

Classical antiquities as national and global heritage

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The current campaign to return to Athens the Parthenon sculptures that have been in the British Museum since the early 19th century highlights the profoundly dual nature of Greek architectural and sculptural heritage, as emblems of both Greek and global attachment. Classical relics in particular have become symbols of Greek attachment to the homeland; underscoring links between past and present, they confirm and celebrate Greek national identity. Other elements of Greek heritage – language, literature, religion, folklore – likewise lend strength to this identity, but material remnants of past glories, notably temples and sculptures from the times of Phidias and Praxiteles, assume an increasingly important symbolic role (Cook 1984; Hitchens 1987).

They are also the most difficult elements of that heritage to maintain and manage, not only because conservation is costly and problematic, but also because, in sharing it with the rest of the world, Greece has itself been impoverished. Many of the finest relics of classical and Byzantine antiquity are not now to be seen within the homeland; instead they lie in collections abroad. A vast amount of Greek pottery, sculpture, and architecture fell prey to the mania for classical souvenirs indulged by British, French, German and other collectors from the early 16th century on. Through the 18th and 19th centuries, taste for things Greek dominated Western Europe. It was fuelled and gratified by the continual import of treasures. Political circumstances abetted the outflow, for under Turkish dominion governing officials exhibited no concern for the fate of such relics, which they sold off for whatever they would bring (Bracken 1975; Haskell & Penny 1981).

The success of the Greek War of Independence substantially ended the outflow of material treasures by 1830. Traffic in antiquities did not wholly terminate: much of the present Greek national domain long remained under Ottoman rule, and even within the Greek state sales and thefts have continued to this day. But from the 1820s on Greek governments and scholars have taken more or less effective steps to halt further export of material remnants of the classical heritage. They have also taken steps, thus far largely ineffectual, to secure the return of some treasured antiquities prized as cornerstones of great collections in Western Europe.

Greeks took such steps partly because independence and nationhood themselves depended on newly aroused awareness of that heritage, which now became self-consciously Greek. 'It is to these stones that we owe our political renaissance,' said the archaeologist Iakovos Rizos-Neroulas at the Akropolis in 1838 (Tsigakou 1981: 11). What he meant was that support for the Greek cause throughout Europe had seized on these classical glories as symbols of an ancient entity entitled to rebirth. In exploiting wider European affinities with the Hellenic heritage, revolutionary leaders became increasingly conscious of their own national identity. It is a painful irony that campaigns to protect the classical heritage from further attrition and to secure some of its restitution should have originated in a philhellene identity largely imported from those very countries to which these treasures had been lost. I return to this dilemma below.

In common with other peoples, Greeks deploy many other elements of heritage too – language, folklore, design, dress – to buttress

continuity with a revered past. But these aspects of Greek tradition are largely within Greek control. Only the material relics of antiquity, sculptural and architectural fragments in particular, remain substantially beyond that control.

This is a problem Greece shares with many other states. Most nations express concern about loss of their material heritage. And heritage restitution has, under UNESCO auspices, become an international crusade, pressed especially by former colonies against imperial overlords. Despite manifold difficulties – determining rightful ownership, compensation, physical conservation, safety, accessibility to viewers – notable returns have ensued (from Belgium to Zaire, Netherlands to Indonesia, Australia to New Guinea and the Pacific); but many other claims have been turned down by holding countries (Williams 1984; McBryde 1985; Lowenthal 1987).

The Greek case is uniquely problematic, as I found following a public lecture in London on heritage restitution (Lowenthal 1981). I had used the Parthenon simply as a point of departure for a general discussion of issues concerning items as various as the Sphinx's beard, the Benin bronzes, the Code of Hammurabi and London Bridge. Nor did I make any specific recommendations about restitution with regard to the Elgin Marbles or anything else.

Yet the flood of responses that lecture generated almost all bore on the Elgin Marbles. To be sure, renewal of the Greek claim had recently reactivated that issue. But this alone could not account for the vehemence of the response on both sides. Those who favoured restitution expressed intense interest in the general principles I had elaborated and kept me apprised of their own efforts. Those who opposed restitution pointed out my supposed errors of fact or interpretation, but were reluctant to discuss the matter on its merits. Some even cautioned me that as a non-British national I ought to shun issues involving British property; the topic was so touchy that merely exploring it (let alone advocating restitution) might jeopardize my continued residence.

What gave this issue such salience? 'It cannot be accidental,' writes a recent observer, 'that the controversy over what is quaintly called "cultural property" resolves itself so often into wrangling over the Elgin/Parthenon marbles, at any

rate in the media of Britain.' Greece is felt to be different. Unlike many Third World countries that likewise seek restitution, Greece is not some remote ex-colony; it is seen to be the fount of European civilization. And the treasures at issue are not exotic artefacts unrelated to European culture; they are the very heart of that culture. Hence 'a great deal is at stake, not least our Western cultural heritage' (Cartledge 1986; cf. Finley 1981; Lowenthal 1985: 75–86, 112–13, 327–8). The value of the Elgin Marbles transcends their explicitly aesthetic virtues and national significance, for they symbolize a civilization at once specifically Greek and quintessentially European.

'Citizens of Perth,' a mayor of that Western Australia city exhorted constituents in 1900, 'follow me and I will make this city a fairer Athens and a freer Rome' (W.G. Brookman, in Richards 1982: 69 n. 1). To be identified as 'Athenian' is the ultimate civic accolade – Edinburgh became the 'Athens of the North' through the classicizing buildings of James 'Athenian' Stuart, Nashville, Tennessee the 'Athens of the South' thanks to its copy of the Parthenon, Edmonton the 'Athens of the Tundra' from its classical symphony orchestra.

At least since the Renaissance the built classical heritage has inspired statesmen and architects throughout the Western world. Borrowing by way of Rome or Vicenza or directly from Greece, they planted classical motifs everywhere. Greek Revival buildings and classical place names stamped the American pioneer landscape with the seal of culture. Supporting Greek independence, Senator Daniel Webster noted (1824: 61) that reminders of ancient Greece so enveloped America that 'even the edifice in which we assemble, these proportioned columns, this ornamented architecture, all remind us that Greece has existed, and that we, like the rest of mankind, are greatly her debtors'.

Webster implied an equivalence between ancient and modern Greece reflecting common ignorance of their disjunction. Even before the 15th-century Ottoman conquest of Byzantium most Europeans saw Greek identity entirely in terms of its past; in the quest for antiquity the present-day country was ignored. European support for freedom from the Turks was aroused as a restoration of classical glories. 'We are all Greeks. Our laws, our literature, our religion,

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FIGURE 1. Greek revival at its American best: T.R. Dake, Ransom House, Castleton, Vermont, c. 1840. (Photo: Wayne Andrews.)

our arts have their root in Greece,' wrote Shelley (1821); 'Europe has an enormous debt towards Greece' was Louis I of Bavaria's phrase; 'it is to Greece that it owes the arts and sciences' (Tsigakou 1981: 48).

Europeans admired all the manifold excellences of the classical heritage. Language and literature, philosophy and art, science and politics formed an integrated ensemble with architecture and sculpture. Like 'the alphabetic mind,' as Havelock puts it – the 'universe of principles and relations and laws and sciences' that gave us 'a visual architecture of language superimposed on the restless acoustic flow of orality' – the whole genius of ancient Hellas was 'a gift of Greece to the modern world' (Havelock 1986). To praise things Greek is to celebrate, with Vincent Scully, the idea of synthesis, the natural and artful combination of man and

nature, idea and image, the life of the mind, the spirit, and the body (Scully 1962).

What overwhelmed late 18th- and 19th-century Europeans was the transcendent excellence they associated with Greek ideas, Greek artefacts, and Greek scenes. The Greeks were 'glorious beings,' as Shelley (1821) put it, 'whom the imagination almost refuses to figure to itself as belonging to our kind.' Even before Christianity they had achieved perhaps the highest civilization ever known (Jenkyns 1980; Turner 1981).

Universality made these Greek achievements especially precious. They had not merely developed their own particular genius, but discovered universal truths applicable to all times and places, providing vivid prototypes to inspire their successors in letters, the arts, the sciences, and government. 'For us the Greeks



FIGURE 2. The masterpiece of Classical revival in London: John Nash, Cumberland Terrace, St Pancras, London, 1826, part of Nash's grand design for Regent's Park. As an architectural design it is 'among the most splendid of its day in Europe' (Pevsner 1952: 346), to be compared in scale only with what went up at the same time in St Petersburg, and a supreme exemplar of creative re-use of the Greek heritage though Roman rather than Greek. (Photo: RCHME.)

step out of the circle of history,' in Wilhelm von Humboldt's words. 'Knowledge of the Greeks is not merely pleasant, useful or necessary to us – no, in the Greeks alone we find the ideal of that which we should like to be and produce. . . . From the Greeks we take something . . . almost godlike' (Humboldt 1807–8: 188).

Others viewed the Greek legacy in a more mundane light. 'The possession of these precious remains of ancient genius and taste would conduce not only to the perfection of the arts,' said a British parliamentarian urging his government to purchase Lord Elgin's marbles, 'but to the elevation of our national character, to our opulence, to our substantial greatness' (J.W. Croker in Hitchens 1987: 134). A century of appreciation cemented this conjunction of ancient Greek virtues and modern British

values. 'We are what we are . . . because they were what they were,' noted a scholar during the First World War; 'the experience of the Greeks has passed into our substance and merged into our being' (Barker 1918: 16). The elision of the fate of the Elgin Marbles with that of the British imperial domain, made explicit by a well-known editor in 1891, continues to haunt the furore over their location a century later (Knowles 1891: 501–6).

Because Greek virtues were ideal, in the Platonic sense, they were seldom precisely specified. Much of the British debate over the desirability of purchasing the Elgin Marbles turned on whether they embodied ideal (as opposed to particular or naturalistic) beauty; Winckelmann's (1755: 72–3) ideal of 'noble simplicity and calm grandeur' had to be recon-

ciled with the spirit of agitated romanticism also felt to infuse these sculptures (St Clair 1967: 250–67; Jenkyns 1980: 13). But idealism remained the *ne plus ultra* of Greek art through the early 20th century.

Austerity, restraint, and simplicity were the ideal traits usually exemplified by ancient Greek art and life. Greek sculpture from Venus to Phidias was held up as a model against the debasing influences of 19th-century harshness, materialism, and sham; the aim was to emulate Greek purity, strength, and especially reserve as antidotes to the extravagance, particularism, and sensuality of modern European art, and of Afro-Asian decadence, corruption, and cruelty. Greek artistic excellence was also felt to reflect the communal and political virtues of classical life, contrasted with the 19th century's selfish individualism (Turner 1981: 36–40; Bernal 1987: 291).

Whence came these classical virtues? It was the Greek climate that had engendered the good taste, as Winckelmann put it, and fostered the superior humanity of the Greeks (Winckelmann 1755: 61; 1764: 114–15). Life in the classical golden age had been pure, simple, and moral. Nineteenth-century Europeans generally felt that Greek life, like Greek sculpture, embodied Platonic ideals of propriety, and contrasted the beauty and balance of the Phidian age with the grotesque, the piquant, and the baldly natural trends of their own. Although the Dionysian image of tragic passion can be traced back to Wieland, Heine and Nietzsche, it is only in this century that the vitality of the anthropologists' Greece has triumphed over the pallid Apollonian prettiness of Winckelmann and the Victorians (Jenkyns 1980: 139; Turner 1981: 449–51; Bernal 1987: 293).

The uses to which the 19th century put classical sculpture and architecture often reflected these moralistic stances, flagrantly defying archaeological and historical reality. Reproductions of the Parthenon frieze often merged semi-verbatim segments with wholly invented sequences. Like Flaxman's earlier 'Grecian' figures, Lord Leighton's and other Victorian scenes and models displayed a floating, linear graciousness now recognizably alien to their classical originals (Jenkyns 1980: 310–12; Luke 1987).

Whiteness was another normative 19th-century feature of Greek sculpture and architec-

ture. Even when forced to recognize 5th-century BC Athenian statues as polychrome, Westmacott dismissed colour as a mere vestigial relic of more barbarous ages (Turner 1981: 49–50). For Symonds, Pater, and numerous others, whiteness along with austerity of form redeemed Greek nudes from the taint of sin. Whiteness was the tone of clarity and remoteness (Greenhalgh 1978: 217; Jenkyns 1980: 145–54). At the American School of Classical Studies, built in imitation classical style to give modern Athens the dignity it was felt to need, a copy of the Stoa of Attalus is bereft of the red and blue of the original, to make it conform with the stereotype, rather than the actuality of the original (Horne 1984: 29).

All these classical excellences were ascribed, from Winckelmann on, to special features of the Greek environment. Philhellenes ignored geographical realities to promote desired stereotypes, even at the cost of the argument for universality. For if it required Greek locales to engender these excellences, how could they flourish when transplanted elsewhere?

What were the supposed environmental features thought to account for Greek excellence? One was a climate that had allowed the Greeks to live – and artists unparalleled opportunities to observe them – in a state of natural and innocent nudity. In Winckelmann's view ('view' is metaphoric, for he never set foot in Greece), warmth and sunshine enabled Greeks to conduct much of everyday life outdoors in communal settings enhanced by natural beauty (1755: 64–5; 1764: 113). Hence 'the Greek lived, in all things, a healthy, and . . . a perfect, life,' as Ruskin later wrote (1886: III, 175, part iv, chapter xiii, section 12). Greek statues commonly commemorated athletic contests or religious rites intimately connected with the life of the community.

To imbue the Greek landscape with the qualities they upheld as ideal and to harmonize it with its literature, French and English painters massively misread that landscape. They ignored intimate connections between classical Greek sites and their settings, giving rise to mythological associations that then made those settings sacred. They tinted actual scenes in a diffused Claudian light that blurred landscape forms; they mythologized the scenery to accord with romantic expectations of the imagined classical world. Hence the paintings of idyllic

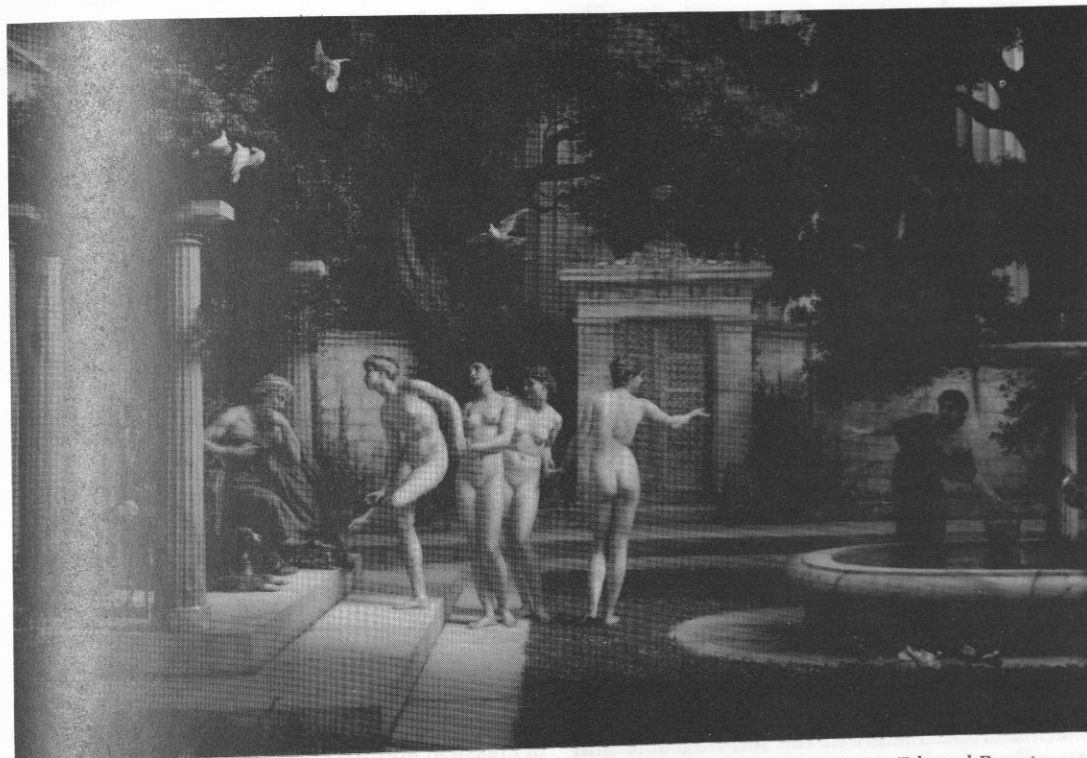


FIGURE 3. *The image of nudity and purity in High Victorian prettiness at its worst; Sir Edward Poynter, A visit to Aesculapius, date 1880. (Photo: Tate Gallery.)*

undulating knolls so difficult to identify as the bare wild rocks of Mycenae, and of misty volcanic mountains bathed in a haze of golden light implausibly denominated as the Attic hills encircling the Akropolis (Scully 1962; Tsigakou 1981: 26–9). Such canvases reassured those alarmed by more realistic accounts. 'Some splenetic travelers have pretended that Attica was dry, flat, and barren,' wrote Hazlitt (1822: 172). But fortunately for the happy truth, 'Grecian' Williams's paintings on show in Edinburgh were authentic proof to the contrary, 'and we thank him for restoring to us our old, and, as it appears, true illusion'.

Even when shorn of romantic shadows, Greek landscapes were seen in alien moralizing hues. Thus J.A. Symonds commended Greek mountains as 'austerely beautiful, not wild with an Italian luxuriance . . . They seem the proper home of a race which sought its ideal of beauty in distinction of shape and not in multiplicity of detail, in light and not in richness of colouring, in form and not in size.' Like classical sculpture, Greek mountains were 'carved of naked rock.

We must accept their beauty as it is, nude . . . and unadorned' (Symonds 1874: 231–2; Jenkyns 1980: 153). Locales said to account for classical genius and touted as quintessentially Greek turn out to be nothing of the sort – they are the landscapes of generalized romance, seen by eyes devoid of actual knowledge of Greece, depicted as a *mélange* of Arcadia (in its Sicilian reincarnation), Poussin's Campagna, and the Alpine picturesque (Tsigakou 1981: 28–9).

Those who lived in these locales were likewise transmuted into classical stereotype – when they were not wholly ignored. Nineteenth-century travellers had no eyes for anything after the Age of Pericles; the contemporary inhabitants appeared in their depictions and descriptions only in 'classical' garb, and often as lamentably degenerated from antique prototypes. 'If the wild mountaineers of Mani could claim to be direct descendants of Leonidas' warriors, contemporary Athenians hardly matched the visitors' expectations of what the disciples of Pericles should be like.' Rather than heroic folk regenerated from hateful



FIGURE 4. Supreme homage to an American Beginning in appropriate Greek temple form: canopy over Plymouth Rock, Massachusetts, McKim, Mead & White, 1921. Its frieze explains, 'Erected by the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America to commemorate the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the pilgrims'.

bondage, visitors found the newly liberated Greeks sycophantic liars and murderous robbers, resembling their illustrious forebears only in guile and obstinacy (Tsigakou 1981: 31, 72).

Philhellene dismay at the unbridgeable gulf between 'what it was that the Greeks had been, and what it was that they are no longer' is both epitomized and pilloried in Virginia Woolf's semi-autobiographical story ([1987]) about her visit to Mount Pentelikon in 1906. Sharing 'their wine flask with the escort of dirty Greek peasant boys,' her companions 'condescended so far as to address them in their own language as Plato would have spoken it had Plato learned Greek at Harrow.' Devastatingly misunderstood, they anathematized 'the dusky garrulous race . . . who had parodied the speech and pilfered the name of the great. . . . To denounce them thus was not only to discharge a duty on behalf of the dead but to declare the rightful inheritors.' The subsequent 'barbarian antics' of their guides, 'rolling and singing, pulling each other by the sleeve and chattering of the vintage', were further evidence of their spuriousness, for 'we know . . . the Greeks . . . were a still people, significant of gesture and of speech, and when they sat by the stream beneath the plane tree they disposed themselves as the vase painter would have chosen to depict them,' silent, grave, and picturesque. 'No scholar in Europe could have rearranged that picture or convinced our friends' that it might now be

otherwise. The idealized Greeks were never actual, only depicted – not only long dead, but never alive.

Grecianized scenery merged with remnants of classical architecture to celebrate dereliction rather than revival. 'A ruin in every sense of the term,' wrote the architect Henry Cook in 1851, 'the Parthenon as it now stands . . . is, if not a grander, assuredly a more impressive object than . . . in the palmiest days of Athenian glory' (Tsigakou 1981: 69). Others cited the decay of Greek antiquities at home to justify the re-creation of Greek glories in far-flung lands. Contrasting the evanescence of classical monuments with 'the permanence and vitality of the spirit and intelligence which produced these works,' Christopher Wordsworth noted that though time had dissolved the materials, 'the genius which conceived and executed these magnificent works . . . has itself proved immortal'. No longer in Greece, however, were these fruits to be found; thus for Athens Wordsworth applied the epitaph, 'Here is the heart: the spirit is every where' (Wordsworth 1839: 131).

Being everywhere is what makes the Greek heritage both unique and uniquely problematic. A heritage that means so much both within and without Greece is bound to arouse fierce competition for its strictly limited exemplars. The Parthenon is precious not only to Greeks in general and to Athenians in particular, but to much of the world. The diffusion of classical

culture has made the monuments of classical antiquity the patrimony of the whole world as well as of its homeland. Consider the vases exported even in antiquity to the western Mediterranean, the pedimental sculptures from the temple of Aphaia now in Munich, the Winged Victory of Samothrace now in the Louvre, the Elgin Marbles (Lefkowitz 1987):

Every one of these treasures, however far from their roots they may have travelled, . . . have for more than two millennia been representing ancient Greek civilization to the rest of us; without them, our art and architecture would have been less significant, and Western Europe would be less aware of our lasting debt to the ancient Greeks.

Widespread appreciation of Greek heritage may be a source of Greek pride. But it forces Greeks to share their own heritage to a greater extent than do most peoples. It is not just the dispersal of antiquities but the diffusion of classical values that puts Greeks in an anomalous position. As native heirs to, and general custodians of, this legacy, Greece and its people have a role of great honour fraught with onerous responsibility.

Foreign attachments to Greek heritage may on occasion be rightly vilified as acquisitive looting, as self-aggrandizing emulation for political causes, or as the fanciful perversions of misguided philhellenes. Wrong-headed or self-serving as they sometimes are, however, these foreign attachments have deeply influenced not only foreign but Greek perceptions of their own heritage. The awe in which the Western world has held the classical tradition has shaped and reshaped Greek apprehension of their own past.

The very concept of Greekness was reanimated by exiled Greeks among philhellene supporters all over Europe. Until the 19th century Greek identity had little territorial basis: the Akropolis was a mark of ancient Athenian hegemony, not a symbol of national spirit. As noted above, liberal European promotion of crucial support for the war of liberation was predicated on the notion of resuscitating ancient Greece. Indeed, the Western press reported the war as a virtual replay of the Battle of Marathon and the Persian Wars. Invoking Miltiades, Themistocles, Leonidas and all the rest, European philhellenes came to rescue Greece from the Turks in order to restore her to her former classical glory (St Clair 1972).

Thus the West sold the Greeks a romanticized version of their classical identity that had immediate practical benefits. But it was a version with which, at the start, most Greeks were unfamiliar. Classical Greece meant little to them – not even its name. They were 'Christians' and called themselves 'Romii' (though with no knowledge of the Romans) and their language (demotic Greek) 'Romaika'. The great hero of the war, Theodoros Kolokotronis, addressed his men as Hellenes, but thought this simply meant heroes; he only learned later from scholars that as a Greek he was a Hellene (Just 1987).

Moreover, the new Greek state (the Peloponnese and some of the Aegean islands) was far from coterminous with realms of Greek culture, and most Greeks lived beyond its borders. Only gradually, through territorial acquisitions and the in-gathering of refugees from the Ottoman Empire and elsewhere, did the nation-state come to be identified with patrimonial Greece. The 1863 proclamation of George I as 'King of the Hellenes' delighted Greeks by implying that he was sovereign of all of them, not only those presently within the Greek kingdom; and Britain's cession of the Ionian Islands to Greece the following year suggested the aggrandizing power of the phrase itself (Tsigakou 1981: 75; Just 1987).

Within the nation-state the Greek heritage was continually disseminated and reshaped to accord with European philhellenes' classical ideals. What had begun as a lever to gain European support for autonomy against the Turks, Greek patriots now internalized as an article of faith. In conforming Greek life to the romanticized classical image, they cherished antiquities, enthroned and revived the ancient Greek language, and purified folklore of extraneous elements to decontaminate its heroic classical connotations. Archaism came at considerable cost: revolutionary protocols themselves embodied archaic apparatus, and the 1822 Constitution of Epidaurus emerged in a classical language unintelligible to the demotic-speaking majority (Herzfeld 1982: 6).

The disconcerting implications of these magnified traditions and massive discontinuities continue to perturb many thoughtful Greeks. Not all would join the museum director who blames European romanticism for doing violence to modern Greece and who sees 'no link

between classical antiquity and modern Greece except that which was provided by the Roman Empire and the Orthodox Church, but many are conscious of being 'a nation aware of a past too grand to live up to' (Niko Stavroulakis in Cowell 1987; cf. McNeill 1978: 23, 40, 51-6, 122).

Greece is one of a handful of modern states (Ireland, Israel, Iceland) that have reconstituted a homogeneous identity largely by appealing to and reviving an ancient ideal. In Greece alone is that revival shored up by the approval of almost the entire world. So ready are others to accept the idea of Greece as ancient that Greeks themselves at times find it difficult to insist on their modernness.

The Greek diaspora has done much both to shape modern Greece and to aid its economy. No less consequential has been the diaspora of Greek heritage, notably the classical tradition given visible form in enduring monuments. These monuments might further enable Greeks to make the most of the fact that the Greek heritage is also, uniquely, an international heritage. Whether or not the Parthenon sculptures return to Athens, many Greek classical treasures are bound to remain in other lands. Greek pride in this material diaspora might stimulate more emphatic recognition of the Greek locales from which they stem.

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The care and conservation of antiquities in Greece, along with ongoing discovery and excavation, has long been a collaborative effort; Greek conservators, archaeologists and architectural historians have worked hand in hand with other Europeans and Americans. Similar cooperation in the presentation of classical sites and antiquities would serve all lovers of the classical tradition. Wherever else they now are, the relics of Greek antiquity ought to be clearly connected with, and put into the context of, their sites of origin; and displays at those sites in Greece ought to incorporate references to, perhaps facsimiles of, relics removed from there to other lands. To refute the self-dismissive taunt that 'we preserve our monuments because the foreigners are still interested' (John Zervos, in Cowell 1987), sympathy with the classical heritage needs to be conjoined rather than segregated.

The monuments of classical literature, translated into every language, are now the beloved heritage of the entire world. So ought the physical monuments of Greek genius, whether still extant in Greece or dispersed throughout the world in the form of originals, facsimiles and derivatives, become a source of pride to Greeks themselves. And Greeks outside the homeland might identify with classical legacies in Edinburgh or Australia as well as in Athens.

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Expressions of wealth: Greek art and society

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In the 2nd century AD Pausanias (i.2.4-15.1) walked through the agora at Athens describing some of the statues and naming the artists; at least 35 of the statues were of bronze, yet not a single one survives intact today (Mattusch 1982: 8-9). Thinking only of the extant marble sculpture does an injustice to the civic art of Athens. This problem is commonplace; almost any classical site has numerous stone bases for bronze statues which have long gone into the melting-pot. Yet so often in modern scholarship stone sculpture is given a privileged position. Although modern histories of Greek art pay

much attention to the marble sculpture of the Parthenon, ancient authorities were not so impressed; Pausanias (i.24.5-7) provides the briefest of descriptions to the marble sculpted pediments and omits to mention the frieze. For many scholars today the frieze has become an example of what 'unlimited money can do' (Ashmole 1972: 116), yet, as R. Osborne has recently pointed out, it merely helped the viewer to process to the east end of the temple where he or she would have been confronted by the great chryselephantine cult-statue of Athena: 'this is what the temple was built to

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