations because Cockerell is a very popular figure amongst many Neo-Classical architects and architectural historians in England and the Ashmolean is regarded as one of Oxford's and Britain's finest buildings. David Watkin, in his learned but ultimately panegyric biography of Cockerell, describes the building as 'Cockerell's masterpiece' (Watkin 1974, xxi) and enthusiastically states that 'The Bassae volutes swing forward in a licentious way which Borromini might envy' (Watkin 1974, 202). This returns to the basic argument that without Cockerell, or his influence, there would be no architectural use of Bassai features, as Stafford Bryant intimates that a *part* of the reason why English commentators such as Summerson, Watkin and Richardson before them, find the Ashmolean so appealing as a Classical building (with its 'oddly modelled' Bassai columns) is because they admire Cockerell as an almost 'cult' personality. There is clearly a process of value creation demonstrated here between Cockerell and the architecture of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai, and this phenomenon is extremely

obvious in the most recent manifestations of the temple's architectural features that occur at Cambridge and Oxford Universities, which are analysed in Chapter Four.

(iv) The Architectural Reception of the Temple from 1854 to 1928.

At the beginning of the twentieth century Sir Albert Richardson was one of a group of enthusiasts for Cockerell and French Beaux-Arts Classicism. Cockerell's eclectic Classical style had anticipated the Beaux-Arts style and he had been appointed as one of the eight foreign associates of the Academie des Beaux-Arts de France (*D.N.B.* 2007, 358). Richardson and his cohorts strove to promote Cockerell's brand of Classical architecture in England.

Cockerell was viewed by Richardson and his likeminded associates as a heroic architect who kept the tradition of Classical architecture alive through the public mania for Gothic architecture in the Victorian period. For Richardson, architects such as Cockerell, Harvey Lonsdale Elmes (1800-1847) and Sir Charles Barry were like Phidias and Iktinos and in 1914 he stated that:

> They viewed the architectural problems of their day through the eyes of Greeks, full of appreciation for the purest sensuous beauty, never overstepping the limits of the academic, and thoroughly understanding the impartation of correct architectural character (Richardson 1982, 75).

Richardson regards the period after 1840, when Cockerell produced the Ashmolean at Oxford and St Georges Hall in Liverpool (the latter in conjunction with Elmes), as the 'Neo-Grec and Italian Phase' in architecture. This period was the zenith in English monumental Classical architectural history according to Richardson, and it was

largely precipitated by the knowledge gained from the earlier (or first) Greek Revival in architecture.

The impressive and monumental St George's Hall in Liverpool was designed by Elmes in 1841. It has been described by many, including David Watkin and Richardson, as the finest Neo-Classical building in Europe of the Victorian period. The magnificence of the hall was also recognised by contemporary commentators all over Britain with, for example, a Bristol newspaper reporting on the building's opening day. The article said that 'St George's Hall, Liverpool, a magnificent building, excelling everything of its class in the Empire, has just been opened with the Messiah and a full band and chorus' (*Bristol Mercury* 23.4.1854).

Tragically, Elmes did not live long enough to hear such praise. He died in 1847, several years before the building was finished and Cockerell was appointed to design the interior, which he completed between the years 1851-1854. The interior of this massive structure is as equally lauded as the exterior, and the small concert hall, situated on the first floor at the north end of the building, is considered by Watkin to be 'the finest interior design of Cockerell's career' (Watkin 1974, 241). The concert hall was completed in 1854 (Fig. 3:12) and the luxurious interior anticipates the later Second Empire Style displayed at the sumptuous Salle des Spectacles at Fontainbleau in France. In the eclectic Classical design Cockerell once again incorporates motifs from Greek architecture (and Roman) and most importantly, from the Temple of Apollo at Bassai. On the stage in the small concert hall he positioned eight columns derived from the temple's single Corinthian column. The capitals are an archaeologically correct copy from the one found at the temple (as drawn by Cockerell), but the bottom third of the fluted column shafts are richly decorated with swirling ornamentation that is purely the product of Cockerell's imagination and

exuberant design. Cockerell's use of the Bassai Corinthian capital is (once again) a reference to his archaeological discoveries but it also forms part of a successful and consciously luxurious design. It is interesting that Cockerell's use of the Bassai Corinthian capital in public buildings never excited contemporary comment in the way the Bassai Ionic capital did. This is because it is not as strikingly different to other Corinthian columns - in the instantly recognisable way - that the Bassai Ionic is to other columns of the Ionic order; in short it is less challenging and more acceptable to Classical tastes than the Bassai Ionic. Yet, it is with the 'odd' Bassai Ionic column that Cockerell is most associated and by the end of his career he had become synonymous with the column and the temple. This is most succinctly reflected in Cockerell's marble memorial tablet in St Paul's Cathedral in London. This public memorial stone was erected after Cockerell's death in 1863. The tablet unsurprisingly features a Bassai Ionic column (Fig. 3:13).

After the use of the Bassai Corinthian capital at St George's Hall in 1854 no feature from the temple appears to have been utilized again in any architectural designs in England until 1914, by which time Classical architecture and Cockerell had become fashionable again. As we have already seen, Richardson first published his seminal book *Monumental Classical Architecture in Britain and Ireland* in 1914, and the renewed interest in Classical Greek architecture was such that it prompted W.R. Lethaby to complain in 1911 of the 'endeavour to bring about a Renaissance of Professor Cockerell's Greek' (Lethaby cited in Watkin 1974, 246). Furthermore, the early years of the twentieth century have been succinctly described by the eminent architectural historian Sir John Summerson as:

> the period in which Victorianism became the target of ridicule, in which the search for free contemporary architectural expression was finally abandoned in favour of forms of classicism, which having been laid aside for a great many years, possessed an adventitious novelty (Summerson cited in Cunningham 2001, 64).

If the use of Classical architecture at this time possessed an 'adventitious novelty', then the use of elements from the Temple of Apollo at Bassai (which had been rarely replicated even at the height of the Greek Revival) provided the architect in this period with an even greater novelty factor in his bid to create fresh and interesting designs. However, despite there being a revival in the use of Cockerell's style of architecture, the actual temple's architecture was still rarely used and can only be found in two known locations in England in the early twentieth century. It seems that it was first used by R. Frank Atkinson in 1914 when he incorporated a stylised version of the curvilinear Bassai Ionic capital into his designs for the exterior facade of the Midland Adelphi Hotel in Liverpool (Fig. 3: 14). This capital is a strange combination of a standard Ionic capital combined with the distinctive arched or 'hump backed' Bassai Ionic capital.

The Midland Adelphi was opened just before the First World War and was regarded as one of Britain's most luxurious hotels. Its sheer size and splendour reflected the wealth of Liverpool and its key position in transatlantic travel at this time. The hotel was the first in Britain to have a telephone in every room. A contemporary critic in the *Caterer and Hotelkeepers Gazette* commented in April 1914 that 'The hotel is of six storeys and has a massive imposing exterior, the architecture being in a chaste Neo-Grecian style' (cited in Denby 1998, 67). The same article also mentions the

luxurious French restaurant inspired by Fontainbleau, the gentleman's sitting room and a Masonic room (Denby 1998, 67).

The impressive hotel is constructed of a steel frame with smooth Portland stone cladding. Atkinson set the windows almost flush in the vast imposing cliff-like stone walls and this emphasises the thinness of the cladding to the steel frame. The restrained decorative carving (produced by H.H. Martyn and Company) on the exterior of the building contributes to its imposing austerity and the *Modern Building Record* stated that it was 'designed in a simple manner with rarely an architrave to the windows' (*Modern Building Record* 1913, 108). Despite the austerity of the design, Atkinson did use columns and pilasters to decorate the exterior of the building. There are a series of columns and pilasters which are surmounted by stylised Ionic capitals that are inspired by the unique 'hump backed' Bassai Ionic capital (Fig. 3:14). This demonstrates Atkinson's awareness of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai and Cockerell. Furthermore, Atkinson used other popular Classical motifs on the exterior of the hotel, for example small lion headed water spouts. These are dotted along the building's guttering (Fig. 3:14) and are similar in manner to those used by Cockerell at the Ashmolean Museum. Lion heads such as these appear in Cockerell's drawings (reconstruction) of the temple's roof and were published in his 1860 monograph (Cockerell 1860, plate VI). Atkinson's Adelphi Hotel is an eclectic building that combines Classical architecture with modern steel construction materials and features. As such, the design is very much in the spirit and manner of Cockerell.

As a native of Liverpool, Atkinson opened architectural offices in both his home town and in London. The Liverpool Archirectural School at this time was one of the most influential in Britain and it admired the Beaux-Arts style of Classicism. Atkinson had been an advocate of an austere form of Classicism for several years before he

designed the Adelphi Hotel and in 1908-09 had worked with the Scottish Classical architect, John James Burnett (1857-1938) on the designs for the Selfridges department store in London, notable for its imposing façade of engaged Ionic columns.

It is significant that 'humped' Ionic column capitals inspired by those present at the Temple of Apollo at Bassai should make their first re-appearance for over fifty years in the designs of a Liverpool building, as it seems that the very last time elements from the temple were used anywhere prior to this was by Cockerell himself at St. George's Hall. Indeed, this building is situated very close to the Adelphi Hotel. It is highly likely that Atkinson was aware of the city's connection to the temple, not just because of Cockerell and his architectural use of the Bassai Corinthian capital at St George's Hall, but also via the Liverpool born architect John Foster and the Bassai frieze.

There were many contemporary literary sources in the period which featured the Bassai Ionic capital that inspired Atkinson, for example Sir Banister Fletcher's *History of Architecture in the Comparative Method* (first edition of 1896, reprinted 1910, 1911, and most recently a twentieth edition in 1996). Fletcher published drawings of all the known Greek Ionic columns on a single page (Fig. 3:17) and this provived a convienent source of reference for both architects and students. Despite this, Atkinson appears to be unique in his inspirational use of the curvaceous Bassai Ionic capital at this time, although there is evidence that architectural students were using features from Bassai in their training drawings. The period witnessed the beginnings of formal architectural education and the Liverpool University School of Architecture was one of the first in Britain. It opened in 1894-1895. This was followed by the Architectural Association day school in London, which opened in

1901 (Cunningham 2001, 70). A set of drawings produced by a student at the school in 1913 show a study for an Attic pavilion in a park (Fig. 3:15). It features Bassai Ionic columns that are postioned in the interior room of the design. The student was Michael Waterhouse, who was the grandson of the more famous architect, Alfred Waterhouse who designed the Natural History Museum in London. Michael Waterhouse (1888-1956) did not utilise the Bassai Ionic column outside of the classroom, but the example serves to show that architectural students of the period were very aware of the temple and its orders; they just chose not to use them.

After Atkinson, the next uses of features from the temple appear in a relatively obscure and largely forgotten building constructed in Manchester. The Manchester and County Bank opened its doors on 11th June 1928 and was featured in a report in the *Manchester Guardian* newspaper. It is a similar building to the Midland Adelphi Hotel in Liverpool in that it is made of the same steel construction with Portland stone cladding. The newspaper article states:

> The Piccadilly building which is open today rises five floors above the ground floor ... All the ground floor and the basement is to be occupied by the bank. The B.B.C. are taking the rest of the building for their new studios ... Having a frontage area of 58 feet and a depth of 114 feet the building is of steel construction, faced with Portland stone on the Piccadilly front and brick to the back street ... Messrs Mills and Murgatroyd, the architects for the building, have imparted to the exterior design an air of strength and dignity (*Manchester Guardian* 11.6.1928.).

The newspaper article does not mention any of the Classical features of the building, as the unknown author is mainly concerned with the business tenants that will be occupying the offices, with the British Broadcasting Corporation being a particularly glamorous example. Such occupants suggest that the building was considered very prestigious in 1928. The journalist who wrote the article is clearly not knowledgable in architecture, although he does mention the basic aspects of the building's construction and comments that the design is dignified and imposing. In contrast to this, a very learned article regarding the building was published two months later in the same newspaper. It was written by a very well known academic figure, C.H. Reilly, who had been appointed as Roscoe Professor to the Liverpool University School of Architecture in 1904. The Professor's description of the new Manchester and County Bank displays his extensive architectural knowledge:

> A strong Italian balcony projects under the second storey, and while this is a very well modelled feature in itself it appears to powerful for the long thin pilasters under it with their Greek capitals ... As the eye travels then over this front one sees a variety of interesting features not very well assimilated ... Individually all these features show scholarship and knowledge, such as the capitals to the pilasters from the Temple of Apollo at Bassai discovered by Professor Cockerell, the Alfred Stevens lions and the North Italian balcony ... all these things are good in themselves but have not been entirely fused together. Yet it must be admitted that the building stands out boldly, and that in its main lines it is strong and effective (Reilly 23.8.1928.).

In this *Manchester Guardian* article, the erudite Reilly recognises the Bassai Ionic capital and instantly equates it with Cockerell. Reilly would have been aware that the Bassai Ionic capital had been rarely used in architectural designs. He is impressed that the architect has 'knowledge' of the Bassai capital, the Alfred Steven's lions and the North Italian balcony, but feels that these various architectural elements have not been fused together successfully on the façade of the building. Interestingly, although the Bassai Ionic capitals at Manchester are highly stylised in a similar fashion to those used by Atkinson on the Adelphi Hotel, they differ from the latter in that they are more archaeologically correct. At Manchester the Ionic capital is both 'hump-backed' and has four volutes which project at forty-five degree angles which form corner volutes (Fig.3:16), whereas at the Adelphi the capitals only display the distinctive Bassai Ionic 'humped' or arching curve above the volutes.

The architect at Manchester was clearly trying to create an eclectic 'Cockerellian' style building, but did not achieve a fully balanced design. The premises are now occupied by the National Westminster Bank (Fig. 3:16) and an entry in Nikolaus Pevsner's revised edition of the *Buildings of England* (2004) describes the building in the following terms:

> The Nat West Bank c.1930 by J. Henbrow of Mills and Murgatroyd. A nicely austere frontage with stylised Ionic pilasters ... (Hartwell, Hyde and Pevsner 2004, 326).

In this summary there is no mention of the impressive Portland stone cladding or more specifically the six Bassai Ionic capitals. It is evident that this rare example of the use of the Bassai Ionic has been overlooked by modern commentators in much the

same way as Atkinson's (less archaeologically correct) version of the Bassai Ionic capital in Liverpool has been. More importantly, this instance of the temple's reception in Manchester appears to be the last known time the Bassai Ionic capital was used in an architectural design for almost seventy years until they were used at Cambridge University in 1998, which is the subject of the next chapter.

To conclude, it is evident that Cockerell's works were the Classical ideal to which a group of early twentieth-century architects, who sought to bring about a revival in the appreciation of Classical architecture, aspired. This 'second' Greek revival and renewed interest in Cockerell still only resulted in two buildings in the period being constructed that used features from the Temple of Apollo at Bassai, despite the temple having been a major source of inspiration for Cockerell himself. Such facts prove that the enduring 'unattractiveness' of forms from the temple to architects had persisted into the twentieth century and it is clear that R.F. Atkinson and J. Henbrow, who did use features from Bassai, were influenced by Cockerell's standing as a unique designer of genius who had been largely ignored for the preceding half century when Classical architecture was relatively unfashionable in England. The strongest negative indictment on the architectural reception of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai is the fact that its forms do not appear to have been reproduced anywhere in the United States of America, a country which has embraced and fostered the design and construction of both Greek and Roman Neo-Classical architecture on a very large scale. The American, H. Stafford Bryant, provided an insight into why this is the case, when he stated that the Bassai Ionic capitals at the Ashmolean Museum were 'oddly modelled' with the columns had the 'character of Gothic buttresses' and even questioned whether the Ashmolean should be considered a Classical building. It is evident that the 'odd' architecture of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai is not palatable to the general

American or European Classical taste. Additionally, its limited use in England derives ultimately from Cockerell (either directly or indirectly), who as a man of ambition and talent worked hard to advertise his archaeological achievements by using elements from these discoveries to create bold and original architectural designs. Cockerell became synonymous with the temple as a result of this, and values were later attached to the temple by certain sections of the architectural community because of this relationship. Equally, the temple's architectural use and positive reception in Ireland is derived from both the specific political and cultural considerations that existed within the Ulster Presbyterian community and the enigmatic Presbyterian architect, John Millar, who owned a copy of the *Antiquities of Athens, Vol IV* (which featured the temple's architecture), trained in London and was also probably influenced by Cockerell. Finally, Cockerell's position in England as a particularly 'beloved architectural figure' and the subject of further praise in the late twentieth century from architectural historians such as Sir John Summerson and Professor David Watkin, has contributed to a sharpening of the process of value creation that exists between Cockerell and the temple. This in turn has strongly influenced the most recent uses of the temple's architectural forms at Cambridge University in 1998 and Oxford University in 2001, which are the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRINCES, POLITICIANS AND TEMPLES OF LEARNED CONCEIT: OXBRIDGE AND THE RECENT ARCHITECTURAL RECEPTION OF THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO AT BASSAI

There is no need of visiting the distant shores of Greece and Egypt to make discoveries in art, England alone abounds in hidden and unknown antiquities ... the Pagan Monster [Classical art and architecture] *which has ruled so long, and with such powerful sway over the intellects of mankind, is now tottering to its fall ... (Pugin 2003, 17-18).*

The past thirty years has witnessed a further revival in the appreciation and construction of Classical Architecture, a phenomenon that would have been condemned by Pugin, who penned the above quote in 1841 in fervent opposition to the early nineteenth-century fashion for Neo-Classical art and architecture. Passionate exponents of this recent revival are an international group of well known architects and academics who have formulated an effective polemic against the criticisms of Classical architecture by the proponents of the Modernist paradigm. This band of modern day Neo-Classicists, who have been described in Britain as having the 'whole weight of the architectural establishment against them' (Melvin 2002, 38), include amongst their European ranks, Professor David Watkin of Cambridge University and the well known architects Robert Adam, John Simpson, Quinlan Terry, Leon Crier and Demetri Porphyrios. Despite the documented unpopularity of the Classical movement within the architectural fraternity, this group of 'architectural dissenters' have received strong support from wealthy and powerful patrons such as HRH the Prince of Wales, the King and Queen of Jordan, Lord MacAlpine and Baroness Margaret Thatcher, who whilst Prime Minister of Britain in 1988 commissioned

Quinlan Terry to revamp three state rooms at 10 Downing Street. David Watkin has described the meeting of Terry and Thatcher as the coming together of a traditionalist architect with the greatest traditionalist politician of recent times adding that 'The beautiful result has received virtually no publicity in England such is the hostility of the architectural profession to Terry and, indeed, to Mrs Thatcher' (Watkin 1996, 8).

The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge have, like their aforementioned illustrious alumni (Margaret Thatcher and the Prince of Wales are both Oxbridge graduates), embraced the Classical Revival to a notable degree with Quinlan Terry's Howard Building (1985-1986) and Maitland Robinson Library (1992-1993) at Downing College, Cambridge, representing a significant return to Classicism by the Oxbridge axis (Steele 1997, 155). David Watkin, ever keen to promote the virtues of Classical architecture, has claimed that the fellows at Downing College opted for Terry's Classical designs because of the well documented structural failures of Sir James Stirling's Modernist style Cambridge University History Library of 1968 (Watkin 1996, 8). Further commissions for Classicist architects followed, including Demetri Porphyrios' New Longwall Quadrangle for Magdalene College, Oxford (1991), John Simpson's magnificent new Fellows' Dining Hall at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge (1998) and Robert Adam's impressive Oxford University Sackler Library (2001). This trend has continued right up to the present day, with John Simpson, fresh from his triumph of completing the new Queen's Gallery at Buckingham Palace, being given commissions at Peterhouse College, Cambridge and St Margaret Hall, Oxford.

Significantly, it is within the context of this elitist Oxbridge arena and a powerful Prince of Wales backed pro-Classicist lobby that the only contemporary use of architectural features from the Temple of Apollo at Bassai occur, being used both by

Simpson at Gonville and Caius and by Adam at the Sackler Library. This chapter identifies the forms these recent architectural manifestations of Bassai at Oxford and Cambridge take. It examines the social, cultural, historical and aesthetic reasons for the choice and use of these forms, analyzing the intellectual processes that have been involved in the selection and adaptation of Bassai's architectural features. Finally, it demonstrates the ever changing reception of the temple at Oxbridge, analyzing how the ancient monument has impacted on the architectural space of the two universities, creating new social and political narratives in the twenty-first century that are similar in many ways to Cockerell's nineteenth-century architectural use of the temple in an Oxbridge setting.

(i) The 'Battle of the Architectural Styles' and 'Morality and Architecture'.

Architects directly intervene into both the public and the private world and, whether they are conscious of it or not, they act politically, with even the purely formal decisions they make being paraphrased in metaphors from the social sphere. The extent to which this is true is much debated, but aside from the more subtle philosophical and sociological arguments, it is patently clear that the current Classical Revival, by the very polemical nature of its stance against the Modern Movement, is overtly political. David Watkin, a leading academic and respected elder statesman of the 'modern' Classical Revival makes this very clear when he stated in the City Journal in 1996 that:

> ... the history of the hatred of Classicism and traditionalism in England is still to be written. A singular resistance to it was provided by the monumental column that Quinlan Terry built in 1976 at West Green

> House Hampshire for Lord McAlpine ... deputy chairman of the Conservative party from 1979-1983. Built at a time when the Labour government was imposing shockingly high taxes, the column bears an inscription in Latin that can be translated as: *This monument was built with a large sum of money that would otherwise have fallen sooner or later into the hands of the tax gatherers*. To create a thing of beauty, functionally useless, was a nobler end for McAlpine's wealth than any use the government could make for it (Watkin 1996, 8).

It is evident that here we see both Classical architecture and the Classical language of Latin being used to make a political statement against a Labour government by a wealthy Tory politician and a strong socio-political and cultural connection being forged between traditional Conservative politics and Classical architecture. It is clear that Watkin agrees with McAlpine's views and compounds this polemic further by claiming that in England after 1945 'the socialist stranglehold was two sided in that it condemned both traditional architectural styles and traditional wealth' (Watkin 1996, 8). He further states that 'evidence about the flickering rebellious survival of traditional and Classical architecture was suppressed, rather like free thought in Soviet Russia' (Watkin 1996, 8). In this article Watkin is continuing the argument he first voiced in his seminal book *Morality and Architecture* (1977), where he first attacked the Modernist philosophy which claimed that true and great architecture should reflect the 'spirit of its age' or the Hegelian *zeitgeist* and that traditional or Classical architecture was merely pastiche. Watkin reiterated this argument even more forcefully in his 2001 revised edition of this book. He felt the book needed to be reissued because 'this hatred of the past, associated with constant assault on what was

identified in every field of endeavour as the forces of conservatism' (Watkin 2001, viii) had seemed to be disappearing in the 1980s but has now 'reared its head again and lead to the promotion of old High Tec architects such as Sir Norman Foster and Sir Richard Rogers, who in the new millennium now dominate the architectural scene' (Watkin 2001, ix). It is evident from this rhetoric that Watkin and the other proponents of Classicism are engaged in an ongoing war with the upper echelons of the architectural establishment, and this polarised debate is encouraged by both the Prince of Wales, who has a tendency to naively regard anything with a flat roof as bad and conversely any building with columns as good, and the Modernists, who adopt the extreme reverse position (Stamp 2004, 108). It is also clear that Watkin feels that the future of Classical architecture tends to be particularly under threat during the tenure of Labour governments, with both editions of *Morality and Architecture* being published whilst the Labour Party was in power.

It is significant that the current architectural reception of Bassai should occur amidst this modern 'battle of the styles' as this was precisely the case in the nineteenth century. In Cockerell's day the 'battle' was between Classical architecture and Neo-Gothic architecture. As was shown in Chapter Three, Cockerell used architectural features from the temple in his designs for Oxford's Ashmolean Museum and Taylorian Institute (Fig. 3:10) and the design was strongly condemned by Pugin, for being pagan, vulgar and appealing to the admirers of 'gin palaces'.

A connection with Cockerell and the sense of a shared similarity of circumstances is very evident in the thought processes of twenty-first century Neo-Classicists in England and vividly colours the current modes of the temple's reception. Watkin is arguably the world's leading expert on Cockerell and in his writings he compares Pugin's moralizing assault on Neo-Classicism (and to Cockerell) with the Modernist

Movement's attitudes towards Classical Architecture. He argues that they both see architecture and design as instruments of moral and social reform and subsequently promoted the Gothic and Modernist styles to the exclusion of all else in the contemporary architecture of their respective ages (Watkin 2001, xv).

Fundamental tenets held by Watkin, Krier, Porphyrios and the other modern Neo-Classicists are the views that Classicism is a traditional language that has been understood at various levels by the majority of western society for centuries. For them Classicism is more than a mere style because, as Porphyrios has said, it transcends the vicissitudes of time and fashion as an enduring set of principles, and in those things we call Classical we recognise a kind of timeless present that is contemporaneous and at ease with every historical period (Steele 1997, 142). These are valid and logical arguments and it is significant that on the latter point in particular Cockerell was one of the earliest known architects to express this view. Cockerell exclaimed to his students at a Royal Academy Lecture in 1845 that:

> We are identified with time; we ourselves become part of history... Architecture belongs to history ... Calculated for endurance to the future *she* must be based on the principles of the past ... (Cockerell cited in Watkin 1974, 105).

A further example of this sense of shared experience with Cockerell is illustrated in Robert Adam's comments concerning his designs for the Oxford University Sackler Library (2001). Adams explains that the designs on the decorative bronze frieze that adorns the exterior of the library were subject to a university 'taste' committee. The frieze design includes four females, clad in peplos, who represent the four types of

library: ancient, civic, public and private (Fig. 4:1 and Fig. 4:3). The committee were unhappy with this idea and wanted to have the Classical sculptor, Alexander Stoddart, sacked from the job and the frieze reduced to 'dumb patterns' (Adam 2004, 88). Adam objected to this and stated that while these unsuccessful spoiling tactics were under way, both he and Stoddart drew consolation from the fact that in 1840 Cockerell took a full year to persuade a similar Oxford University committee that his standing figures, which are placed on top of the four Bassai Ionic style columns (that constitute the portico of the Taylorian Institute), should be female (Adam 2004, 88). Cockerell's four dignified ladies represent the modern languages of Europe, which is fitting for the Taylorian Institute's role as a centre for the study of modern languages (Fig. 4:2) Stoddart's frieze design on the Sackler, also containing four females (Fig. 4:3), was evidently inspired in some part by Cockerell. Furthermore, the embattled Adam is expressing a strong affinity with the nineteenth-century embattled Cockerell. It is clear that the current instances of the temple's reception are heavily influenced by Cockerell and have to be viewed through the lens of his considerable impact both on the architecture of Oxford and Cambridge and on architectural history in general. As we have seen, Cockerell's excavation of the temple and his subsequent use of it in his most successful architectural designs made him famous. Consequently, there has been a mutual process of value creation between Cockerell and Bassai in these settings, as their histories have become inextricably entwined with each enhancing the other's standing.

(ii) John Simpson's Reproduction of the Temple's Cella at Cambridge University.

The most overt and prolific instance of the modern reception of Bassai is to be found at Cambridge University, with John Simpson's exquisite remodelling of the old

Gonville and Caius College Library into an elegant reproduction of the interior of the temple's cella. This opulent room is the Fellows' Dining Room and it represents a remarkable instance of reception that is set against the dual background of the influence of Cockerell and the promotion of traditional Classical architecture in the perceived hostile modern era.

Gonville and Caius College acquired Cockerell's old Cambridge University Library in 1988 and moved their collection into the building in 1996, leaving their original library, designed by Anthony Salvin in 1854, empty and ready to be adapted for new uses (Watkin 1998, 56). A limited competition was held for the commission and the Classical architect John Simpson won the contract to remodel the old library's rooms. It is not surprising that Simpson won the commission as a strong Classicist lobby existed at the college in the form of the then Master of the College, Neil McKendrick, an ardent admirer of Classical architecture, and David Watkin, who at the time was acting director of studies in the History of Art at Caius (Watkin 1998, 56). Simpson had already earned the support of the Prince of Wales because of his Classical designs and his views that new contributions to the built environment should be in harmony with local traditions. This ideology, and a very useful royal connection, may have enhanced his successful tender for the commission. It is also significant, from the point of view of a traditionalist lobby that a substantial part of the cost of the commission was paid for by Lady Colyton, the benefaction being in honour of her dead husband, Lord Colyton, who studied at Eton and then Cambridge. Lord Colyton has been a high profile Tory politician who once served as Minister for Overseas Trade in a Conservative government. As part of the commission, Simpson was also required to remodel a reading room for the fellows. Simpson's reading room is Classical in design and it leads into the 'Bassai inspired' Fellows' Dining Room. The

reading room has been named the Lord Colyton Hall in recognition of the generous donation. Interestingly, Lady Colyton had previously donated five million dollars to Pennsylvania University for a new History of Art Department, however the night before it was due to be opened by Margaret Thatcher it was unfortunately burnt down (McKendrick 1998, 48).

Conservative politicians and architectural polemics aside, the Fellows' Dining Room created by Simpson at Gonville and Caius is notable for its beauty (Fig 4:4) and its attention to various correct archaeological details in its reproduction of the temple's cella. These archaeological details represent those that were published by Cockerell in 1860 (Fig 4:6) and Cockerell's influence is indelibly stamped on Simpson's design. The room is (in a paradoxical sense) a highly original Neo-Classical interior, as in the history of architecture no other architect has ever attempted to recreat so faithfully the interior of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai with its idiosyncratic Ionic columns and single Corinthian column. As we saw in Chapter Three, the Bassai Ionic columns are notable for their curvaceous canted capitals and their unusual flared bases, which differ from other commonly found models of Ionic-Attic bases. These unique Ionic columns form the ends of short spur walls and they herald the introduction to Greek architecture of the projecting half column (Cooper 1996, 285).

Cockerell had used the Bassai Ionic capitals in a dining room at Grange Park House in Hampshire in 1823, but this free interpretation did not include the reproduction of the highly distinctive column shafts with their flared bases. Furthermore, although Cockerell at Grange Park was the first to use the Bassai Ionic capital, it was the Irish architect John Millar who was the first to use the whole Bassai Ionic column, attached to a spur wall and complete with capitals and flared bases, on the exterior of Castlereagh church in 1834, as discussed in Chapter Three. Millar and Simpson

remain the only architects who have ever reproduced the Bassai Ionic column in its full form.

At Bassai there are four of these Ionic columns set at right angles along each of the long walls of the cella creating four pairs (Fig. A:1). A fifth pair of these columns is placed diagonally to the axis of the building and a single Corinthian column stood at the intersection of the line connecting these two columns and the main axis of symmetry of the cella. This column is separated the cella from a small adyton, in which it is generally thought that the cult statue of Apollo stood. Simpson has reproduced the cella's columns and plan, except for the addition of an extra pair of Ionic columns. This additional sixth pair of columns was included to balance the design, as the dining room is seventy feet long, which is approximately fifteen feet longer than the temple's cella. Additionally, the width of the dining room is approximately three feet less than the cella at Bassai, which is twenty-two feet wide. In response to this, Simpson has reduced the length of the spur walls in order to create exactly the original distance between the Ionic columns across the room that exists in the cella (John and Watkin 2002, 74). Therefore it is important to Simpson that the viewer should experience some sense of the actual space of the cella at Bassai, as well as its decorative structural features. However, a true experience of the temple's space is impossible, as the room's dimensions are longer and narrower than the cella's and the ceiling is also significantly lower.

Simpson's use of the single Bassai Corinthian column, in the same position it would have occupied in the temple, draws the eye to the column as the main focus of the room, which was exactly the intended desired effect in the cella. Archaeologists such as N. Yalouris have argued that the single Corinthian column at Bassai was in fact a representation of Apollo (Yalouris 1978, 100). Yalouris' hypothesis cannot be proved,

but it is possible that the column did have some past ritualistic or votive meaning in the context of the Archaic temple, which preceded the Classical temple on the site. This is indicated by the presence of a plain band that intervenes between the moulded base of the column and its fluted shaft, a feature which corresponds with other sacred columns such the Naxian column at Delphi (Cooper 1996, 10-11). Cooper cogently postulated that the probable persistence of a single column on axis from the first Archaic temple would have made this a traditional element, and by the time of the Classical temple it would have had a crossover function from votive to structural, as the column is weight bearing and integral to the interior support of the temple. Simpson has accurately recreated this Corinthian column from drawings in Cockerell's 1860 publication *The Temples of Jupiter Panhellinus and Apollo at Bassae* (Fig. 4:5).

The Corinthian capital and the Ionic capitals in the Fellows' Dining Room have been delicately painted in red, blue and gold. These colours were commonly used in Greek temple architecture, although it is impossible to tell exactly what colours the Corinthian capital was painted, as, apart from a few weathered fragments (Cooper 1996, 306), it no longer exists. Cockerell viewed the Corinthian capital before its destruction and tells us that 'Upon the surface of the cap the clearest indications of colour were discovered, as also on the abacus' (Cockerell 1860, 58). Unfortunately, Cockerell does not mention or illustrate what the colours were. One of the Ionic capitals is still extant, as it was removed by Cockerell in 1811 and given to the British Museum, but as with the Corinthian capital, it is not known for definite what colours it was painted. Simpson's use of bright colour is in the correct spirit of how the cella would have been painted. Furthermore, its use provides another connection with Cockerell, as it was he who discovered that polychrome was integral to Greek temple

decoration during his excavations at Bassai and the Temple of Aphaia on Aegina, although he was not the first to publish this fact. Cockerell, in his 1860 monograph, mentions the presence of blue, light blue, red, purple, apple green and gold (gilt) paint on architectural members from Aegina, and describes how the colours 'were discovered in all their original vividness, which quickly disappeared on exposure to the atmosphere' (Cockerell 1860, 27-28). Cockerell's discoveries disproved the widely held almost spiritual idea that Greek architecture and sculpture was colourless, untainted and pure. What is important here is that Cockerell, his archaeological discoveries and the temple at Bassai are inextricably entwined together in the thought processes and intentions that have driven this modern instance of reception at Gonville and Caius College.

The Bassai Corinthian capital was extensively used by Cockerell in his designs. Cockerell first used the capital on the exterior of a building in 1821, at the Bristol Philosophical Institute, some seventeen years before he first used the Bassai Ionic capital on the exterior of a building at the Ashmolean. Cockerell obviously felt that the Corinthian column was more attractive and acceptable to public taste than the unusual Bassai Ionic. As previously discussed in Chapter Three, Cockerell's uneasiness about using the Bassai Ionic is proved by drawings which show that in his initial designs for the Cambridge University Library and the Ashmolean Museum he originally intended to use conventional Ionic orders in these buildings, with the Bassai Ionic representing a last minute change of plan (Watkin 1983, 90). Cockerell obviously had none of these reservations with regards to the Bassai Corinthian capital, yet remarkably, Simpson is the first and only architect since Cockerell to use this simple, elegant and historically significant capital.

Behind the single Corinthian column at the Fellow's Dining Room, Simpson has (with wit) designed and installed a hotplate in the form of a Classical altar. This remarkable altar/hotplate sits in the adyton area, which is the place where the cult statue of Apollo probably stood at the temple. Greek altars were always situated outside the temples, but the ritualistic nature of dining and sacrifice are clearly evoked here, which is very relevant to its setting, as the older Oxbridge colleges are immersed in traditional rituals relating to communal dining. Behind the altar-come-hotplate Simpson installed amber glass into a sizable west facing window to create the illusion of soft yellow sunlight. This was a device often used by Sir John Soane to emulate natural sunlight and it is very fitting in a room that has been created as an echo of the interior of a temple dedicated to Apollo, the Greek god of the sun.

With regards to how the room is lighted in comparison to the temple's cella, Simpson has used up-lighters positioned between the Ionic columns. Cockerell and his colleagues who excavated the temple, wrongly believed it to be hypaethral (Cockerell 1860, 48), which would have meant that during daylight the temple was lit from the top by natural sunlight (Fig. 4:6). This was a common nineteenth-century belief which has been totally disproved by modern archaeology. How Greek temples were illuminated is the subject of much current scholarship, but it is evident that torches and lamps must have been used as many of the temples do not appear to have had windows and some temples were accidentally burnt down. Simpson also designed the furniture for the dining room and this included a forty foot table in walnut which is punctuated by four richly-decorated bronze *torcheres,* which are also surmounted by up-lighters. The *torcheres* evoke the flaming torches which were probably used by the ancient Greeks to light the temple's cella.

Simpson installed a wooden oak floor to complement the long walnut dining table. This floor is inlaid in walnut with a maeander (Greek key pattern). The maeander in all its variations is ubiquitous to Greek architecture and painting and was present in the Temple at Bassai, most notably on the abacus of the Corinthian capital. The maeander pattern used at Bassai is almost identical to that used at the Parthenon, and Cooper suggests that it is possible that the same itinerant painter or painters may have been responsible for creating the patterns (Cooper 1996, 333-4). Simpson's use of the pattern in the dining room recalls almost any Greek temple, but the wooden floor is of course completely different to the stone paved floor found in the cella at Bassai.

As we have already seen, the Temple of Apollo at Bassai is the first Greek temple known that had a continuous figured marble frieze in its interior. This frieze is approximately one hundred feet long and swung around all four walls of the cella above the Corinthian and Ionic columns. The presence of this rich sculptural decoration, along with the first ever Corinthian column and the idiosyncratic Bassai Ionic columns, make Bassai the first Greek temple known which has, what can confidently be called, an aesthetically designed *interior*. Greek architecture was believed to be very much focused on the *exterior* impact of buildings. Remarkably, Cockerell himself expressed this view in his publication of the temple. Cockerell stated that 'the scope of the Greek architect was the exterior effect, while within all was secondary' (Cockerell 1860, 28). It is clear that the Temple at Bassai clearly reverses this notion and stands in contrast to the Parthenon, where the sculptural display was on the exterior. At Bassai the sculptural dazzle, which consisted of the frieze and an intricate marble ceiling, lay within an unusual elongated Doric exterior. This severe exterior only featured twelve figurative metopes (six each on the north and south sides) and had no pedimental sculpture. At Gonville and Caius, Simpson

has in a sense emulated this, with a rich and colourful Classical interior being encased within a sombre Medieval style exterior.

Simpson also incorporated plaster-casts of the frieze into his design for the Fellows' Dining Room, as no recreation of the temple's cella would be complete without the frieze. He did not use the full frieze in the dining room but has selected various panels from both the Amazonomachy and the Centauromachy. The position of the frieze in the dining room is different from the position it occupied in the temple's cella. At Bassai the Ionic frieze ran continuously around the cella's inside walls above the Corinthian and Ionic colonnade. This enabled the spectator to view it as a whole, unlike the Parthenon frieze which was designed to be viewed in broken shorter stretches. At Gonville and Caius Simpson lowered the position of the frieze, presumably because of the low ceiling, and placed the frieze panels between the Ionic columns on the side walls (Fig. 4:7). This means that the frieze can only be viewed in a broken sequence, which differs greatly from the intended visual effect at the temple.

In 2002 at Buckingham Palace in the new Queen's Gallery (a building consciously conceived as a 'temple to the arts' in the same manner as Cockerell's Ashmolean) Simpson did install a frieze in a similar position to where the Bassai frieze was situated in the temple's cella. This seventy foot long plaster frieze is placed above pairs of Doric columns (derived from those at the Temple of Hera at Paestum) and runs along two walls in the entrance hall of the building (John and Watkin 2002, 26). The frieze was created by the Classical sculptor Alexander Stoddart (who created the Classical frieze at Adam's Sackler library) and is an allegorical portrayal of the fifty year reign of Queen Elizabeth II in Homeric terms. It includes scenes such as an allusion to the end of the cold war whereby 'Achilles' sword is in its sheath and (Apollo's) arrows of pestilence stand in for the 'Soviet nuclear rockets that fortunately

never descended on us' (Binney 17.5.2002.). Richard John and David Watkin, in their glossy 2002 publication *John Simpson: The Queens Gallery and other Buildings* stated that the precedent for Simpson's positioning of Stoddart's frieze was to be found at the Temple of Apollo at Bassai (John and Watkin 2002, 14 and 26). Furthermore, they interestingly cite Simpson's 1998 commission at Gonville and Caius as having prepared him for the much bigger task of creating the new Queen's Gallery (John and Watkin 2002, 14 and 26). It is clear in this instance that connections between the temple at Bassai, Cockerell, Simpson, Cambridge University and royalty are being constructed, emphasised and expressed in both a literary and architectural form. These forms carry the whole weight and authority of Classical culture blended with some of the most powerful and traditional institutions in Britain.

Further differences between the frieze installed at Gonville and Caius and the actual Bassai frieze is the use of colour scheme chosen by Simpson. Simpson's frieze panels are two-tone, with the figures being left white and the background painted terracotta red. In Greek temple architecture the background of friezes was generally blue and the figures would have been polychrome with metal additions for spears and weapons. Red was a colour generally reserved for metopes (Lawrence 1983, 224). The breaking up of the frieze into separate compartments by Simpson creates a visual frieze frame effect that is similar to metopes. This metope effect does not work artistically as the figures in the Bassai frieze are designed to run continuously into the next panel and it is this rolling sense of action that gives the frieze its dynamism.

As has previously been discussed, the Bassai frieze was used several times by Cockerell in his buildings, and it almost became his calling card advertising his archaeological discoveries and achievements. He used it most famously in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (Fig. 2:9), but it was also present at Cambridge, where

a plaster copy of it used to hang on display in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Beard 1995, 34; Kurtz 2000, 172). Significantly, Cockerell had also set a precedent for the Bassai frieze being used to adorn dining rooms when he installed a plaster copy of the frieze that he had received from the British Museum in the dining room of the Travellers Club. This cast of the frieze was later displayed in the library (Fig. 2:6) when the club later moved to new premises. It is also significant that David Watkin, who is very well acquainted with Simpson and active in the pro-Classicist lobby, was once a member of the Travellers Club.

The plastered ceiling of the Fellows' Dining Room at Gonville and Caius owes very little to the ceiling in the actual temple, which was marble, or to Cockerell's imagined hypaethral and Regency style image of it. It is dominated by beams that have anthemion palmettes painted onto their sides which creates a continuous pattern as they recede into the distance. Some of the architectural members at Bassai were painted with running patterns of palmettes (Cooper 1996, 333), for instance on the fascia of the *pteroma epikranitis* (crowning mouldings along the outer walls of the cella). However, the ceiling decorations in the dining room recall a similar effect to that found at the Ionic Gallery in the Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg, designed in the 1840s by Leo Von Klenze, and this building was definitely one of Simpson's models (Watkin 1998, 62). Leo Von Klenze was an archaeologist and a Classical architect and Watkin points out in *The Caian* (on the opening occasion of the Lord Colyton Hall and 'Bassai dining room') that Von Klenze can in some ways be considered 'Cockerell's opposite number in Germany' (Watkin 1998, 62). Watkin again strove to highlight a further link (albeit a tenuous one) with Cockerell, emphasising just how central Cockerell is to this instance of the temple's reception.

In short, the dining room is an eloquent compliment to Cockerell, and more importantly, an inspired luxurious echo of the Temple at Bassai, and can be regarded as a Classical learned conceit or a 'theatre of memory' (Watkin 2.4.1998, 52). This is one of the major factors which McKendrick, Watkin and the fellows found so attractive in Simpson's proposals and the architect received unanimous support and an unprecedented round of applause when he presented his initial designs for the new rooms to the college committee. Even most of the students at Gonville and Caius were fully behind Simpson's scheme, with Aster Crawshaw being cited by McKendrick in *The Caian* as having pleaded with the college fellows not to 'dumb down' to the lowest denominator of architectural fashion. Crawshaw was a pupil of McKendrick's and he apparently urged the college building committee to go unashamedly for style, grandeur and beauty (McKendrick 1998, 50).

The reasons for the strong support of Simpson's designs by the fellows and students are multiple and varied. To begin with, the designs were good and resulted in a beautiful interior. Also, the reproduction of the Bassai cella created another strong connection between the college, Cockerell, and the source of Cockerell's inspiration, the Temple of Apollo at Bassai, with all parties and buildings enhancing each other's real and imagined status. Lastly, it was definitely a vote for tradition and traditional architecture and a stand against contemporary architectural fashion, as demonstrated in Crawshaw's speech. This vote for traditional architecture and the association of contemporary architectural fashion with 'dumbing down' can also be interpreted as a vote for a form of traditional intellectualism, with its implied notions of superiority and elitism. In the global internet era the intellectual terrain has become a battlefield with the dissolution of many epistemic certainties and the creation of traditional Neo-Classical architecture, which in some ways is symbolic of a time when these

uncertainties did not exist, could be seen as a defiant gesture by some learned elite as they strive to maintain their traditional pre-eminent position in the rapidly changing intellectual and architectural landscape. Moreover, it appears that the aura of authenticity that surrounds Classical remains is being transferred to Classical architecture and this is seen as an ideal means to counter what is seen as synthetic, dumb and globalised modernity in general.

The publicity generated by Simpson's unusual 'Bassai room' was used as a vehicle to advertise Gonville and Caius' long Classical pedigree and the college's links with famous architects and buildings. It was also used to promote traditional Classical architecture in the polemics with the Modernists. This is illustrated in *The Times* article by Marcus Binney, whose headline and opening paragraph proclaims:

> Temple of Learning will Dine in Classical Style: Fellows at Cambridge will be dining in Classical splendour. Their new dining room at Gonville and Caius College, designed by the leading Classical architect John Simpson, is to be a recreation of the cella or inner chamber of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai (Binney 27.12.96.).

This report praised the dining room and Simpson, Watkin and McKendrick are all quoted in the article and use it to make different points. Simpson was keen to tell the prospective audience, many of whom will not have heard of the temple, that "The Bassai temple is in a very remote part of the Peloponnese covered in a high-tech tent to protect it. It's the same date as the Parthenon" (Binney 27.12.96.). This connection between the two buildings is further emphasised, as Binney explained to the readers that the 'Bassai Temple is attributed to Ictinus, one of the architects of the Parthenon'

(Binney 27.12.96.). This is a clear statement of the historical connections between the two buildings and will have had the intended result of boosting both the temple's and the dining room's profile in the public arena by process of association with a building that is globally recognised as one of the most famous monuments in world history and is the official logo of UNESCO. However, most of the public will never get to see the Temple of Apollo at Bassai, hidden away from the main tourist resorts in the remote mountains of Southern Greece, and fewer will get the chance to view the dining room, hidden away amongst the walls of a prestigious Medieval Cambridge College. The dichotomy of inclusion and exclusion is created here with the dissemination of knowledge about the dining room and the source of its inspiration into the public arena, sharply contrasting with the clear exclusivity and limited access to the dining room.

McKendrick, the Master at Gonville and Caius, used *The Times* article to extol the college's Classical credentials. He is quoted by Binney as saying that:

> ... people think of Downing as the Classical College at Cambridge but Caius is known as the College of the Classical Conceit, notably the famous Classical gateways designed by Dr Caius himself (Binney 27.12.96.)

These gates were built by Dr Caius after he re-founded the college in 1558 and McKendrick's comments justify and legitimise the creation of the Bassai inspired dining room within the medieval fabric of Caius, as it is also a Classical conceit and is therefore in keeping with the ancient traditions of the college. This is important because it was only after in-depth negotiations with the building inspectors of English

Heritage that the college was able to alter the interiors of these listed Medieval buildings. This act of verbal legitimisation by McKendrick was reiterated and reinforced on the occasion of the official opening of the new rooms, in speeches given by both David Watkin and the Prince of Wales which were published in *The Caian*. Watkin stated in his speech that 'The room can thus be regarded as a conceit of which Dr Caius would have approved' (Watkin 1998, 62) and the Prince of Wales confidently claimed that Simpson's work was a 'magnificent piece of keyhole surgery of which Dr Caius would have been very proud' (Prince of Wales 1998, 54).

Watkin's contribution to *The Times* article concerning the 'Bassai dining room' consisted of a verbal salvo fired at the anti-Classicists within the architectural establishment. Binney quoted Watkin as saying 'Simpson's design demonstrates the endless adaptability of the Classical language. It is not a straight-jacket as Modernists often suggest' (Binney 27.12.1996.). Watkin was clearly using the public platform of a national newspaper to refute Modernist suggestions that Classical architecture is merely pastiche that has nothing new or fresh to offer. Furthermore, the article clearly shows the extent to which the reception of the temple is set against the 'battle' between Classicists and Modernists. It also highlights the historical connection between the Temple of Apollo at Bassai and its much better known counterpart, the Parthenon.

As we have already seen, during the past two hundred years, the temple and its frieze have been almost continually compared to the Parthenon. Comparisons are made because Iktinos was involved in the design of the two temples and the sculptural friezes from both buildings are in the stewardship of the British Museum. The Parthenon has been profusely hailed for centuries as one of the greatest buildings of all time, and it has even received plaudits from the father of Modernism, Le

Corbusier, who regarded it as a supreme design. Le Corbusier described the Parthenon's form in very Modernist terms, writing that it was 'like polished steel ... stark, stripped, economical and violent, a clamorous outcry against a landscape of grace' (Le Corbusier cited in Beard 2002, 4). Such is the influence of the Parthenon that it has spawned several full scale copies around the world, most notably in the United States at Nashville, but also in Europe, including one by Leo Von Klenze at Regensburg in Bavaria (The Walhalla) and one by Cockerell in Edinburgh, with the latter not being fully completed due to lack of money. Significantly, in 1824 a proposal was put forward by William Bankes of Trinity College, MP for Cambridge University, to demolish Gonville and Caius College entirely and to create in its place a building of the exact dimensions and proportions of the Parthenon at Athens. This proposal, though never executed, was taken very seriously (Watkin 1998, 55) and it is a further indication of the high esteem in which the Parthenon was held both in Cambridge and the wider world. It is ironic that the very same college that was threatened with destruction to make way for a copy of the Parthenon now houses a room that is a reconstruction of the interior of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai. In reception terms, this reversal in fortunes of the two buildings shows a significant development in the cultural life of the Temple at Bassai, in that its form has been lavishly recreated in the twentieth-century architectural space of Cambridge University. The Cockerell connection is the main reason for this, but further reasons may be the fact that the Temple at Bassai is far less well known than the Parthenon and subsequently the reproduction of its architecture is relatively rare. This gives Bassai a novelty factor which is very useful for architects like Simpson and his cohorts who are attempting to create fresh designs within the Classical tradition that can be soundly defended against charges that their designs have nothing new or

exciting to offer. The added fact that Bassai's little known architectural features will only be recognised by those who are the most eloquent in the Classical architectural language heightens the temple's appeal to certain learned elites and, in direct consequence, increases the temple's cultural value amongst these groups. It is also interesting that the giants of Modernism have never praised Bassai in the manner they have the famous Parthenon and in Chapter One we saw how Le Corbusier did not rate Iktinos' designs at Bassai or Eleusis very highly. Consequently, the Modernists (in a sense) have 'no claim' to Bassai and this also makes the building more attractive to current Classical architects who are engaged in the ongoing 'battle of the styles'. In short, the Temple of Apollo at Bassai can be seen in its recent instances of architectural reception at Cambridge to have firmly stepped out of the shadow of the Parthenon.

It is clear that the reception of the temple at Gonville and Caius is not a popular form of intertextuality, but an elite form, with only a select few experiencing the dining room. Significantly, both instances of the temple's reception at Cambridge (Cockerell's library and Simpson's dining room) occur indoors where there is limited access. The Prince of Wales evokes a strong visual image of the elite context of the temple's reception at Gonville and Caius when he commented (again at the official opening) that:

> It was rather a wonderful moment, I felt, walking in the door just now and seeing you all sitting and gathered here. It made a very, very good picture I thought and it's a great shame we haven't got somebody here to paint it. It just seemed to me to be rather redolent of one of Reynolds' paintings of the Dilettanti Society in Brookes Club, need I go further?

> Speaking as a very proud member of the Dilettanti Society, I remember a former prime minister (when it was suggested I might become a member of the British Council) saying that he didn't think it was a good idea to be involved with a Dilettanti organisation like that. Times have changed a little ... (Prince of Wales 1998, 53).

The elitist flavour of this imagery is undeniable because as we have seen in previous chapters the Dilettanti Society was an aristocratic and upper-class society which included men such as Lord Aberdeen and, most significantly, Cockerell. Moreover, when Joshua Reynolds painted them they were a male only group and it can be assumed that the Prince and his Neo-Classical allies regard themselves as a group of learned gentlemen who are the crusading harbingers of 'good taste' and the Classical tradition - in much the same manner as their Regency forbearers did. The political flavour of this statement is also very clear, as the Prince of Wales tells his cohorts that he was once advised to leave the Dilettanti Society by a Prime Minister of Britain. He does not say which Prime Minister this was, but his comment implies that it was one who was definitely opposed to upper-class organisations and possibly also to Classical architecture. There is a strong possibility that the un-named Prime Minister was a Labour politician. The notion of the assembled group gathered at the opening of the 'Lord Colyton Hall' and the 'Bassai dining room', being linked with past intellectual elites who admired Classical architecture, was emphasised further by the Prince, when he stated in the same speech that:

> If anyone wanted to know how rich and varied the Classical tradition could be ... you have only too look at this College's three gates

> representing humility, virtue and honour ... what was built here tied the fellows of Caius to a much broader European movement, a way of thinking that linked culture with morality and civic virtue ... I am encouraged that there seems to be a similar movement beginning in our own day with an increasing sense across Europe that we cannot ignore the past in pursuit of the future ... so these new additions link you yet again to a much larger school of thought (Prince of Wales 1998, 54).

In Tudor England, the Classicising architecture of Dr Caius' gates was associated with the intellectual and social elite who were both familiar with continental architectural treatises and could afford to emulate it. Caius was certainly of high social status being President of the Royal College of Surgeons, the first English lecturer of Greek at the University of Padua and the wealthy founder of an Oxbridge College (Nickson 2005, 49). Prince Charles, by equating and linking Simpson's new Classical additions to Gonville and Caius with this type of high culture, is in part (either consciously or unconsciously) restating and endorsing centuries of traditional institutionalised elitism at Cambridge.

The Prince also appears to be suggesting that there is a link between traditional architecture (and the movement to create more of it) with morality and civic virtue, and as such, is guilty of a similar sort of moralising rhetoric that Watkin so strongly attacks Pugin for. The gates at Gonville and Caius, representing humility, virtue and honour were qualities celebrated by Classical and Medieval humanist writers and the scheme designed by Dr Caius did have in part a pedagogical moral function, being a metaphor for the development of students in their college life (Nickson 2005, 49). This moral function cannot be equated with the creation of a lavish dining room in the

form of a Greek temple's cella for the gathering of a few Cambridge academics and their guests, except from the point of view that both creations are Classical and both were intended for small exclusive intellectual groups. The reception of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai at Gonville and Caius is shown to be inherently elitist and embroiled in the lobby for traditional Classical architecture.

(iii) Robert Adam, the Temple and the Sackler Library.

At Oxford (in contrast to Cambridge) the temple's reception is very much in the public eye being situated at the entrances of the Ashmolean Museum and Robert Adam's Sackler Library. The Sackler Library houses Oxford University's humanities collections and was built in 2001 at a cost of 9.2 million pounds (Melvin 2002, 37). It is situated away on a back land site adjoining the rear end of Cockerell's Ashmolean Museum with its striking portico of Bassai Ionic columns. The library's basic design consists of two cylinders: a large drum that represents the main body of the building and a small Doric columned rotunda that is the entrance. The two Doric columns and horizontal entablature, that constitute the library's doorway in the entrance rotunda, are reproductions of those used on the exterior of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai (Fig. 4:9). Adam stated in relation to the Sackler Library's connection to the Ashmolean that 'There are deliberate references to the Ashmolean Museum and in turn, the building [the temple at Bassai] that inspired its architect, C.R. Cockerell' (Adam 2004, 87). He also explains in detail the exact architectural features which he replicated from the temple, stating:

> The Temple of Apollo at Bassae also had an outer arcade of Doric columns and this column, its capital and its horizontal entablature are used

> accurately on the small entrance building. It was necessary to check with the Department of Classical Archaeology [at Oxford University] that these columns, unusually, had none of the slight bulge or entasis typical of such columns. The cornice of the temple is repeated as a solitary element above the main library building (Adam 2004, 87-88).

It is clear from Adam's writings that it was extremely important to him that the columns and entablature should be completely archaeologically correct and he checked this diligently with Oxford University's Department of Classical Archaeology (Adam 2004, 87). The Doric columns at Bassai have a simple taper and do not have the slight bulge or entasis that is present in the Doric columns of the Parthenon, despite the fact that both temples were designed by Iktinos. This lack of refinement has made the columns unattractive to both ancient and modern aestheticians (Cooper 1996, 7, 148-9; Lawrence 1983, 222-224) and explains why Cockerell appears to have never used the Bassai Doric columns in any of his designs. Although this hypothesis is impossible to prove conclusively, as many of Cockerell's buildings are now demolished, it is probably correct (pers. comm. Watkin 21.10.2007).

Adam's reasons for the accurate archaeological reproduction and use of the 'unremarkable' Bassai Doric columns, when other readings of various parts of the building are open to different interpretations (for example the large drum that constitutes the main body of the library can recall Gunnar Apslund's twentieth century Stockholm library or Christopher Wren's Sheldonian Theatre), are multifarious and operate on several levels. To begin, at the Sackler Adam has drawn on almost two thousand five hundred years of architectural tradition, ranging

chronologically from the Temple of Apollo at Bassai in Greece, followed by ancient Rome, through to the Neo-Classical buildings of the last five hundred years. Behind his design is the passionate belief shared by all the Neo-Classicists that Classicism is a language that has the ability to speak to both the learned and the untutored (Adam 2004, 88). Minimal knowledge of this language will fill 'selective omissions' with knowledge or allusion (Melvin 2002, 38) and this (according to Adam) is the basis for the wide popular appeal of Classicism. Interestingly, Adam has also argued that Modernist architectural theory is elitist. He stated:

> Overt difference combined with a theory that seems to deliver superior knowledge is very attractive to small elite groups. Modernist theory lies behind commissioning decisions on most current Oxford projects ... traditions are an anathema to adherents of Modernism ... (Adam 2004, 86)

In contrast to Adam, the pro-Modernist commentator William Curtis is scathing in his discussion of the type of ideas propounded by Classical architects. Curtis caused much controversy in 1984 when he aligned Classical architecture with fascism after writing in the *Architectural Review* that 'some people still think of storm troopers when they see columns' (Curtis 1984, 17). He also wrote in the same article that:

> Social concern [in Classical architecture] is addressed through the device of 'double coding' so that ordinary people as well as architectural elites can relish the displays of wit (Curtis 1984, 14).

Aside from these obvious polemics in which both sides accuse each other of elitism, it is a fact that the majority of ordinary people passing the entrance to the Sackler Library will view it simply as an entrance door with two rather plain Classical columns. In contrast, those who are highly literate in the 'Classical language of architecture' and privy to relatively obscure architectural knowledge will be aware of the strong resonances of the ancient Temple at Bassai, Iktinos, Cockerell and the Ashmolean. Despite the fact that most people will not be aware of these resonances it is clearly important to Robert Adam and Oxford University (who will have approved his designs) that they are present. This is because they are an eloquent advertisement to society's learned elite of the University's history, traditions, premier academic status and connections with famous buildings and eminent people of genius.

A further motive for Adam's innovative use of the Bassai Doric columns is the fact that they make his design unique in the annals of the Neo-Classical tradition as he is the first architect to reproduce the Bassai Doric columns and entablature. By using them he has left his mark on architectural history in the same manner as Cockerell did when he became the first architect to use the Bassai Ionic and Corinthian capitals. This picks up on the novelty factor of the temple's less well-known and consequently less reproduced architecture that has been discussed above with regards to Simpson.

Adam is an architect who has prolifically and with considerable intelligence defended the charges of 'superficial pastiche' made against recent Classical architecture. He is keen to explain that his Classical buildings embrace new technologies and materials and in an interview in *Building* (in which Adam debated the merits of Classical architecture with the Modernist, Alain De Botton), he described himself as a designer of 'Traditional and progressive Classical architecture' (Soltani 21.4.2006, 37). In an earlier interview with Jeremy Melvin of the *R.I.B.A. Journal*, he is quoted as saying

that the Sackler is 'not a fake old building ... We used off-the shelf ironmongery and aluminium windows - it's a great material' (Melvin 2002, 40). Once again, Adam is using similar rhetoric to Cockerell. Cockerell, in his last lecture to the Royal Academy in 1856, surveyed the development of iron as a building material and praised the revolutionary Southwark Bridge with its three cast iron arches. He then told his students that the architect should be Janus-headed, displaying reverence for authority, while the other face is young, enterprising and progressive (Watkin 1974, 129). Adam presents himself as Janus-headed, being traditional and progressive, and in true 'Cockerellian spirit' praises and uses the perceived modern material of aluminium in his Classical design for the Sackler Library.

The 'battle' between the Classical or traditional architects and the Modernists or High-Tec architects continues to simmer in the upper echelons of the architectural establishment. This is demonstrated by Qatari Diar's controversial decision in 2009 to abandon their approved plans for the Chelsea Barracks Development in London in favour of a more 'traditional style' after strong objections from HRH the Prince of Wales and the Classical/traditionalist lobby. The Prince apparently wrote to the Qatar Royal Family asking them to reconsider the plans that had been made for the site by the firm belonging to the Modernist architect, Sir Richard Rogers. It is clear that Adam shares similar opinions to Watkin regarding both Cockerell and Sir Richard Rogers (Watkin 2001 ix). Writing about Rogers' loss of the (estimated one billion pound sterling) Chelsea Barracks Development, Adam described the peer in *Building* as a 'Labour luvvie aristo' and stated:

> Modernism has had a good second run in the New Labour wonderland [since May 1997] politics is a mess and the economy is a disaster. All these things have to be connected ... (Adam 10.7.2009, 1).

It is evident from this rhetoric that the 'style wars' have continued. Moreover, Adam appears to be equating Modernist architecture with all that is wrong in current politics and society. There is an obvious similarity between Adam's comments above and the type of moralizing statements that Pugin made in the nineteenth century regarding the 'evils' of Classical art and architecture. It is significant that both recent instances of the architectural use of Bassai forms have occurred during the political tenure of 'New Labour' and were implemented by two Classical architects (Simpson and Adam) who are admired by the Prince of Wales.

To briefly conclude, it is evident that the modern reception of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai, at both Cambridge and Oxford, is set against a polarised debate between a Prince of Wales backed pro-Classicist lobby and the Modernists in the architectural establishment. It is also clear that these current instances of reception are heavily influenced by Cockerell and have to be viewed through the lens of his considerable impact on the architecture of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and on architectural history in general. Furthermore, it is patently obvious that there has been a mutual process of value creation between the temple and its famous architect Iktinos, the brilliant Cockerell and his highly acclaimed buildings, and Oxbridge itself, with all enhancing each other's status. This has been reinforced in recent years by the temple receiving UNESCO world heritage site status in 1986 and the 'beloved' Cockerell being championed by current Classical architects as a brilliant example of what is great and inventive about Neo-Classical architecture. Finally, it is clear that

Bassai in recent times, because it is much less well recognised than commonly known Classical favourites such as the Parthenon, has significantly increased its value amongst certain learned elites in society who continue to admire and create Classical architecture. As a consequence of this, it has also increased its symbolic capital in the intellectual currency of the global cultural market. It is a sign of this shift that an exclusive Cambridge College has created within the fabric of its Medieval walls a glittering reconstruction of the interior of the cella at Bassai, when in 1824 that same college was under serious threat of being entirely demolished to make way for a building that was to be a full scale reproduction of the Parthenon.

CHAPTER FIVE.

GERMAN PHILOSOPHERS, GREEK POETS, AND SLUSHYPIPP'S PASTE-BOARD EPIC: THE RECEPTION OF THE TEMPLE IN IMAGES, TRAVEL BOOKS AND THE ARTS SINCE 1811

One of the most well known images of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai was painted in 1854 by 'Slushypipp', a self-coined name of the 'master of nonsense' and the creator of Limerick verse, Edward Lear (1812-1888). Lear's oil painting (Fig. 5:1) which features the temple looking like an abandoned construction kit, set against a backdrop of dramatic Spartan mountains and bathed in a theatrical golden light, is a huge paste-board epic. This painting has also been evaluated as an artistic and commercial failure (Feaver 28.4.1985, 23). Nevertheless, the artwork is important in the historical reception of the temple because it is one of only a few surviving paintings that were made of the monument in the mid-nineteenth century, when the fashion for Gothic architecture and Pre-Raphaelite style of painting was at its height in England. Interestingly, the picture places the Greek temple amongst the flora and rocks of rural Leicestershire. This artistic juxtaposition of such a famous Classical monument amongst 'England's green and pleasant land' is relevant and interesting both in an art historical sense, as well as in a wider cultural sense, for what it tells us about the perception of the temple and the marketability of its images in the visual economy of Victorian England.

On several levels Lear's picture of Bassai stands in stark contrast to an almost unknown small watercolour of the temple (Fig. 5:2) that was painted in 1835 by the famous Russian 'master of art', Karl Briullov (1799-1852). Briullov's accomplished *a la prima* picture firmly places the temple amidst genuine Greek flora and was used to illustrate a little known travel atlas of a Russian scientific expedition to Greece. In the

early nineteenth century the scientific and artistic exploration of the interiors of Greece and Asia Minor had become both a focus of intense interest and a magnet for the energies and resources of intricate alliances of intellectual and commercial elites all over Europe. The paintings, photographs and travel books that these groups produced, and the material with which they subsequently engaged the public, helped Europe claim the legacies of Greece and the Mediterranean as its own and thereby establish itself as the perceived centre of world civilisation. This material also contributed to the reinforcement of Western idealized perceptions of Classical antiquity which constructed a monumentalized view of Greek society; a perception which was then 'adopted as a path to modernity for the new Greek nation-state which sought to promote itself as a fundamental and founding element of modern European culture'(Hamilakis 2001, 10). This monumentalization involved the construction of the material reality of Classical monuments according to the idealized and sanitized Western view of Greek antiquity. The Athenian Acropolis, for example, was cleansed of any post-Classical structures to meet these requirements (Hamilakis 2001, 10). In contrast, the Temple of Apollo at Bassai was a rare example of a Classical Greek ruin that was well preserved and, because of its remote location, had remained free of centuries of reuse by humans. Consequently, under this aegis of nationalism and archaeological preservation, the temple did not have to be cleared of human structures, but it has been cleansed of the encroachments of the natural world. This occurred in 1987, when the temple was placed under a massive canopy to protect it from the elements - an event which effectively divorced the ancient monument from the surrounding landscape which it had graced for over two millennia.

The ongoing concealment of the temple under a tent has been controversial, and unsurprisingly, it has directly affected the wider reception and perception of this

important UNESCO listed monument and site. For example, recent travel books such as *Frommer's Greece* (2003), state that 'If you saw the temple before it disappeared under its tent, cherish your memory, and don't bother to visit now' (Bowman, Sherry and Tobin 2003, 271). Negative annotations such as this did not occur in the 'pre-tent days' when the site was regularly described as one of *the* most beautiful and sublime views in both Greece and the world. One enthusiastic twentieth-century travel writer even described the temple and its environs as 'the finest of all classical sites' (Morpurgo 1963, 188).

Such comments penned by travel writers, combined with the paintings that were made of the site by artists such as Lear and Briullov, provide literary and pictorial evidence of the shifting value of the temple within the intellectual and cultural market place and the world of tourism. It is the purpose of this chapter to analyze the reception of the temple via the production and display of visual images (including photographic material) and through the opinions postulated in travel books and articles since 1811. This approach will also examine the presence of the temple within other areas of the arts, such as poetry and philosophy, determining how the monument has impacted in various genres of cultural creativity and discussions regarding the pervasive efforts of modern conservation.

(i) Bassai: Classical Athens meets Classical Rome in the European Imagination.

The Temple of Apollo at Bassai occupies a unique place in the history of Western representations of the Classical world. Bassai is a site where, in the nineteenth-century European imagination, two of the most lauded paradigms of Classical Greece and Rome, Periklean architecture and Virgilian poetry (Virgil's Arcadian *Eclogues*), could be combined. The fame of the temple spread rapidly throughout Europe following the

excavation of its frieze in 1812, and this precipitated a demand for images of the site. Many of the drawings and paintings of the site that were made by John Foster, Cockerell and others who had been involved in the excavation of the frieze, are early examples of a popular but stereotypical image of the temple that has basically endured, throughout the invention of photography and up to the present day.

The 'classic' image of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai, or the one that has been by far the most consistently produced for consumption in the visual economy, is the view as seen from Mount Kotilion in the north-west. A photograph of this view of the temple, shown *without* the tent, appears on the ticket/information leaflet receipt (2002) issued to paying visitors at the entrance to the site (Fig. 5:3). Undoubtedly, this north-west position was - and continues to be - a good place to observe the temple from, but there were several other reasons why early nineteenth-century artists generally chose to re-create this particular view for public consumption. First, the temple's entrance is situated on its northern facade. Second, the high northern vantage point from Kotilion gave the artist the chance to recreate a grand aerial vista of the landscape. Thirdly, and possibly more importantly, it also afforded the artist the opportunity of including the legendary Mount Ithome in the painting, because the distinctively shaped flat topped mountain is situated to the south of the temple. As shall be seen below, the inclusion of such a historically famous and easily identifiable mountain was crucial to satisfy the public's visual expectations regarding the site. Although many of the artists unashamedly re-arranged geographical landmarks to fit their own compositional requirements, it would of course have been totally unrealistic to include Mount Ithome in a view that faced north.

This consumer demand for images of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai carried with it all the cultural weight of centuries of imagined Arkadian nirvana. The European

fantasy of the floral and pastoral idyll that represented Arkadia had its roots in the Classical world of Virgil, but in its true sense it started in the Renaissance period, when the writer Jacopo Sannazaro, known by the title of Actius Sincerus in the literary society of sixteenth-century Naples, wrote a work entitled *Arcadia* (1502). Sannazaro's prose is full of references to Virgil's *Eclogues* and was so popular that it went through sixty editions (Mahaffy 1907, 292).

In the next century, a seventeenth-century humanist scholar, Guilio Rospigliosi, whose successful career in the Catholic Church saw him become a bishop, a cardinal and then Pope Clement IX, found inspiration in Virgil's mournful poem (*Eclogue V*) about the death of the beautiful young Arkadian shepherd boy called Daphnis. He subsequently coined the famous phrase *'Et in Arcadia Ego'* which literally means 'And even in Arcadia I'. The phrase is generally understood to mean that even in the paradise of Arkadia there is death. This theme was taken up and reworked over the following centuries by numerous great artists, poets and writers from Nicolas Poussin to Goethe and beyond. According to Beard and Henderson the French artist Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665) painted the celebrated master-piece entitled *Arcadian Shepherds* (1637-9) as a commission for the very same 'cardinal' who coined the famous phrase (Beard and Henderson 1995, 117).

Poussin's famous composition shows young handsome Arkadian shepherds and a majestic looking lady gathered around a tombstone. They are apparently contemplating, with stoic melancholy, what is written on the tomb and who lies within. The painting came to epitomise *'Et in Arcadia Ego'* and was a source of inspiration for many artists over the following centuries. Poussin's influence reached new heights in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when artists and

travellers actually began visiting Arcadia. A young French artist, A. L. Castellan exclaimed in 1808:

> Painters, sculptors, it is the plains of Arcadia, by the banks of the Eurotas ... There you will discover the Greek form ... You will not deny that the ancient ideal can only be found in the scenery there. Here a column standing amidst the ruins ... further down a savage grotto ... will remind you of a golden age. The landscape painter ... will be able to cry *Et in Arcadia ego* and compose pictures worthy of Poussin (Castellan cited in Tsigakou 1981, 29).

This artistic passion for Arkadia was further enhanced when, just over four years after Castellan had penned these words, the Temple of Apollo at Bassai yielded its precious sculptural remains. Western European society, most of whom would never get the chance to visit the mysterious temple in the remote Arkadian Mountains, now wanted images of this famous site to satisfy their curiosity. Consequently, many of the paintings and drawings of the site that were made by Foster, Cockerell and their companions who excavated the temple, were designed to show both the architecture of the temple (which they measured and recorded with diligence) and a generalized stereo-typical image of Arkadia that would be instantly digestible and appealing to the European viewer. This latter aim is especially evident in Foster's two watercolour paintings of the temple which he gave to the British Museum (Fig. 5:4 and Fig. 5:5). In May 1819 the British Museum entrusted W.J. Barrat to make etchings of these paintings and they were then mass produced for public consumption (Combe1820, 21).

As to the general artistic representation of Greek landscape at this time, it is evident that Poussin, and his fellow seventeenth-century French landscape painter, Claude Lorraine (1600-1682), provided nineteenth-century artists who visited Greece with a convenient formula for the pictorial combination of nature and Classical remains. Tsigakou comments that no object was more likely to awaken a chain of reflections about Greece than the image of the Acropolis of Athens (Tsigakou 1981, 29). Furthermore, the artists who created these extremely popular images of Athens modified the scenery to create the effect which they, and more importantly their buyers wanted. Consequently, the Attic hills, which are famous for their clear outlines, are often depicted as misty volcanic mountains to contribute a sense of sublimity to the Acropolis rock which they surround. What is actually depicted in these nineteenth-century images of Greece are 'fairyland views bathed in a haze of golden light – a visual cliché evocative of a golden age' (Tsigakou 1981, 29). Foster's paintings (or Briullov's) are *not* mentioned in Tsigakou's informative book on the subject of Greek landscape painting in this period (*The Rediscovery of Greece: Travellers and Painters of the Romantic Era),* but it is clear that he follows a similar Poussin/Claudian formula.

It is evident in Foster's two watercolour paintings of the temple (which as noted above were published as etchings by the British Museum) that no contemporary references to the recent excavation at the site were deemed appropriate by the artist. This was because Foster consciously gave viewers the opportunity of escaping into a lost paradise of romantic Classical ruins. The spectator could observe with wonder a land of Arkadian pastoral perfection, which was (despite the illusion) geographically and materially real - as the presence of the actual frieze at the British Museum affirmed. Foster's paintings present the most commonly reproduced view of the site -

the view taken from the north looking southwards. One of the images was painted from the north-east, and the other is the 'classic' view painted from the north-west, overlooking the site from further up Mount Kotilion. The temple looks relatively large and monumental in both paintings.

Foster's image of the temple that was painted from above (Fig. 5:4) is a dramatic example of aerial perspective. The view is panoramic and the spectator is allowed to see for miles in the distance, emphasising the vastness and remoteness of the site. The sky is translucent and a golden hue permeates the scene. Small figures of Virgilian style shepherds guarding their flocks are integrated harmoniously within the landscape as decorative elements in an aesthetic schema. All of these techniques and motifs were used to evoke a poetic atmosphere and the imagined idealised concept of Arkadia. Foster's other published image, which was painted almost at eye level from a north-east position (Fig. 5:5) is less fanciful and features the temple after the excavation, as the presence of a man (possibly meant to be Foster himself) sat on a rock with a drawing board indicates. Despite this, the image generally follows the same formula as it also features picturesque shepherds nonchalantly guarding their flocks in the presence of the great temple. Furthermore, the mountains surrounding the temple in both paintings are modified by Foster. Most noticeably, the table topped shape of the legendary Mount Ithome looms large in the paintings and dominates the distant horizon in exaggerated proportion to reality. Even more crucially, Foster also altered its geographical position to make it *more* visible in the paintings than it actually was in the true vista of the horizon.

This shifting of geographical reality did not matter to either Foster or the spectator of the image, because it was the imagined legendary Arkadia which the public wanted to see, a world mythologized according to their desires and expectations. The easily

distinguishable Mount Ithome would have been known to the educated viewer of the painting as the place where the Messenians sacrificed a virgin girl to the gods of the underworld in compliance with a Delphic oracle that was intended to save them from the besieging Spartans (Pausanias 4. 9. 1-10). As well as being an iconic symbol of the Messenian fight for liberty from Sparta, the mountain was also the site of a renowned sanctuary to Zeus. In short, it was vitally important for Foster to include Ithome and groups of Virgilian style shepherds in his composition because this was what the visual market demanded. In addition to all this romantic modifying, which ensured that famous historic and poetic references were included in the images, it is clear that Foster's paintings would have carried extra resonance with the public because they were images of an Arkadian and Classical site that truly existed and had been excavated by the artist himself.

This romantic image of the Temple at Bassai and its environs continued to be cultivated and presented to the public for the rest of the nineteenth century. The image that artists continued to create was the view as seen from the north and unsurprisingly this was also the case when the celebrated Russian artist, Karl Briullov, painted the temple in May 1835. Two years prior to visiting the site Briullov had achieved the status of artistic celebrity after his huge oil painting entitled *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1833) caused a sensation in Rome when men like Sir Walter Scott sat for hours in contemplation of its brilliance (Leontyeva 1990, 13). Consequently, Briullov came to the attention of Tzar Nicolas I, at a time when Russia was increasing its involvement with the recently independent Modern Greek state. Russia presented itself as the 'protector' of the Orthodox Christian Church in this period and endeavoured to use this self proclaimed moniker to achieve political aims amongst the Orthodox Greeks. Interestingly, the Tzar may also have had a special interest in the Temple at Bassai at

this time because Stackleberg had dedicated his book *Der Apollotempl zu Bassae in Arcadien* (1826) to the Emperor of Russia, and sent two special copies to St. Peterburg for his attention.

Against this background, Vladamir Davydov (known later as Count Orlov Davydov) conducted a scientific expedition to Greece (with the blessing of the Tzar) and asked Briullov, who was at this point the most well known Russian artist in Europe, to accompany him. Briullov agreed to join the expedition and used it as an opportunity to visit Greece, which he considered to be the birthplace of art. He painted many images of the Greek landscape, ruins and people.

Briullov's painting of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai (Fig. 5:2) is in a subtle sense also permeated by echoes of Poussin and Claude. He created the painting at the site *a la prima* (in one sitting) and endowed the image with a light translucent effect. Working in watercolour, Briullov does not emphasise the contours of the temple or the other objects in the painting, but shapes the forms by having one colour meet another. He uses various shades of yellow and pale browns in the foreground which give a golden hue to the whole composition. The viewer is directly faced with the north front of the temple in the painting and Briullov's image appears to be an accurate depiction of the ruin at this time. The pale purplish mountains on the horizon are extremely faint and flat topped Ithome, though visible (just behind the temple to the left), is not exaggerated to the extent that it is in Foster's paintings and does not occupy a highly visible place in the overall composition. Significantly, there are no Virgilian style shepherds present to meet romantic picturesque demands. What Briullov did include in the foreground of his painting are (what appear to be) poppies or tall red anemones and, to the far right, there is a possible representation of the pale purple flowers of an iris plant. These are flowers that later travellers to the temple,

such as J.P. Mahaffy, specifically mention as being present at the site (Mahaffy 1907, 301). Significantly, both Briullov and Mahaffy were at Bassai at around the same time of year, in the months of April and May, so they clearly both saw the same seasonal flora at the site.

Briullov's small picture (23 cm x 29cm) was used for the published atlas and travel notes of Vladamir Davydov (Leontyeva 1990, 30). The painting's relative accuracy is a possible testament to the fact that it was intended to illustrate a scientific expedition. Despite this, there are still faint romantic elements to the composition. For example, the sense of translucent light and the presence of a golden hue in the painting. The paradigm of *Et in Arcadia Ego* was something which Classical painters such as Briullov would have been acutely aware, and it seems that he too was influenced by the concept of an idealized Arkadia when he painted the temple, albeit in a much less obvious fashion than Foster.

Briullov's aptitude for painting quickly and effectively in the open air was not shared by Edward Lear. Lear's biggest difficulty when completing his famous image of the temple (Fig. 5:1) was dealing with the changing light that he encountered when he ventured outside to paint the trees and rocks of the English countryside. It seems strange that flora and geological features from rural Leicestershire should occupy the largest part of this supposedly Greek composition - but this artistic weaving of the English countryside with the famous Iktinian temple actually mirrored what had happened to the monument's decorative sculpture in reality. The frieze, isolated from the temple and on display in London, was now woven into the cultural life of England.

Lear's composition is a schizophrenic mixture of styles that combines essences of Claudian Classicism with a Pre-Raphaelite approach. This is because when he painted

the Bassai picture he was working with William Hollman Hunt (1827-1910), who was one of the founders of the Pre-Raphaelite movement. Prior to his Bassai painting, Lear's landscapes were predominantly Claudian in composition and execution. Lear was interested in Claude and painted a picture of the seventeenth-century artist's house, entitled *Claude Lorraine's House on the Tiber*, which was exhibited at the Royal Academy (Noakes 1991, 60).

Lear's artistic assimilation of the Pre-Raphaelite style occurred when he returned from his travels in Greece in 1849, and found that Hollman Hunt and his fellow cohorts in the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood had become highly fashionable. Their work generally encompassed the notion of a return to the style of the early Italian painters. They also used bright vivid colours and usually medieval themes for the subjects of their compositions. Moreover, the influential art commentator John Ruskin (1819-1900) was urging artists to work directly from nature at this time. Lear, back in England and armed with his sketches from Greece, evidently felt compelled to respond to the new artistic fashion.

Consequently, Lear created an image of the temple that was a hybrid form of the two styles. The painting features the 'classic' view of Bassai, painted from the north-west and looking southwards. It was described as being painted from amongst the oak woods of Kotilion; but as we have seen, these trees were real life representations of the English oak in Leicestershire. Aside from the painstakingly accurate representation of the trees and rocks that had been inspired by the Pre-Raphaelite and Ruskin approach to art, Lear's image is essentially Claudian in structure. It is closed in on one side by typically dark *repoussoir* clump of the trees and rocks. This dark foreground, which is painted with minute detail, allows the lighter background to recede (to push back – *repoussoir*). The trees provide a framework for the spectator to

look through into the romantic land of ancient Arcadia. Finally, the temple, whose architectural lines appear exceptionally clear cut to be an absolutely true representation of the ruin at this time, is placed solidly in the middle ground and is bathed in golden light that is a visual cliché evocative of the Classical 'golden age'. In the background, geographical reality has been altered in a similar fashion to Foster's and Cockerell's compositions, so that Mount Ithome is placed in a very visible place for the viewer to see. In Lear's painting Ithome is framed between the trunks of two oak trees and this forms a separate little vista within the composition and encourages the viewer to look through the trees at the famous mountain. The mountains directly behind the temple are given a romantic makeover to enhance the fantasy of Arkadia. They are depicted as pointed, volcanic and wispy looking - in an artistic departure from the actual reality of the scene.

It is clear from Lear's painting that the romantic concept of Bassai and Arkadia that was so evident in the days of Foster, Cockerell and Byron was still prevalent in the artistic and public world in the 1850s. A similar north-west image of the temple was drawn by Cockerell (Fig. 5:6) and published in 1860 (Cockerell 1860, 57). Lear evidently adopted the fashionable Pre-Raphelite approach when creating the work because he believed it would enhance the painting's chances of selling in the visual market place. However, the painting remained unsold for five years and was eventually bought by a group of his friends who 'being desirous that Mr Lear's picture of the Temple at Bassae should find an appropriate and permanent place in the Museum of a Classical University' (cited in Noakes 1991, 63) subsequently donated it to the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge in 1859.

Despite the painting's lack of commercial success at the time it was made, it has remained the largest and most well known painted image of the temple that has been

created. It almost became part of the furniture at the Fitzwilliam Museum; an establishment where copies of the Corinthian capitals from the temple dominate the columns in the great stairway designed by Cockerell, and which also possessed a plaster cast of the Bassai frieze. The painting of the temple benefited from these connections with Cockerell and the frieze in a process of value creation.

It is significant that the painting was used, some hundred years later, as the front cover for Peter Levi's 1971 translation of *Pausanias: Guide to Greece Vol II*, which has gone through three editions as a Penguin Classic. Furthermore, when the Royal Academy organised an exhibition of Lear's work in 1985, his painting of the Temple at Bassai was one of the main attractions. *The Observer* reported on the exhibition and published a large photograph (Fig. 5:7) of a woman and a child stood looking at the painting (Feaver 28.4.1985, 28). The woman appears to be encouraging the child to look through the oak trees at the temple, possibly instructing the next generation with the enduring romantic paradigm of *Et in Arcadia Ego*. There are similarities between the content of this photograph and the nineteenth-century painting of a lady with a young girl viewing the sculpture in the British Museum (Fig. 1:7) in that both images are visual demonstrations of how art galleries and museums continue to be places of indoctrination.

The reasons why Lear's painting of the temple did not sell at the time of its completion are complex. First, all of Lear's huge laboured oil paintings or 'his solemn endeavours' (Feaver 28.4.1985.) have been generally deemed as failures in contrast to his mass produced watercolours. Second, it seems that just as the fashion for Greek architecture had waned in England at this time, so too had the market for images of Greece – especially expensive images like Lear's massive oil painting. In relation to this, even the famous Cockerell, who finally published his much delayed monograph

regarding the Temples of Bassai and Aegina in 1860, also commented that the publication would have been much better received had he written it thirty years earlier.

(ii) Victorian Ladies: The Renewed Interest in Greece and the Temple.

This situation was to change in the following twenty years, when 'all things Greek' returned to fashion. It has been shown in Chapter Three how a 'second' revival in ancient Greek architecture and Classical painting began around this time. This renewed interest in Greece also encompassed an interest in modern-Greek culture. The *Manchester Guardian* observed in 1884 that:

> A singular number of new books on Greece, indicating apparently a new interest in that country have been announced this month by different publishers, *Greek Fairy Tales* by Mr Geldart, *Glimpses of Greek Life and Scenery* by Miss Agnes Smith, *Modern Greek Poetry* by Miss McPherson and *Greek Folksongs* by Mrs Garnett (*Manchester Guardian* 31.3.1884).

The amount of women writing about Greece in this period is remarkable. In one sense it represents the beginning of real opportunities for women to write and publish on Greece. Although it is noticeable, for example, that the books mentioned in the *Manchester Guardian* article tend to be of a modern literature and anthropological genre, and it can be assumed that in the 1880s this genre was deemed suitable for women to write about. The situation could in a sense be analogically summarised as Thucydides for the men and Herodotus for the ladies!

This tentative democratization of publishing clearly represents the emerging independence of women in this period. It was also a period which witnessed the emergence of a new class of traveller to Greece, as groups of non-aristocratic, unmarried women such as Agnes Smith and her female companions ventured into the remote hills of Arkadia in search of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai.

Smith and her friends learnt a 'form' of the modern Greek language before they travelled and in the published tour of their journey Smith recounts how the Arkadian women reacted to the English female travellers on the road up to the temple. When asked by a Greek lady why they were all travelling without their husbands, Smith told her 'we are all unmarried' and the Greek woman 'clasped her hands with astonishment and delight'. Smith commented in response to this reaction that 'I felt as if I had driven in the point of a wedge by making her think that it was possible for women to do something on their own account' (Smith 1884, 202). As regards to the mountain road they were travelling on and the temple, Smith recounts:

> The road was positively the worst we had ever seen ... But all the way up the view was glorious. The temple is only a little less perfect than those at Paestum, and it is poised in a spot with which few others in the world will bear comparison... it was built by Iktinus, the architect of the Parthenon at Athens. The frieze, which is now in the British Museum, is thought to be the work of the scholars of Phidias (Smith 1884, 202-203).

Smith's book received a flattering but essentially sexist review in the *Pall Mall Gazette* dated Tuesday March 18th 1884. As an author she succinctly, and with an economy of words more akin to the brief style of a modern travel book, articulated the

three reasons why the isolated temple was deemed worth visiting and so valued by Western Europeans: the beauty of the location in the wild mountains of Arkadia, the fact that the temple was a very well preserved Classical ruin built by Iktinos of Parthenon fame, and finally, the temple gave forth the sculptured frieze in the British Museum. These three points were the basic essence of why Bassai was so attractive to the nineteenth-century viewer and continued to be so throughout much of the twentieth century. There were many Greek locations to which values were attached by Western culture because of traveller's knowledge of multiple historical events or mythological legends that took place there, for example the Parthenon and the Phidian statue of Athena, the Pynx at Athens for speeches by Demosthenes and Perikles, Delphi for the famed oracles and the Palace at Knossos for the myth of the Minotaur. Bassai has none of these famous references, except for one short mention in Pausanias. It did however have the Iktinian architecture and the remote location in both a real and imagined unspoilt Arkadian setting. But, as we have already seen, the temple was still considered to be lacking with regards to historical references, and artists actively strived to include the legendary and easily recognisable Mount Ithome into their paintings to give the site extra historical weight.

(iii) Photographic Images of the Temple.

This extreme manipulation of geographical features by artists in paintings could not be replicated in the emerging field of photography in the nineteenth-century. Despite this, photography was still highly managed, and although it was impossible for early photographers to literally move a mountain to make a photographic image that was meant to be a 'true' representation of a scene, they could still focus in on - or frame out, any elements which they deemed would either enhance or denigrate a picture.

Nineteenth and early twentieth-century photographers responded to the demands for images of Classical sites in the same manner as their artistic forebears Foster and Lear had, in that they strived to give the public the images they wanted. The majority of the photographic images that featured Bassai tended to be the same stereotypical views of the temple taken from the north looking south (Fig. 5:8, Fig. 5:9, Fig 5:12). These stark black and white photographs showed the temple as isolated in Arkadia and evoked the perceived spirit of noble eternity and uniqueness that was attributed to Classical artefacts at this time.

For photographers, this type of 'pure' idealized image of the Classical Greek world was much easier to achieve at Bassai than in places such as the Athenian Acropolis. As has been shown above, this was because the temple's extremely secluded location made it a rare example of an important Classical Greek ruin that was both well preserved and had remained free of centuries of reuse by humans. Bassai did not have to be cleansed of post-Classical structures in the manner of the Athenian Acropolis or, as Hamilakis has pointed out in relation to the latter, photographed at certain times of the day to avoid crowds of 'unsightly' people in the image (Hamilakis 2001, 9-10). The remote temple was therefore an ideal canvas to express Greece's Classical past and the Western idealised perceptions of Classical antiquity. These perceptions, as illustrated by Hamilakis in his study of early photographs of Athens, constructed a 'monumentalised view of modern Greek society which was then adopted as a path to modernity by the new nation-state' (Hamilakis 2001, 10). Consequently, the Temple of Apollo at Bassai has played significant roles in how modern Greece has presented itself to the world and as a landmark that defined the imagined territory of Hellenism.

Unsurprisingly, images of Classical Hellas have dominated Greek postage stamps since the postal system was first introduced in the late nineteenth century. In 1967 a

picture of the Temple at Bassai appeared on a national Greek stamp (Fig. 5:10). The image of the temple that is illustrated on the 4.50 drachma postage stamp is the popular view taken from the north-west looking south.

Around the time the stamp was issued, the temple featured in both Greek and international news for several reasons. As has already been noted in previous chapters the temple's frieze was about to be displayed for the first time since before the Second World War at the British Museum. Plaster casts of the frieze were subsequently requested by the Greek government for the new extension to the Nikolopouleios library in Andritsaina. Additionally, in 1965 and 1966 the temple withstood two large earthquakes that hit the Peloponnese. In 1968, Nikolas Yalouris published three examples of Foster's drawings of the Bassai frieze that are held at the Gennadius library in Athens (Cooper 1996, 19) and later in 1970 he carried out excavations at the site (Cooper 1996, 6). Politically, Greece was in turmoil at this time, as it moved from being an uncertain democracy to a period of military dictatorship known as the 'rule of the colonels' (1967-1974). Amidst the political events in Greece, *The Times* reported that Nikolas Yalouris, who was then the director of the department of sculptures in the National Archaeological Museum and Demetrios Lazaridis, the keeper of antiquities in Attica, were both sacked by the government in February 1968 because they 'were said to have advocated the dissemination of anti-national ideas' (*The Times* 27.2.1968.). These events, which encompassed the dismissing of archaeologists for their alleged political beliefs, combined with the issuing of state stamps featuring Classical artefacts, show the high level of political and national importance that was attached to the control, manipulation and presentation of Greece's archaeological past by the modern Greek state. The Classical Temple of Apollo at Bassai and its images were a noteworthy part of this discourse.

Like stamps, photographic images could be very cheaply produced and distributed *en masse* around the world. Professional photographers such as Felix Bonfils, who worked in Greece in the 1870s, exploited the then emerging photographic sector of the visual market. Moreover, as one of several professionals based in Greece and elsewhere who produced photographs of Classical monuments, Bonfils was participating in 'an international visual economy with new characteristics, such as the involvement of many more people than before, and the replication and homogenization of the visual currency'(Hamilakis 2001, 9). The ensuing mass production of photographic images of Classical antiquities did not devalue them. Ironically, it resulted in the further spread of their fame and the higher elevation of their value, because Classical monuments now became the 'must see' originals of this mass production (Hamilakis 2001, 10).

(iv) Oscar Wilde and J.P. Mahaffy visit Bassai.

This initial democratization of visual access to Classical images in the nineteenth century ran tandem with the tentative democratization of female publication and the travel to Greece in general that was discussed earlier. It is evident that travel to Greece in the late nineteenth century was now open to tourists with fairly modest incomes, such as university lecturers like J.P. Mahaffy of Trinity College Dublin. Mahaffy visited Bassai with the famous Irish writer and poet, Oscar Wilde (1854-1900) in April 1877. Such non-aristocratic visitors to Greece could now have their photographs taken wearing Greek national costume if they wished. This was essentially a much cheaper version of the earlier practice adopted by very wealthy and aristocratic travellers, who commissioned artists to paint expensive portraits. For example, the extremely affluent Thomas Legh, who was involved in the excavation of

the Bassai frieze, is featured in an oil painting wearing an exotic eastern costume (Fig. 2:7).

During his visit to Greece, Oscar Wilde was photographed wearing a fustanella (Fig. 5:11), which is a Greek national costume consisting of a white billowing cloth skirt reaching to the knees. The photograph was taken in 1877 in the studios of Petros Moraites (1832 – c.1888) in Athens. Moraites had also photographed the famous Greek Independence fighter Theodoros Kolokotronis in a fustanella over a decade earlier. It is interesting that in Richard Ellmann's biography of Wilde, he gives the impression that this photograph of Wilde had been taken in the mountains at Bassai (Ellmann 1987, 70). Ellmann's error may have occurred because Wilde is photographed with his foot on a rock and is standing against a background scene of painted landscape. It could also have been because subconsciously Ellmann considered Bassai a very fitting location for such an image of Wilde; an aesthete who fully engaged with the romantic idea of Arkadia as the flower strewn paradise of Virgil. This engagement of Wilde with the paradigm of *Et in Arcadia Ego* is illustrated in a poem that he wrote when sailing from Zante to the Greek mainland. Wilde mused:

> We hoisted sail; the wind was blowing fair,
> For the blue lands that to the eastward lie,
> Ithaca's cliff. Lycaon's snowy peak
> And all the flower-strewn hills of Arcady.
> (Wilde, *Impression de Voyage*, 1877).

This work was published in *Poems* (1881) and it gives an indication of the romantic expectations which the anticipated trip to Bassai and Arkadia had evoked in Wilde. We have no journal or full record of Wilde's impressions of the Greek landscapes he traversed. Patrick Sammon postulates that in view of Wilde's fascination for Greek culture, he probably did keep a written record of his travels, but this has been lost or destroyed (Sammon 2007, 132). Consequently, it can only be assumed that the site at Bassai matched up to Wilde's romantic expectations of flower-strew hills; it certainly did with his travelling partner, Mahaffy. Mahaffy devoted over fifteen pages to Arkadia and the site at Bassai in his publication *Rambles and Studies in Greece*. This book was popular and went through repeated editions; the fifth edition was published in 1907. Mahaffy described in detail the splendour of the temple and its surrounding landscape. He commented that:

> Bunches of tall violets, hanging over in tufts, rare anemones, and here and there a great full iris, but the main feature was single oak trees with pollarded tops and gnarled branches ... Nothing can be stronger than the remains of a beautiful temple in this alpine solitude ... it is a building of the purest age ... (Mahaffy 1907, 301-2).

Mahaffy painted a wonderfully vivid picture of the beauty of the site and endorses the 'pure' Periklean pedigree of the temple. Considering the general content of his descriptions of the flora and fauna amidst the scenery, it appears that he was primarily writing for a British and Anglo-Irish (the book was published in London) audience, many of whom would have shared the Victorian fashion for gardening, which was a pastime that grew in popularity at this time amongst the middle-classes in the leafy

streets of the expanding suburbs. This is particularly evident when he states to his readership that 'Here too we [Oscar Wilde and himself] found the cyclamen, which is such a favourite in the green houses and gardens of England' (Mahaffy 1907, 306).
It is ironic that Mahaffy, whilst affirming in the minds of his readers a wonderfully romantic image of the 'flower strewn hills' at Bassai, also questions why such a fake romantic notion of Arkadia existed so widely in the European psyche. He ponders:

> How then did this false notion of Arcadia spring up in modern Europe? How is it that even our daily newspapers assume this sense, and know it to intelligible to the most vulgar public? (Mahaffy 1907, 290).

Mahaffy was an erudite scholar who carefully analysed the growth in literature of the 'Arcadian pastoral myth' from Virgil's *Eclogues* through to Victorian times, yet he apparently failed to see how his own writings also contributed to this romantic image of Arcadia. Mahaffy's descriptions of wild anemones, irises, cyclamens, violets and even snowdrops on the hills at Bassai, was an enduring image that was repeated in gardening circles long after the nineteenth century expired. In 1936, the relatively well known garden expert, Gertrude Woodthorpe, reviewed three new gardening books in *The Observer.* One of these books was by Sir Arthur Hort entitled *Garden Variety* (published by Edward Arnold, 1936). This book contains a description of how (according to Hort) the Greeks named the anemone by the sound of the Arabic name that means 'wounds of Adonis'. In consideration of Hort's theory of how the anemone was thus named, Woodthorpe quoted the famous Tudor horticulturist, John Gerard (1545-1612) and also made a direct reference to the Temple of Apollo at Bassai. In *The Observer* she romantically mused:

> Gerard, by the way, distinguishes an Adonis flower, which London women - for in Elizabethan days it seems that only women spoke familiarly of flowers - called rosearubie. But how beautiful must be that slope near the Temple at Bassae, covered with the "red wounds of Adonis" mixed with snowdrops (Woodthorpe 27.9.1936.).

Woodthorpe's comments reveal that she has a firm idea in her imagination of how beautiful and romantic the site at Bassai 'must be' - even though she has never been there. The heady mixture of Classical mythology, architecture, beautiful scenery and flowers which she conveyed to her readership was evidently gleaned from the descriptions of the site at Bassai that were published in books such as Mahaffy's. She was clearly confident that her readership would know exactly what she was talking about with regards to the Temple of Apollo at Bassai, and it is evident that travel writers such as Mahaffy, who included such floral descriptions in their works, contributed another layer of romanticism to the Arkadia myth.

Interestingly, the only known specific mention of Bassai that we have by Mahaffy's fellow traveller Oscar Wilde is in a theatrical review he wrote in 1880. This review was penned by Wilde in relation to a remarkable production of Sophocle's *Helen of Troy* that was staged by a Mr. E. W. Godwin in Hengler's Circus tent in London. Wilde commented in the *Dramatic Review* (22. 5. 1880) that:

> From Shakespeare he [Mr Godwin] has passed to Sophocles, and has given us the most perfect exhibition of a Greek Dramatic performance that has yet been seen in this country ... In the centre of this circle, which was

> paved with the semblance of tessellated marble, stood the altar of Dionysios, and beyond it rose the long shallow stage, faced with casts from the Temple of Apollo at Bassae, and bearing the huge portal of the house of Paris ... and across the ramparts on either hand could be seen a stretch of blue water and faint purple hills. The scene was lovely, not merely in the harmony of its colour but in the exquisite delicacy of its proportions. No nation has ever felt the pure beauty of mere construction so strongly as the Greeks, and in this respect Mr Godwin has fully caught the Greek feeling ... (Wilde 22.5.1880).

Wilde's review is interesting on several levels. It clearly demonstrates that Greek drama was being popularised for the masses. This confirms the renewed fashion for Greek culture at this time, which is also affirmed by the increased publication of popular books on Greek sculpture, literature, folklore and travel in the 1880s. On a further level Wilde's review shows that plaster casts of the Bassai frieze were readily available for those who wished to acquire them for theatrical use and these casts were fully recognisable to both him and (most probably) the rest of the educated audience. It is also significant that the Classical Bassai frieze, with its violent dramatic content of Greek warriors fighting barbarous Amazons and Centaurs, is considered appropriate for the stage setting of a Classical Greek play, which was ultimately about an ancient war between Greece and her enemies in the East. The whole stage set is clearly designed to evoke an image of Classical Greece and the fact that Troy was a non-Greek Eastern city that supposedly existed centuries before the Classical period is a solecism that was not important to Wilde or the rest of the audience.

Most importantly, Wilde's review shows that he had a level of understanding and admiration for the beauty and proportions of Greek architecture. Considering that Wilde articulated that he did not like either Greek-Revival or Neo-Gothic architecture in a *Lecture to Art Students* (Wilde 2008, 101), it is evident that he admired the mock Greek architecture on the stage because it was meant to be in its correct historical context. Furthermore, his description of the 'lovely' scenery with the purple hills and the stretch of blue sea behind the house of Paris could almost be a description of the 'classic view' of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai, which was a scene that also featured the pure harmonious form of Greek construction set against bluish hills with the Mediterranean sea visible in the distance. Anybody in the audience who had visited Bassai (like Wilde), or seen a painting of it, or read a description of the site in a travel book would have been instantly familiar with this view. Their thoughts would have been further focused on the temple by the presence of plaster casts of the Bassai frieze on the stage. It is very likely that the majority of the London audience would have known that the real marble frieze from the temple was in the British Museum and also been aware of Homer's *Iliad* and the fact that Apollo was on the side of Paris and the Trojans in this conflict. This would have given further dramatic resonance to the use of the frieze on the stage and the mental evocation of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai in their minds.

It is strange that Wilde, the great admirer of Classical and natural beauty, visited Arkadia and the temple, but did not write a poem (that survives) about the site. He did not write a poem about the Parthenon either, but he allegedly did say of the building that it was 'the one temple as complete, as personal, as a statue' - if we are to believe what the character Sebastian [meant to represent Wilde] articulates in George

Fleming's [pseud. Constance Fletcher] nineteenth-century novel *Mirage* (Ellmann 1987, 70).

Lord Byron (1788-1824) was another poet who never wrote about the temple. He had met Foster and Cockerell in Athens on April 22, 1811, immediately prior to their expeditions to Aegina and subsequently Bassai (Cockerell 1903, 50). Byron invited them to a party on Lord Elgin's ship, the *Hydra,* which was docked in Piraeus. Thus, despite knowing the party which excavated Bassai, he never actually visited the famously romantic temple himself. Perhaps he did not agree with their excavation at the sites and the taking of the sculptures. Byron certainly did not agree with the taking of the Parthenon sculptures and the Temple to Athena features in a few of Byron's poems, *The Curse of Minerva* (1812*)* and *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812-1818). In these poems he attacks Lord Elgin for removing the Parthenon's sculptures. Byron adopted a more romantic feel when he waxed lyrical about the Classical Greek Temple at Sounion in Attica. The poet famously carved his name on the temple (in an act of nineteenth-century graffiti) and he later wrote the poignant lines:

> Place me on Suniums marbled steep, where nothing save the waves and I,
> May hear our mutual murmurs sweep. There swan like, let me sing and die (Byron *Don Juan,* 1818-1824 unfinished).

Considering this, and the fact that he said of the Colosseum in Rome that it was 'A noble wreck in ruinous perfection' (Jusdanis 2004, 39) it can be assumed that had Byron visited the Temple at Bassai, the natural beauty of the site may have inspired him to write about it or possibly include it in one of his poems. But, it was the

inaccessibility of the location which probably kept Byron and most other literary figures away from the temple.

(v) The Cambridge Ritualists and 'Savage' Bassai.

This isolation did not prevent members of the intellectual group known as the 'Cambridge Ritualists' from visiting the temple in the late nineteenth century. As has been noted in Chapter One, this group were early Classical anthropologists. Consequently, Arkadia, which had an extraordinary reputation for strange cults in the writings of ancient historians such as Pausanias, was a magnet for them. Sir James Frazer, who was had a strong influence on the group, described the temple as beautiful and noted that:

> The solitary temple which is built of the same cold grey limestone which composes the surrounding rocks tends to deepen rather than relieve the melancholy of the scene, the ruined fane witnessing silently to the transitoriness of human greatness and the vanity of human faith (Frazer 1900, 346).

Jane Ellen Harrison, one of the most prominent members of the 'Cambridge Ritualists' travelled to the area of temple with a companion. Harrison was told by a young male Arkadian guide that he could not take her to the temple because it was 'haunted by charones' or evil spirits. It also transpired that the guide did not know the way to temple (Beard 2000, 71). Harrison did get to see the temple and was both annoyed and overjoyed at the episode. She was happy because she considered it in part to be modern evidence of primitive beliefs in the region. Consequently, Harrison

described her journey in a letter to a friend, stating that 'Arcadia was just ones dream come to life … a never to be forgotten experience, but inconceivably primitive and savage' (Beard 2000, 73).

The temple and its environs were presented by such academics as being beautiful, desolate and a place where strange superstitions and savage customs abounded. At the time Harrison was travelling through Arkadia, the temple was also being visited by her Cambridge contemporary, Charles Waldstein, who was in company with the German archaeologist Wilhelm Dorpfeld (Beard 2000, 74). Aside from these groups of intellectual tourists, the temple was little visited.

(vi) The Temple's Impact on Twentieth-Century Travel Writers and Intellectuals.

This relative lack of visitors to Bassai remained the same throughout the early twentieth century, when Ethel Smyth commented in her book, *A Three Legged Tour in Greece* (1927), that 'few people go there' (Smyth 1927, 97). Three illustrious world literary figures who *did* visit the site in the twentieth century, were Nikos Kazantzakis (1883-1957), the renowned philosopher and author of *Zorba the Greek* and the *Last Temptation of Christ*, Georgios Seferis (1900-1971), the Nobel Prize winning poet and author of *Mythistorema* (a stanza of which featured in the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games in Athens in 2004) and E.M. Forster (1879-1970), author of *A Room with a View* and *A Passage to India.* Seferis and Forster were friends and in 1959 Seferis gave Forster an ancient Greek silver tetradrachm coin of Demetrius I Soter for his birthday. This coin is held at King's College archive (Kings PP/EMF/26/3) at Cambridge University, along with a photograph of Forster holding the coin. Seferis was the Greek ambassador to Britain at the time he gave Forster the coin.

Kazantzakis recorded his experience of Bassai in his *Travels to the Morea*. This publication first appeared in serialized form in the Athenian newspaper *Kathimerini* in November and December 1937. He actually visited the site in September 1937 and in a vivid piece of prose he described his excited anticipation whilst he waited to catch a glimpse of the temple as he traversed the path through the mountains. Kazantzakis wrote:

> I hurried on impatient. I knew that this was one of Greece's most brilliant temple's, a work of Iktinos ... From afar, in the opening between two hills, I could make out one corner of the temple amid the greenery, the columns were of milky stone; the surrounding emptiness was boundless, neither bird nor shepherd ... Blocking the distant southern horizon the Taygetos shimmered faintly, light blue, serene and omnipotent ... Only with difficulty can I identify with the ancient temples, at first contact I am totally unmoved ... Slowly, with practice, the temple appeared to me as a segment of the mountain ... from the same stone, and of the same rhythm; and only by gazing at these stones did I sense that they were fashioned and located in such a way as to express the essence of all the surrounding mountain waste. It resembles the head of the landscape, the sacred enclosure where its mind gleams. Here ancient art doe not surprise you; it elevates you gently, by way of a human path ... (Kazantzakis 1966, 75).

Kazantzakis presents a powerful description of the temple and a masterly philosophical reading of its relationship with its environs. His thinking, which was in part articulated as finding it difficult to identify with ancient temples, combined with

his description of the temple as being the 'head of the landscape' in which its 'mind gleams' is similar in some ways to Martin Heidegger's thoughts on ancient works of art - as expressed in Heidegger's seminal essay, *The Origin of the Work of Art.*

The first drafts for the essay were made by Heidegger from 1936 – 1937, which was around the same time that Kazantzakis visited Bassai. Heidegger had visited the ancient Greek Temple at Paestum in Campania and found it to be the locus of an emptied world. For Heidegger, the ancient Greek temple is an especially good tool to demonstrate his theories regarding 'world' and 'earth' and to show how an artefact goes through the transition from being an 'art work' to an 'art object'. Once the culture or world that created it has changed, the temple is no longer able to actually engage with its surroundings and it becomes in a sense passive – or an art object. In short, the temple as a true work of art belongs to the life of the people who built it and worshipped there, and this vanished world of the temple only endured 'as long as the god has not fled from it' (Heidegger 1971, 43).

For Heidegger 'world' represents the essence of being, therefore a family or a community or a cult (amongst other groupings) could be a world. 'Earth' essentially represents objective existence and is characterised as nature. An art work or temple is inherently an object of 'world' – as it creates a world of its own, or it opens up for us other worlds from the past or even different social worlds. However, the very nature of art appeals to 'earth', because, for example a function of art is to highlight the natural material used to create it, in the case of the ancient Greek temple the colour of the paint used to decorate it or the texture of the stone. In this way 'world' is revealing the unintelligibility of 'earth' and so admits its dependence on the natural 'earth'.

Similarly, Kazantzakis finds it difficult to relate to the lost 'world' of the temple but he instinctively and cogently articulates the relationship between the 'world' which

created the 'work of art' that once was the Temple at Bassai, and the unintelligible 'earth' from which it was created. Consequently, it appears that the temple for Kazantzakis becomes the head enclosing the (now intelligible) gleaming mind of the surrounding landscape.

Kazantzakis' description of the temple and its environs are interesting as they give an account of how the local Greek people in Bassai viewed the tourists. Earlier travel books written by Western Europeans focused on their experiences and it is well documented that many nineteenth-century tourists found Greece to be inhabited by 'robbers, flees and dogs' (Beard and Henderson, 2000, 17), and were distressed to find the ramshackle village that stood on the site of ancient Athens. As we have seen, the remote Bassai did not suffer from such human occupation and most nineteenth-century tourists found the site romantic and a fulfilment of what they imagined Arkadia to be. Despite this, the very early travellers had to combat problems such as malaria and bandits. The bandits were no longer a problem when Mahaffy visited Bassai in 1876 (Mahaffy 1907, 296), but when Kazantzakis visited the site in 1937, malaria was still a problem and he was shocked to see some locals with very yellow skin (Kazantzakis 1966, 73). Kazantzakis' provides a vivid description of an old woman called Marigitsa, who looked after the temple. Marigitsa regarded the intellectual tourists who made the long journey by mule to the site as 'simple minded Franks [Europeans]'. Despite holding this viewpoint, the lady is very hospitable to the tourists and clearly has a strong attachment to the temple. Indeed, in reply to a question about politics, she is quoted as saying 'Well my child, we here [the temple and herself high up in the mountains] are far removed from good and evil' (Kazantzakis 1966, 77).

Kazantzakis travelled widely all over the world and his travel-books are considered by many as masterpieces. He remains one of only a few truly great minds to have visited the temple. Because of the difficulty of access to the site in 1937 Kazantzakis' wonderful and thoughtful descriptions did not precipitate a large tourist invasion of the temple. Consequently, Bassai remained out of reach, except for the educated and more determined or adventurous travellers. The travel writer Derek Patmore commented in 1944 that Bassai was 'little visited' and the temple was described in only 14% of the travel texts in the mid-twentieth century (Wills 2007, 71). Despite this lack of actual visitors, the enduring romantic image of Bassai continued. This was because of the real and imagined accounts of the site, both published and unpublished, that circulated in the public sphere and, most importantly, because of the stereotypical images of the temple that could be found in books, postcards and photographs in general.

E.M Forster took photographs of the temple when he visited the site in 1903. These photographs (which are black and white and 10.7cm x 8.1cm) are inscribed on the back by Forster with his name and 'Bassae'. They are unpublished and held at Cambridge University, in King's College's library (Kings PP/EMF/27/ 293/294). The fact that at the beginning of the twentieth century, tourists such as Forster were taking their own photographs of Bassai, and obviously showing them to friends when they returned home, is a testament to the ever increasing democratization of the mediated visual experience regarding the temple and Classical sites in general. It is also a demonstration of how Western tourists began bringing back photographs of Classical material culture, because they were now prevented by Greek law from bringing back genuine ancient artefacts.

Georgios Seferis also photographed the temple when he travelled to the site in April 1963 (pers. comm. Tzortzi 12.7.2009). These black and white photographs have not yet been published and according to Kali Tzortzi are held at the archives of the E.S.N.E.A., which has now moved from Athens to Andritsaina following the completion of the current anastylosis (pers. comm. Tzortzi 12.7.2009). It is evident that Seferis was interested in the temple for several reasons. Primarily, it was a famous monument from Classical antiquity that was set in a renowned beautiful location and his great friend Forster had visited the site many years earlier. On a further level, he also had a special connection to temple via John Foster. Whilst in London, Seferis had purchased some of John Foster's drawings/papers pertaining to the temple and its frieze. He donated them to the Gennadius Library in Athens in 1967 (pers. comm. Tzortzi 12.7.2009). It is also significant that Seferis was born in the Hellenic Diaspora in Smyrna (now Izmir) and John Foster's wife was also a Smyrniote. Maria Foster was probably the first ever (non-Arcadian) woman (that is recorded) to visit Bassai in the modern era, when she, her husband and the wealthy merchant Thomas Burgon and his wife, passed by the temple on their way to England from Smyrna in 1814 (Dinsmoor 1934, 149).

Despite these connections to the temple, Seferis does not make any direct references to Bassae in any of his poetry, although he was interested in ruins and the effect the weight of Greece's cultural past had on both the individual and the collective psyche of the Greek nation. There appears to be only one direct reference to The Temple at Bassae in published English poetry, and that was written by a little known writer called Herbert Davy Jones. This poetry book, entitled, *Bassae and Other Verses,* was published by Lakeland Press in 1911, and the author apparently dedicated a copy of

the book to Miss Anna Freud in Vienna in 1914, the specific copy is held at the Freud Museum in London.

In one sense, this lack of poetic images of the temple is to be expected, as even the Parthenon has not been a very popular theme or source of inspiration for poets. Only a few works are devoted to the Parthenon by modern Greek poets, and these express either the poets' grief for bygone ages of glory or the praise of the Greek spirit (Giannakopoulou 2002, 241). Literary images of the Temple at Bassai in novels are also practically non-existent. The temple appears to feature in only one novel. This was written by Simon Raven and is entitled *Come Like Shadows* (1970). Despite this work of fiction being of the 'trashy'or 'pulp' genre it does contain a written description of the romantic desolate Temple at Bassai and mentions the fact that the frieze was taken away by the British. A character called Sheath, who works for the American School of Greek Studies (but is really a spy) describes the temple as lonely, four thousand feet up in the mountains and having 'grey columns sprouted from grey rock' (cited by Beard and Henderson 1995, 25). It is evident from this novel that the notion of an idealized Arkadia and the romantic Temple of Apollo Epikourios had endured into the later twentieth century and was still 'intelligible to the most vulgar public' (Mahaffy 1907, 290). Furthermore, Raven's inclusion of the temple in a novel of this genre in 1970 was probably prompted (in some part) by the fact that the temple was very much in the public eye following the new exhibition of the Bassai frieze in 1969.

Moreover, so strong was the paradigm of *Et in Arcadia Ego* in relation to Bassai at this time that it prompted the travel writer Colin Simpson to proclaim that the site of the temple was 'the one piece of Arcadia I had seen which could be called Arcadian' (Simpson 1969, 224). Simpson thus informed his readership that the site at Bassai

matched up to his expectations of how *he* had imagined Arkadia to be. In doing this, he confidently assured them that a visit to the site would represent an uplifting journey into this imagined Classical world where *their* expectations would also be satisfied. Furthermore, it is evident that the rest of the 'real' twentieth-century Arkadia that Simpson visited did not match up to Western idealized perceptions of Classical antiquity and the imagined Arkadian nirvana.

(vii) The Recent Reception of the Temple.

It is not just travel writers who promulgate this image. Many Classical academics during the last ten to fifteen years have continued to publish the same romanticised pictures of the temple, which focus on the vast remote landscape of the site rather than the architectural details of the monument. Since the days of Foster and Cockerell, archaeological evidence has shown us for certain that the Classical monument did not stand alone on Mount Kotilion. There are at least two other temples in very close proximity to Bassae, one thought to be dedicated to Artemis and the other to Aphrodite. These temples have all but vanished leaving only scant remains (Tzortzi E.S.N.E.A. 2000, 48) and it is the romantic isolated image of the temple in modern times that satisfies our perceptions and is continually being affirmed by the use of such 'classic' pictures. The Tzortzi E.S.N.E.A. publication does show some photographic images of the tent, but even in this detailed study there are far more images of the temple (from the outside perspective) pictured *without* the tent. Furthermore, other recent archaeological based monographs about Greek art and architecture very rarely show images of the temple with the tent, despite the tent representing the scientific application of archaeology. This can be explained in part by the requirement to show us the architecture. Yet, in the photographs which they do

use of the temple, the actual architecture is often not shown in any great detail – the monument is subordinate to the landscape and the architectural details are often explained and illustrated by means of diagrams and plans. Many academics use the same 'classic' images of the temple, which are almost photographic copies of Foster's and Lear's images, albeit *minus* the Virgilian shepherds, relocated mountains and English oak trees. For example, Spivey (1997) and Osborne (1998) use very similar pictures to present the temple in their respective books. The two academics use photographs that are taken from the 'classic' north-west vantage point on Mount Kotilion. Both these panoramic style images, (Osborne 1998, 207) and (Spivey 1997, 161) show the temple without the tent.

A favourite photograph that is continually used by academics is from the Hirmer Verlag Foto-Archive in Munich (Fig. 5:12). This photograph is also taken from the north-west vantage point. It shows the mountains behind the temple and a tree in the near foreground on the right hand side of the composition. The Max Hirmer image is an example of photography imitating the previous nineteenth-century paintings of the site, inclusive of a typical '*repoussoir* tree' in the right-hand foreground. This particular photograph of Bassai has been used in many recent publications, for example Pedley (1998) on page 281 (page 292 in the 4th edition of 2007) and Spawforth (2008) on page 17. Such an image represents the Western idealized perception of the Classical world in much the same manner as the romantic literary images of Bassai that were published by the 1930s garden expert, Gertrude Woodthorpe, the nineteenth-century academic, J.P. Mahaffy or the 1960s travel writer, Colin Simpson.

It is abundantly clear that this romantic image of the temple, set against the mountainous landscape of Arkadia, completely evaporated when the tent was placed

over the temple in 1987. The tent was erected to protect the temple from damage by the severe weather conditions that prevail on the mountain, whilst the architectural members were strengthened and restored by civil engineers and archaeologists. This recent anastylosis of the temple by the Greek Archaeological service has prompted thought-provoking discourses in the academic field of philosophy. Babette E. Babich, the Professor of Philosophy at Fordham University in New York, travelled to Bassai, and like many other visitors was clearly very disappointed by the presence of the tent over the monument. Babich commented that:

> And in Arcadia I visited a temple, famous in antiquity, celebrated by Pausanius for its symmetry, recounted to me by friends who spoke of their visits. But like the mystery of Poussin's tomb, in Arcadia I too found that what I sought was not there (Babich 2003, 167).

Babich's expectations of finding an 'imagined Arkadian paradise' at Bassai - expectations that had been learnt, nurtured and absorbed through exposure to Western culture and then positively affirmed by colleagues and friends who had previously visited the temple, were not met or satisfied at the site. This appears to be primarily because of the tent. The philosopher used the disappointing experience to explore theories regarding works of art as discussed by Heidegger. For Babich, the Temple of Apollo at Bassai is an example of both the insistent foreclosure of an ancient work of art and the conflict of the pervasive efforts of modern conservation (Babich 2003, 151). Considering the temple in the context of Heidegger's theories Babich states that:

> Blocked by a weirdly circus-like structure of ungainly proportions, the covering tent builds the closed space of modern vanity... a mindless gesture of affected protection from the elements, secluding and so refusing them as the elements which the temple was first set up to articulate in the truth of what Heidegger calls *Da-Sein* ... the struggle between earth and world might have remained as the encounter with the elements themselves. The same after thousands of years ... but in the absence of a world of preservers, consecrated to the cult of the temple, the temple does not and cannot speak (Babich 2003, 164-167).

Consequently, the conserving force of the tent basically prevents the viewer from seeing the locus of an emptied world and therefore enables only the *withdrawal* of such world revealing occlusion – a revelation that would otherwise be perceptible to the viewer if the temple had been left untouched and open to the elements. The tent also removes any vestiges of the ongoing encounter between the 'world' that first created the temple and 'earth' from which it came – a struggle that would have, in a sense, still been apparent as the building battled exposed against the natural elements. What remains under the tent at Bassai is a new world dominated by the temple rebuilt and reworked under the aegis of modern archaeological preservation.

Babich mused that maybe it is right that all such things should be displaced for the great and good purposes of research and archaeological preservation, but in a circuitous discussion, also suggests that maybe Nietzche's saying that 'whatever is poised to fall needs no more than a helping hand' should be adhered to (Babich 2003, 167). In a sense, Babich seems to be advocating the views of academics like Rose Macaulay (1953) and Christopher Woodward (2001), who argued that ancient temples

and buildings should be left to time and nature and be aesthetically enjoyed, as in the 'rapture of ruins' (Macaulay 1953, 5 and 317). This, however, will not be allowed to happen to the temple in the foreseeable future, because in the Greek state monuments of the Classical past are important tourist resources which have long acted as crucial devices for the construction of the national topos. Consequently, their almost 'pristine' preservation is of great political and cultural importance to the Greek government.

The lost 'romance' at Bassai and, most importantly, the total separation of the temple from the landscape, has evidently caused concern at UNESCO. A periodic report, dated 2006, section 14, which dealt with 'weaknesses in the management of the site' concluded that although the tent did contribute to the monument's preservation it also 'differentiated the image of the temple as regards the natural landscape' (http/whc/unesco.org/en/list/392/documents/). The report concluded by stating that the scientific committee of the E.S.N.E.A. was exhaustively investigating the matter to find a suitable permanent solution to this problem.

The tent may also have caused problems for recent travellers who wished to interpret the ancient site through art. John Recco was awarded a senior Fulbright scholarship in 2004 to observe through painting the relationship between the landscape and the sacred temples in Greece. These paintings were exhibited in 2005 at the Maliotis Centre at the Hellenic College in M.A, U.S.A. Recco's images, for example the *Conical Mountain at Messina* and the *Tortoises at Delphi* (Recco's Sacred Greek Landscape series can be viewed at http//www.johnrecco.com/gallery.3.htm. – last accessed 20/7/2010 and The Katharina Rich Perlow Gallery website) are vivid compositions which feature the sites, their surrounding flora and fauna, and related artefacts.

In the case of Delphi, an image of the famous early Classical statue of the charioteer is included in painting. Recco does not appear to have painted an image of Bassai, even though he apparently visited the site. Maybe he felt (in similar fashion to Babich) that because of the tent there was no longer any visible relationship between the temple and the landscape – whatever his reasons (I have tried unsuccessfully to contact him by email) he does not appear to have produced a painting of Bassai that I have been able to find in the general public domain.

Current travel books about Greece all include Bassai in their narratives and include short literary images of the mountainous isolation of the temple and its Classical architecture. The author of *Eyewitness Travel Greece: Athens and the Mainland* (2009), stated that the temple occupies 'the most remote site of any major sanctuary' and that 'it hides under a tent until 50 million euros can be raised to reinstall the architraves' (Dubin 2009, 177). Furthermore, in a sample of six of the most popular travel books published between 2008 and 2009, all of the publications mentioned the tent, except for one, the *Michelin Green Guide to Greece* (2009). Significantly, this particular travel book also included a photograph of the temple without the tent. The photograph featured the 'classic' view of the temple from the north (Mills 2009, 277). This indicates that the book is either completely out of date regarding its information about the temple or that the author is reluctant to inform its readership that they will not experience the idealized romantic view of Arkadia and the Classical world that they may expect. The *Rough Guide to Greece* (2008) echoes the romantic views of Woodward, Macaulay, and (in a sense) Babich in relation to ruins, as the author describes the lonely mountainous scenery and the Iktinian architecture of the temple, but then states 'There the superlatives must cease. Romantic though the temple was in the past, it is now swathed under a gigantic marquee' (Chilton 2008, 244).

The Temple of Apollo at Bassai is still quite difficult to get too - in contradiction to what Beard and Henderson say about there being a 'good tarmac road' and 'accessibility is no longer a problem' (Beard and Henderson 1995, 24). Most popular tours do not currently visit the site and there is no public bus service to the temple, therefore a car or taxi is required to visit the mountainous site. The new road to the temple was built in the late 1950s and was opened in 1960. It was then described in *The Observer* as 'a scarifying mountain road' (Ardagh 3.2.1960.) and it has continued to be described as such by many recent academics, for example Gregory Jusdanis, who commented about 'the hair-raising drive to the temple today' (Jusdanis 2004, 38). The author of this thesis travelled to the temple in 2003 and was alarmed by the crumbling edges of the road in some places and the sight of a crashed motor vehicle down the side of the mountain. Furthermore, Beard and Henderson's view that Bassai is a highpoint of any trip through the Peloponnese (Beard and Henderson 1995, 24) is not fully shared by the authors of the *Rough Guide to Greece* (2008) or *Lonely Planet: Greece* (2008). The temple *is* mentioned in both books, but it is *not* specifically included in their 'must see' or 'highlights' of the Peloponnese. This omission is probably because of the presence of the tent.

Furthermore, because of the temple's geographical location, a visit to Bassai has almost always been the preserve of tourists with a certain level of monetary income. This economic level has altered over the past two centuries and the advent of cheap air flight has opened up many parts of the world to the less financially well-off. Despite this, the temple's remote location has ensured that it remains almost exclusively the preserve of the educated; or those sections of society who actually know the temple exists and value Classical culture, and the more determined traveller; those prepared to leave the well trodden paths of the popular tourist resorts.

Interestingly, D. Bairaktaris, who was the president of the E.S.N.E.A. in 2004, stated that the application of the tent over the temple has 'increased the media interest, and by implication, it has lead to a higher number of visitors since 1987' (pers. comm. Bairaktaris 7.1.2004). This is a remarkable fact considering the temple's current secondary (or reduced) status with regards to being a 'must see' place to visit in the travel guides. It is possible that the pristine new tent did have a 'novelty factor' of attraction when it was first erected, but this no longer appears to be the case. Interestingly, as the tent ages and becomes weathered and discloured it poses its own questions about preservation. In short, it is evident that it is the 'classic' image of the temple without the tent (the very same picture that is featured on the actual entrance ticket/information leaflet (Fig. 5:3) to the site) that most people want to see when they travel to Bassai. Furthermore, despite potential visitors often knowing that the tent is present, many are still generally disappointed (like Babich) when they actually get to the temple and see that the romantic 'classic' view no longer exists.

The current restoration of the temple is now completed and the debate over how the temple should be protected in the future is ongoing. Plans are being discussed to possibly remove the bulk of the tent and leave either a light structure or roof over the temple to preserve it from extreme weather conditions (pers. comm. Papadopoulos and Tzortzi, E.S.N.E.A, 15.10.2008). What is evident is that the ongoing concealment of this monument from the sun, the stars, the wind and the rain, illustrates the conservative force of the modern isolation of art in the locus of the museum or tourist exhibition. The Bassai frieze has been removed from its original context to the British Museum, and in the case of the tent, a museum has (in a sense) come to the temple and removed it from the 'dangers' of its natural context. It is also clear that the barrier of the tent and modern preservation techniques prevent the viewer from

witnessing the one aspect of the struggle that remains perceptible between what Heidegger termed 'world' (the ancient community who constructed the temple) and 'earth' (nature) - the actual stance of the building in three dimensional space against the elements.

In conclusion, it is evident that images of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai have played an important role in the creation and perpetuation of the idealized and romantic Western perception of Classical Greece and Arkadia. For the most part, artists, photographers, travel writers and academics have continually presented a stereotypical image of the temple, a view taken from the north-west, looking southwards towards the mountains and the sea. The earlier paintings often included Virgilian style shepherds, translucent light evocative of the perceived 'Classical golden age' and rearranged geographical features to ensure the inclusion of historical and legendary landmarks, such as Mount Ithome in the image. Later photographers managed the image of the temple in a similar vein to the earlier artists, in that they attempted to give the public the idealized images of the Classical world that they expected and wanted. Photographs were produced which presented the temple in stark black and white and emphasised the monument's subordination to a vast mountainous landscape. These images evoked the melancholy sense of romantic eternity and uniqueness that was attributed to Classical monuments at this time. Photography led to the mass replication and homogenization of the visual economy, and stereotypical pictures taken of the temple many decades ago, such as the example from the Hirmer Verlag Foto-Archive in Munich, are still being used by academics in recent books on Greek art, architecture and archaeology.

The remote temple was an ideal canvas to express Greece's Classical past and Western perceptions of Classical antiquity. Consequently, a stereotypical image of the

temple was used for a Greek postage stamp and it is clear that the temple and its images have played an important part in how Modern Greece presents itself to the world and as landmarks that defined the imagined territory of Hellas. Despite this, the temple does not appear to have directly inspired any great poems or literary works of art, apart from the vivid and philosophically insightful description of the site by Kazantzakis. The temple has always been a popular destination (both real and imagined) for elitist or intellectual tourists, but because of its isolated location and its lack of historical references in the ancient sources, it has never been visited on the mass scale that Olympia or the Athenian Acropolis have. Ironically, the temple's remote mountainous location remains one of the main reasons why the site is valued, yet this isolation is precisely what keeps most people away.

Finally, under the aegis of nationalism and archaeological preservation the temple has been cleared of the encroachments of nature by the Greek Archaeological Service. A tent has been applied to protect the temple from the elements whilst civil engineers and archaeologists work to strengthen its ancient structure. This temporary structure has caused concern at UNESCO because it separates the ancient monument from the landscape.

The tent has also led to philosophical discourses regarding the pervasive efforts of modern conservation and how they affect an object of art, such as the temple. It is clear that because of the tent the modern viewer present at the site has lost, in a sense, even the ruined testimony that once, at least, such a sanctuary stood and drew the space of destiny around it. Bassai has thus moved from being a work of art to an object of art, isolated in the locus of the tent, under the authenticating and watchful eye of the archaeological expert. The issue of the tent is contentious and it may well

be removed from the temple (partially or fully) in the future, but perhaps Macaulay was right when she stated:

> The sun god's temple at Bassai, high in the wild Arcadian mountains, calls for no restoration beyond the return of its frieze from the British Museum (Macaulay 1953, 317).

CONCLUSION

Several important and interesting conclusions are reached in this thesis which contribute to the fields of Greek archaeology, the wider politics of Classical heritage, reception/cultural biographical studies and architectural/art history. It is clear that the modern social and cultural life of the monument had not been adequately studied prior to this project. The use of cultural biography has been particularly revealing in relation to the life history of the temple and the frieze, and provides a good case study for this type of methodology. This methodology shows how objects gather time and change and how some artefacts are invested with such great value by certain nations or communities that they, in turn, begin to influence the thought processes of those groups, creating new social, cultural and political narratives.

Of particular importance is the insight that the Bassai frieze's life history has been almost continually informed by its relationship with the iconic Parthenon marbles; a conclusion which has academic value for the study of both monuments. As Britain began to sacralise the culture of Classcial Greece in the early nineteenth century and to position itself on the world stage as the natural successor (both culturally and racially) to Periklean Athens, the two sets of sculptures were commoditised and exhibited as trophies of the expanding British Empire. Together, they were perceived to form the finest collection of Greek sculpture in the world. A crucial aspect of this complex relationship was that the Bassai frieze was always considered inferior to the Parthenon frieze. Consequently, the Bassai frieze was valued because it was Classical sculpture related to the Parthenon marbles via Iktinos, but also because it was perceived as artistically inferior and thereby illuminated the perfection of the former. As such, the thesis demonstrates that the study of the collateral reception of the two

sets of marbles (and the two monuments themselves) can be particularly illuminating. It also shows how the processes of value creation can be extended beyond those of 'society' to 'artefact' (and vice versa) to include the relationship between items of material culture themselves. As the case of the Bassai frieze shows, part of the reason why some artefacts become valued is directly because of their relationship (either real or imagined) to other artefacts which can be in a positive or negative sense or both. These types of relationships are not static and they invariably change and shift over time and throughout history. This insight has wider methodological significance in the sense that there are potentially many other monuments or objects (Classical or other) whose reception is influenced by their perceived relationship to other artefacts and would benefit from the application of this collateral type of study.

This thesis has also shown that British Museum's stewardship of the frieze has been problematic, as it is evident that the artefact has suffered some damage and theft in its new life in the British Museum. The frieze was not displayed for decades and is currently placed in a room that can only be accessed by the public for one hour a day without prior arrangement. Consequently, the frieze has been implicated in the current global politics of heritage and has in a sense been used by the Greek Government as a tool to help implement the return of the Parthenon Marbles. This highlights the contested politics of Classical material culture and its continuing significance in the western world. In short, the study shows that Classical artefacts such as the Bassai and Parthenon marbles are culturally active presences.

Paradoxically, this stands contrary to the tangible devaluation of Classical heritage in recent times. Hamilakis has pointed out that this is due to 'processes such as the impact of multi-cultural ideologies, the critique of Eurocentricity, the decline of relevant fields of academic study and the cultural and demographic changes in

western societies' (Hamilakis 2007, 300). The continuing relevance of Classical material can be understood more easily in modern Greece, where it became the most important symbolic resource for the Greek state, but its enduring value outside of that country is a complex issue. Interestingly, the thesis has demonstrated that the Parthenon and its marbles has been largely unaffected by anti-Classical trends and has been consistently highly valued throughout the modern and post-modern eras. The Parthenon is currently the logo for UNESCO and the Greek government's continual fight for the return of the marbles has contributed to their continuing fame and value. This stands in stark contrast to the Bassai frieze, whose cultural value has risen and fallen many times during its life history in the British Museum. Moreover, the different ways the frieze was displayed was directly linked to its perceived cultural value at that given time. For example, it was first exhibited as a precursor to Parthenon marbles: the Bassai frieze was seen as part of the explanatory narrative of the nineteenth century theory of the progress of art. This theory concluded that art reached its apex in the works of Phidias on the Parthenon. In the late nineteenth century the frieze was exhibited directly after the Parthenon frieze: this arrangement reflected its dating and the perception that it was from the period which witnessed the demise of Classical art. By the late 1930s the frieze's direct physical proximity to the Parthenon sculptures in the British Museum's exhibition space had ceased and this coincided with a period of time when the frieze was at one of its lowest standings in terms of cultural value.

A further important conclusion reached in this study was that the history of cast production and circulation is an important part of the reception history of the frieze and monument. It is shown that the British Government, the British Museum and the Englishmen who excavated the frieze used plaster casts of the artefact for their own

promotion and self-aggrandizement. Such promotional and diplomatic strategies were still being practised in the twentieth century, but they were implemented to their greatest level in the nineteenth century as the fever for plaster casts of Greek sculpture almost matched the mania for genuine marbles. Indeed, it is evident that this mass production of casts increased the cultural value of the 'real' artefacts in the British Museum.

This thesis has also demonstrated how certain plaster casts of the Bassai frieze have become important historical artefacts in their own right. The Travellers Club cast is a strong example of the Bassai frieze attaining a higher cultural value than the Parthenon frieze within a specific setting. The analysis of such micro-histories of individual sets of casts has demonstrated the dangers of applying a simplistic approach to the reception of Classical sculpture, as there are many nuanced regional, financial and political and social reasons that determine how an artefact is culturally received and valued. Furthermore, the study has revealed how plaster casts of Classical sculpture in Greece are used as memory signifiers that the original artefact has been looted. This is particularly true in the case of the Parthenon marbles, where casts act as symbols that the fight for their return must go on. Such insights illuminate the fact that Classical heritage in Greece remains one of the nation's most valued cultural commodities. More importantly, they show that the role or function of some plaster casts have been altered in that country to convey an active political message. This is an example of a double consciousness of the historical and artistic role of Classical culture, as the original marbles were appropriated by Britain who donated plaster casts of them to Greece as a colonial gift. This affirmed Britain's status as the modern successor to the genius of Classical Greece and positioned the new Greek State in the role of a culturally colonized nation that was in some way connected to

the original marbles, but was now historically divorced from them and not worthy of their stewardship. In modern Greece the role of these casts has been refigured as symbols to ensure the return of the original marbles and to rally against, what is still perceived by some, as the ongoing colonial practices of the British Museum.

An analysis of what happened to the casts of the Bassai frieze that the British Museum gave to Linkh, Gropius and Hallerstein (the three non-English excavators of the temple) would provide a valuable insight into the reception of the frieze in mainland Europe – as this was the most likely destination for the casts owned by these men. The reception of the frieze outside England, Ireland and Greece has only been examined to a small extent in this thesis. As such, this is a subject area that warrants further research.

Of particular importance to the field of architectural history is the examination of the reception of the temple's architecture from 1819 to the present day. It is clear from the evidence collected and analysed that the fame and reputation of Cockerell has been crucial in the reception and cultural life of the temple. Furthermore, the study has identified and recorded some new or otherwise forgotten examples of the reception or use of Bassai features or design elements in buildings.

The thesis shows that Cockerell stands alone as the only known architect to use features from the temple in nineteenth-century England. Furthermore, almost all other uses of Bassai features by subsequent architects can be traced back to Cockerell's significant influence in the field of Classical architecture. In fact, Cockerell's name became synonymous with the temple: this was especially evident after he used a free interpretation of the unusual 'humped back' Bassai Ionic capital to adorn the Ashmolean Museum, whose interior decoration also featured a plaster cast of the Bassai frieze. The Ashmolean is both a skilled exercise in eclectic Classical design

and a very clear advertisement of Cockerell's earlier archaeological discoveries. Moreover, it is testament to Cockerell's genius as an architect (and as a self publicist) that he managed to successfully incorporate the Bassai Ionic into such a publically successful design, particularly as the column and capital were not thought to be aesthetically attractive by most in the architectural fraternity. Indeed, they are still not thought by many to be pleasing on the eye, as was demonstrated by H. Stafford Bryant's (the director of Classical America) comment that the Ionic columns at the Ashmolean are 'oddly modelled'. The strongest negative indictment on the architectural reception of the temple is that it does not appear to have been reproduced anywhere (to my knowledge) in the United States, which is remarkable considering that country's enthusiasm for both Greek and Roman Classical architecture.

Evidence presented in this thesis has demonstrated that in Ireland the temple's architectural use (and positive reception) is derived from both the specific political and cultural considerations that existed within the Ulster Presbyterian community and the enigmatic Presbyterian architect, John Millar. Millar owned a copy of the *Antiquities of Athens, Vol IV,* and trained for his profession in London at a time when Cockerell was becoming increasingly famous. Indeed, it is highly probable that he too was influenced by Cockerell.

It is clear that there is a process of value creation operating between Cockerell and the temple. Furthermore, because of Cockerell's position in England as a 'particularly beloved architectural figure', who has been praised greatly in the twentieth century by architectural historians such as Sir John Summerson and Professor David Watkin, there has been a sharpening in this process of this value creation. This in turn has influenced the most up to date uses of the temple's architectural forms at the Fellows'

Dining Hall in Gonville and Caius College at the University of Cambridge (1998) and the Sackler Library at the University of Oxford (2001).

A further significant and valuable contribution the thesis makes to the study of architectural history and Classical heritage in general, is the insight that the recent reception of the temple is strongly coloured by, and set against, a polarised debate that is raging within the architectural establishment between a Prince of Wales backed pro-Classicist lobby and the 'High-Tec' or Modernist camp. Cockerell, who fought valiantly for the cause of Neo-Classical designs against the Victorian trend for Gothic architecture, is a favourite champion of current English Classical architects, such as Robert Adam, who incorporated Bassai features into his designs for the Sackler Library and John Simpson, who recreated the interior of the temple at Gonville and Caius College.

Evidence presented in this thesis has shown that Le Corbusier, who was one of the 'founding fathers' of Modernist architecture, lavished praise on the Parthenon, but stated that he found the other temples that were built by Iktinos 'cold and uninteresting' (Le Corbusier 1987, 219). It has been argued in this study that this lack of an endorsement by Le Corbusier has actually increased the Bassai temple's cultural stock amongst current Neo-Classical architects. This is because the Modernists (in a sense) have no historical or ideological association with the temple. Furthermore, it appears that Bassai, because of the Cockerell connection and the fact that it is much less well recognised and popularly praised than the Parthenon, has increased its value amongst *certain* elites in society who continue to admire and create Classical architecture in England. As a consequence of this, the temple has also increased its symbolic capital in the intellectual currency of the global cultural market. It is a significant sign of this positive shift that a prestigious Cambridge College has recently

created within its Medieval walls a glittering reconstruction of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai, when in 1824 it was proposed that the same building should be demolished to make way for a full scale replica of the Parthenon.

It is evident that the study of the reception of the temple and its frieze (and Classical material in general) provides an interesting index of cultural continuity and change that has academic value in many disciplines. What is particularly significant with regards to the architectural reception of the monument is that Cockerell and his followers have created designs in England and Ireland which have enabled the temple to have a specific and bodily experienced materiality in those countries that is loaded with their own, and their patrons, cultural and political agendas. Furthermore, the aura of authenticity that has long been invested in Classical artefacts or literature is extended to the field of Classical or traditional architecture. In recent times, this has been used as an ideal means to counter what is seen as artificial, unattractive and even 'dumb' in new or Modernist architecture and sometimes in globalised modernity in general. This is a significant conclusion which shows how the current politics of Classical heritage intersects with the politics of architecture and continues to directly impact on the built environment of the twenty first century.

The thesis includes a general compilation of the many places and academic fields were the reception, presence or influence of the temple can be found. Some examples of the monument's reception that are mentioned in the study are not discussed in great length. This was due to time and word constraints, but the inclusion of these lesser researched examples in the thesis was necessary to give a sense of the significant amount of material that still needs to be examined with regards to the temple's reception. For example, the study investigated the role that images of the temple have played in the creation and perpetuation of the idealized and romantic Western

perception of Classical Greece and Arkadia. For the most part, artists, photographers, travel writers and academics, have continually presented a stereotypical image of the temple. This was usually the view taken from the north-west looking towards the mountains and the sea. Earlier paintings often included Virgilian style shepherds, translucent light evocative of a perceived 'Classical golden age' and re-arranged geographical features to ensure the inclusion of historical and legendary landmarks such as Mount Ithome. Following the advent of photography, images were produced that generally presented the temple in stark black and white and emphasised the monument's subordination to a vast mountainous landscape. These photographs evoked a melancholy sense of romantic eternity and uniqueness that was attributed to Classical monuments at this time. Photography led to the mass homogenization of the visual economy, and stereotypical images of the temple that were taken many decades ago, for example a photograph held at the Hirmer Verlag Foto-Archive, is still frequently used by academics and appears in several very recent books on Greek art, architecture and archaeology.

These were the type of images that the public came to expect and wanted to see. H.R. Jauss framed this type of dialogue between producer/artist and viewer/audience using the notion of a 'horizon of expectation'. He developed the concept to include a notion of 'experience of life' and thus 'rooted the receiver's mind-set in his or her social and cultural context' (Hardwick 2003, 8). This thesis explains the type of thought processes that could be said to have shaped (and continue to shape) Western European expectations or interpretations of images of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai, and the artists and photographers who produced such images were engaged in the commoditization of the imagined ideal of Classical Greece and were meeting the demands of these cultural market forces.

It is clear that in this context Bassai was an ideal canvass to express Greece's Classical past. Consequently, an image of the temple was used for a Greek postage stamp. Hamilakis has shown how idealized Western perceptions of the Classical world created a monumentalised view of Greece, which was then adopted as a 'path to modernity by the new Greek nation-state' (Hamilakis 2001, 10). This thesis has built on this idea and demonstrated the significant role that the temple and its images have played in how modern Greece presents itself to the world and as objects that defined the imagined territory of Hellas.

What the study does *not* do is give detailed facts regarding how many photographic representations there are out there, what the current market is for them and exactly how widely these photographs were circulating. This is an area of research that requires further investigation.

It is also apparent that no major study has been conducted regarding the reception of the temple by the Greek people who live in its locale. Such research would require Greek language sources and oral accounts. This thesis has however provided a few brief vignettes regarding this area of study in relation to Kazantzakis and Ellen Jane Harrison, who both touched on this question of local Greek attitudes towards the temple.

As a fellow Greek, although not a native of the Peloponnese, Kazantzakis was able to culturally relate to the old lady who lived close to the temple. He shared a sense of understanding and humour with her about the Western idealization of the ruin. Most interestingly, Kazantzakis teased out just how strongly the woman identified with the temple. This was encapsulated by her answer (in response to his question about politics) that 'well, my child, we here [the temple and herself] are far removed from good and evil' (Kazantzakis 1966, 77). Kazantzakis gives us the impression that the

old lady was pragmatically referring to the political actions of humans, yet there also appears to be a sense of spirituality in her answer. The British academic Harrison (who was extremely interested in what she regarded to be primitive or superstitious beliefs) was, in a sense, happy when she discovered that her late nineteenth-century Greek guide thought that the ruin was inhabited by 'charones' or evil spirits. He subsequently tried to use this as an excuse to avoid taking her there, but it seems that, in reality, the guide did not know the route up to the temple and this was part of the reason why he was reluctant to go there (Beard 2000, 71). It is also possible that he genuinely believed that evil spirits resided there and believed some local superstition about the site. Indeed, the animate, human like and emotive qualities attributed to some antiquities and monuments by many nineteenth-century Greeks have been well documented. These ideas are still encountered today in relation to the crusade for the return of the Parthenon marbles and are very prominent in the newspaper articles of Manolis Andronikos and the poetry of Kiki Dimoula (Hamilakis 2008, 280). In such discourses it is the marbles themselves which feel trapped in the British Museum and are spiritually longing to return home to their native soil. Considering these facts, academic research examining local attitudes to the temple would significantly contribute to the monument's study. This could possibly include identifying any indigenous folk tales or beliefs connected to the site, or, any negative or less than reverential local opinions of the temple at Bassai. It is interesting that some subversive attitudes towards the Parthenon exist in Greek society, such as the film 'Akropolis' made by Eva Stefani in 2001. This film describes the iconic Parthenon as a prostitute and equates its use by politicians and tourists over the years to the notion of the general prostitution of Greece and its culture. No such films have been made with *specific* regards to the temple at Bassai (or probably any other ancient monument

in Greece) but in depth research illuminating local (and national) Greek attitudes to the site would provide a fascinating insight into the area's social and cultural history and the temple's life history.

A further important philosophical conclusion is that Bassai is now an object of art, isolated in the locus of a protective covering and under the watchful and authenticating eye of the archaeological expert. In short, the Bassai frieze has been removed to a foreign museum, but in the case of the tent, a Greek museum has (in a sense) come to the temple. The issue of the tent is highly controversial and has led to philosophical and academic discourses on how a globally important monument should be cared for. Its presence is even described in a UNESCO report as a 'weakness' of the site's overall management. Ironically, this is because the tent separates the temple from the natural environment and not because it fails in its function to protect the temple, as the tent has performed very well in shielding the monument from the elements. This view shows the continued cultural expectation that persists in viewers' minds in relation to the 'classic stereotypical image' of the temple and the fact that this is endorsed by UNESCO further authenticates that enduring nineteenth-century image of the monument.

Finally, the growth of reception studies in recent years contains an explicit claim that Classical culture will continue to be a significant strand in cultural history. Whereas prominent academics in the field of reception studies, for example Lorna Hardwick and Maria Wyke, are developing rationales and practices in cultural philology that are making critical enquiry into the reception of Classical texts, theatre and film an abundant published *reality*, the amount of research, published or otherwise, concerning the reception of Classical artefacts and monuments remains sparse in comparison. This is especially true for Greek monuments. The exception to this is

(once again) the Parthenon, which has been the subject of several reception type studies by academics such as Mary Beard (2002) and P. Tournikiotis (1996), with the latter being the most scholarly. Indeed, *The Parthenon and its Impact in Modern Times* (1996), edited by Tournikiotis, is written from a Greek perspective of the monument and consequently differs in outlook from this study about the temple at Bassai, which is penned primarily from a British and Irish perspective. As there are few reception based examinations of ancient Greek monuments, it is evident that this thesis is an important contribution to the academic field of reception studies, as well as to the history of the temple, its frieze and the politics of Classical heritage in general.

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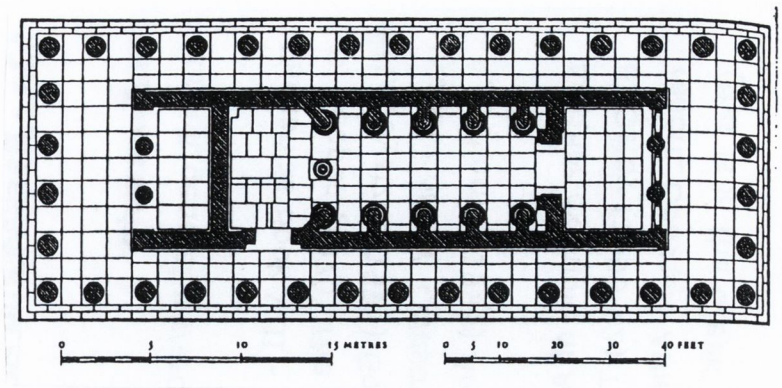


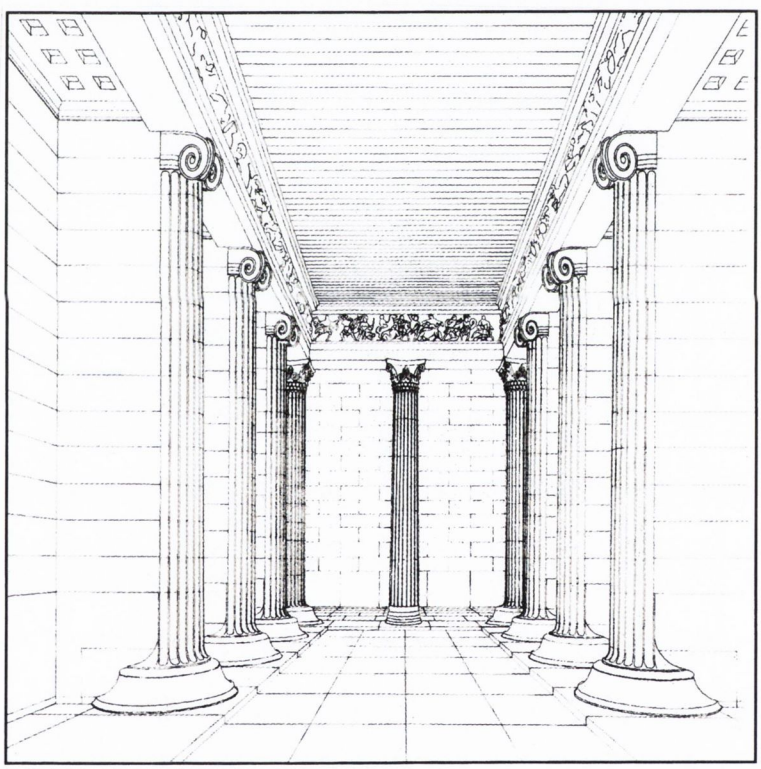


Fig. A:1. Plan of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai and drawing (reconstructed) of the temple's cella.

Fig 1: 1. Frieze Slab BM 541. Above, the drawing of the frieze slab from the British Museum Catalogue of Ancient Marbles Volume IV (1820) which depicts the Amazon Queen and the Greek warrior on the far right with heads. Below, a photograph of the frieze slab (1992) which shows that the two heads are now missing. The Greek warrior's head was stolen in 1969.

Fig 1: 2. Frieze Slab BM 541. Plaster cast made by the British Museum for Oxford University c1840. Hippolyte is shown with a head.

Fig 1: 3. Frieze Slab BM 537. An Amazon pleads for her life. The high relief of the sculpture and the shattered state of the frieze is vividly illustrated.

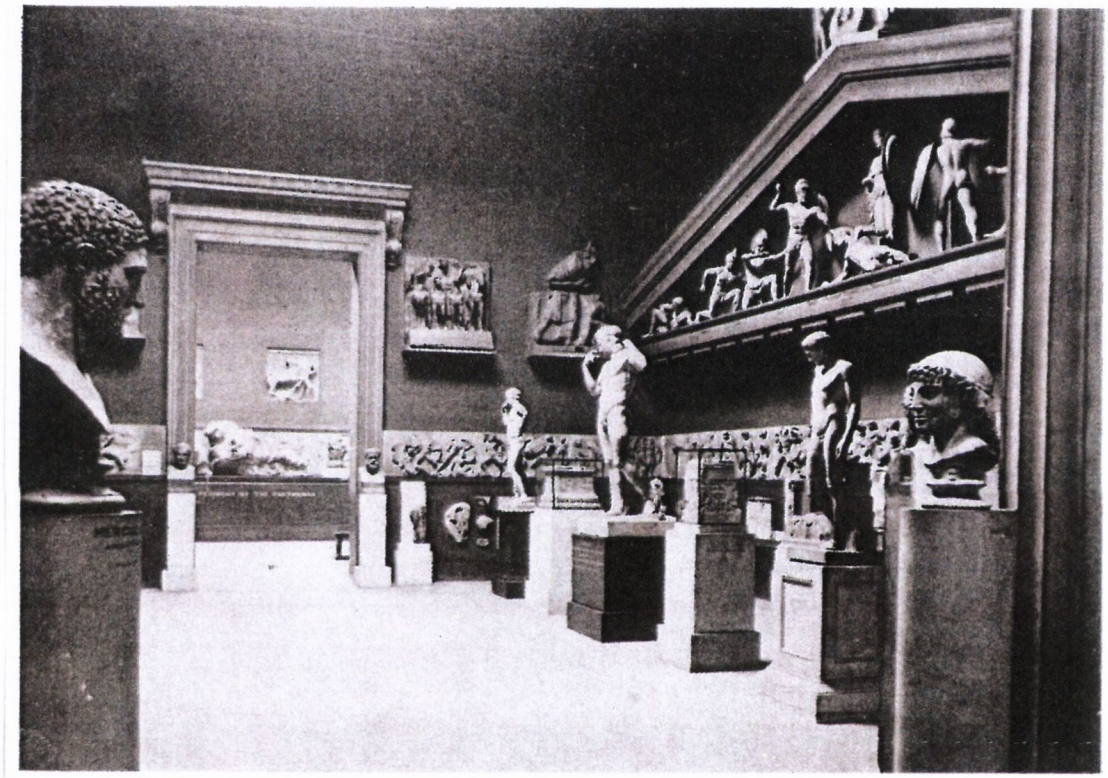


Fig 1: 4. Photograph of the Bassai Room c1875. Looking through into the Elgin Room, the Bassai frieze and the Aegina plaster casts are displayed as a prelude to the Parthenon sculptures.

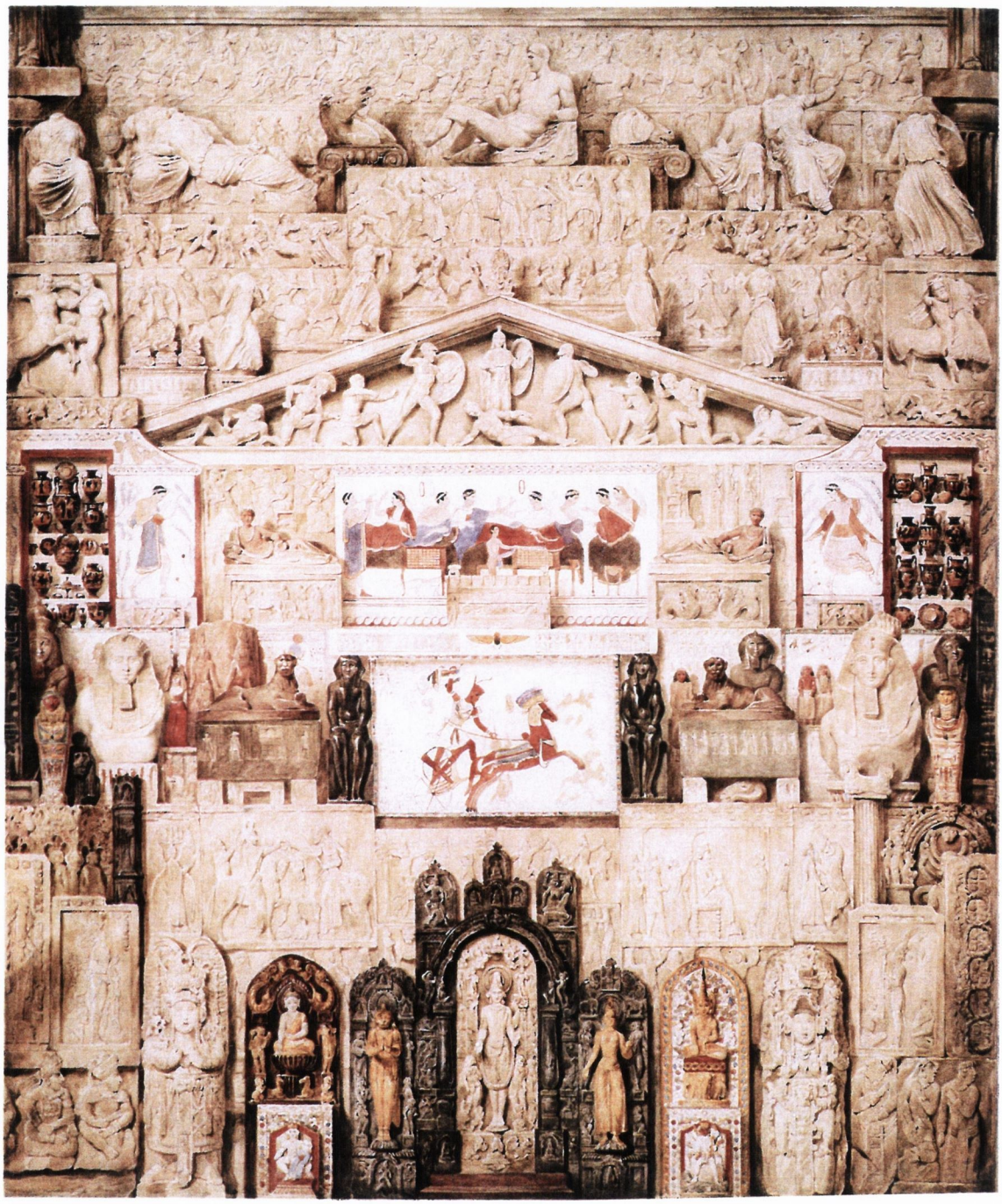


Fig 1: 5. James Stephanoff's painting 'An Assemblage of Works of Art in Sculpture and Painting' which illustrates the aesthetic theory of the 'progress of art', exhibited in 1845.

Fig 1: 6. The New Phigaleian Room (or Bassai Room) in the converted print room c1890.

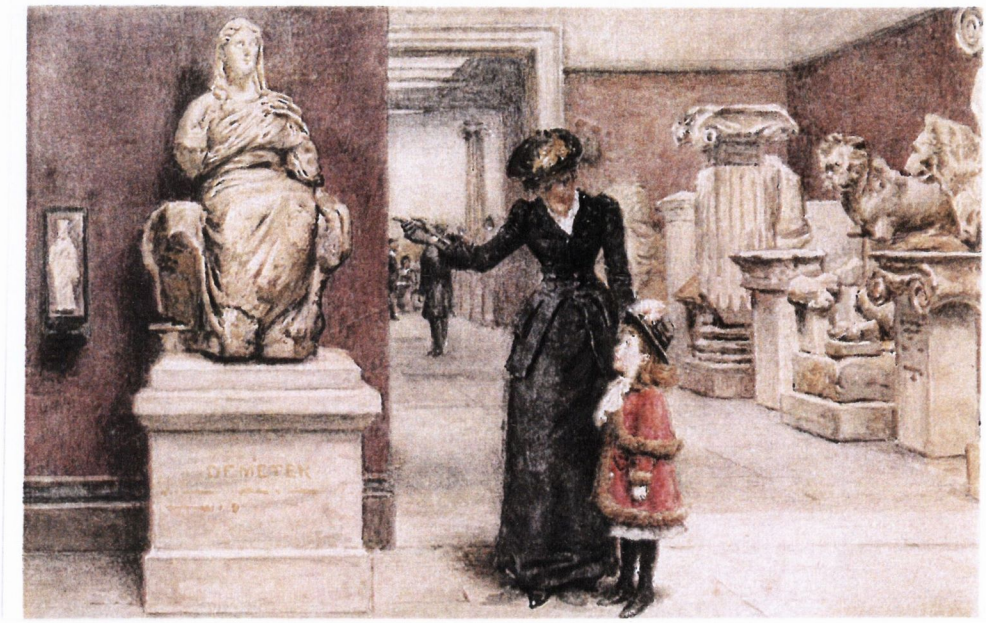


Fig 1: 7. Painting by George Goodwin Kilburn c1880. A Victorian lady points out to a young girl (who is possibly her daughter) the Demeter of Cnidus in the British Museum. It can be assumed that this statue was considered more suitable for the girl's eyes than the Bassai sculptures, especially the murdering Amazons depicted in Frieze Slab BM 542.

Fig 1: 8. Photographic Montage by Suzanne O'Neill. Women as victims and aggressors in the Bassai frieze. The frieze illustrates the timeless horrors of war.

Fig 1: 9. Photograph from *The Times Educational Supplement*. School children appear fascinated by the 'dramatically lit' Bassai frieze in 1969.

London: Week ending July 19, 1969

£5,000 marble head is stolen

Robbery at the British Museum

THIEVES or vandals have torn a white marble head of a beardless young man with curly hair from an Ancient Greek frieze in the British Museum.

On its own, this charming head – only 5ins. high – is estimated to be worth from £5,000, though the damage to the frieze is difficult to calculate in monetary terms. Mr. Denys Haynes, Keeper of Greek and Roman antiquities at the Museum, told A&A:

"It was first noticed that the head was missing while I was on holiday about four weeks ago.

The stolen marble head.

"It was part of the frieze from the Temple of Apollo at Bassae, and was wrenched off. The head had been detached before, and we will be able to put it back so that nobody can notice – provide it can be recovered."

It is on display in Room 6 in the New Gallery, into which exhibits belonging to the department were moved earlier this year.

A picture of the stolen head has been circulated by Scotland Yard, but without details of its origin or importance.

The British Museum has, in the main, an excellent security record. A spokesman described their precautions as "getting on for oppressive."

Fig 1: 10. Newspaper Cutting from *Arts and Antiques Weekly* 1969.

Fig 1: 11. Photograph of the Bassai Frieze (2008) in Room 16 at the British Museum.

The mudpack effect: white patch shows where soap and water failed

Bryan Wharton

Mudpack lift for some dirty old Greeks

ARCHAEOLOGY

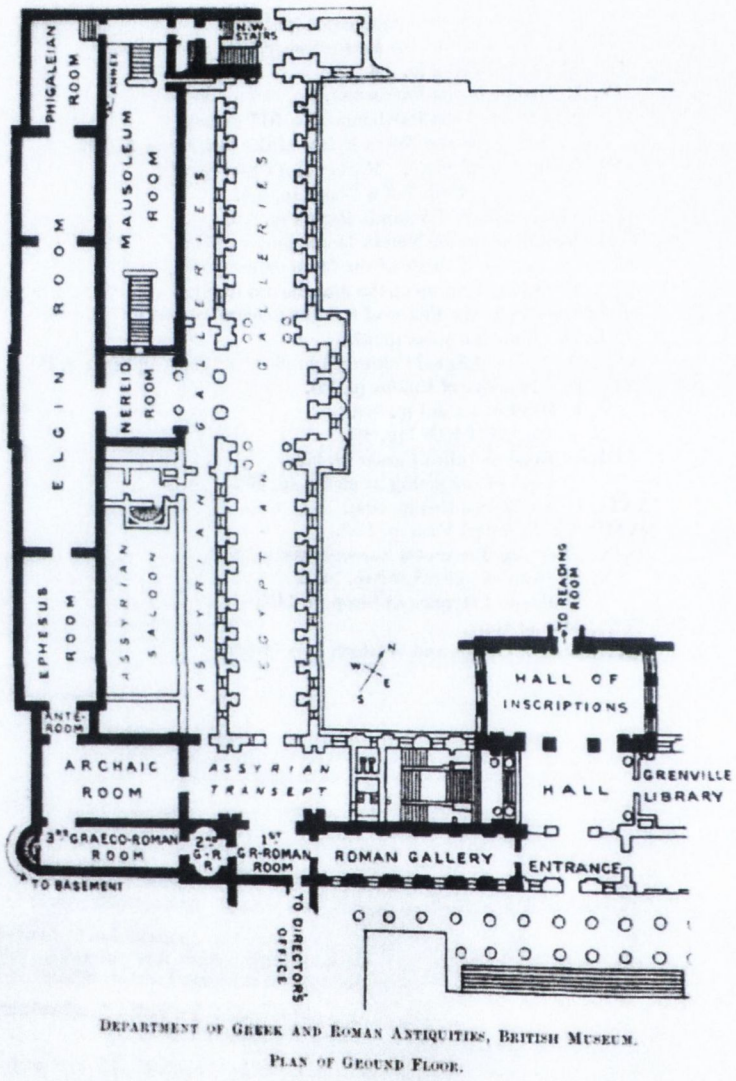
Patricia Connor

GREEK WARRIORS from the Nereid monument of Xanthos in Turkey, soon to be re-exhibited in the new Graeco-Roman galleries of the British Museum, are being given a special mudpack "facial" to shift 2,300 years of grime. The mud, called Sepiolite, draws dirt from under the skin of marble and limestone more quickly and less harmfully than soap and water, which has been found to form a thin coat of calcium carbonate on the marble surface. This locks the impurities under an opaque seal, and in time makes the stone uncleanable. The mudpack, however, involves no chemical change, so cannot affect the original material.

After the surface has been degreased with a distilled water solvent, taking about twenty minutes, the mud solution of ground magnesium silicate is applied and left to dry for twenty-four hours. Because the Sepiolite can absorb its own volume of water (a bucket of water added to a bucket of Sepiolite makes the same bucket of mud) there is a great deal of evaporation: the dressing acts like a poultice, sucking the dirt from the rock. The dried-out mud can then be brushed off, leaving the marble clean.

The technique, for which the mineral is quarried in Spain, was devised three years ago by Kenneth Hempel of the Victoria and Albert Museum conservation department, but has only just reached general use in the British Museum. The Nereid warriors (brought to England in the mid-nineteenth century by Sir Charles Fellowes) are the first of many Greeks hoping to benefit from this twentieth-century beauty treatment.

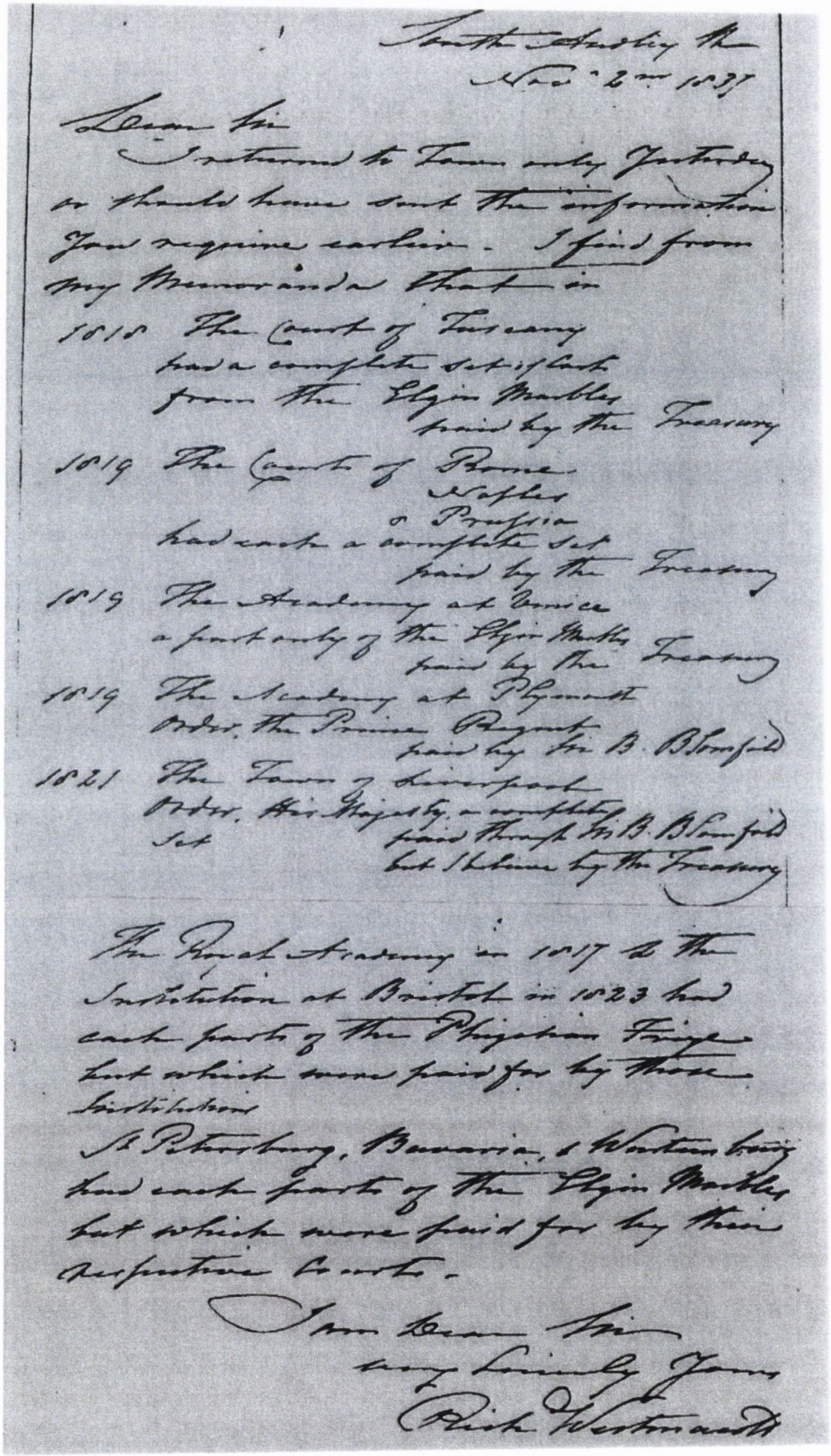
Fig 1: 12. Newspaper Cutting from *The Sunday Times* 1968.



Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum.

Plan of Ground Floor.

Fig 1:13. Plan of the ground floor at the Greek and Roman Galleries, British Museum 1902, by A.H.Smith.



South Audley St
Nov. 2nd 1837

Dear Sir

I returned to Town only Yesterday or should have sent the information You require earlier. I find from my Memoranda that in

1818 The Court of Tuscany had a complete set of Casts from the Elgin Marbles paid by the Treasury

1819 The Court of Rome Naples & Prussia had each a complete set paid by the Treasury

1819 The Academy at Venice a part only of the Elgin Marbles paid by the Treasury

1819 The Academy at Plymouth Order. the Prince Regent paid by Sir B. Bloomfield

1821 The Town of Liverpool Order. His Majesty, a complete set paid through Sir B. Bloomfield but I believe by the Treasury

The Royal Academy in 1817 & the Institution at Bristol in 1823 had each parts of the Phigalian Frieze but which were paid for by those Institutions

St Petersburg, Bavaria, & Wurtemburg had each parts of the Elgin Marbles but which were paid for by their respective Courts.

I am Dear Sir
very Sincerely Yours
Richd Westmacott

Fig 2: 2. Letter sent by Richard Westmacott to the British Museum in 1837 (BM OP 17, 2nd November 1837) recalling the plaster casts of the Bassai and Parthenon sculptures which he had made in the previous twenty years.

Nov. 1837.

Mr Hawkins begs to lay before the Trustees Mr Scarlet's estimate of the expence of making moulds of the Phigaleian marbles; of the cost of a cast of each slab, and the price it would be right to charge for each cast if sold separately.

	Cost of cast.	Charge of Cast
No. 1	1..5	3..10
2	1..5	3..10
3	1..8	4..
4	1..8	4..
5	1..8	4..
6	1..5	3..10
7	1..5	3..10
8	1..5	3..10
9	1..8	4..
10	1..8	4..
11	1..5	3..10
12	1..5	3..10
13	1..8	4..
14	1..5	3..10
15	1..5	3..10
16	1..8	4..
17	1..12	5..
18	2..4	7..
19	1..8	4
20	1..8	4
21	1..8	4
22	1..12	5
23.	1..12.	5.
	32..5	93..10

The cost of the moulds will be £350 and it is proposed to sell an entire set of casts for £80 so that eight sets would cover the expence; but as it is probable that more would be sold in portions than in entire sets; and that of some of the portions few if any will be sold, it is proposed to charge for separate portions according to the above table.

The cost of the moulds of the Ilissus will be £25, the cost of each cast £2..10. it is proposed then to charge £7..10.. for the first cast, and £5 for each subsequent one

Edwd Hawkins.

Fig 2: 1. Report made by Edward Hawkins for the British Museum in 1837 (BM OR 19, November 1837) stating the cost of making moulds and casts of the Bassai frieze.

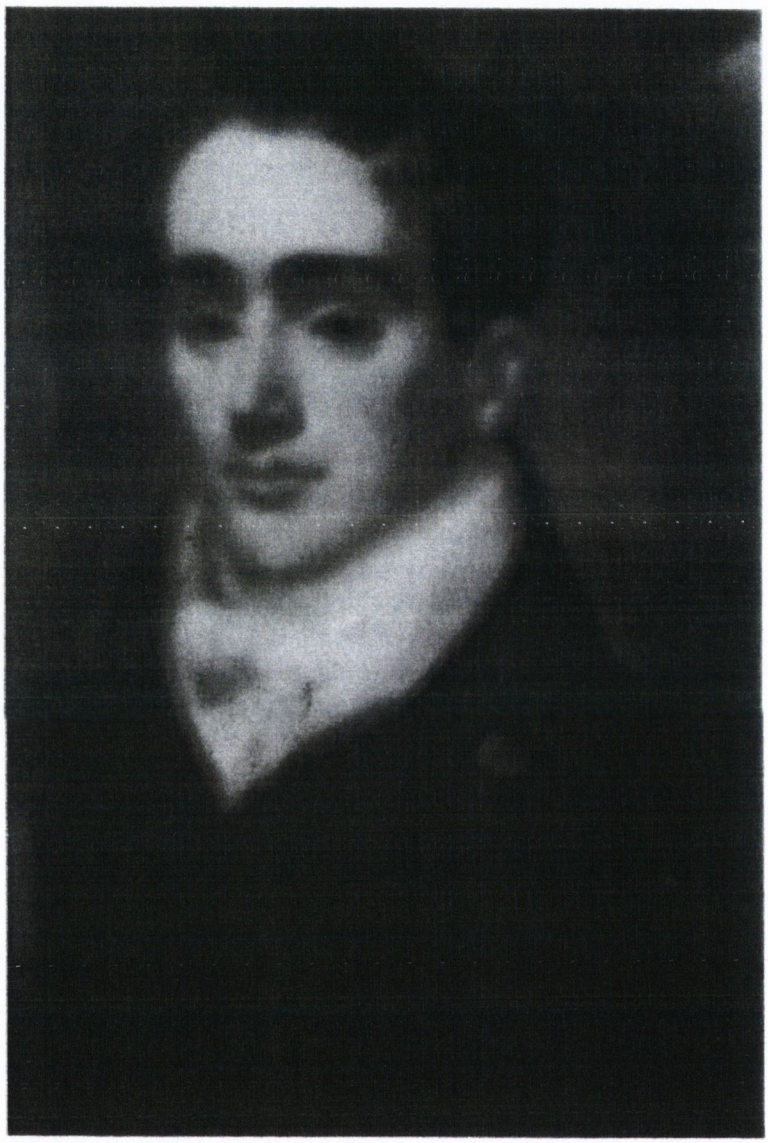


Fig 2: 3. Artist Unknown. Painting of the Liverpool architect John Foster Junior (1787 -1846). Foster excavated the Bassai frieze in 1812.

Fig 2: 4. The Bassai frieze cast on display in the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool in 2009. The cast was donated by John Foster to the Liverpool Royal Institute in 1822.

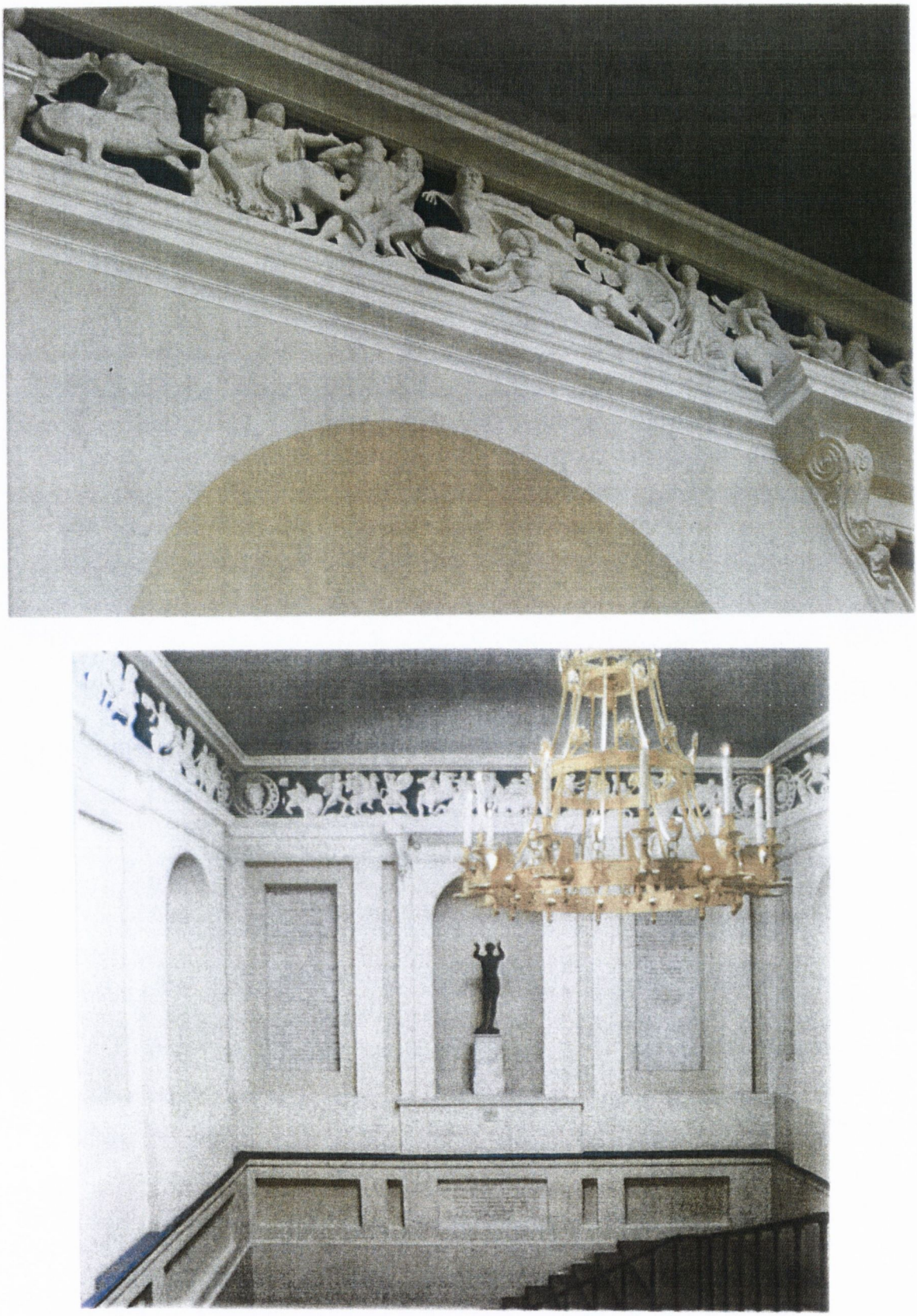


Fig 2: 5. The Bassai frieze cast around the walls of grand staircase at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. The Ashmolean Museum was built in the years 1840-1845 to the designs of C.R. Cockerell.

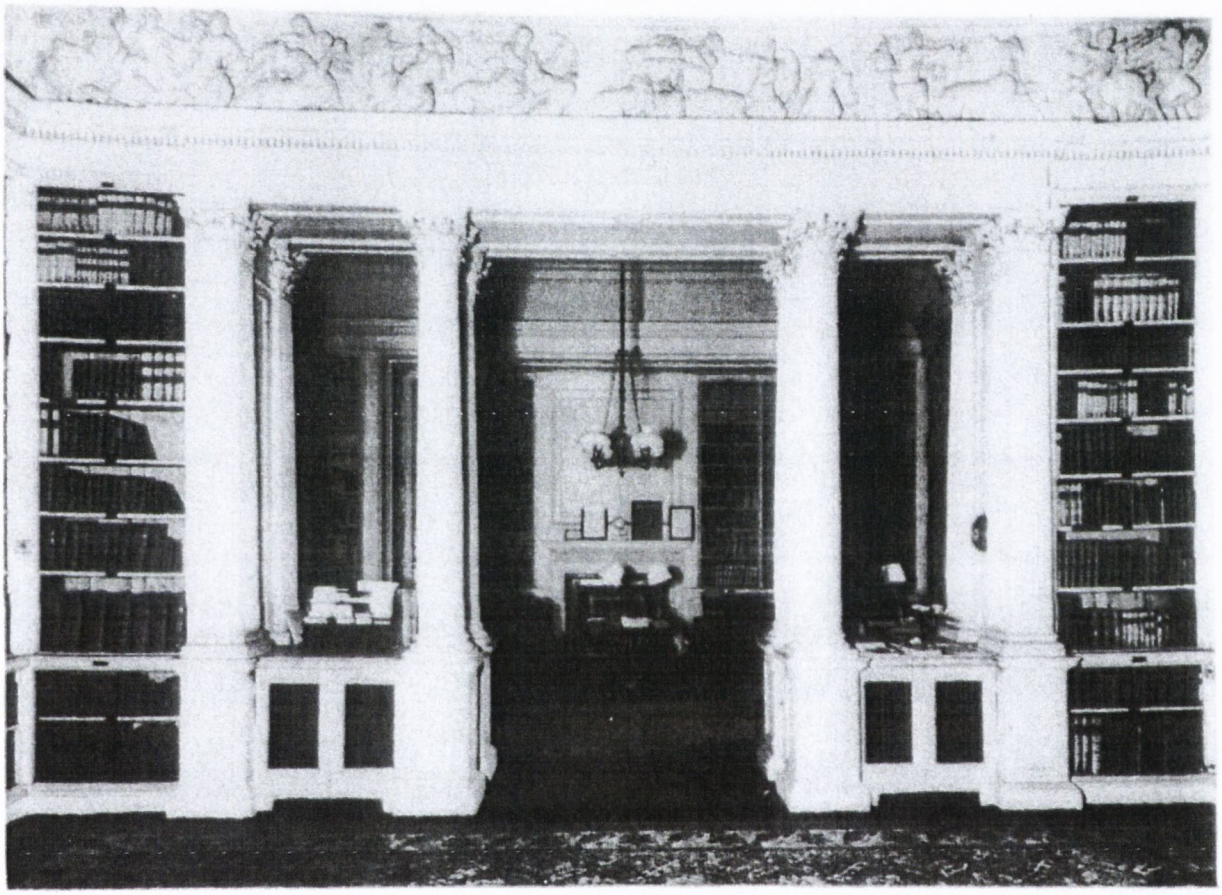


Fig 2: 6. The Bassai frieze cast in the library of the Travellers' Club in London. The cast was presented to the Travellers' Club by C.R.Cockerell in 1821 when he was a member.

Fig 2: 7. William Bradley. Painting of Thomas Legh (1792-1857). The very wealthy Legh is shown wearing Oriental dress whilst exploring the Dead Sea region in 1818.

Fig 2: 8. Thomas Legh's plaster cast of the Bassai frieze on display in the Bright Gallery at his stately home, Lyme Park in Cheshire.

Fig 2: 9. Plaster cast of the Bassai frieze around the grand staircase of the Ashmolean highlighting Cockerell's novel treatment of corners in his installation of the cast. Cockerell placed two plaster roundels at each corner, one with the date 1845 and the other featuring the head of Apollo or Artemis in alternate corners.

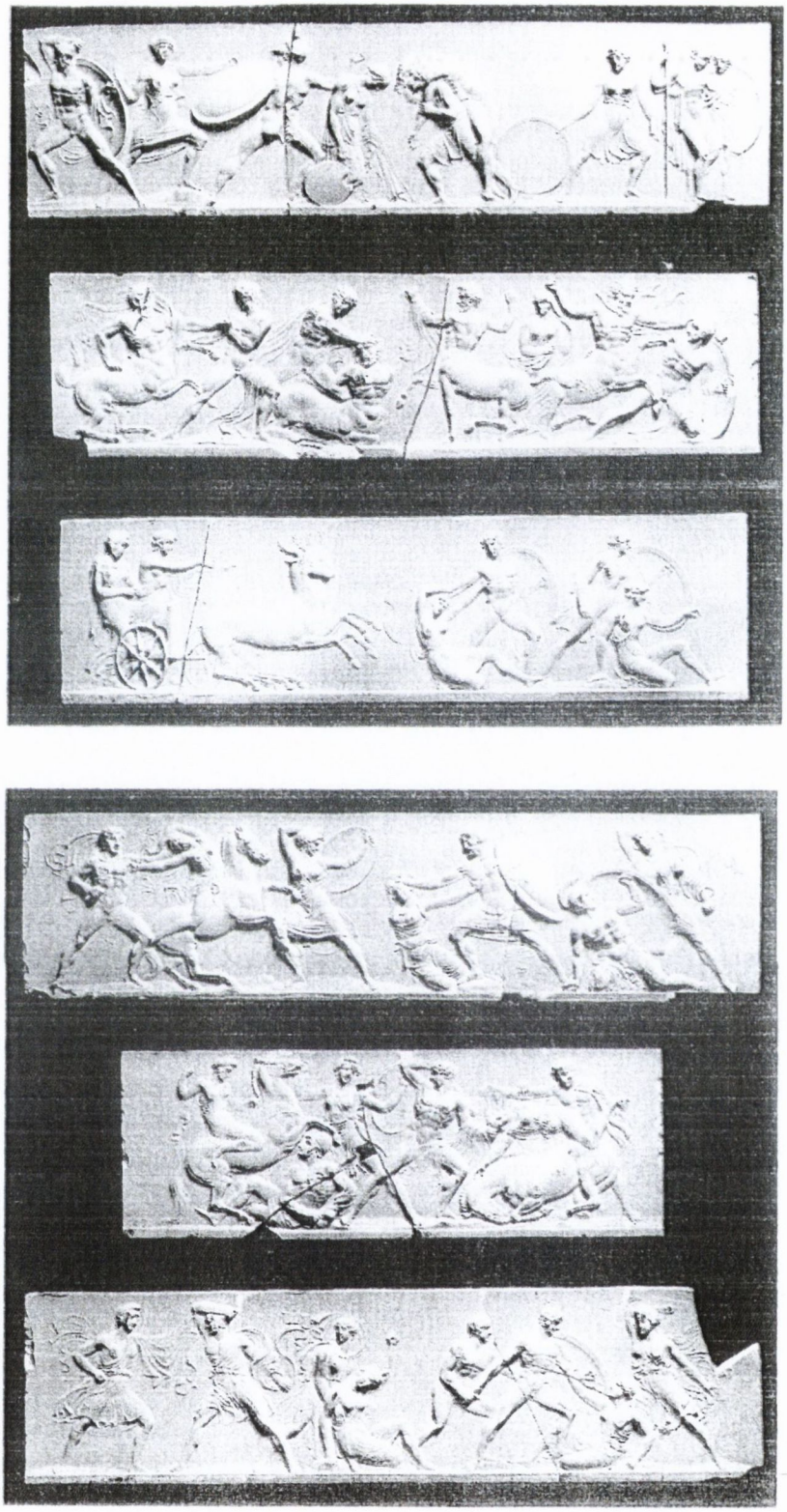


Fig 2: 10. John Henning's miniature plaster casts of the Bassai frieze. Only part of a set held at the Ashmolean Museum (Cat No 521) is shown here.

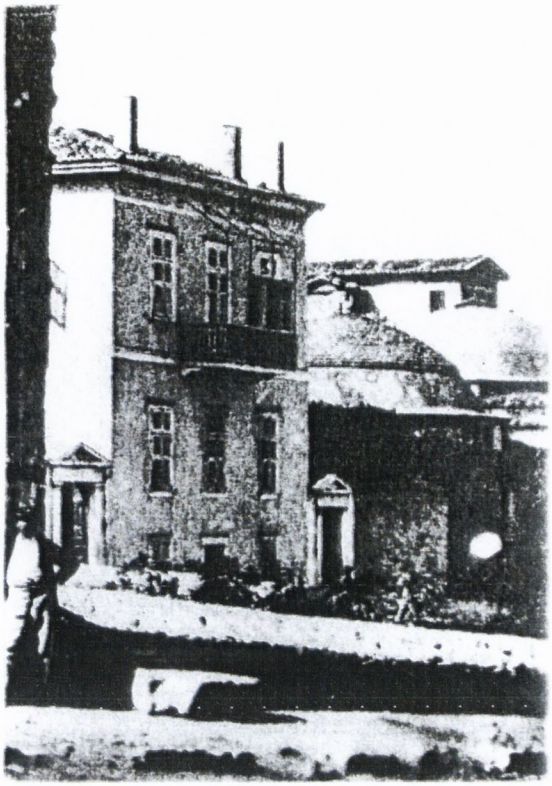


Fig 2: 11. Above is the Turkish bath of Oula Bei at the Roman Agora in Athens which was the Temporary Cast Museum (1846-1847). Below is an early photograph of the Hephaistion Temple in Athens which was the first Greek State Archaeological Museum.

APOLLO RETURNS TO W.1.

Part of the decor in Marylebone's newest pub, the Apollo in Paddington Street, is by courtesy of the British Museum.

A bust of Apollo — god of flocks and herds — looks down on customers, and behind the bar is a copy of a 5th century frieze in the Temple of Apollo at Phigaleia in Greece.

Both the 25ft. frieze and the bust were made by the British Museum from moulds of the originals. They cost the brewers, Ind Coope, about £400.

The new pub is on the ground floor of a multi-storey car park. It is on the site of an earlier pub of the same name which was demolished two years ago.

The new Apollo has a comfortably furnished lounge bar, which should attract office staff.

WILLESDEN MERCURY
5.4.68.

● SEVERAL YEARS AGO, when the Greeks asked if they could have the Elgin Marbles back, a British Museum custodian was heard to say that they would recover them "when Nelson gets his other eye." Nowadays, the B M is more warm-hearted. The Parthenon was not the only temple deprived of its friezes. In 1812, the famous Bassae reliefs from Phigaleia in the Peloponnese were smuggled out to a British-owned Ionian island and put up for auction. Frightened of losing the bidding, Whitehall, then hard up for money, tapped the "droits of the Admiralty," a source of money later described as "a fund of questionable origin." The frieze was acquired for £19,000. Recently, the Greeks made unofficial overtures to the B M to buy a cast for a new public library going up near their source of origin. The Trustees of the B M have now done more than that: this summer a £400 cast of the Bassae reliefs will be sent to Greece as a gift. Sunday Times 25Feb68

EVENING STANDARD 27.2.68

BACK ON SHOW

THIS summer a £400 cast of the Bassae reliefs will arrive in their Greek homeland—as a present from the British Museum. And about the same time the originals will be put on exhibition at the museum for the first time since the war.

The Greeks wanted to buy a cast of these reliefs to put in a new public library being built near the site of their temple of origin in the ancient city of Phigalia in the Peloponnese. But the British Museum decided to let them have it as a gift.

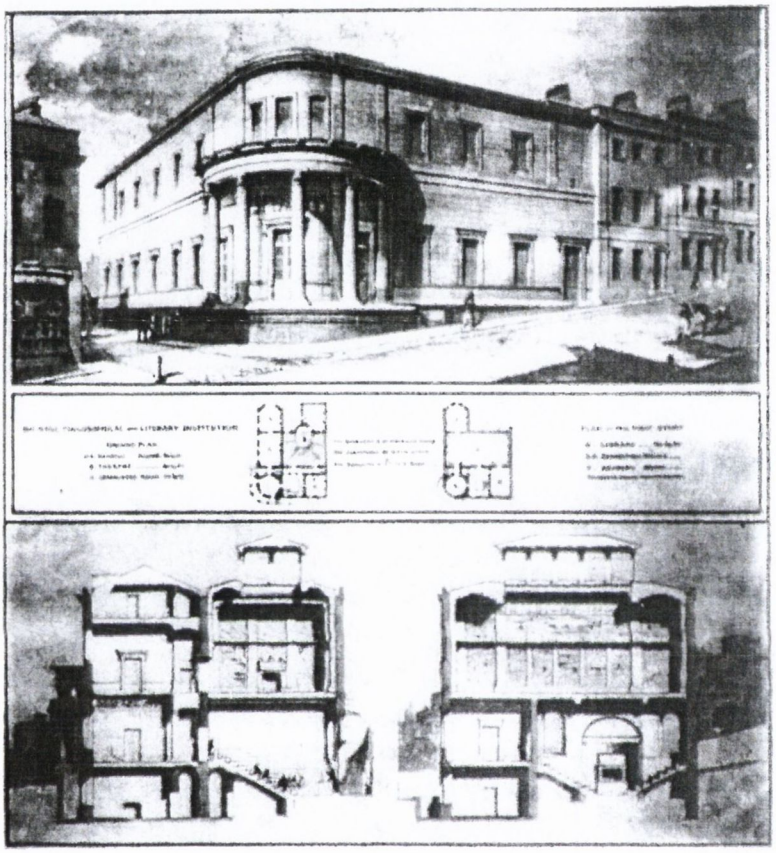
Replicas of originals in the Museum are quite frequently given to other museums in this country, the assistant secretary, Mr. G. B. Morris, told me, but it is rare that such presentations are made to museums abroad.

A special gallery at the British Museum is to be opened to put the reliefs on permanent exhibition. It is still under construction, but should be completed later this year.

The reliefs were acquired by the Museum in 1815 and were on show there until 1939. Since the war, due to shortage of space, they have only been available to specialists who have asked particularly to see them.

Soon, however, you won't have to be a classical scholar to appreciate them. They'll be there for the looking.

Fig 2: 12. Newspaper cuttings relating to various plaster casts that were made of the Bassai frieze. The cuttings are from a scrap book held in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum.



35. Literary and Philosophical Institution, Bristol. 1821. Plan, elevation and sections.

Fig 3: 1. Bristol Institute, designed by C.R. Cockerell, 1821.

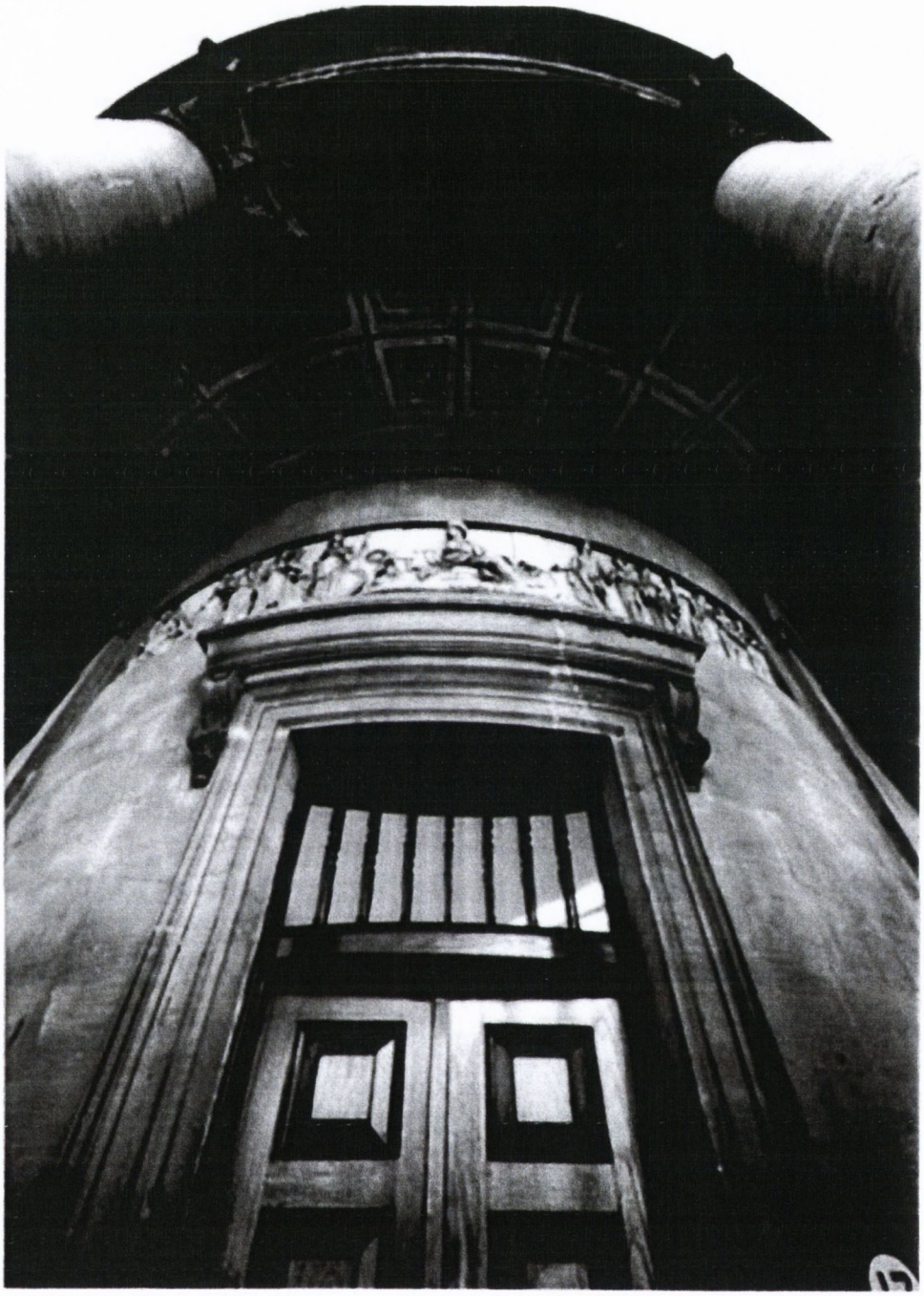


Fig 3: 2. Bristol Institute, designed by C.R. Cockerell, 1821. The portico of Bassai Corinthian columns (known locally as the 'Gates of Enlightenment') is all that remains of the building.

Banbury

Fig 3: 3. St. Mary's Church in Oxfordshire, designed by C.R. Cockerell (and his father), 1821.

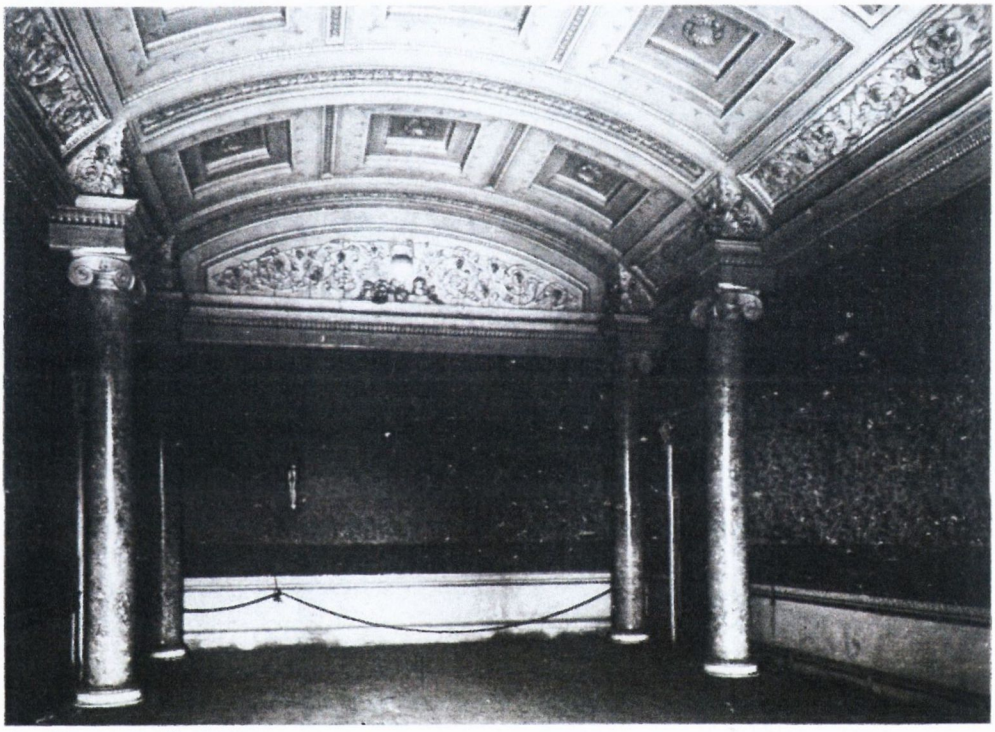


Fig 3: 4. Dining Room at Grange Park, designed by C.R. Cockerell, 1823.

Fig 3: 5. The staircase hall at Oakley Park, designed by C.R. Cockerell, 1823.

Fig 3: 6. Castlereagh Church, designed by John Millar, 1834.

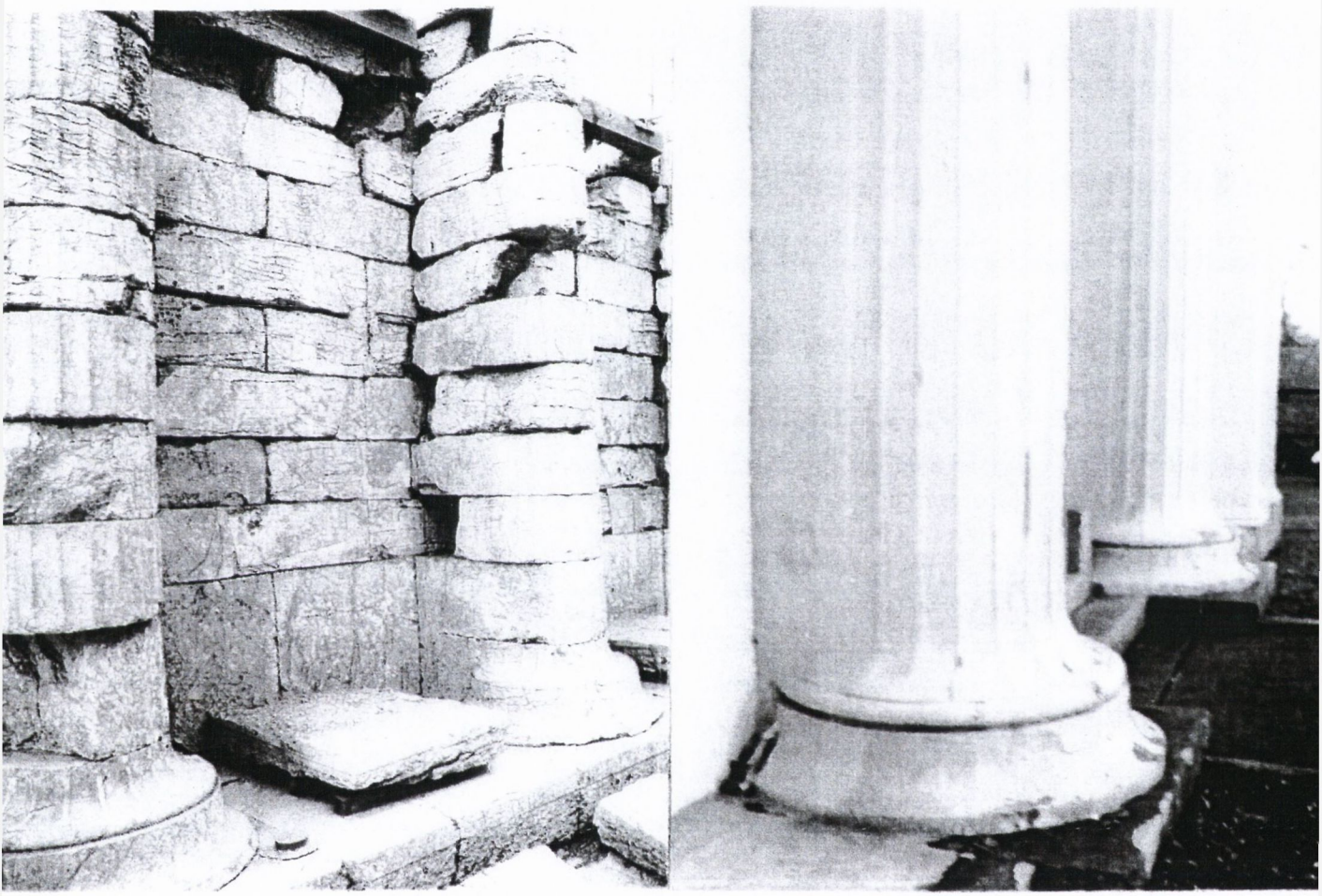


Fig 3: 7. Entrance to Castlereagh Church, designed by John Millar 1834, showing the remains of the bases of the Bassai Ionic order columns at the temple contrasted with Millar's reproductions.

Fig 3: 8. Portaferry Church, designed by John Millar, 1841.

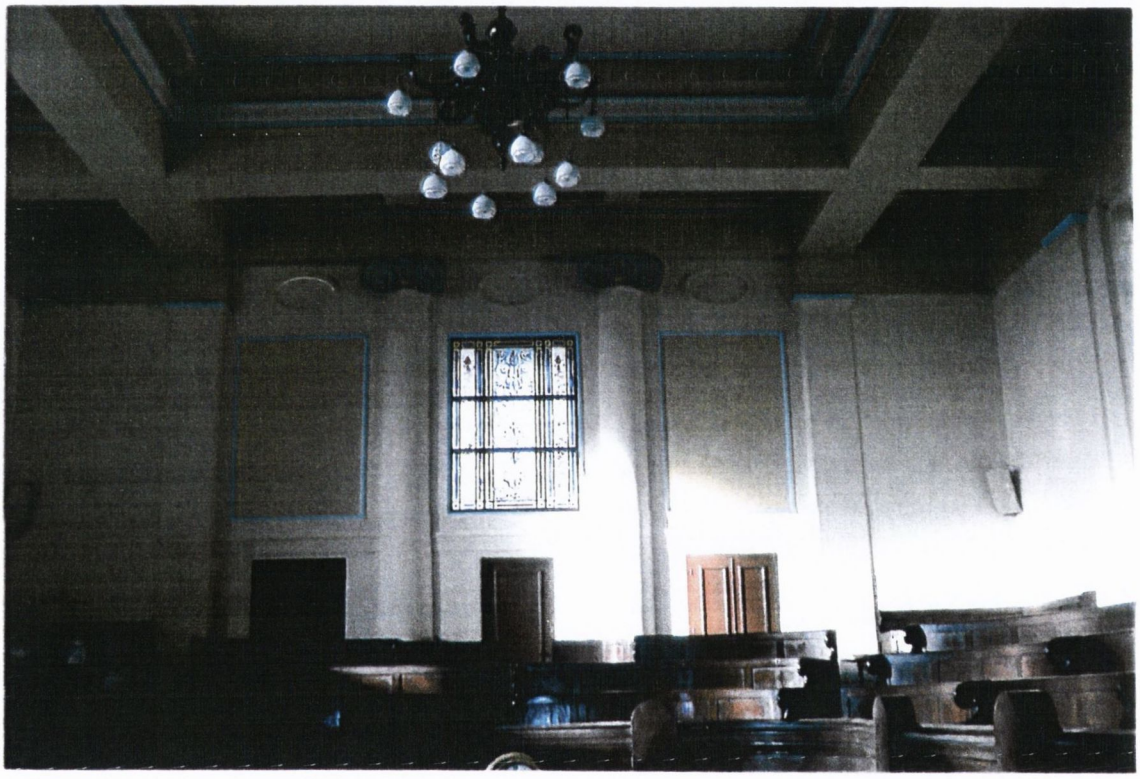


Fig 3: 9. Portaferry Church, showing the Bassai Ionic columns in the interior of the building, designed by John Millar, 1841,

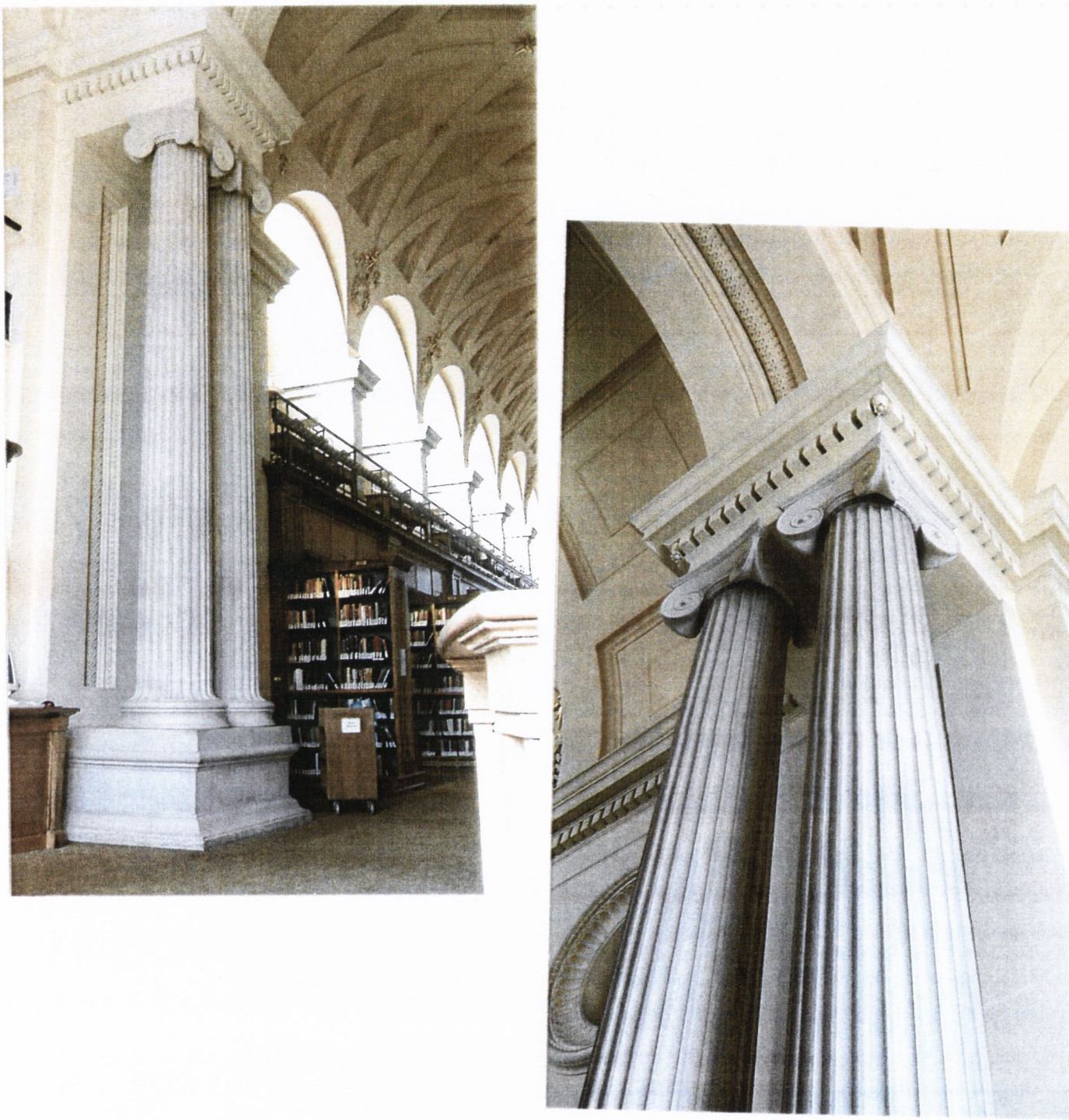


Fig 3: 10. Cambridge University Library, showing the Bassai Ionic columns in the interior of the building designed by C.R. Cockerell, 1837. This building is now the private library of Gonville and Caius College.

Fig 3: 11. The Ashmolean Museum, designed by C.R. Cockerell, built between 1840 and 1845.

Fig 3: 12. The Small Concert Hall at St. George's Hall in Liverpool, showing the Bassai Corinthian columns, designed by C.R.Cockerell, 1854.

Fig 3: 13. Cockerell's Memorial Plaque at St Paul's Cathedral in London.

Fig 3: 14. Adelphi Hotel, showing detail of Bassai Ionic capitals, designed by F.R. Atkinson, 1914.

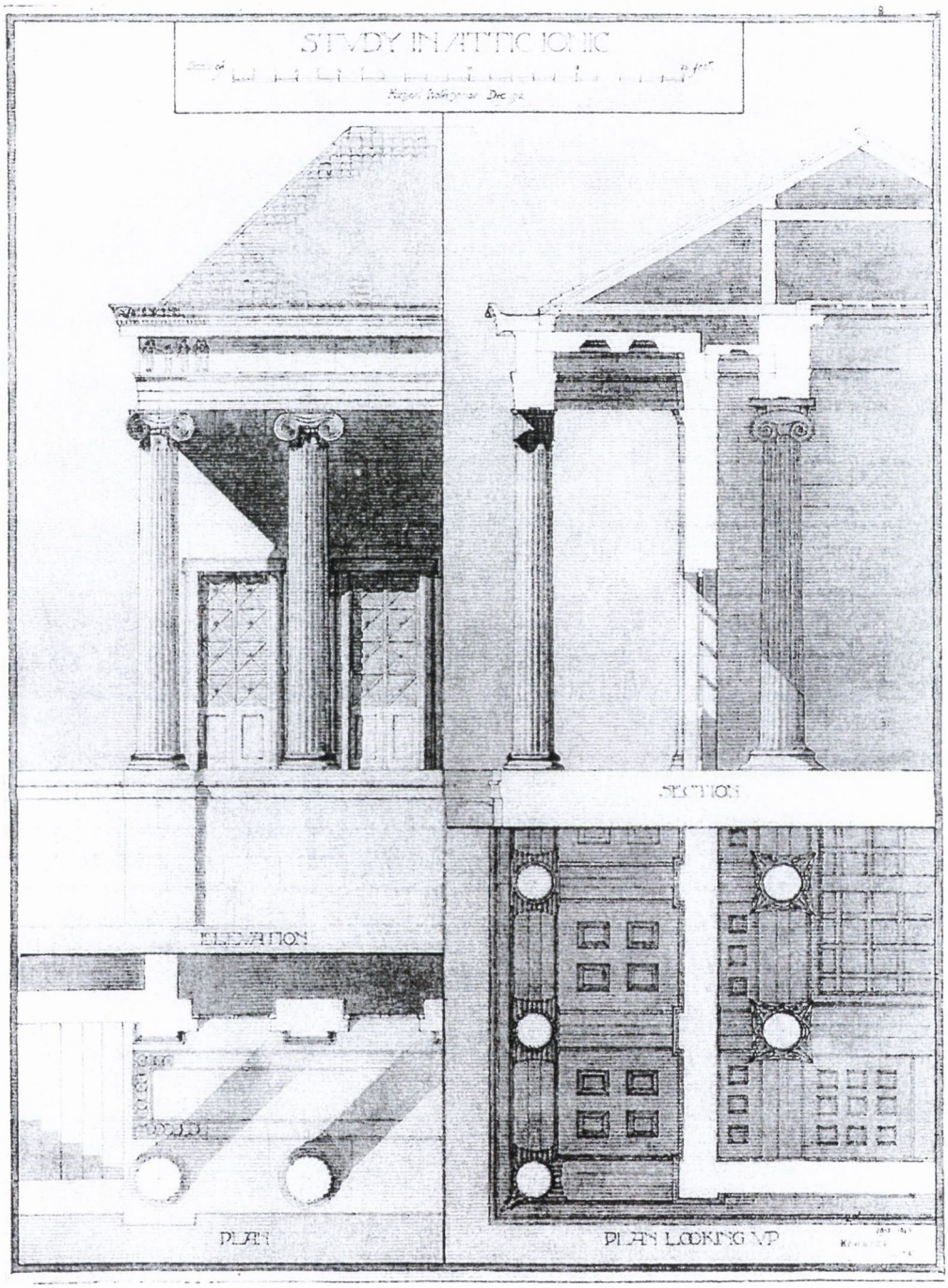


Fig 3: 15. Michael Waterhouse, architectural drawings showing Bassai Ionic columns, 1913.

Fig 3: 16. The Manchester and County Bank, designed by J. Henbrow, 1927.

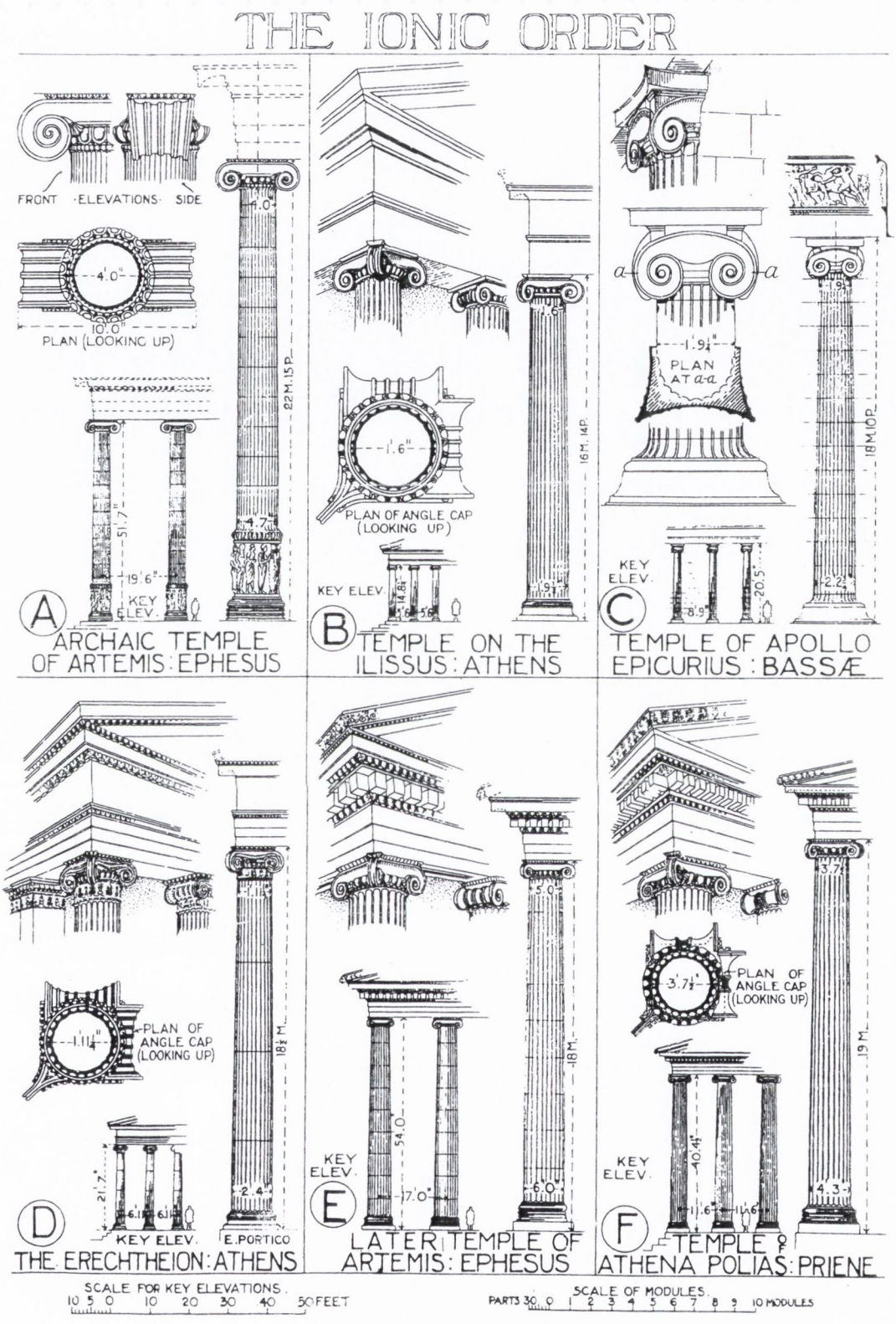


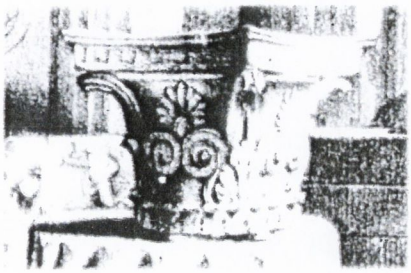
Fig 3:17. Banister Fletcher's drawings of the various types of Greek Ionic columns.

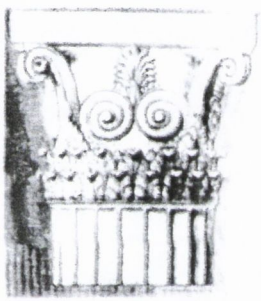
Fig 4: 1. The bronze frieze on the Sackler Library in Oxford, frieze designed by Alexander Stoddart, 2001.

Fig 4: 2. Ashmolean Museum and Taylorian Institute, designed by C.R. Cockerell, 1840.

Fig 4: 3. Detail of the frieze at the Sackler Library, frieze designed by A. Stoddart, 2001.

Fig 4: 4. The Fellows' Dining Room at Gonville and Caius College, designed by John Simpson, 1998.





c. C. R. Cockerell 1860,

Fig 4: 5. Detail of Bassai Corinthian column at the Fellows' Dining Room, designed by John Simpson, 1998.

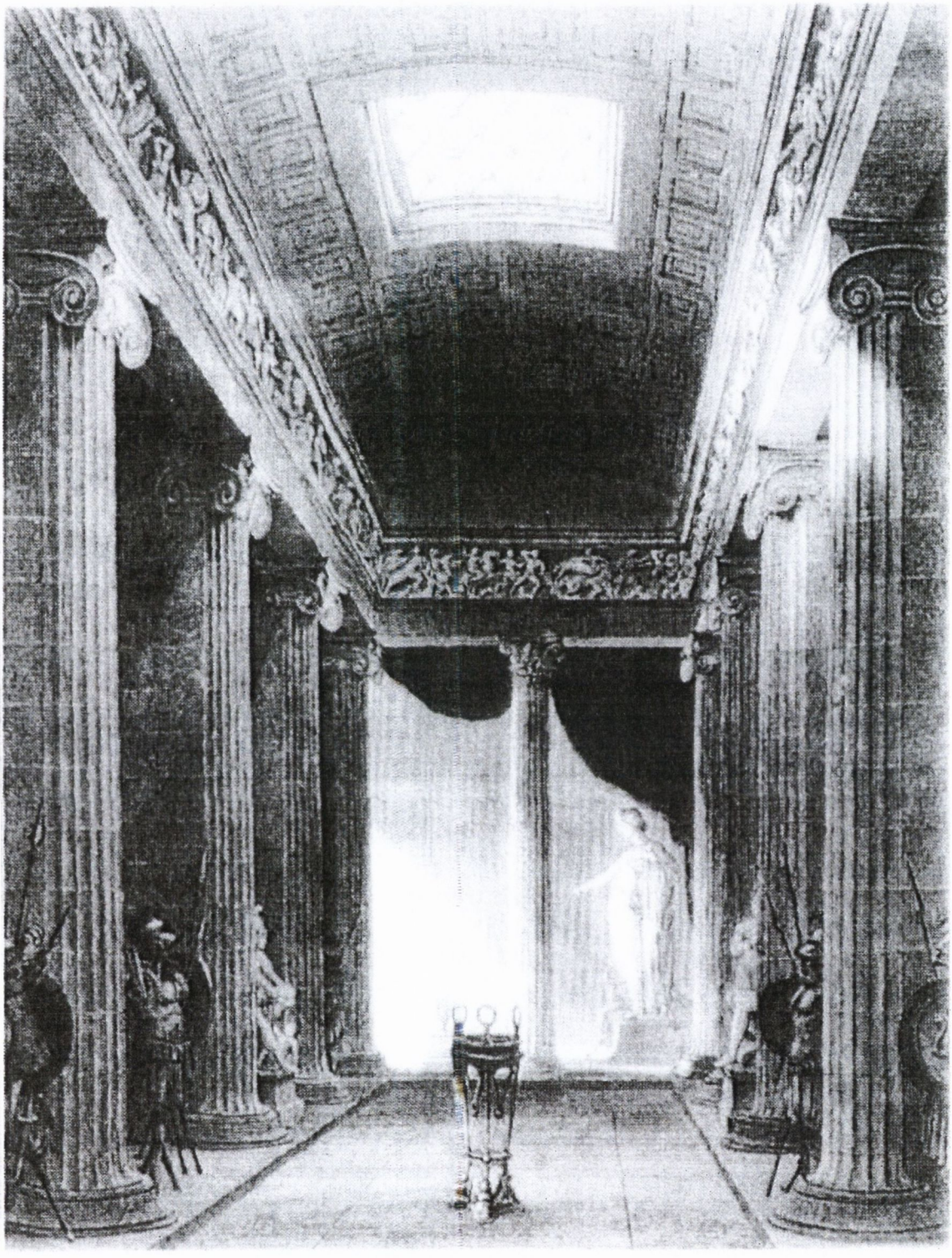


Fig 4: 6. C.R. Cockerell. Drawing of the interior of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai, showing the imagined hypaethral ceiling (1850).

Fig 4: 7. The plaster cast of the Bassai frieze in the Fellows' Dining Room at Gonville and Caius College.

Fig 4: 8. Gate of Honour at Gonville and Caius College (1557).

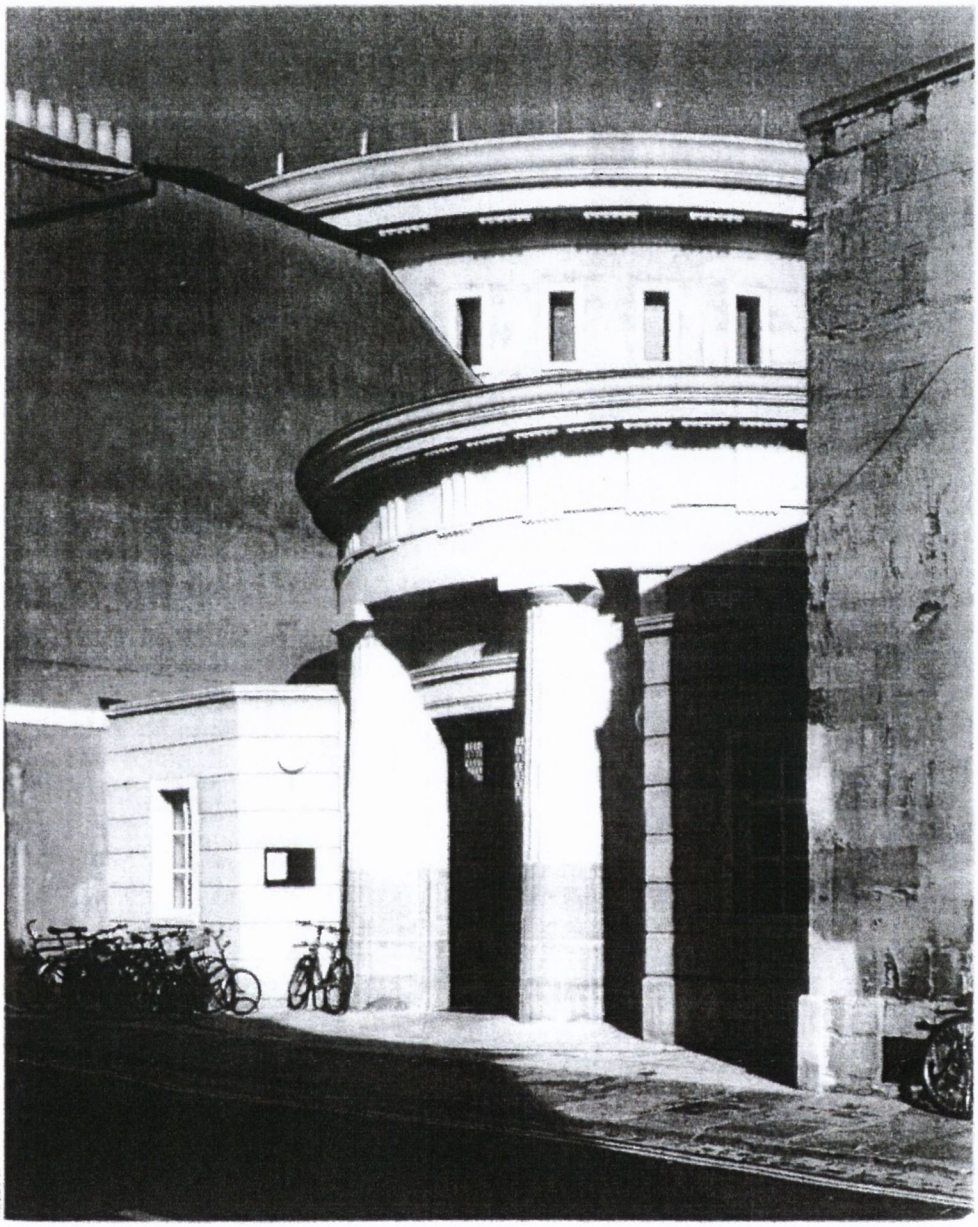
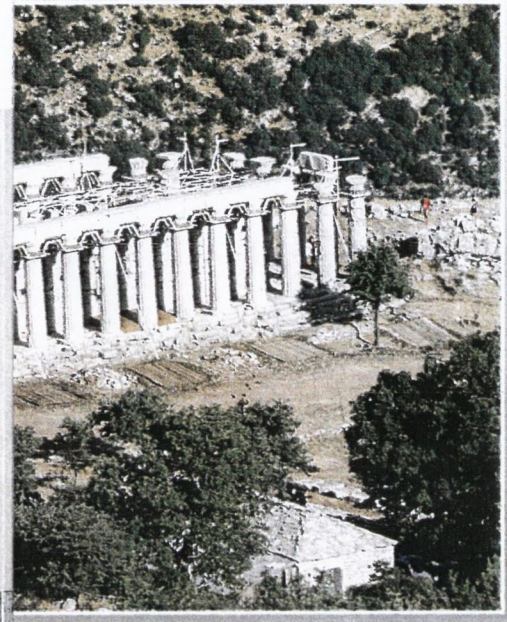


Fig 4: 9. Sackler Library at Oxford University, designed by Robert Adam, 2001.

Fig 5: 1. Edward Lear. Painting of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai (1854).

Fig 5: 2. Karl Briullov. Painting of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai (1835).



Ο ναός του Επικουρίου Απόλλωνος βρίσκεται σε απόσταση 14 χλμ. νότια της Ανδρίτσαινας, σε υψόμετρο 1.130 μ., επάνω στο όρος Κωτίλιο. Στην τοποθεσία αυτή, που στην αρχαιότητα ονομαζόταν Βάσσες (μικρές κοιλάδες), οι κάτοικοι της γειτονικής Φιγάλειας είχαν ιδρύσει, από τον 7ο αι. π.Χ., ιερό του Απόλλωνος Βασσίτα, τον οποίο και λάτρευαν με την προσωνυμία του Επικουρίου - συμπαραστάτη στον πόλεμο ή στην αρρώστεια.

The temple of Apollo Epikourios stands at a height of 1130 m on Mount Kotilio, 14 km south of Andritsaina. At this site, which was called Bassai (little valleys) in antiquity, the inhabitants of nearby Phigaleia founded a sanctuary of Apollo Bassitas in the 7th c. BC, where they worshipped the god with the epithet Epikourios - supporter in war or illness.

Πληροφορίες: Τηλ. 010 3250 273, 06260 22 254

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PRINT: I. PEPPAS

Fig 5: 3. Site entrance ticket for the Temple of Apollo at Bassai (2002).

Fig 5: 4. John Foster. Painting of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai seen from N/West. (1812).

Fig 5: 5. John Foster. Painting of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai seen from N/ East (1812).

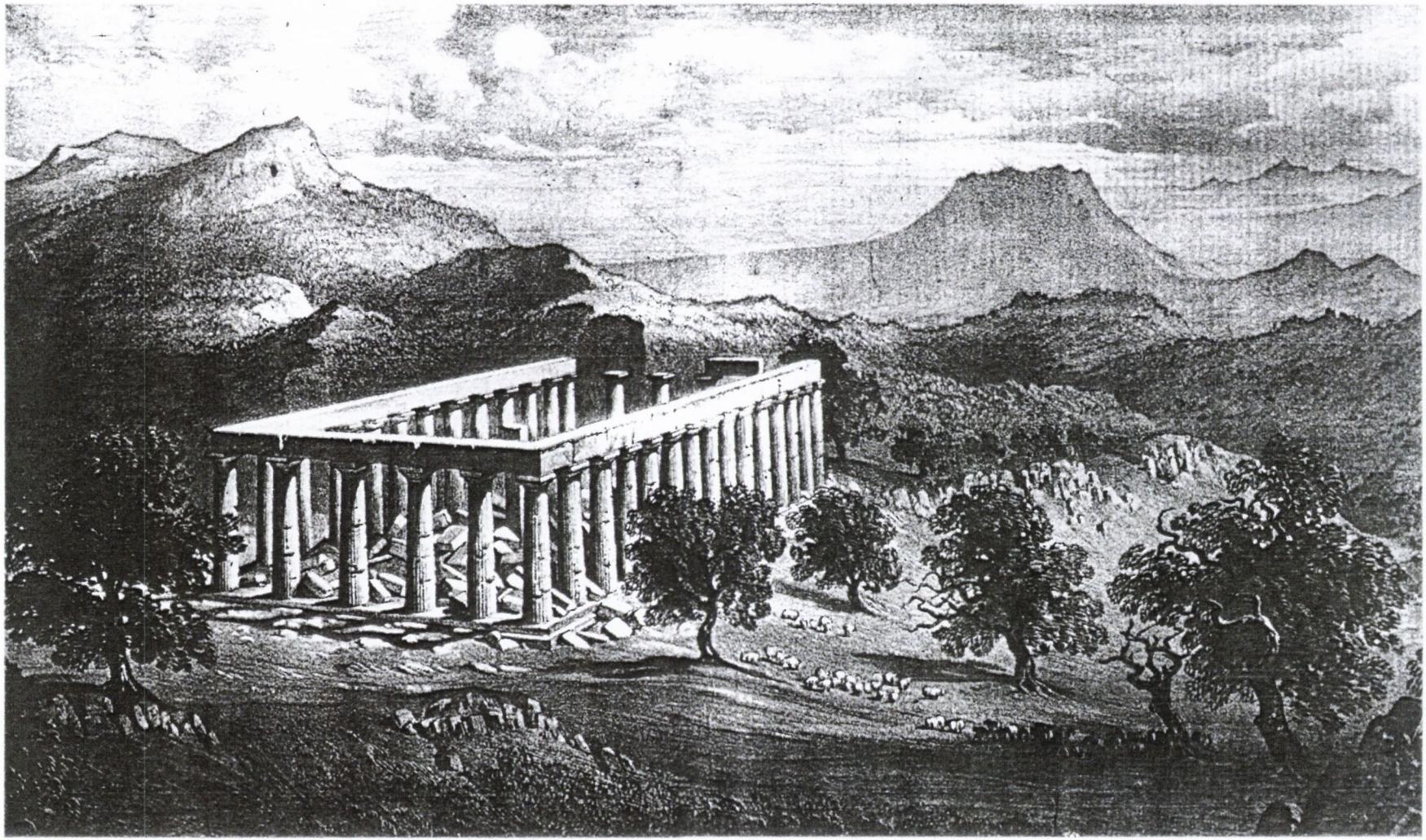

Fig 5: 6. C.R. Cockerell. Drawing of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai (1811).

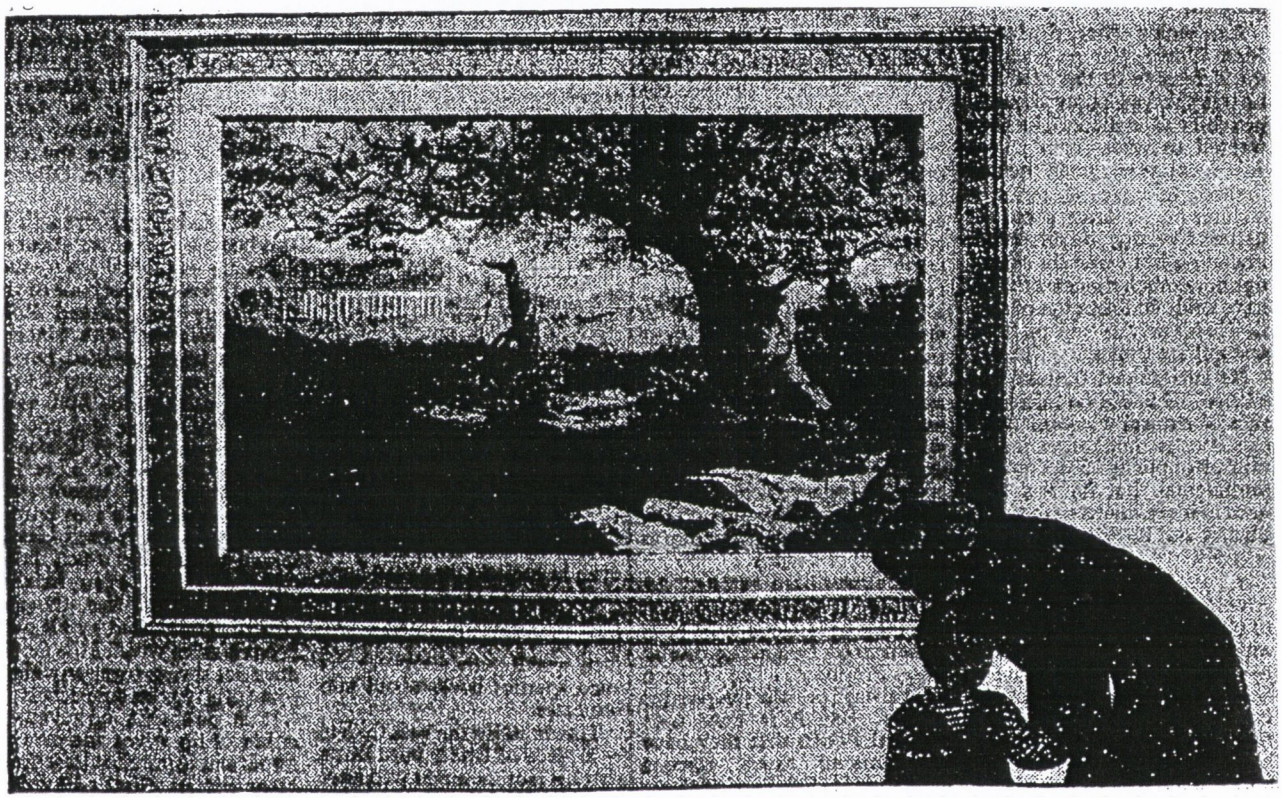

Fig 5: 7. Lady and child looking at Lear's painting of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai at the Royal Academy Exhibition of his work (1985).

Fig 5: 8. The Temple of Apollo at Bassai before the anastylosis of 1902-10.

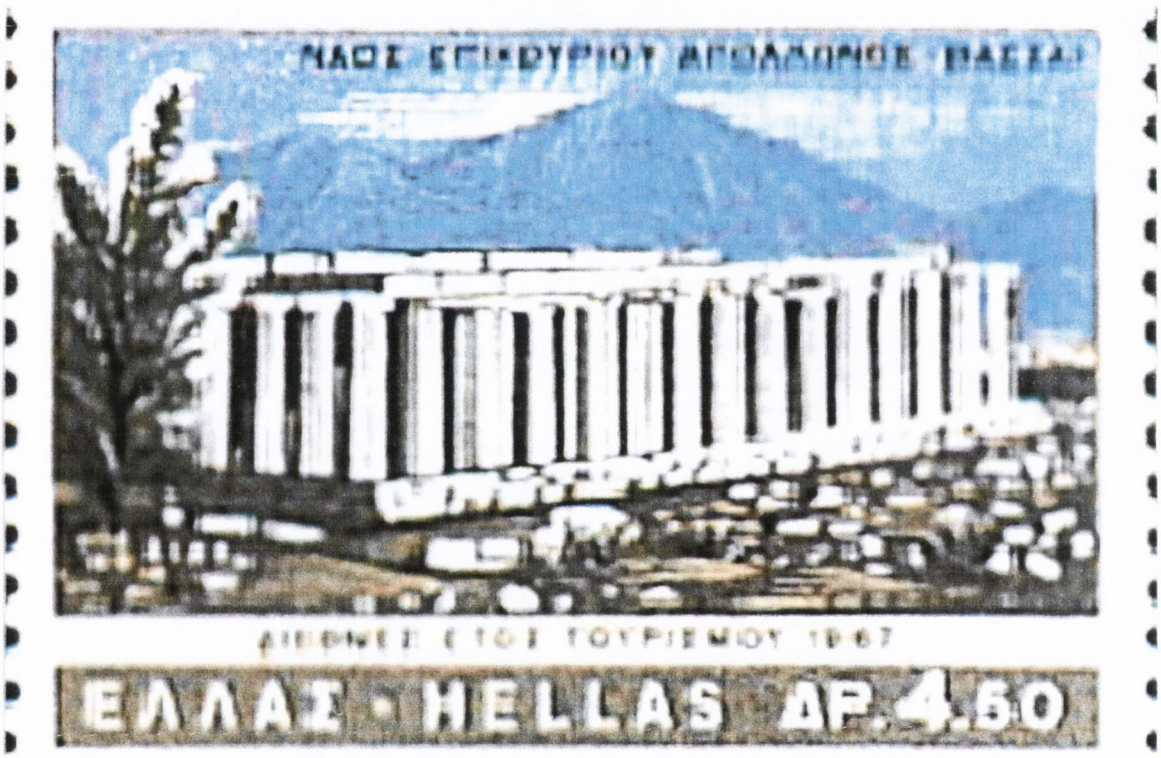

Fig 5: 10. Greek postage stamp featuring the Temple of Apollo at Bassai (1967).

Fig 5: 12. The Temple of Apollo at Bassai seen from the N/West (Hirmer Verlag Foto-Archive Munich).