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BEAUTY, MAJESTY AND RUIN: THE IMPLICATIONS OF
THE EARLY TRAVELLERS TO ASIA MINOR ON
ARCHITECTURE

AHMET BERK KURT
(223670307216)

PROFESSOR CHRYSANTOS KANELLOPOULOS
PROFESSOR DIMITRIS PLANTZOS
PROFESSOR STYLIANOS KATAKIS

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BEAUTY, MAJESTY AND RUIN: THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE EARLY TRAVELLERS TO ASIA MINOR ON ARCHITECTURE

One of the biggest cultural currents in Europe between 1750 and 1850, was the phenomenon of Philhellenism. Within and beyond the scheme of grand tours, Greece and Asia Minor in the Ottoman Empire began to be frequented by interested parties; documentations and publications regarding the state of antiquities in these regions began gaining attention. This attention led to one of the main features of Philhellenism at the time, Greek Revival Architecture. This architectural movement inceptioned and flourished within circa 1750 - 1850. The most preliminary figure in this movement was James “Athenian” Stuart. His expeditions and publication with Nicholas Revett, named *Antiquities of Athens* by the Society of Dilettanti formed the backbone of what will later be named in 1860, Greek Revival architecture. Society of Dilettanti on the other hand “became the first British institution to organise and sponsor an archaeological expedition¹.” Two years after the first volume of *Antiquities of Athens*, the society funded another expedition, to Asia Minor which was published as *Ionian Antiquities* in 1769. This led to a series of expeditions which were then published as *Antiquities of Ionia* in five volumes between 1797 and 1815, forming a parallel to the *Antiquities of Athens* publications in four volumes. Athens publication always remained the main source of influence², however the publications on Athens and Ionia formed the main corpus of text for Greek Revival architecture which became the dominant style within Neoclassicism and formed its second era. The first era of Neoclassicism tended for Roman revivalism whereas the second, after 1800, Greek³. These tendencies were a result of the “war” between “supporters of Greece and followers of Rome⁴” a war resulting with the supremacy of Greek art over Roman. The results of dominance of Greek Revival within Neoclassical trends led to buildings like the British Museum, St. Pancras Church, the National Gallery in London, Britain. The first generation architects were accurate and precise. They were the travellers themselves: Nicholas Revett and James Stuart. These two were soon followed by the more experimental: George Dance Junior, John Soane, James Wyatt and others⁵. The Greek Revival movement also spread around the world, leaving a lasting impact mainly in USA, Germany, Austria, France and Greece⁶. The most famous examples from the mature period of Greek Revival architecture are: Brandenburg Gate, Neue Wache, Altes Museum in Berlin, Walhalla in Regensburg in Germany; the Academy of Athens, University of Athens and National

¹ Gunn 2010, 219.

² Salmon 2018, 90.

³ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, XXII-III.

⁴ Green 2013, 134.

⁵ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 222.

⁶ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 32.

Library in Athens, Greece; the Capitol and Lincoln Memorial in Washington and the Second Bank of the United States in Philadelphia in USA.

In the discussion of Greek Revivalism, the Ionian side does not get the attention it deserves; in fact there is no prior work specifically focusing on the influences of Ionia in Greek Revival architecture. The point and purpose of this thesis is the evaluation of the influence of the first Ionian expedition of Chandler, Revett and Pars culminating with the publication of *Ionian Antiquities* in 1769, on early Greek Revival architecture in Britain with regards to specific buildings and their architects until 1800. The research resulted with four buildings; two of the works are additions to extant buildings whereas the other two works are constructed with Ionian Greek Revival detailing. The works are: Western portico and an Ionic screen in West Wycombe by Nicholas Revett, Vestibule screen of Bentley Priory by John Soane, Semicircular portico of Tyingam Hall by John Soane and the Ionic portico of All Saints Church by Willey Reveley. The structure of the thesis is so that at first the intellectual trends that lead to Philhellenism and architectural trends that are behind Greek Revival architecture are discussed. This is naturally followed by a discussion of the Society of Dilettanti and the publication of *Antiquities of Athens*. The thesis then focuses on the Ionian influences in Greek Revival beginning with the history of the publication of *Ionian Antiquities*, which entails the discussions of the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene and Temple of Dionysos at Teos. These temples are discussed with comparison to the revised edition of the first volume of *Ionian Antiquities* and modern research to shed light on the mistakes and mentality of the documentation and reconstructions of Nicholas Revett. This discussion is later elaborated as the mentality and the motivation of documentation of antiquities is strongly connected with how the related edifices are imagined, designed and constructed. The latter part of the thesis contains the specific investigation of each four cases and a discussion as to their application of ancient Ionian forms and the reasons behind lack of Ionian influence in Greek Revival Architecture.

CHAPTER I

GREEK REVIVAL ARCHITECTURE

“Archaeology is, in my view the little bastard sister of collecting. Little because restricted in the ways in which she can proceed and deliver; bastard because since the nineteenth century at least she has been operating from a position of denial.”⁷

Greek Revival was in tandem with Philhellenism, which was an intellectual movement that went over most of the western and westernised world like a wave. It was influential in many domains of life and thought; philosophy, arts, architecture, politics. This chapter aims at presenting an overview of Greek Revival. We will begin by discussing Palladianism, the architectural tradition named after the renowned Renaissance architect Andrea Palladio. Palladianism⁸. Palladianism was the framework for Greek Revival architecture⁹ which embellished what are essentially Palladian buildings with revivalist forms and ornamentation. Greek Revival architecture falls within the broader scope of Neoclassicism, especially in the 19th century where Greek style Neoclassicism surpassed Rokoko and Gothic, Roman and other revivalist trends. Before that, the revivalist attitude of Neoclassicism tended to focus on Roman art and architecture. For this reason, discussion on Palladianism will be followed by putting Neoclassicism in its historical context, as the choice of Greek art over Roman is linked to larger cultural, economic and political events of that time. These were Romanticism, Enlightenment, Empiricism and the Industrial Revolution, American & French revolutions and Napoleonic wars. The undercurrents of Philhellenism and Revivalism is the third point of dispute, although interest in Antiquities was a prevailing situation from Renaissance onwards, Philhellenism as a movement appeared around the middle of the 17th century with the ideas of Freart de Chambray. The discussion will include the progression and aspects of Philhellenism including early architectural theories such as those of Abbe Laugier. On parallel with these the history of early expeditions to the Ancient Greek world and initial documentation of Greek architecture until 1758¹⁰ will be briefly given. The second part of the chapter is reserved for the Society of Dilettanti,

⁷ Schnapp 1996, 12.

⁸ or Neo-Palladianism

⁹ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 63-64.

¹⁰ The year of the publication of *Ruins* by Le Roy.

the travels to Greece funded by them, and the documentation of Greek Architecture, by Revett, Stuart. This expedition in 1751, was the main motivator for Greek revival architecture and gave its fruition with the early architectural works by Stuart and Revett in England. Together, the publications of *Antiquities of Athens* and *Ionian Antiquities*¹¹ form the corpus of material for mature Greek Revival period in architecture, which is considered to be after 1800¹². The final part of the chapter is regarding early examples from Greek Revival architecture with discussions about revival in the tradition of Greek Revival architecture with difficulties in using Greek Architecture in a modernising Britain.

CONTEXT AND INTELLECTUAL UNDERCURRENTS

PALLADIANISM

Palladianism begins with Andrea Palladio (1508-1580) of Padua. He was a stonemason until humanist Giangiorgio Trissino (1478-1550) noticed him and took him under his guidance. After which he will be one of the most influential figures in the history of architecture, perhaps the only one second to Vitruvius. Palladio visited Rome multiple times and studied its buildings; with the influence of these trips and Vitruvius's *Ten Books on Architecture*, he has built many buildings that fall under the style of Palladianism named after him. In addition, he worked on the architectural orders and “published the Renaissance’s most coherent system of proportions¹³”, with the *Four Books on Architecture*. Both the buildings he made built, and treatises he wrote had a profound global impact on architecture that followed¹⁴. Among many of his known works, some examples are the Basilica at Vicenza (1549), Palazzo Chiericati at Vicenza (1550-52), Villa Barbaro at Maser (1557-58) and Villa Rotonda at Vicenza (1566-70). He also happens to be the first “modern” architect to use the temple façade in a domestic setting as he mistakenly interpreted Vitruvius to mean that Greek houses had pedimented portico façades¹⁵. In his buildings and treatises his maxims can be said to

¹¹ The publication of *Ionian Antiquities* will be discussed in the second chapter of the thesis.

¹² Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, XXI.

¹³ Fazio et al. 2008, 315.

¹⁴ Fazio et al. 2008, 315.

¹⁵ Fazio et al. 2008, 318.

follow that of Vitruvius: *Utilitas, Venustas, Firmistas*¹⁶. In parallel to this, the tenets of his architecture can be summed up as “logical planning, careful proportioning and conceptual clarity¹⁷”. However, above these principles, his buildings are really versatile, especially in domestic architecture with around 20 surviving villas¹⁸.

Palladianism gained influence in Britain in the 17th century. Inigo Jones’s (1573-1652)¹⁹ is the name that introduced the trends of classical revivalism to Britain with Palladianism prevalent in his first building, the Queen’s House (1616) in Greenwich²⁰. Jones followed Palladio closely in his buildings. His works such as the Banqueting House (1622) and Queens House exhibit many features from Palladian architecture that will be the groundwork of Neoclassical architectural understanding. Some examples from these features are a clear rational design with a simplistic scheme of arrangement and a regard for classical proportions. The path that Jones laid was followed by the Neo-Palladian movement. Which sprung up as a results of the publication of proper English translations of Palladio’s treatises and of *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715) edited by Colen Campbell and influences of Jones’s buildings²¹. The main proponents of this movement were Colen Campbell (1676-1729), Richard Boyle (1694-1753) and William Kent (1685-1748)²². These individuals were looking back to Roman architecture filtered by Palladio through Jones’s examples and their movement formed the backbone of British Neoclassicism²³.

NEOCLASSICISM AND EARLY INTEREST IN GREEK ART

This brings us to the discussion of the political events and intellectual happenings that surrounded the movement. Some of the key events of the 18th and early 19th centuries were the American (1775-1783), French revolutions (1789) and Napoleonic Wars

¹⁶ Paterno 2024, 73.

¹⁷ Fazio et al. 2008, 321.

¹⁸ Kostof 1995, 482.

¹⁹ Fazio et al. 2008, 316.

²⁰ Fazio et al. 2008, 333.

²¹ Kostof 1995, 550-51.

²² Fazio et al. 2008, 380.

²³ Fazio et al. 2008, 380.

(1803-1815), albeit not extremely related to our, topic having these in mind is important for having a frame of the time. Especially the Napoleonic wars are important for the succession of Greek art over Roman. More important than these incidents was the movement of Enlightenment that mainly occurred during the 18th century. This movement brought about the idea that the world can be understood in a rational manner which in turn relates to empiricism instigated by John Locke at the end of the 17th century. The attitude of interpreting with a rational mind the observations and measurements of the world is truly important in considering both *Antiquities of Athens* and *Ionian Antiquities*, because in both the works it is possible to see a scientific approach to antiquities, the approach these books had will be discussed further in the next chapter. Surrounding the Enlightenment was the industrial revolution which is thought to have begun in the second half of the 18th century²⁴. The industrial revolution in Britain steadily increased urbanisation, GDP and investment rates. Yet, even before the Industrial Revolution Britain was urbanised to an extent and had a rich economy that was distributed in the top ten percent of the population²⁵. In 1803 the top 2% of families had the 20% income of the British nation²⁶. The combination of increased capital and investment surely effected how the aristocracy of Dilettanti also chose to invest in expeditions to “offer them [the engravings] to the public for the improvement of National Taste²⁷”. The transformations during 1750-1850 changed the society in many ways and as a result of this, the buildings that are required also changed. This formed an impediment on the Greek Revivalists in that it was difficult for them in most cases to revive a Greek building completely, because the shape of the Greek Temple was not suitable for the requirements of the time. The 18th century was also the beginnings of modern archaeology with the excavations in Pompeii and Herculaneum starting in the 50’s, the scientific study of Greek architecture also dates to the 18th century with the travels to Magna Graecia and Greece. In this sense the works of *Antiquities of Athens* by Stuart & Revett and *Ionian Antiquities* by Revett & Chandler are proto-archaeological and form a significant milestone in the study of Grecian antiquities²⁸.

²⁴ Fazio et al. 2008, 379.

²⁵ Crafts 1994, 44-45.

²⁶ Morgan 1999, 25.

²⁷ Society of Dilettanti 1814, 6.

²⁸ Barletta 2011, 1.

Romans were the first connoisseurs and revivers of Greek art and architecture. Emperor Hadrian is a good example. The Temple of Aphrodite in the Villa at Tivoli commissioned by him has a Greek Doric reminiscent of the order of the Temple of Aphrodite in Knidos in Ionia. Temple of Dionysos in Teos, one of the key edifices of this thesis was also restored by Hadrian's order²⁹. However Romans and their doing is beyond our topic. The beginnings of European interest in Greek things dates back to the 15th century Renaissance when translations of Marcus Vitruvius Polio's *Ten Books on Architecture* became popular throughout Europe. Vitruvius presented the Doric, Ionian and Corinthian orders as of Greek origin and mentioned Greek treatises such as those of Silenus, Democritus, Anaxagoras and Agatharcus. The revival of Greek orders in stone is attested to Filippo Brunelleschi³⁰. Before all this, in the 12th century and afterwards the translations of Greek texts of Plato, Aristotle and Homer into Latin catalysed interest in "all things Greek"³¹. The advent of the printing press in the 15th century helped disperse these treatises all around Europe, leading to further interest. The increased accessibility of Greek texts incited discussions of Greek art per se and its comparison with Roman art, one of the key topics in the discussions of the 17th and 18th centuries regarding art, architecture and beauty.

This brings us to how Greek art was upheld and even brought above Roman art in the 17th-18th centuries. The idea of the primacy of Greeks appeared in the second half of the century in the thoughts of Freart de Chambray, a translator of the works of Palladio and da Vinci, claimed that the art of architecture and system of proportions was invented and perfection in arts was attained by Greeks. Following him, René Ouvrard in his 1679 book *Architecture harmonique ou Application de la doctrine des proportions de la musique à l'architecture* wrote, the "ancient architecture of Greeks" can only be made with the revival of harmonic proportions³². These ideas were part of larger discussions of the nature of beauty, the attainment of perfection, Greek versus Roman art and the invention of the art of architecture. D'Aviler for instance, in his work dated to 1700, *Cours d'architecture* argued that although Greeks invented architecture, Romans perfected it³³. Jean-Louis de Cordemoy in 1707 in *Nouveau Traite de Toute*

²⁹ Watkin 2018, 163-64.

³⁰ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 34.

³¹ Lambrinou 2018, 126.

³² Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 2.

³³ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 1-6.

l'Architecture placed the first three architectural orders to be Greek. He considered Tuscan and Composite orders to be mere derivatives³⁴. However defenders of Roman and Etruscan art claimed that the Tuscan order could even be the predecessor of the Doric order³⁵. One of these was the Giambattista Piranesi, a titan of the history of architecture. In his work *Della Magnificenza ed Architettura de' Romani* published in 1761, Piranesi claimed that the Etruscans are an older race and that they surpassed the Greeks in arts³⁶.

During the period following 1650, interest in and collection of Greek art and antiquities steadily increased³⁷; leading to, by late 17th and early 18th centuries the idea of the artistic and architectural supremacy of Greeks. For instance, the renowned German art historian Johann Joachim Winckelmann proclaimed that “that all Greek art, visual and literary, was marked by a noble simplicity and a calm greatness³⁸”. On par with these intellectual developments, Greece was visited and documented by Sir George Wheeler and Jacob Spon in 1675. The work of Wheeler was published as *A Journey into Greece* in 1682 with primitive illustrations³⁹. This marks the first “hands on” experience with Greek antiquities as the previous authors discussing Greek Art did not even had first hand experience with it. They only saw Roman copies and Roman works that were thought to be Greek. Which makes me think that the initial interest in Greek art was of a literary origin and that the idea of the supremacy of Greeks could be, on a textual basis, tracked back to Vitruvius until the initial expeditions and documentations. One might ask at this point, how did these people saw the other former civilisations? They were aware and acknowledged that the Egyptians, Phoenicians etc. built monumental buildings and had architectural traditions but they only presumed Greek and Romans to be polished enough to attain the level of civilisation so as to be qualified for perfection and, discussion. Abbe Gedoyne for instance wrote that the main influence of Greeks was Nature, since there was nothing polished before them⁴⁰. As time passed documentation of Greek Architecture was continued with the first illustrations of the Temples at Selinus

³⁴ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 9.

³⁵ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 27.

³⁶ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 25-26.

³⁷ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 5.

³⁸ Jenkyns 2018, 58.

³⁹ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 5.

⁴⁰ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 9.

and Agrigento in Magna Grecia by John Breval in 1738 in his book *Remarks on several parts of Europe*. Richard Pococke in 1743 published *A Description of the East and Other Countries* and made readers more aware of the architecture of Athens as his illustrations of the works in the city surpassed those of Wheeler and Spon⁴¹.

A decade after Pococke, Abbe Laugier gifted the world his *Essai sur l'Architecture* giving the principles of architecture that are as important for Neoclassicism and Greek Revival architecture as Palladianism. A Philhellene himself, Laugier, in addition to saying that the Greeks perfected architecture said, that simplicity and reason should guide the architect and that imitation can only follow perfection⁴². *Essai* unfolds as a Cartesian voyage instigated by doubt, where he has doubts on beauty and architecture. Laugier wrote that he observed and continued to observe until the same thing gave the same effect. He attempted at reducing architecture to its essentials, via a thought experiment on how humans started building, the result of which is that, the essentials of architecture are basically post, lintel, pediment and roof. His whole outset on the topic can be underlined with the enlightened and empiricist tone of his time. His work is also important as he gave more impetus the revival of Greek architecture and letting go of “the ridiculous geugaws of the Goths and Arabians⁴³”.

About Greek perfection he said:

“Architecture owes all that is perfect in it to the Greeks, a free nation, to which it was reserved not to be ignorant of any thing in the arts and sciences. The Romans, worthy of admiring, and capable of copying the most excellent models that the Greeks helped them to, were desirous thereto to join their own, and did no less then shew the whole universe, that when perfection is arrived at, there only remains to imitate or decay.⁴⁴”

His desire for reason and rational justification, search for fixed principles and scientific enlightened tone gave the intellectual background for Neoclassical and Greek revival architecture:

⁴¹ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 9-10.

⁴² Laugier 1755, IV-XI.

⁴³ Laugier 1755, 5-6.

⁴⁴ Laugier 1755, 3-4.

“I repeated my observations until I was assured that the same objects always made the same impressions upon me. I have consulted the taste of others, and putting them to the same proof, I found in them all my sensibilities more or less lively, according as their souls had received from nature a less or greater degree of heat. From thence I concluded first that there were in Architecture essential beauties independent of the habitude of the senses, or of the agreement of them⁴⁵.”

On par with Laugier is Winckelmann. He published *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der Griechischen werken in der Malerey und Bildhauerkunst* in 1755; where he puts forward “imitation” of ancients as the way to go. He is also a supporter of the idea of the supremacy of Greek art over Roman⁴⁶. His most influential book is *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterhums* published in 1764. It is a detailed account of ancient art, which gives the crown to Greeks in a definite manner as he says “The greatest art is that of the Greeks, which is built upon simplicity and grandeur⁴⁷.” He goes so far as to write that imitation of Greeks would surpass the imitation of Nature. For Winckelmann Greek art has the “essential truth of forms” that Nature does not have⁴⁸. The ideas of Winckelmann and Laugier, are the theoretical and intellectual background on which Neoclassicism and Greek Revival ascended.

The illustrations of Greek monuments started mounting in time, albeit as of yet, none of a remarkable quality of measurement and execution comparable to Le Roy and Stuart & Revett. The third publication to include illustrations of the monuments in Athens was by Richard Dalton, published in 1751, was named *Antiquities and Views in Greece and Egypt*, it was disliked due to the poor quality of application⁴⁹. Julien-David Le Roy, a French architect, after being informed of the *Proposals*⁵⁰ (1748-49-51) by Stuart & Revett regarding the documentation of the antiquities of Athens, although belated, comes to Athens with funds from the French state and produces *Les Ruins des Plus Beaux Monuments de la Grèce*⁵¹, published in 1758, four years before the publication of *Antiquities of Athens*. The “arms race” between Stuart & Revett and Le Roy hint at the

⁴⁵ Laguer 1755, XI.

⁴⁶ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 13.

⁴⁷ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 15.

⁴⁸ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 48.

⁴⁹ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 17.

⁵⁰ The text of which can be found in the Appendix I of Wiebenson 1969.

⁵¹ The English translation of *Ruins* was published Robert Sayer in 1759, Cust et al. (1898, 79)

competition between the French and English states, even in cultural matters, beyond politics. *Ruins* was liked in France and disliked in England, Stuart and Revett criticised Le Roy, claiming that he plagiarised from Spon and Wheeler. *Ruins* was extremely influential in the time of its publication until its fame was shadowed by *Antiquities of Athens* in 1762⁵². Le Roy's work can be crowned to be the first detailed and "proper" study of Greek Antiquities⁵³. It was an important milestone in the actual reception of Greek architecture which before *Ruins* was mostly dominated by literary sources. The work consisted of two parts in one volume, first part had the illustrations and descriptions of monuments, whereas the second part had scaled drawings. In comparison with the work of Stuart & Revett, *Ruins* is less accurate. The reason why Le Roy is less accurate is not fully explained by his quickness of execution and publication. Matters of style are also important.

This brings us to a point where discussion of Romanticism is due. Romanticism begun with the English Landscape movement of the earlier half of the 18th century; visually influenced by the engravings of Piranesi⁵⁴. It was an intellectual and artistic movement that went against the changes in the human life brought about by the industrial revolution. It entailed yearning for a life of awe in nature. It is the reason behind the garden follies and ruins of the 18th century and for this very reason, is truly important for the Greek triumph in arts of the 18th century and the birth of Greek Revival architecture⁵⁵. Romanticism could seem to be against the rational and proportionate way of Neoclassicism. Nevertheless Neoclassicism and Romanticism are like siblings. the Aesthetic understanding of 1750-1850 feeds, perhaps equally, from both. The ideas of both Romanticism and Neoclassicism were surrounded with discussions of beauty; one took it with a melancholic poetic gaze whereas the other was busy with proportion, harmony and rationality. These movements idealised the classical perfection of 5th century B.C Athens which was deemed to achieve "an unmatched unity, poise, and completeness, where beauty of mind and body were valued alike ... where the great spirits, Phidias, Pericles, Sophocles, Thucydides, and Socrates, in some sense made

⁵² Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 18-19.

⁵³ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 35.

⁵⁴ Fazio et al. 2008, 397.

⁵⁵ Lambrinou 2018, 128.

common cause.⁵⁶ They both saw the “paintless” white marble to reflect the idea of ageless beauty and perfection which was actually of their time since the originals were painted. The “purified” Greek Doric was both Neoclassical and Romantic⁵⁷. Philhellenism and the idealisation of Greece was not only catalysed by discussions of art. The Napoleonic wars made using Rome as an ideal distasteful. After Napoleon’s attempt at forming an empire inspired by Rome, it was more suitable for the political climate of the British, and later the Americans, to find another pinnacle of human civilisation. Democracy was to win over empire, and Pericles over Caesar. On par with these, Greek history was used as a parallel to contemporary political incidents: A united Germany was paralleled with Greeks united against Persians, the American revolution and liberation of Greece from the Ottoman Empire was paralleled with Greek’s liberation from Persians attempts of conquest⁵⁸. In this sense, the dispute and difference of opinion between Le Roy and Stuart & Revett link to many other larger events of their time.

The divide between Romanticism and Neoclassicism also appears in the styles of illustration of these movements which exhibit the difference of approach. While Picturesque, the aesthetic approach of Romanticism better defines the approach of Le Roy; Stuart & Revett approached illustration from a more Neoclassical standpoint. The first major work of James “Athenian” Stuart was to illustrate the newly excavated Obelisk of Pharaoh Psammetichus II from Campus Martius in Rome in 1748, even then claimed to have made “precise measurements to the hundredth of the English foot⁵⁹”. The other side of the coin, Picturesque became influential in England with Edmund Burke’s *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas on the Sublime and the Beautiful* published in 1756. Picturesque engravings are less resolute, the buildings are surrounded with foliage and landscape is an important part of the composition. The correctness of proportion in illustration is not the main priority. The Neoclassical aesthetic paradigm stands opposed to this, with limited usage of foliage, perfect proportion and measurement of the respective building and less use of oblique frames of reference. The aforementioned discrepancies between the French and English;

⁵⁶ Jenkyns 2018, 58.

⁵⁷ Jenkyns 2018, 59-61.

⁵⁸ Lambrinou 2018, 133.

⁵⁹ Salmon 2018, 75.

Picturesque and Neoclassical; Le Roy and Stuart & Revett have some family links. In addition to this, Le Roy was an illustrator of a picturesque background while Stuart even from his earlier works was more empirical, he aimed at a different way of illustration. If we are to compare the illustrations of Le Roy and Stuart & Revett of the monument of Lysicrates, this difference becomes more visible. Stuart positions the monument in perceivably centrally in the composition “to highlight its principal parts, and to establish its dimensions⁶⁰” while using a strong contrast. On the other hand, Le Roy plays with the dimensions, proportions and the architectural detailing of the monument; positions it in such a ways as to reduce it “to the status of picturesque backdrop⁶¹”. This does not mean that Le Roy is not talented or that Stuart is a better architectural visualiser; this means that these two men were working with two different modes of visualisation: One picturesque and the other Neoclassicist⁶².

THE SOCIETY OF DILETTANTI

“The improvement of Architecture is the principal object of a Society of Nobility and Gentry in England, who have been for many years associated under the name of the Society of Dilettanti, already known to the world by the publication of two magnificent volumes on the Antiquities of Ionia⁶³.”

One of the most significant private contributors of the discipline of archaeology is the Society of Dilettanti. The society contributed by sending painters, architects and classicists to the then inaccessible territories of the Ottoman Empire and thus “extended the scope of the Grand Tour from Italy to Greece⁶⁴”, which later on, was further extended by expeditions to Ionia. With the ongoing influence of these expeditions and their publications, Dilettanti served to the establishment and development of the discipline of archaeology⁶⁵ and its methods of documentation and classification of sculpture and architecture. The Society of Dilettanti is usually known

⁶⁰ Redford 2008, 58.

⁶¹ Redford 2008, 58.

⁶² Redford 2008 uses the term “anti-picturesque” to denote the style of Stuart.

⁶³ Society of Dilettanti 1814, 1.

⁶⁴ Lambrinou 2018, 127.

⁶⁵ Redford 2008, 44.

by having funded and organised the publications of *Antiquities of Athens* in four volumes⁶⁶ between 1762-1816, *Antiquities of Ionia* in five volumes 1769-1915, *Travels in Asia Minor* 1775, *Travels in Greece* 1776⁶⁷, *Specimens of Antient Sculpture in two volumes* 1809-1835⁶⁸. By publishing these books, The Society of Dilettanti set the tone of archaeological discourse and gave the world sources that were truly influential for a substantial amount of time. The publications of the Society all share some aspects such as considerable regard for exactness of measurement, a take on documentation and visualisation that is against the French “picturesque”⁶⁹. This played in total harmony with the competition, against French publication funded by the state, of the private publications of Dilettanti.

This chapter of the thesis is dedicated to the Society and the publication of the first volume of the *Antiquities of Athens*, the most influential text of Greek Revival architecture. How the society was formed by young gentlemen who met in Italy, will be discussed with moderate elaboration. This will be followed by an account of the events leading to the expedition of James “Athenian” Stuart and Nicholas Revett after the publication of their proposals in 1748, and how their expedition was published as *Antiquities of Athens* in 1762. This discussion is truly important because both the take of the society on the Athenian expedition of 1751, and the documentation methods used by Stuart and Revett later sets the tone for how the Ionian expedition is undertaken, how the buildings are documented and how *Ionian Antiquities* is published and received. Since the scope of the thesis is regarding Greek Revival buildings influenced by the publication of *Ionian Antiquities* until 1800; the publications of the Society after the first volumes of *Antiquities of Athens* and *Ionian Antiquities* are not discussed.

⁶⁶ There is also a supplement volume published in 1830.

⁶⁷ Society of Dilettanti 1855, 39.

⁶⁸ The full title is “Specimens of Antient Sculpture, Aegyptian, Etruscan, Greek, and Roman, selected from different collections in Great Britain.

⁶⁹ Redford 2008, 44.

THE SOCIETY

“In the Year 1734, some Gentlemen who had travelled in Italy, desirous of encouraging, at home, a Taste for those Objects which had contributed so much to their Entertainment abroad, formed themselves into a Society, under the Name of the Dilettanti⁷⁰.”

Modern England was at its first steps during the reign of George II (r. 1727-1760), the social, economic and political transformations that are to mark modernity were only beginning. This was the backdrop on which the Society of Dilettanti was founded, the Royal Society, the Society of Antiquaries and Virtuosi of St. Luke were already extant⁷¹. The Society of Dilettanti, similar to the Society of Antiquaries, was founded as a dinner or tavern society. The founding “fathers” were some young gentlemen of nobility between 20 and 30 years of age, who had the privilege to do their Grand Tour in Italy. While forming a link to the modernising side of England, this society kept many tenets of traditional preindustrial society such as: “Heavy drinking, ceremonies and ritual, old-style masculinity, client-patron relationships, and selectivity⁷²”. The fact that they had designated drinking toasts stands as evidence for these features of the society, these were: “Viva la vertu, Grecian taste and Roman spirit and to the absent member⁷³”. The first meeting place as a “dining society” was the tavern Bedford Head in Covent Garden, albeit the meeting location changed several times after this, the meeting place of the society finally became Star and Garter Tavern in Pall Mall⁷⁴. How “hard” the society used to drink can be grasped with a quote from their minute books:

“The Committee growing a little noisy and drunk and seeming to recollect that they are not quite sure whether the Report of the Committee signed by Chairman and Toastmaster Holdernessee may not be so intelligible to the Society as the meaning of the Committee have intended, etc., etc.”⁷⁵

The actual foundation date of the Society remains elusive as its members only started keeping notes of their meetings after 1736. Yet, Cust et al. gives the date 5 or 12

⁷⁰ From the preface to *Ionian Antiquities* (Society of Dilettanti 1769, I-II).

⁷¹ Cust et al. 1898, 2.; Redford 2008, 3.

⁷² Clark 2000, 471.

⁷³ Cust et al. 1898, 37.

⁷⁴ Redford 2008, 2.

⁷⁵ Notes from February 18, 1748-9 from the Minute Books, originally from Cust et al. (1898, 37).

December 1732 as the informed guess as to the actual foundation⁷⁶. Information regarding the members of the society can first be seen in the list from May 1736. According to this list, there were 46 members between the ages of 25-30⁷⁷. At the time, the “primus inter pares” of the society appears to be Sir Francis Dashwood who will later be named Lord Le Despencer⁷⁸. Other notable members at the time were Charles Earl of Middlesex, Sir James Gray, Simon Harcourt⁷⁹. Some aspects of the meetings of the society attain a symbolic and ritualistic role some time after the foundation of the society. One of these can be discovered in the notes from February 1st in the minute book of 1747, the notes indicate a requirement for the “President of the Society” to wear a scarlet Roman toga and be placed in a special armchair of mahogany named “Sella curulis⁸⁰”. Regulatory processes such as the election of a new member and incorporation of that member into the society were ritualised as initiation and election ceremonies. Objects of symbolic significance were used in these incidents. For instance, the box used to collect the votes in the election was named the “Tomb of Bacchus” and was shaped as a temple façade, fronted with a figure of Justice⁸¹. Redford claims that both ritualistic aspect and the mode of conduct of the society were inspired by the British Hell Fire Clubs, Italian Accademia dell’Arcadia and Freemasonry. The inspiration from Freemasonry is visible in the dedication of the society to theatre plays and music; patronage of arts and in rituals and ceremonies; as is visible in the image of the President and his dress⁸².

The Society of Dilettanti flourished and had the peak of its influence between the years 1762 and 1816. After the publication of *Antiquities of Athens*, Dilettanti became the forerunners regarding Greek art, architecture and its archaeology⁸³. The work made with the support of the Society of Dilettanti, vitalised the idea of an “amateur” interest or connoisseurship in antiquities with really prevalent results that still retains its effect on

⁷⁶ Cust et al. 1898, 5.

⁷⁷ The list can be found on Appendix III originally from Cust et al. (1898, 7-8).

⁷⁸ Dashwood is an important figure for this thesis as the first Ionian influenced architectural detail is added to his house at West Wycombe.

⁷⁹ Cust et. al, 5.

⁸⁰ Redford (2008, 4) gives the date of this minute book to be 1741; Cust et al. 1898, 25.

⁸¹ Redford 2008, 6.

⁸² Redford 2008, 7-10.

⁸³ Redford 2008, 9-10.

the discipline of Greek Architecture and over the totality of the discipline of archaeology. The downfall of the Prestige of Dilettanti occurred in the year 1816, with the “help” of the testimonies of five Dilettanti members: Thomas Lawrence, Richard Payne Knight, William Wilkins, George Hamilton-Gordon and John Bacon Sawrey-Morritt. The testimonies were given for the committee of the House of Commons regarding the public acquisition of the Elgin marbles. The inability of the members to give competitive and coherent opinions regarding the acquisition of the Elgin Marbles, publicly exhibited the discrepancies within the society and led to the beginning of their decline. This incident was also the end of the vogue of “amateur connoisseurship” and marked the supremacy of professional undertakings⁸⁴. The Society of Dilettanti still exists, albeit not as visible in the areas that they were before. The author of this thesis was in communication with them to ask for some documents regarding some correspondences between the former prominent members Sir Francis Dashwood and Nicholas Revett regarding the construction of the western portico of Dashwood’s house⁸⁵. As of now the main function⁸⁶ of the society seems to be funding of expeditions of talented students.

ANTIQUITIES OF ATHENS

“The City of Greece most renowned for stately Edifices, for the Genius of its Inhabitants, and for the culture of every Art, was Athens. We therefore resolved to examine that Spot rather than any other; flattering ourselves, that the remains we might find there, would excel in true Taste and Elegance every thing hitherto published⁸⁷.” Preface II

In the January of 1751, two men began a journey from Venice through Zante, Cyllene, Patras finally landing in Athens. Their journey was planned to make known the ancient edifices in Athens, then within the Ottoman Empire which was relatively inaccessible. As has been mentioned in the earlier chapter, there were travellers to Athens before, yet an influential publication with the amount of detail found in the *Antiquities of Athens* did not exist. The importance of this publication for the purposes of this thesis lies with the usage of the same methodology in the publication of *Ionian Antiquities*. The men

⁸⁴ Redford 2008, 173-83.

⁸⁵ This is the first building with Ionian influences and will be discussed in Chapter II of the thesis.

⁸⁶ At least publicly visible.

⁸⁷ From the Preface to *Antiquities of Athens* (Society of Dilettanti 1762, II).

behind this undertaking were James “Athenian” Stuart and Nicholas Revett, who were recently elected as members of the Society of Dilettanti in May, 1750⁸⁸. James Stuart was born in 1713, he was a “casual” painter until 1742 when he travelled to Rome and studied classical languages and art. His first work of prominence was a treatise on an Egyptian obelisk found in Campius Martius at Rome which had a defining role in his style of illustration and measurement. Nicholas Revett was born in 1721⁸⁹ and like Stuart decided to go to Rome in 1742. While in Rome he studied under the guidance of painter Cavaliere Benefiale. He met with Stuart and Gavin Hamilton in a tour to Naples in 1748, most possibly during this expedition Revett and Hamilton created the idea, and later planned the journey to Athens with the support of Stuart⁹⁰. In the same year, after they returned to Rome, they were able to publish the *Proposals for publishing a new and accurate Description of the Antiquities, etc. in the Province of Attica*, which eloquently explained their purpose:

" Athens, the Mother of elegance and politeness, whose magnificence scarce yielded to that of Rome, and who for the beauties of a correct style must be allowed to surpass her; has been almost entirely neglected. So that unless exact copies of them be speedily made, all her beauteous Fabricks, her Temples, her Theatres, her Palaces, now in Ruins, will drop into Oblivion; and Posterity will have to reproach us, that we have not left them a tolerable Idea of what was so excellent, and so much deserved our attention; but that we have suffered the perfection of an Art to perish, when it was perhaps in our power to have retrieved it⁹¹."

The *Proposals* were published four times, in 1748, 49, 51 and 52 respectively named Rome, Venice, Athens and London Proposals. The 1751 version was printed by Colonel George Gray in London in January when the duo left for Greece⁹². The details of the ideas in the *Proposals* can be seen from Revett’s letter to his father dated to 1749. They planned to produce a book of three volumes, the first one was planned to have 53 plates regarding views of Greece, second one regarding building plans and architectural detailing in 71 plates, the third to include ancient sculpture in 67 plates⁹³. One of the sources of inspiration for Antiquities of Athens was *Les Edifices Antiques de Rome*

⁸⁸ Cust et al. 1898, 78-79.

⁸⁹ Albeit with some uncertainty.

⁹⁰ Cust et al. 1898, 75-77.

⁹¹ From Proposals (1751) after Wiebenson (1969, 77-78).

⁹² Kappatos-Pavlakis 1974, 16.

⁹³ Wiebenson 1969, 75.

published in 1682 by Antoine Desgodetz. As stated from the *Proposals* of 1751, “On-site investigation, accurate measurement, and scrupulous delineation⁹⁴” define the methodology of *Antiquities*, the same document also describes *Edifices* as a model of inspiration. The proto-archaeological approach of Desgodetz and other sources of inspiration for the methodology of *Antiquities of Athens*⁹⁵ will be discussed in more detail in Chapter II of this thesis.

Proposals initially received support from other amateurs of Classical studies such as Charles Watson-Wentworth and Lord Charlemont. Stuart and Revett began their journey from Rome to Venice in 1750 where they were positioned until the beginning of 1751⁹⁶. Thereon travelling by following the coast they reached Athens. The total journey lasted around 4 years Stuart and Revett returned to England in 1755. *Proposals* and the journey created interest in the final publication but the publication of *Antiquities* would have to wait until 1762. According to Redford there are two main reasons for the delay, first is the difficulties that arose between Stuart and Revett, which finally lead to Stuart buying Revett’s share in the work; second is *Ruins*, after its publication, Stuart composed *Antiquities* in a way that would compete with and eventually overshadow Le Roy’s work⁹⁷. *Antiquities of Athens*, in four chapters, contained the plates of plans, elevations and perspective illustrations of buildings that are to be most influential in the development of Greek Revival architecture⁹⁸. These buildings are: The Temple of Ilissus near Athens in chapter I; Parthenon, Choragic monument and Propylea in Athens in chapter II; the Temple of Theseus (Hephaestus of today) in Athens, Temple of Apollo in Delos and Corinth in chapter III. The publication of *Antiquities* incepted a craze of Greek art in England and had considerable impact, the amount of detail and accuracy of measurement to be found in *Antiquities*, set the trends for what will follow. The impact was so large that Kappatos-Pavlakakis considers the book to be the main source of Greek Revival Architecture⁹⁹. A quote from a contemporary architect will suffice to show:

⁹⁴ From *Proposals* (1751) after Redford (2008, 47).

⁹⁵ And thus *Ionian Antiquities*.

⁹⁶ Cust et al. 1898, 77.

⁹⁷ Redford 2008, 53.

⁹⁸ Kappatos-Pavlakakis 1974, 39-40.

⁹⁹ Kappatos-Pavlakakis 1974, 23.

“On the appearance of Stuart's Athens there was a great sensation created in England amongst the admirers of the Fine Arts; it grew into a mania for Greek architecture¹⁰⁰.”

The amazement that Antiquities of Athens created, placed the Society of Dilettanti as the authority on the subject and created the impetus for continuing expeditions. After 1762, the society started considering a work regarding Ionia and its antiquities¹⁰¹.

EARLY GREEK REVIVAL

The full list of Greek Revival works was presented in the Phd. thesis of Kappatos-Pavlakis¹⁰², an enlarged version of that list including 55 works is presented in Appendix II. The history of early Greek Revival in Architecture is inescapably tied to the publications of *Antiquities of Athens* and *Ionian Antiquities*. Apart from a singular example, all the architectural works up to 1778 were either designed by Stuart or Revett. The period that followed this date witnessed the distribution of the style to other architects and via them, other countries. Quite peculiarly, the first two Greek Revival works actually preceded *Antiquities of Athens*. The reason for this was private circulation of the drawings before their publication, within the close circle of the Society of Dilettanti. The traditional date for the beginning of Greek Revival Architecture is 1758-9, marked by the construction of the Temple of Theseus at Hagley Park, Worcestershire¹⁰³. Temple at Hayley is the first Greek Revival building, it was designed by James Stuart for Lord Lyttleton who wrote in 1758:

"James Stuart ... is going to embellish one of my little hills with a true Attic building, a Portico of 6 pillars, ... which will make a fine effect to my new house, and command a most beautiful view of the country¹⁰⁴."

The hexastyle prostyle building measures 6.22 x 8.85 metres and has the façade on the longer side. Stuart seems to be inspired by the temple of Hephaestus in Athens, but the

¹⁰⁰ James Gandon, after Kappatos-Pavlakis (1974, 23).

¹⁰¹ Cust et al. 1898, 81.

¹⁰² Kappatos-Pavlakis 1974, 96-101.

¹⁰³ Worsley 1985, 226.

¹⁰⁴ From Kappatos-Pavlakis (1974, 108)

order of the Temple is a mixture of that of the the former and Parthenon¹⁰⁵. The columns are more slender than the order of both of them, and neither exhibit curvature or entasis, but become slimmer linearly. The intercolumnar space has two sets of triglyphs. The pediment is inspired by the Parthenon while the cornice is from the Temple of Hephaestus. It was built of red sandstone and was covered with stucco. Its executive architect and mason was Sanderson Miller and mason was William Hitchcock¹⁰⁶. Inspiration from Athens and Greek Doric would dominate Greek Revival architecture from now on.

Interestingly, Temple of Theseus at Hegley is not the first instance of Greek Revival style. A Venetian window, was built in 1756, to the house of the first Earl Harcourt in Nuneham, Courtenay, Oxfordshire. The window has the style of the Aqueduct of Hadrian nearby Athens and was inspired by a drawing by Stuart. The drawing was sent by Thomas Worsley to Harcourt. In his response Harcourt wrote of his desire to incorporate more features of “Attic” style but that the drawings had arrived too late and only allowed him to use the designs in his windows¹⁰⁷. The Aqueduct dates to the Roman era, yet since it is included in Stuart’s drawings and was in Athens, the application of the style of Aqueduct of Hadrian qualifies the house in Nuneham to be the first instance of Greek Revival architecture. In tandem with the windows of Nuneham, majority of early Greek Revival works are additions to already existing buildings. Greek details are used in architectural detailing and ornamentation in doorways, porticoes, pilasters, mantel pieces and windows. Upon this evidence, Kappatos-Pavlakis claims that Greek Revival is essentially a revival of Greek Orders on a Palladian framework, rather than a complete revival of the Greek architectural tradition.

This means that the previous Roman and Renaissance embellishments were swapped for Greek ones, while the architectural understanding behind these works remained Palladian¹⁰⁸. In monumental Greek architecture of the 5th and 4th centuries BC, apart from singular examples, the columns are weight carriers. In Greek Revival buildings, columns are mostly ornamental and do not carry weight. In addition to this, most of the

¹⁰⁵ Kappatos-Pavlakis 1974, 108-9.

¹⁰⁶ McCarthy 1972, 765.

¹⁰⁷ Worsley 1985, 228-29.

¹⁰⁸ Kappatos-Pavlakis 1974, 82-83.

time Greeks did not utilise interior columns in buildings¹⁰⁹. The application of Greek orders in the interior of domestic buildings was a feature of Greek Revival architecture fitting with Palladian building tradition. The practical application seen in Greek Revival is not coherent with the previously discussed intellectual tenets of Neoclassical-Greek Revivalist understanding founded by Laugier. The conception incepted by Laugier and others was aiming at understanding the underlying principles in Greek Architecture rather than copying Greek orders as embellishments. This bridge between the intellectual background and practice in Greek Revival was anticipated by Stuart himself as he figured that his work will not be used as intended:

"Sir, I undertook the labour in the hope to discover the principles on which the architect proceeded, and I have drawn my own conclusions on them; but I fear, Sir Joshua, that many will content to copy what they find detailed in this book, without regard to the why and wherefore that governed either the ancients or myself¹¹⁰."

Stuart was attempting to understand and reproducing principles of Greek Architecture. There are various reasons was not prevalent in architects working with Greek Revival style. The foremost reason is that the requirements of 18th and 19th century architecture were almost, if not completely, different from that of Classical Greece. The form of the temple or theatre would not find its use in the urban or country buildings of 18th century England. This would and did force the architects to revive Greek Architecture as detailing. Reviving either the principles or the complete architectural tradition of classical Greek civilisation would simply be useless or non-applicable. However, there are identical or almost identical copies of entire Greek buildings in the 19th century, exemplified with Valhalla by Leo Von Klenze in Regensburg, Bavaria built in 1842 and the Nashville Parthenon by William Crawford Smith in Nashville, Tennessee, USA built in 1897¹¹¹.

Another reason as to why it is impractical to revive Greek architecture is that architectural techniques that were used in the 18th and 19th centuries were incomparable to those of Classical Greece. Post-lintel architecture was surpassed by brick and concrete architecture with vaults, arches; in the 19th century iron would even further the difference. Also in terms of interiors, Greek Architectural forms were not

¹⁰⁹ Kappatos-Pavakis, 57.

¹¹⁰ Quote after Kappatos-Pavakis (1974, 50).

¹¹¹ Creighton 1989, 14-17.

fitting with the expected functions of buildings and natural needs of life of 18th and 19th centuries, thus were both disadvantageous and with little use. On par with these, Greek Architecture flourished in the Aegan geography and climate which has ample sunlight and less need for completely closed inner spaces. The difference of climate and lighting between Greece and England was another impediment in the revival of Greek architectural tradition. Invocation of a term borrowed from Biology and later on used in the archaeological literature is sensible at this moment, the term is “Hybridisation”. It means “the merging of two or more units in order to create a desired product with its own distinctive features; it might maintain, though, elements of the original items¹¹²”. Greek Revival architecture is a hybrid of the Neopalladian tradition of 18th century England with the Greek tradition, mostly from Athens. How the authors of *Antiquities of Athens* and *Ionian Antiquities* “received” that tradition is discussed in the upcoming chapter.

¹¹² Kopsacheili 2011, 17.

CHAPTER II

IONIAN INFLUENCE ON GREEK REVIVAL UNTIL 1800

PUBLICATION OF IONIAN ANTIQUITIES

1 "That a Person or Persons properly qualified should be sent, with sufficient Appointments to certain Parts of the East, to collect Informations relative to the former State of those countries, and particularly to procure exact descriptions of the Ruins of such Monuments of Antiquity as are yet to be seen in those Parts."¹¹³

Ionian Antiquities is the result of an expedition made by Richard Chandler, Nicholas Revett and William Pars to Greece and Ionia¹¹⁴ in 1764. This expedition was the first of a series of expeditions that were organised and funded by the Society of Dilettanti. The second one followed around 30 years after the first one, in 1811-12 by Sir William Gell, John Peter Gandy and Francis Bedford, these went back to some of the places of the first expedition, like Priene and unlike the first team executed excavations. The third trip was in 1861 by R. P. Pullan focused on Teos and the forth, by Pullan also, focused on Priene and Sminthium and was conducted in 1866¹¹⁵. The findings of these expeditions were published initially as *Ionian Antiquities* and later as *Antiquities of Ionia* in five volumes. These five volumes, combined with the four volumes of *Antiquities of Athens* are perhaps the most important publications of the Society, and have left their timeless imprint in the history of archaeology and architecture.

Ionian Antiquities published in 1769 is the focus of this thesis and thus will be discussed in great detail in upcoming paragraphs, it included documentation from Teos, Priene, Didyma, Labranda and Samos¹¹⁶. Following *Ionian Antiquities*, was published *Travels in Asia Minor* in 1775 and *Travels in Greece* in 1776 from the diary of Richard

¹¹³ The quotations of this chapter are numbered for ease of reference in the upcoming chapters; Society of Dilettanti 1821, II; originally dating to the meeting of 6th of March 1764, Society of Dilettanti (1855, 36).

¹¹⁴ Meaning Southwestern Anatolia.

¹¹⁵ Society of Dilettanti 1915, 25.

¹¹⁶ In order: near Seferihisar, İzmir; Söke, Aydın; Didim, Aydın; Ortaköy, Muğla, Türkiye and Samos, Greece.

Chandler¹¹⁷. The second volume of *Antiquities of Athens* appeared in 1797. It includes the parts of the work from the first expedition that was not published in the first volume. It has a ruin and four temples from Greece; ruins, theatres, a stadium and gymnasia from various parts of southwestern Anatolia¹¹⁸. The first volume was revised in 1821 with the data from the second expedition by Gell and was regarding the places of the first:

2“The attention of the later mission was, in the first instance, directed to the correction of the errors which had arisen from the imperfect knowledge of Grecian architecture; and to examine with greater minuteness, by means of excavations made within and around the buildings, the plans and mode of construction observed in the edifices which formed the subject of the first volume of *Ionian Antiquities*¹¹⁹.”

The third volume came out in 1840, was the result of the second expedition by Gell, the work contained the data of the research on the geography, city plans and ruins of Cnidus, Aphrodisias and Patara¹²⁰ combined with knowledge from classical literary sources. In 1881 followed “Part the Forth”, containing the work of R. P. Pullan from the third and fourth expeditions to Southwestern Anatolia regarding Teos, Priene, Sminthium and the volume also includes an essay titled *Origin of the Grecian Orders of Architecture*¹²¹. The final volume of *Antiquities of Ionia* was published in 1915 as a “supplement to part the third” it includes essays on the first, second and third “missions” to Ionia¹²² alongside with discussion on Ionic order, Temple of Artemis in Magnesia, Lycian tombs and sculpture and architecture following the classical Greek period¹²³.

After giving up a project for constructing a building, The Society of Dilettanti, according to the preface to the *Ionian Antiquities*, decided to use the considerable amount of funds that they have gathered for organising a mission to Ionia “at the cost

¹¹⁷ For each he was granted 25 pounds, Society of Dilettanti (1855, 40).

¹¹⁸ Society of Dilettanti 1797, Contents.

¹¹⁹ Society of Dilettanti 1821, VI.

¹²⁰ Society of Dilettanti 1840, Contents; In order: near Yazıköy, Muğla; Karacasu, Aydın; Gelemiş, Antalya.

¹²¹ Society of Dilettanti 1881, III-V.

¹²² The society considered the third and fourth expeditions by Pullan as the third mission.

¹²³ Society of Dilettanti 1915, Contents.

and under the control of the Society¹²⁴". In April 1764, a committee of the Society dedicated a "sum not exceeding 2000 pounds" for the purpose of the Ionian mission, with a planned payment of around 800 pounds a year¹²⁵. A month later, they selected three persons¹²⁶: Richard Chandler who was a classicist from Magdalen College, Oxford, He was suggested for the mission by Robert Wood, his work titled *Marmara Oxoniensia* on Arundel marbles exhibited his suitability. His duty was running the mission and Pars and Revett were required to follow his decisions, his payment of 200 pounds was given at the beginning of the journey. Chandler followed details of classical literature and connected classical studies, geography and archaeology. In parallel with the main mission, Chandler worked on the inscriptions that they came across, documenting and translating them while also writing a diary¹²⁷ that was to be published as *Travels in Asia Minor* and *Travels in Greece*. The inscriptions were later published as *Inscriptiones antiquae, pleraeque nondum editae : in Asia Minori et Graecia, praesertim Athenis, collectae cum Appendice* in 1774¹²⁸. Nicholas Revett by the time had proved to society his "accuracy and diligence in his measures¹²⁹" and had already sold his shares of *Antiquities of Athens* to Stuart. Revett took the duty of measuring the architectural remains was annually paid 100 pounds from the yearly budget of 800 pounds of the mission. The third person of the mission was William Pars, he was "a young painter of promising talent¹³⁰" that had won a medal from the Society of Arts¹³¹. During the expedition, Pars painted with a mixture of Gouache and water paint, the views that are later to become the plates of *Ionian Antiquities*, and was paid 80 pounds yearly. The trio were able to complement each others work with utmost effect, even better than the duo of Stuart and Revett around a decade earlier¹³². The budget of the Society for the operations of the mission was 620 pounds per year¹³³, which would

¹²⁴ Society of Dilettanti 1769, II.

¹²⁵ From meeting notes, after Cust et al. (1898, 83-84).

¹²⁶ From meeting notes, after Cust et al. (1898, 84).

¹²⁷ All of them were requested to write a diary but only Chandler's is published.

¹²⁸ Cust et al. 1898, 95.

¹²⁹ Society of Dilettanti 1769, II.

¹³⁰ Society of Dilettanti 1769, II.

¹³¹ Cust et al. 1898, 84.

¹³² Redford 2008, 81.

¹³³ Chandler 1775, IX-X.

grossly amounts to 172,279 pounds of today¹³⁴. This was a big investment for the Society of Dilettanti, in total the expenses were 2,412 pounds from 1764 to 1767¹³⁵, grossly 666,887 pounds of today¹³⁶. The motive of the society in investing in and conducting this mission can be understood from the instructions given to the team, which can be found in *Travels in Asia Minor*:

3 “In order to collect Informations, and to make observations, relative to the antient State of those countries, and to such Monuments of Antiquity as are still remaining; and the Society having further resolved, that a sum, not exceeding two thousand pounds, be appropriated to that purpose¹³⁷.”

Continuing with:

4 “You are forthwith to embark on Board the Anglicana, Captain Stuart, and to proceed to Smyrna... Your principal Object at present is, that, fixing upon Smyrna, as your Head-Quarters... do procure the exactest plans and Measures possible of the buildings you shall find, making accurate drawings of the bass-reliefs and ornaments, and taking such views as you shall judge proper; copying all the inscriptions you shall meet with, and remarking every circumstance which can contribute towards giving the best Idea of the antient and present state of those places¹³⁸.”

5 “in about Twelve Months, visit every place worth your notice, within eight or ten days journey of Smyrna; It may be most advisable to begin with such objects as are less distant from that city, and which may give you an opportunity of soon transmitting to the Society specimen of your Labours. You will be exact in marking distances, and the direction in which you travel, by frequently observing your watches and pocket compasses, and you will take the variation as often as you can... We do hereby direct, that from the day of your departure from hence, to that of your return, you do, each of you, keep a very minute journal of every day's occurrences and observations, representing things exactly in the light they strike you.¹³⁹”

¹³⁴ <https://www.officialdata.org/uk/inflation/1750?amount=620>

¹³⁵ Society of Dilettanti 1855, 41.

¹³⁶ <https://www.officialdata.org/uk/inflation/1750?amount=2400>

¹³⁷ Chandler 1775, VII.

¹³⁸ Chandler 1775, VIII.

¹³⁹ Chandler 1775, IX.

The instructions regarding the mission were written by Robert Wood and signed by a committee of the Society of Dilettanti in 17th of May, 1764¹⁴⁰. The committee consisted of: “Sir Francis Dashwood, chairman Sir James Gray, Mr. Shirley, Lord Hyde, Colonel Denny, Colonel Gray, Mr. Howe, Mr. Fauquier, Earl of Bessborough, Earl of Sandwich, Mr. Ellis, Duke of Bedford, Duke of Kingston, Mr. Dingley, Mr. Stuart, Mr. Revett, Mr. Berkeley; and the committee called to their assistance Lord Middlesex, Mr. Wood (of Palmyra fame), Mr. Robinson (afterwards Sir Thomas), Marquess of Tavistock, Lord Warkworth, Earl of Charlemont, and Mr. Brand¹⁴¹”.

In 9th of June, 1764, their journey started in the ship *Anglicana* which was heading to Constantinople and was captained by a certain Stewart. Going through Falmouth, the Rock of Lisbon, Cape de Gatte, Genoa, Leghorn and Sicily, thereon Morea¹⁴² around 21st of August. Later on they cannot succeed in going to Smyrna¹⁴³, due to plague. The group lands in a town in Hellespont in 25th of August and were welcomed by the English consul¹⁴⁴. The place was a castle and town built by Mehmet II, the castle is named Kilitbahir today, and the town most probably is the city of Çanakkale. After spending some time there, resulting with beautiful proto-anthropological details from the 18th century life in the Ottoman Empire¹⁴⁵, they go thorough Tenedos and Scio¹⁴⁶ to Smyrna, landing in 11th of September¹⁴⁷. They were welcomed by the English consul Antony Hayes¹⁴⁸. During the mission they had two main excursions around Smyrna: 30th of September - 29th of October, 1764 and 25th of March - 8th of August, 1765¹⁴⁹. The ancient sites they visited and documented were Didyma, Miletusi Clazomene,

¹⁴⁰ Chandler 1775, XI-XII

¹⁴¹ Cust et al. 1898, 83.

¹⁴² The Ottoman name for Peloponnesos.

¹⁴³ Modern day İzmir, Türkiye.

¹⁴⁴ The travels until here are in Chandler (1775, 1-12).

¹⁴⁵ which can be found in Chandler 1775.

¹⁴⁶ Modern day Chios, Greece.

¹⁴⁷ Society of Dilettanti 1769, II-III.

¹⁴⁸ Chandler 1775, 56.

¹⁴⁹ Cust et al 1898, 87.

Erythrae, Tralles, Laodicea, Sardis, Philadelphia, Magnesia and ones that are important for the purpose of this thesis, Teos and Priene¹⁵⁰:

6“Teos was thirty stadia or three miles and three quarters from Gerae, and fronted the sea on the south side. It was equidistant from Erythrae and Chios, sixty one miles and a half from each by the coast... The walls of the city run about 5 miles¹⁵¹.”

There is an interesting mention of the portico designed by Nicholas Revett for Sir Francis Dashwood for his house in West Wycombe, inspired by the orders the Temple of Dionysos in Teos and the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene, which is one of the early examples of “Ionian Revival” and is a part of this thesis:

7“It was with difficulty we discovered the temple of Bacchus... The remains of it have been engraved at the expense of the Society of Dilettanti, and published, with its history, in the *Ionian Antiquities*; and a beautiful Portico has since been erected at the seat of the Right Hon. Lord Le Despenser, near High-Wykeham, under the inspection of Mr. Revett, in which the exact proportions of the order are observed¹⁵².”

They arrive at Priene on the 1st of April, 1765:

“The temple of Minerva Polias, though prostrate, was a remain of Ionian elegance and grandeur too curious to be hastily or slightly examined¹⁵³.”

Due to the plague they had to leave Smyrna, right after their second excursion. They sailed for Athens in 20th of August, 1765 and stayed there until 11th of June, 1766. Thereon they visited numerous places throughout the Greek mainland including some islands like Calauria. 31st of August was when they boarded the ship *Diligence Brig*, Captained by Lone destined to Bristol where they arrived in 2nd of November 1766¹⁵⁴. Right after their arrival to London, Chandler handed the materials, including marbles that they have gathered. In the meeting of 2nd December 1766, the Society:

¹⁵⁰ Cust et al 1898, 87.

¹⁵¹ Chandler 1775, 95.

¹⁵² Chandler 1775, 96.

¹⁵³ Chandler 1775, 160.

¹⁵⁴ Society of Dilettanti 1769, II-III.

8“Resolv'd That it is the opinion of this Committee that Mr. Chandler, Mr. Revett and Mr. Pars have each of them in their respective departments fulfill'd the Expectations of the Society, and that They deserve the Thanks and further Encouragement of the Society¹⁵⁵.”

Satisfied with the results of the mission, in 31st of January 1767, the Society of Dilettanti desired a selection to be made of the drawings, that they are engraved and prepared as a book. They also decided upon the publication of the journals and work regarding inscriptions¹⁵⁶. On 7th of February they selected the Temple of Apollon at Didyma, Temple of Athena Polias at Priene and The Temple of Dionysos at Teos for the engravings and on 7th of March decided to have 150 copies made¹⁵⁷.

Their motivation in both conducting the mission and the publication of *Ionian Antiquities* was related to how they saw Ionia. They claimed it is, after Attica, “most deserving the attention of a classical traveller¹⁵⁸”. They considered Ionia to be the cradle of history, philosophy and first two of the Greek orders and really important for geometry and mathematics and “Ionians” to be excellent in art, sculpture and literature. Regarding the Ionian architecture, they wrote:

9“There are none in which our Curiosity is more interested than the Ruins of those Buildings which were distinguished by Vitruvius and other antient Writers, for their Elegance and Magnificence. Such are the Temple of Bacchus at Teos, the Country of Anacreon ; the Temple dedicated to Minerva, at Priene, by Alexander of Macedon ; and the famous temple of Apollo Didymaeus, near Miletus. However mutilated and decayed these Buildings now are, yet surely every Fragment is valuable, which preserves, in some degree, the Ideas of Symmetry and Proportion which prevailed at that happy Period of Taste¹⁵⁹.”

Ionian Antiquities was published and sent to the king and queen in March 1769¹⁶⁰.

¹⁵⁵ Cust et al 1898, 90.

¹⁵⁶ Cuset et al 1898, 92.

¹⁵⁷ Cust et al 1898, 92-93.

¹⁵⁸ Society of Dilettanti 1769, III.

¹⁵⁹ Society of Dilettanti 1769, IV.

¹⁶⁰ Cust et al 1898, 94.

THE ANCIENT BUILDINGS OF INSPIRATION

INFUENTIAL ANCIENT BUILDINGS

“In the subtle Ionic curves of the erechtheion at athens, at priene, and at teos, they imagined the refinement of Classical Greece, the delicacy and beauty of a civilization at its peak¹⁶¹.”

The history of Greek Architecture is a history of misunderstandings and projection, this chapter of the thesis attempts at detailing the ancient buildings of influence, especially for the Ionian side of the story while comparing the differences in the two editions of *Ionian Antiquities*, as the Society, after the second expedition by Gell corrected some mistakes that were in the first edition with the publication of *Antiquities of Ionia* in 1821. Some more light can be shed by comparing those with the modern literature on these edifices. Another side is the projections, meaning the idea these people had of an Ionic temple. They saw it different than how it actually was which will be discussed in the last part. The chapter starts discusses the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene and Temple of Dionysos in Teos as these are the only two buildings that were influential from the Ionian publication until 1800.

The most significant ancient buildings of inspiration for Greek Revival architecture in general are Athenian. They are the Parthenon, Theision, Erechteion, Tower of the Winds and Monument of Lysicrates. Buildings inspired by their architecture can be seen in Modern Greece, Germany, Britain, USA and many other countries. Alongside with this the Temple of Poseidon from Paestum, Magna Grecia was influential.

TEMPLE OF ATHENA POLIAS

10“The View will furnish a much clearer idea of the situation and present state of the Temple, than it is in the power of words to convey. The Capitals exquisitely worked, and the rich fragments of antient sculpture, afford equal matter of admiration and regret¹⁶²...”

¹⁶¹ Kelly 2016, 513.

¹⁶² Society of Dilettanti 1769, 14.

The Temple in Priene is dating to 350-330 BC¹⁶³. It was dedicated by Alexander of Macedon to Athena Polias:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ ΤΟ ΝΑΟΝ
ΑΤΘΝΑΙΗ ΠΟΛΙΑΔΙ¹⁶⁴

It is situated between Theatre Street and Athena Street in Ancient Priene, and was the main temple of the city. It is of Asiatic style, a style of Ionic that is significant for the absence of the frieze in the entablature and the bases of the columns are Ephesian¹⁶⁵. It is placed on the east-west axis. The entrance is on the east. It is a hexastyle peripteral temple with 6x11 columns, measuring 19.53 by 37.17 meters¹⁶⁶. The total length of the naos is 100 attic feet (29.5m); pronaos, cella and opisthodomos measure 30, 50, 12 feet respectively¹⁶⁷. The Pronaos and Opisthodomos are distyle in antis with an order of the Asiatic style¹⁶⁸. This might be the first Ionic temple with an opisthodomos, which was incorporated from Doric architecture¹⁶⁹. The temple was built of local Mykale marble¹⁷⁰ has multiple phases of construction, the eastern side was completed in the first phase whereas the western took two centuries to complete¹⁷¹. The first phase of the building exhibits similarities to the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos in terms of its construction and the date of construction could be overlapping. The height of the columns are the same and the orders of the buildings are similar¹⁷². Ever since the first volume of the *Ionian Antiquities* it is believed that the architect is Pytheos¹⁷³, the

¹⁶³ Dated to 340 BC by Tomlinson (1963, 135).

¹⁶⁴ Society of Dilettanti 1769, 15.

¹⁶⁵ Akurgal 1990, 142.

¹⁶⁶ Tomlinson 1963, 135.

¹⁶⁷ Akurgal 1990, 142.

¹⁶⁸ Kleopatra 2005, 88.

¹⁶⁹ Akurgal 1990, 189.

¹⁷⁰ Akurgal 1990, 142.

¹⁷¹ Kleopatra 2005, 88.

¹⁷² Jenkins 2006, 242.

¹⁷³ Jenkins 2006, 241.

architect of the Mausoleum¹⁷⁴. He also said to have made a publication regarding this building¹⁷⁵.

11 “The Architect of this august Temple was the Pytheus, or, as he is named in another paflage, Phileos... The ruin, as Vitruvius also does, may bear testimony to the nobleness of his Genius¹⁷⁶.”

The second phase of construction was sponsored by, King Oropherenes of Cappadocia in the first half of 2nd century BC yet its completion had to wait until the time of Augustus, the beginning of the Roman Empire. The eastern façade of the temple has his name inscribed¹⁷⁷. As of now it has five standing columns which were re-erected in 1965¹⁷⁸. The stoa to the south of the temple with its back walls facing the temple was built during Oropherenes’ reign whereas the propylea towards the east side was of Augustan age¹⁷⁹. Revett mistakenly thought that the temple had a peribolos with a peristyle which had a propylea.

The Temple was first visited by Spon and Wheeler. Later on the Society sent three missions. First was Chandler and his team followed by the second Ionian mission of Gell in 1812 and finally by Pullan in 1868-9. The second and third teams of the Dilettanti conducted excavations on the site, leading them to correct the mistakes of the first team. German teams continued excavations after them. For the purposes of this thesis until 1800, it was put into illustration only by Chandler and his team, the mistakes they had, found their way into the buildings that are inspired by the Temple of Athena. In 1821, *Ionian Antiquities* was revised as *Antiquities of Ionia, volume I*. The revised version includes the data by Gell and his team and thus correct the mistakes that the first group made. The mistakes of the first group are understandable due to the fact that they did not have the resources for excavation and were only able to document what was visible to them. This by no means, would mean that the second team are absent of errors in the documentation and restoration of this building. This will be discussed finally, in

¹⁷⁴ Another architect who also worked in the Mausoleum might have been involved, Satyrus from Tomlinson (1963, 137-8).

¹⁷⁵ Akurgal 1990, 188.

¹⁷⁶ Society of Dilettanti 1769, 16.

¹⁷⁷ Jenkins 2006, 240-41.

¹⁷⁸ Jenkins 2006, 236.

¹⁷⁹ Akurgal 1990, 142.

comparison with modern reconstructions of the edifice. In 1821 they added the map of the course of meander, map of Priene and organised the information on the text, corrected the error about the diameter of the Asitaic base, and specifically added text about the Peribolos that the building thought to have contained.

One of the first details regarding that Chandler and his team mentioned is that the Temple had a tunnel underneath, to which they sent their Swiss servant, who told them that “it continued for sixteen paces” and that it had contained metal artefacts and remains of animal bones¹⁸⁰. They also mention that the positioning of the temple is fitting with the idiom of Vitruvius that temples of Tutelary deities had to be placed on commanding positions in the city¹⁸¹. Although having difficulty at discerning the number of columns that the temple had, among the ruins, Revett, estimated the temple to be no larger than Hexastyle¹⁸². Revett claimed that the temple had a peribolos with an interior peristyle, the order of its propylea was also published alongside with the plates regarding the order of the Temple¹⁸³. Regarding the base of the temple, which Revett seems to enjoy, but interestingly never uses in his buildings, he notes:

12“The Base is Ionic, and has no Plinth. It consists of two Stones, the Scotiae with the Astragals and Fillets being one, and the Torus the other. The upper Scotia is inverted... The Torus is Elliptical, and fluted: the same kind of ornament on this Moulding is to be met with in the Temple of Erectheus, and that by the Ilissus at Athens¹⁸⁴.”

One of the biggest mistakes of the 1769 edition is an error in the printing of the base, which 1821 edition corrects:

13“A very considerable error occurred in the former edition of this work, in the representation of the bases of the columns ; they are there shewn a foot less in diameter than the actual measurement gives them. The figured dimensions in the original drawings, which are preserved in the British Museum, are

¹⁸⁰ Society of Dilettanti 1769, 14.

¹⁸¹ Society of Dilettanti 1769, 16.

¹⁸² Society of Dilettanti 1769, 16.

¹⁸³ Society of Dilettanti 1769, 17.

¹⁸⁴ Society of Dilettanti 1769, 17.

correct, the mistake has been made by the draughtsman. The apparent want of substance in the base represented thus is wholly inconsistent with the principles followed by the architects of antiquity¹⁸⁵.”

Regarding the volutes of the capitals:

14“The Eyes of the Volute are bored two inches and a half deep, perhaps for the convenience of fixing festoons of Flowers, and the other Apparatus with which the Antients were accustomed to adorn their Temples on days of festivity, or public solemnity¹⁸⁶.”

There are some other mistakes, one of which is regarding the plan. The plan is reconstructed differently in the first and second editions, and both of them are not fitting with the modern publications in terms of the arrangement of the cella, pronaos and opisthodomos¹⁸⁷. However the most significant error in the documentation of the Temple of Athena Polias in Priene was the assumption that the Asiatic Ionic also had a frieze in its entablature, this mistake was carried into the 1821 publication as well and is visible in all the Ionian Greek Revival buildings that are the topic of this thesis. The temple is now reconstructed without a frieze fitting with the canonical Asiatic Ionic order¹⁸⁸. The source of this error was using the Attic Ionic temples as an examples, Revett assumed that every temple had to have a frieze. This can be proved by the fact that in his calculations of the proportions of the temple, he used Attic examples. His logic can be seen here:

15“The other portion of the Frize is supplied, and its height determined, by dividing the height of the Cymatium¹⁸⁹ into two parts, of which seven are given to the Naked of the Frize... These proportions to the height of the Architrave and Frize, agree with the internal Face of the Entablature, as may be seen by the junction of the several Stones employed in the construction of it, and which is explained by dotted Lines. As a farther evidence, it may be observed, that the heights of the internal face of the Architrave,

¹⁸⁵ Society of Dilettanti 1821, 21-22.

¹⁸⁶ Society of Dilettanti 1769, 17.

¹⁸⁷ Kleopatra 2005, 89.

¹⁸⁸ see Jenkins 2006.

¹⁸⁹ They were not able to observe an actual piece of Cymatium, therefore his measurements of it are conjectural, Society of Dilettanti (1769, 22).

Frize, and the lower Stone of the Lacunaria, with the Cymatium of the external face of the Frize, added together, differ only one fifth of an inch from the external face of the Architrave¹⁹⁰...”

16“The height of the Entablature, which is two diameters of the Column and three eighths, according to the above restoration must be taken for establishing the Altitude and general Proportions of the Order. This multiplied by four will give nine diameters and a half to the Altitude of the Columns, it should be noted, the height of the Entablatures in both thefe Temples was one fourth of the Columns including the Steps; also the Entablature of the Temple on the Ilissus at Athens (of which the Columns did not much exceed eight Diameters) had the same Proportion: so that, if we follow these Examples¹⁹¹...”

The requirement of the frieze in the entablature of a temple may have seemed so natural to them that it is not possible to find a mention or a discussion specifically about the existence of the frieze, the plates reconstructing the temple with the frieze can be seen in Pl. V and VI of the 1821 edition.

TEMPLE OF DIONYSOS

17“The memory of several of these antient Worthies is preserved to us by Vitruvius, who distinguishes, in this meritorious number, the great Architects of the two magnificent Temples at Teos and Priene¹⁹².”

The Temple of Dionysos at Teos is thought to date around 180 BC¹⁹³. According to Akurgal it was the “largest temple dedicated to Dionysos in the ancient world¹⁹⁴”. The first European visit to it was Chandler and his team in the first Ionian mission, Gell and the second Ionian mission were unable to visit it, therefore the first excavations were done by the French in 1824. A Turkish team run by Y. Boysal and B. Ögün continued the excavations in 1964 and onwards¹⁹⁵. The temple is of the Attic Ionic and is octastyle Eustyle¹⁹⁶ with a 2.25 ratio of intercolumnation to lower column diameter; and

¹⁹⁰ Society of Dilettanti 1769, 22.

¹⁹¹ Society of Dilettanti 1769, 23.

¹⁹² Society of Dilettanti 1769, 1.

¹⁹³ Tomlinson 1963, 135.

¹⁹⁴ Akurgal 1990, 139.

¹⁹⁵ Akurgal 1990, 140.

¹⁹⁶ Tomlinson 1963, 137-38.

measures 18.63 by 34.98 meters¹⁹⁷. A significant feature of the temple is the continuous sculpted frieze. It was first attested to be the initial example of pseudodipteros by Revett, yet modern research indicates that the temple is not pseudodipteros¹⁹⁸. In terms of its plan it strongly resembles the former temple of Athena Polias in Priene. Both the buildings have an elongated pronaos distyle in antis, and a shallow opisthodomos distyle in antis. The length of the cella is a bit longer than the pronaos in the Temple of Dionysos¹⁹⁹. Ever since the first travelers, by the literary account of Vitruvius the temple is thought to be designed by Hermogenes²⁰⁰. Due not being a pseudodipteros Akurgal claims that it is an early work²⁰¹. Hermogenes is the most influential architect of the Hellenistic era, and has an archaizing tone, yet not so much as to use Ephesian base instead of the Attic or to remove the frieze²⁰².

The volumes of *Ionian Antiquities* and *Antiquities of Athens* have the same text regarding the temple. The second volume organised the information in the plates and removed the reconstructions done by Revett based on Vitruvius' account of the building. In terms of architecture the 1821 volume only offers the order of the temple and its altar, 1769 edition also had the reconstruction. The reconstruction is conjectural because:

18“‘The first, indeed, is sufficiently evinced by the present, though inconsiderable Remain, consisting of a confused heap of prostrate Marble, now too continually diminishing;. the Turks taking from it the Grave-stones, which it is their custom to place at the head and feet of their deceased²⁰³.’”

The logic of Revett's reconstruction follows:

19“A description of the parts of any building, unaccompanied with a display of their Effect when united, conveys only imperfect ideas of its beauty; the curious Reader will, it is hoped, derive some pleasure and satisfaction from seeing this Temple restored. The liberties necessarily taken for this purpose, with the

¹⁹⁷ Tomlinson 1963, 135.

¹⁹⁸ Akurgal 1990, 140.

¹⁹⁹ Akurgal 1990, 140.

²⁰⁰ Tomlinson 1963, 137-38.

²⁰¹ Akurgal 1990, 140.

²⁰² Tomlinson 1963, 137-8.

²⁰³ Society of Dilettanti 1769, 4.

authorities on which they are founded, shall be laid before him, that neither the fidelity of the Author may be suspected, nor his judgement implicitly relied on.”

“The disorder, in which this ruin lies, is so great, that no fragment of a Column, or portion of the Cell, is found unmoved from its original place. No vestige of the Plan could be discovered, much less could the Aspect or Species of the Temple be determined, from its present state. But these two articles are supplied from Vitruvius, who, in describing the Eustylos, gives this Temple as an example, calling it an Octastylos, by which he means the Dipteros.²⁰⁴”

Revett was unable to date the building but he said that it is of Hermogenes’ time, since it was designed by him. They mention that Hermogenes alongside with some other architects found Doric order to be inappropriate for sacred buildings. They also recount the tale that this temple was first ordered as Doric but that Hermogenes changed his mind already after the marbles were prepared. Hermogenes, is renounced as the inventor of the octastyle, and here octastyle was used interchangeably with psuedodipteral²⁰⁵. Hermogenes is also said to have a treatise on this building.

DOCUMENTATION, MOTIVATIONS AND MENTALITIES

20“Inside the cabinet there was no longer the sense of some dim, sacred presence; instead there was the invisible, impalpable activity of the intellect²⁰⁶.”

The discussion of the motivation and mentality of the people behind Greek Revival architecture connects directly to how they saw and documented the ruins before them. Their gaze was harmonious with the intellectual background of Philhellenism and Neoclassicism. The motivation and mentality of the Society of Dilettanti is also important as they, in some way, set the foundations of archaeological documentation methods. The methods and publications of the Dilettanti are “the quintessential Enlightenment enterprise in the search for antiquity²⁰⁷”. This essentially begun with the first mission to Athens by Stuart and Revett, and the publication of *Antiquities of Athens* in 1762. The take they had on documentation seems to be related and similar to the

²⁰⁴ Society of Dilettanti 1769, 6-7.

²⁰⁵ Society of Dilettanti 1769, 5.

²⁰⁶ Schnapp 1996, 171.

²⁰⁷ Jenkins 2003, 173.

tenets of Neoclassicism mentioned in the first chapter. They “anticipated the modern archaeological site report by striving for clarity, reliability, and precision²⁰⁸”. In terms of technology, the images they produced were first done, at site, in water colour and Gouache by Stuart in the Athenian mission. Pars followed him and additionally used arabic gum and pen-ink in the Ionian mission²⁰⁹. The initial paintings were then transformed into illustrations via combining the techniques of etching and engraving with the desire to get the most precise results. This was supervised by Nicholas Revett²¹⁰.

The continuity in style from Athens to Ionia is apparent as William Pars was following Stuart’s style²¹¹. This style fits with the instructions given to the teams by the committees of the Society²¹². The Society in their texts and images, attempted to create an “objective” gaze, and “transparent presentation²¹³”.

Picturesque and Neoclassical seemed, on the first hand to be, contraries. In the end we find them to be complementaries. A similar relationship appears if the motivations and methods of these men are put next to each other²¹⁴. The impetus comes, starting with Chambray in the 16th century, from an idealising, almost fetishising look on the Ancient Greek civilisation. Yet the work they have done, for the most part was aiming at precision, rationality and objectivity. Were they objective is another question, since they were, amongst their exactness, seeing what they wanted to see. They saw glaring white marble edifices, while the awareness of paint in ancient temples and sculpture was known from the beginning of 19th century. In a sense it could be said that they were really precisely measuring their phantasies.

Another important thing to mention is, especially with the Ionian mission, their research and observations did not only remain in the sphere of the documentation of antiquities. They did work on natural history, topography, geography, epigraphy and architecture all combined with the lens of the classicist via Richard Chandler while having the same

²⁰⁸ Redford 2008, 11.

²⁰⁹ Redford 2008, 77.

²¹⁰ Redford 2008, 79.

²¹¹ Redford 2008, 76.

²¹² Check quotations numbered 4 and 5.

²¹³ Redford 2008, 11.

²¹⁴ As if one is Neoclassicism, the other picturesque.

attention to precision²¹⁵. In addition to this, as can be seen in *Travels in Asia Minor* and *Travels in Greece*, the “empiricist” observations of Chandler shed light on 18th century life in the Ottoman Empire, in this sense it can be considered to be within the early anthropological and ethnographic research. This facet of the Ionian mission can also be observed in the illustrations, there is an immense amount of detail in the people and their actions around the buildings²¹⁶. It is possible to see the authors, their company, the natural folk around them, doing the things that they were actually doing during the expedition²¹⁷.

The history of the approach Dilettanti had, goes back to the 16th century, and here will be explained under the term of “ordering of the arts²¹⁸”, which also happens to be the beginning of modern art history and as an approach, became more prominent in the 18th century. Ordering of the arts was in the domains of painting, sculpture, music and architecture. Ordering of the arts was preceded by ordering of the world and artefacts. The trends of European antiquarianism were setting up categories and typologies. This is best exemplified with cabinets of curiosities of the 16th and 17th centuries of European Royal courts and aristocrats. These cabinets were locii of curiosity and prestige. These cabinets were run by Treasures of scholarly backgrounds. A literary example for this trend would be Samuel von Quichhelberg’s *Inscriptiones* of 1565 which is also in a sense the beginning of European museology. Quichhelberg had a philosophical background in which he was ordering the world in five categories. Some other examples would be Ferrante Imperato’s *Natural History* in 1599 and *Museum Wormianum* in 1655 of Ole Worm²¹⁹. On a side note Worm is considered to be “the father of archaeology in the age of reason²²⁰”

Some publications central to European antiquarianism such as: *Plan of Rome* by Leon Battista Alberti; *Roma Instaurata*, *Italia Illustrata*, *Roma Triumphans* by Flavio Biondo in terms of their methodology, formed a template for the works of Stuart and Revett and Chandler, Revett and Pars. These texts aimed at an “analytical description of the works

²¹⁵ Check quotation numbered 6; Redford 2008, 11.

²¹⁶ Redford 2008, 74.

²¹⁷ Redford 2008, 76.

²¹⁸ Redford 2008, 44.

²¹⁹ Schnapp 1996, 171.

²²⁰ Schnapp 1996, 174.

of civilisation²²¹” with surveys, topographical works and detailed descriptions. *Britannia* by William Camden is an early English example that utilised observational methodology where the literary evidence is taken together with the landscape. This work had built its methodology on top of those earlier Italian works²²².

These trends in tandem with philhellenism incepted and influenced the ordering of the “art” of architecture which begun in Rome and then expanded into the Ottoman Empire, rest of the Mediterranean and elsewhere²²³. In the publication of the Society of Dilettanti all these combined with a multidisciplinary approach²²⁴ and gave their fruition. The name of Robert Wood is important regarding both *Antiquities of Athens* and *Ionian Antiquities*, he is partly behind the mode of these undertakings as in “ordering of the orders”. His influence plays a role in the exactness, clarity, simplicity, private curiosity and good sense that was aimed in the two major publications that were discussed up to now²²⁵.

21 “The examples of the three Greek orders in architecture, which we met with, might furnish a tolerable history of the rise and progress of that art, at least the changes it underwent, from the time of Pericles to that of Diocletian²²⁶.”

Although *Proposals* for Athens was written before Wood was involved, he later took part in “refining” and planning the expedition. Stuart and Revett were guided by his expertise. At the same time he was also planning a trip to Levant²²⁷. As mentioned in the chapter regarding *Antiquities of Athens*, *Les Edifices antiques de Rome* by Desgodetz, was influential for the motivation and organisation of the Levant and Athens missions. In his time Desgodetz had studied Rome for more than a year, in the end producing illustrations regarding 25 monuments. For all the monuments he gave an elevation, details and a plan²²⁸. This design shows striking similarities with the arrangement of

²²¹ Schnapp 1996, 122-3.

²²² Schnapp 1996, 140-1.

²²³ Schnapp 1996, 167-70.

²²⁴ In our standards.

²²⁵ Redford 2008, 45-46.

²²⁶ From Wood’s *Ruins of Palmyra* after Redford (2008, 45).

²²⁷ Redford 2008, 45.

²²⁸ Redford 2008, 46.

both *Antiquities of Athens* and *Ionian Antiquities*. It is also clear that the Ionian team followed the Athenian.

In addition to the link with Desgodetz, *Proposals* and many paragraphs within Ionia and Athens have a close connection the text of Vitruvius²²⁹. Which was one of the sources of systematic error in the publications. For instance the Temple of Zeus in Athens had 8x20 columns, but Stuart published the temple as 10x21, in order to fit it with the “doctrine of Vitruvius²³⁰”. On par with this, Revett used Vitruvius’s account of the Temple of Dionysos in Teos to reconstruct the building as the remains did not have much to offer, but his reconstruction was removed from the 1821 publication, possibly due to the fact that it was too conjectural²³¹.

All the aforementioned sources of inspiration lead to the aesthetic of Dilettanti²³² standing against the Picturesque exemplified with Piranesi and Le Roy. Which created the aesthetic of the latter half of the time of Neoclassicism and could perhaps be named the aesthetic of the engraving. As has been seen from the initial paragraphs of this thesis up to now, the events, be it political or intellectual that have lead to Greek Revival architecture are multifarious and really closely tied with the mentality that the publications of the Society of Dilettanti were prepared. A mentality which has its roots in the Roman gaze at Greece, 16th century antiquarianism, enlightenment and perhaps even the entrepreneurial spirit of the industrial revolution.

²²⁹ Check quotation number 9; Salmon 2018, 76.

²³⁰ Salmon 2018, 77.

²³¹ Check quotation number 2, 18 and 19.

²³² Which up to now has been named Neoclassical, anti-picturesque, austere etc.

IONIAN GREEK REVIVAL ARCHITECTURE UNTIL 1800

PORTICO AT WEST WYCOMBE

“The west portico of West Wycombe House is in its own way one of the most successful essays in the Greek Ionic of the eighteenth century²³³.”

Nicholas Revett returned from the Ionian mission in 1767²³⁴ and started working on the portico that was to be added to Sir Francis Dashwood's house in West Wycombe park. The design was based on Robert Adam's earlier designs (Pl. III) dating 1760-1. The main scheme of design remained from Adam's work, yet Stuart changed the order of the design to that of the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene discussed in the previous chapter. Nicholas Revett did not earn his living from architectural projects, therefore his architectural designs are few, and were mostly made for friends. The works that are attributed to him are in West Wycombe²³⁵, Trafalgar House and the church Ayot St. Lawrence. He mostly used porticoes for his designs, sometimes with and sometimes without pediments. Although he has few works, Revett had a precise understanding of Greek architecture in the standards of his day²³⁶.

In West Wycombe Sir Francis Dashwood commissioned Revett:

22"to execute various architectural works in the Greek Gusto²³⁷"

He worked on numerous projects in the estate: He built the portico that is based on the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene and the Temple of Dionysos at Teos, which is the topic of this chapter, another portico of the Tuscan order and the island temple that utilised the Corinthian order of the Tower of the Winds and the Temple of Flora²³⁸.

²³³ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 128.

²³⁴ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 65.

²³⁵ Current address: West Wycombe Park, The Estate Office, High Wycombe, HP14 3AJ

²³⁶ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 97-98.

²³⁷ From a letter by James Dawkins after Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 127.

²³⁸ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 98; 127.

The construction of the western portico was finished by 1771 as is indicated in the upcoming quotation, the event mentioned, has a mark on the house in the shape of the Dionysos statue still in the portico:

23“In Sept. 1771 ... A fine portico at the west end of the house has been lately erected (in imitation of that of the Temple of Bacchus) for the dedication of which a Bacchanalian procession was formed of Bacchanals, Priests, Priestesses, Pan, Fauns, Satyrs, Silenus, and ... all in proper habits and skins wreathed with vine leaves, ivy, oak²³⁹”

The portico (Pl. I) is one of the earliest examples of Greek Revival architecture²⁴⁰ and has a pedimented hexastyle and has two gates inside it and was built of limestone²⁴¹. The crepidoma has two steps including the stylobate, the third step, if exists, might be buried under the gravel that is fronting the portico. In general it follows the proportions of Temple of Dionysos at Teos²⁴² and the order and ornamentation of the Ionic of the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene. The details of its order and embellishment differ in shape and inspiration from part to part. The pediment and the entablature of the portico are simple straightforward Ionic without the embellishments of the anthemion band in the Temple of Athena Polias such as the egg and dart band above the architrave and the continuous lesbian band above the frieze. Another detail in this duplication is that this portico has a frieze. As was discussed in the chapter regarding the temple, it originally did not have a frieze as it was of the Asiatic “pure Ionic” style. However Revett reconstructed the building with a frieze with inspiration and legitimacy²⁴³ from Athenian examples like the Erechtheion in his reconstruction. The capitals are similar to the temple lacking in the ornamentation of the abacus, which was leaf and tongue. And the line above the egg and dart molding is not curved as was in the temple of Athena Polias, in this sense it resembles the capital of the Temple at Teos more. The column shafts, unlike the temple, were unfluted and plastered²⁴⁴. Kappatos - Pavlakis²⁴⁵ claims that the bases are inspired from the Temple of Dionysos at Teos although this claim, at

²³⁹ From a manuscript note of Langley after Kappatos - Pavlakis (1974, 127).

²⁴⁰ Hornsby 2020.

²⁴¹ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 128.

²⁴² Chandler 1775, 96.

²⁴³ At the time, for his argumentation.

²⁴⁴ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 128.

²⁴⁵ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 128.

least visually (PLII), can't be verified as that simple base with the torus - Scotia - torus arrangement is the known Attic Ionic base and might as well be conjectural or inspired from elsewhere such as the bases of the propylea of the Temple of Athena Polias.

The gates of the portico have psuedo-porticoes which exhibit a much more detailed reconstruction of the order of the Temple at Priene. These are distyle and also pedimented. The columns stand on pedestals and the bases are the only detail in which reproduction from the order of the temple was not performed. The bases are really simple with an arrangement similar to that of the portico. All the other details copy with precision the architectural plates of *Ionian Antiquities* on the Temple, which does not actually fit with how the Temple is reconstructed at the moment due to the existence of the frieze. Yet, neither the simplifications in the order nor the existence of the frieze must not be considered to be a mistake since Revett's ambition was not to build the portico with archaeological precision but rather to give a Dionysiac aura to the entrance of the house, which corresponded with Dashwoods glamorous personality. This relates to the contemporary confusion regarding the inspiration of the portico as can be seen from quotation numbered 23. Kappatos - Pavlakis claims that the portico was inspired by the Temple at Priene. Revett's drawing (Pl. V) for the pediment of the gate, is almost the exact replica of Pl. VII of *Ionian Antiquities* (Pl. VI). Hornsby on the other hand argues that it replicates the temple of Dionysos at Teos²⁴⁶, which appears to be true only for the capitals. The conclusion of this thesis is that this temple is inspired by both, and actually inspired by Revett's Ionian mission in general. One of the gates of the portico opened to a dining room named "Palmyra Hall", there is an Ionic screen (Pl. IV) inside it, which also seems to duplicate the order of the portico, albeit in a more simplified manner. The first architectural work inspired by *Ionian Antiquities* and thus by Ionia was built by the Ionian traveller and author Nicholas Revett.

BENTLEY PRIORY

John Soane is one of the most influential architects of the period. His journey as an architect begun with working in the office of George Dance Junior. Sir William Chambers awarded Soane in 1778 and he went for Italy until 1780. Thereon, he worked

²⁴⁶ Hornsby 2020.

for Lord Bishop of Derry. His architectural style is unique and shows respect for Laugier's ideas as he was not trying to duplicate the classical orders but attempting to understand them and create anew²⁴⁷. His most famous work is the Bank of England where he worked from 1788 to 1833²⁴⁸. He almost completely reconstructed the building during this period. It was one of the most influential buildings of the 19th century. His works were demolished in 1945 due to lack of office space, and this event is considered to be "the greatest architectural crime, in the City of London, of the twentieth century²⁴⁹".

John Soane worked at the Bentley Priory from 1788 to 1801 for John James Hamilton, Marquis of Abercorn. He made many constructions within and without the building the most important of which is the entrance vestibule where he used Greek Doric²⁵⁰. He also constructed the inner hall of the building. There is an Ionic distyle in antis screen (Pl. VIII), which has the order of the Temple of Ilissus at Athens, published by Revett and Stuart in the first volume of *Antiquities of Athens* (Pl. VII). The columns are made of limestone and were stuccoed. The rest of the screen was made of stuccoed brick²⁵¹. The columns are fluted and their bases are exact replicas of that of Ilissus, which is the first time Soane duplicated Greek orders exactly²⁵². Kappatos - Pavlakis claims that the capital of the temple was inspired by the capitals of the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene, yet it does not appear to be so. As the capital might as well be inspired directly from the Temple at Ilissus. Kappatos - Pavlakis unfortunately does not provide argumentation as to how the link between the capital and the order of the Temple of Athena Polias has been made.

²⁴⁷ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 100.

²⁴⁸ Darley 1999, 304.

²⁴⁹ Bradley and Pevsner 1997, 276.

²⁵⁰ Wilton-Ely 1969, 13-14.

²⁵¹ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 181.

²⁵² Kappatos - Pavlakis, 180.

TYRINGHAM HOUSE

"This villa, with its numerous offices, greenhouses, hothouses and extensive stabling, the great bridge, and the lodge, were completed and occupied in the year 1797, after having engaged a large proportion of six of the most happy years of my life²⁵³."

Tyringham Hall was designed by John Soane in 1792-3 for William Mackworth Praed and its construction was completed in 1798²⁵⁴. Praed inherited the house from his wife Elizabeth Blackwell²⁵⁵. An older mansion was situated where Tyringham Hall stands now. William Praed in 1792 requested Soane to have a survey of that house, to renovate or make additions to it. He later decided to demolish the house and construct a new mansion²⁵⁶. After Soane worked on the project, Praed was completely satisfied with his design, he did not request any alteration to it and the building was erected as Soane planned it. The south-east wing of the house has an Ionic semi-circular tetrastyle portico (Pl. IX), it does not have a single order and most of its details are originating from Soane himself. The portico has one detail which is truly an Ionian influence. The capitals of the portico are almost exact replicas of those of the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene²⁵⁷ (Pl. X). The columns are unfluted, bases and the entablature do not have a clear inspiration.

ALL SAINTS CHURCH

"This day the Trustees under the Act of Parliament for taking down and rebuilding the church of All Saints, came to the Resolution of appointing W.Revelley (as) their Architect²⁵⁸."

Willey Reveley was a student at the Royal Academy under the guidance of of Sir William Chambers, he accompanied Sir Richard Worsley in a five year tour where he visited places including Greece and Egypt. He is the editor of the third volume of *Antiquities of Athens*. Although he has remarkable architectural drawings, he lived a

²⁵³ From memoirs of John Soane after Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 204.

²⁵⁴ Wilton-Ely 1969, 13.

²⁵⁵ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 204-9.

²⁵⁶ Kappatos - Pavlakis

²⁵⁷ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 209.

²⁵⁸ A minute from the appointed trustees of Southampton, dating 13th of June 1791 after Kappatos - Pavlakis (1974, 193).

short life of 39 years and was able to only realise two buildings. Windmill Hill at Sussex and the topic of this chapter, All Saints Church in Southampton²⁵⁹.

The construction of All Saints church (Pl. XI) begun in August 1792 and was completed somewhere between 1796-8²⁶⁰. It was demolished after taking serious damage from German airstrikes of WWII. It was decided that it be constructed after the medieval church of “All Hallows” was in a “very ancient, and in a very decayed and ruinous condition²⁶¹”. Willey Reveley was chosen as the architect in 13th of June 1791 and built the church which had a basilican plan²⁶². The western façade of the church was overlooking the main street. Reveley designed a tetrastyle Ionic portico (Pl. XII) for that façade. The columns were 1,22 meters thick from the lowest point and 10.98 meters high and were “three quarter attached²⁶³”. The capitals of these columns were almost exact replicas of those of the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene, however Reveley customised them by adding astragals. The bases are claimed to be deriving from those of the Temple of Dionysos at Teos²⁶⁴. The columns were unfluted and the actual size of the portico was comparable to that of the Temple²⁶⁵. The portico had a low pediment²⁶⁶ and entablature with an architrave, frieze. The entablature was continuing throughout the church and the corners of the western façade and the other façades of the building had doric antae.

²⁵⁹ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 104-5.

²⁶⁰ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 194-5.

²⁶¹ All Saints Church, Southampton Acts of the Parliament 1791, after Law Commission (2014, 67).

²⁶² Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 195.

²⁶³ Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974, 196.

²⁶⁴ This claim of Kappatos - Pavlakis (1974 196), like the one before cannot be verified.

²⁶⁵ Friedman 2002, 81.

²⁶⁶ Which could also be considered to be a “Greek Revival” detail.

DISCUSSION

The research of this thesis only yielded four Greek Revival works²⁶⁷ influenced by the publication of *Ionian Antiquities* in 1769. Unfortunately there has not been prior research specifically regarding the Ionian influences in Greek Revival architecture, which necessitates more comprehensive research and physical survey in England. This research can take the form of a PHD thesis, which would also include the influences from the other volumes of *Antiquities of Ionia* along with other publications. This thesis due to its nature, being an MA thesis, in its scope was limited until 1800, the larger work can also including the 19th and 20th centuries. Only a work of this magnitude could give a true sense of the specific influences that buildings in Ionia or southwestern Anatolia had on the development of Greek Revival architecture in England and beyond. Nevertheless, compared with Greek Revival works influenced by *Antiquities of Athens* and buildings in Athens, which are more than 50²⁶⁸, influences of Athens dwarf the influences of Ionia. This however by no means would undermine the general influence of the publication of *Ionian Antiquities* which is sometimes considered to be the most important publication of the Society of Dilettanti. There are some reasons as to why the buildings in Athens were much more influential compared to those of Ionia for the British of the late 18th century, this will be discussed in the upcoming paragraphs.

All²⁶⁹ of the Greek Revival works that were influenced by the buildings in Ionia were from the publication of *Ionian Antiquities*. The influence came from two ancient buildings: The Temple of Athena Polias at Priene and the Temple of Dionysos at Teos. There are no buildings associated with the Temple of Apollon at Didyma. The influences were not straightforward as these architects were not aiming at an “archaeological revival” of the Greek architectural tradition and were mostly interested in the cultivation of Greek taste. As was mentioned even Stuart was aware that his idea of understanding the principles of Greek architecture, which goes back to Abbe Laugier, was not to be utilised. The publications of *Ionian Antiquities* and *Antiquities of Athens* mainly served as ornament books for Greek Revival architecture that was mostly embellishment on Palladian architecture. This also applies to most of our buildings. This mode of application is only natural as the needs and the visual taste 18th century Britain

²⁶⁷ The association of the Ionic screen at Bentley Priory is of dispute.

²⁶⁸ Check Appendix II.

²⁶⁹ As long as a physical survey and a thorough archive search is not made, this cannot be definitely verified.

was different from 5th century BC Athens or 3rd-4th century BC Ionia. An expectation of a complete understanding of principles and their application later on was not realistic. Yet, this attitude to ancient art was not only to be found in architecture. Another example of an approach to ancient art with the desire to understand its principles and then aim at creating a new tradition that builds on top of the ancients, can be found in Owen Jones' *Grammar of Ornament*, published in 1856. There Jones was researching the ornamental traditions of classical civilisations to take their principles as examples for a new tradition of ornament as he thought that ornamentation had become an art of copying. Like Stuart, Jones was also aware that his work would most probably be used as an example book for architects and artisans²⁷⁰. In our examples only Revett's work²⁷¹ does not fall into this category as he, albeit with mistakes and simplifications, created a work of archaeological accuracy and his portico at West Wycombe exhibits a strong understanding of Greek Architecture. The amount of detailing to be found in that portico can also be found in other works of Revett and also in the works of James Stuart.

All of the Greek Revival works influenced by *Ionian Antiquities* were porticoes and screens, in two²⁷² of the cases they were added to extant buildings and in the other two²⁷³, constructed with the building by the original architect. The inspiration taken from ancient buildings in all of them are not straightforward and sometimes difficult to ascertain. Going one by one:

The western portico of West Wycombe house appears to have its order in general from that of the temple of Athena Polias at Prience. However the capitals and bases of the columns are not fitting with that and the entablature is simplified. The capitals of the portico appear more like they were influenced by the Temple of Dionysos at Teos, and the bases are claimed by Kappatos - Pavlakis to be those of the same temple. The order of the gates of the portico provide an easier route of interpretation as the entablature is clearly inspired from that of the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene²⁷⁴. The capitals of the columns of these psuedo-porticoes do not seem to exhibit the curvature above the

²⁷⁰ Jones 1856.

²⁷¹ And perhaps in Soane's Tyringham portico due to the originality of design while still adhering to the exact capital.

²⁷² West Wycombe House and Bentley Priory.

²⁷³ Tyringham Hall and All Saints.

²⁷⁴ Check Pls. V and VI.

egg and dart molding, like those of the larger portico. These capitals are perhaps also those of the Temple at Teos. The bases of these were really simple and unadorned to project any association. The association with the Temple at Teos also applies to the Ionic screen inside Palmyra hall, within the gates of the portico. Revett seems to have had the idea of creating the Ionian taste²⁷⁵. His inspiration seems to have arisen from this mission to Ionia in general rather than a specific building only. This makes sense under the knowledge that he was never requested to make an exact replica of any building. Yet the portico at West Wycombe can clearly be associated with both the ancient buildings of discussion. In this sense, in connection with the discussions at Chapter I, this building could be said to be a hybrid of Ionian, Athenian²⁷⁶, Neopalladian and Neoclassical architectural traditions.

The Ionic inner screen of Bentley Priory built by John Soane should not be considered under buildings influenced by Ionian Antiquities as the capitals are more likely those of the temple of Ilissus at Athens rather than the ones at Priene. The association made by Kappatos - Pavlakis does not have an argumentation behind it and there is no visual association linking the capitals of Bentley Priory to those of the Temple of Athena Polias.

Tythingham House is a work that exhibits in full detail the creative spirit of John Soane. In this sense he could be said to be attempting at understanding principles and creating anew. In terms of specific details the semicircular tetrastyle portico he constructed in the south-east side of the house has exact replicas of those of the Temple of Athena Polias. This is an interesting example to see in Soane's work as he mostly customised ancient architectural details to his taste and design. An example to this comes from the entablature of the very same portico which does not seem to exhibit similarities with known ancient works.

All Saints church in Southampton by Reveley is an example quite like Tythingham house in its application. The influence of Greek architecture can be seen with the low pediment and the application of the capitals of the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene, yet the coherency of the order is not sustained as the entablature and pediment were simplified to a point where they were empty.

²⁷⁵ If there ever was an Ionian Revival, this would be its first example.

²⁷⁶ Athens is added due to the insertion of the frieze.

Considering with the results of the research of this thesis, it cannot be said that there was an “Ionian Revival” architectural tradition until 1800 and that the influence of Ionian Antiquities, only remained as exotic detailing apart from Revett’s work. If there is indeed a trend of using Ionian details specifically in buildings in the 19th century would be the topic of another work. However there are few other examples from the 19th century that were applying the order of the Ionic of the Temple of Athena Polias. One of these was the Old Merchants Exchange in Wall Street built in 1827, in New York, by Martin E. Thompson. The design of which utilised a tetrastyle Ionic portico based on the Temple at Priene on top of a Georgian design²⁷⁷. Another was the church of St. James in built in 1810²⁷⁸.

There are a couple of reasons as to why the influence of Ionia was completely overshadowed by the influence of Athens and the publication of Ionian Antiquities. The main reason is that²⁷⁹ Philhellenism and Greek revivalism were trends that were centred on classical Athens of 5th century BC, as Athens was taken as an exemplar of a “happy age” where science, arts and philosophy flourished and that was the pinnacle of human civilisation. In this sense the only thing to be expected in the architectural manifestation of Philhellenism is that they would use Athenian architecture, since Athens is the main example, the main influence, even before Rome, after the Napoleonic wars. The rest of the Greek world also only made sense as somehow they connected and fed into what was to be classical Athens, they were only important because Athens was. After these considerations the author of this thesis thinks that it is only natural that the distribution of influences are dominated by the works delineated from Athens, with the trend that begun in 1762 with the publication of *Antiquities of Athens*. Another reason as to why there are not many influences from Ionia might be that the first volume of *Ionian Antiquities* only had details regarding three Ionic temples and was published with 150 copies. There was no wide circulation of the results of the Ionian Mission²⁸⁰ until the second volume in 1797 and the revised first volume in 1821. The only outlet for those works was aquatint prints made by Paul Sandby between 1771-80 by the permission of

²⁷⁷ Landy 1963, 106.

²⁷⁸ Landy 1963, 142-46.

²⁷⁹ Check back discussions of Philhellenism in Chapter I.

²⁸⁰ It was mostly circulated within the close circle of the members of the society as exemplified with the construction of Revett’s portico to Sir Francis Dashwood’s house.

the Society²⁸¹. However unlike the books these were made to serve a public interested in travelogues rather than the rich aristocracy who would be looking after the archaeological and architectural details and building with inspiration from them.

²⁸¹ Gunn 2010, 223-24.

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APPENDIX I

A Chronological List of Influential Texts on Philhellenism and Greek Revival Architecture until 1800²⁸²

1650. Freart de Chambray. Parallèle de l'architecture antique et de la moderne

1679. René Ouvrard. Architecture harmonique ou Application de la doctrine des proportions de la musique à l'architecture

1682. Antoine Desgodetz. Les Edifices Antiques de Rome

1682. Sir George Wheeler and Jacob Spon. A journey into Greece, 1675

1688. Cornelli Magni. Relazione della Citta d'Athene, Colie Provincie dell'Attica, Focia, Beozia, etc. nei tempi che furous passeggiate da Cornelio Magni, Parmegiano, l'anno 1674, e dalle stresse publicata l'anno 1688

1697. John Potter. Archeologia Grecia.

1700. Augustin-Charles d'Aviler. Cours d'Architecture

1707. Cordemoy. Nouveau Traite de Toute l'Architecture

1708. Francesco Fanelli. Atene Attica.

1709. Antoine Yve Goguet. De l'origine des lois, des arts et des sciences, et de leurs progrès chez les anciens peuples

1733. The third Earl of Shaftesbury. Characteristicks of men, manner, opinions, times and c :

²⁸² Although not comprehensive, it is an account.

1738. John Breval. Remarks on several parts of Europe ... collected upon the spot since ... 1723
1753. Abbe Laugier. Essai sur l'Architecture
1753. Robert Wood. Ruins of Palmyra
1755. Johann Joachim Winckelmann. Gedanken über die Nachahmung der Griechischen werken in der Malerey und Bildhauerkuns
1756. Edmund Burke. A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas on the Sublime and the Beautiful
1758. Julien D. Le Roy. Les Ruins des Plus Beaux Monuments de la Grèce
1761. Giambattista Piranesi. Della Magnificenza ed Architettura de' Romani
1762. James Stuart and Nicholas Revett. Antiquities of Athens
1764. Johann Joachim Winckelmann. Geschichte der Kunst des Alterhums
1768. Stephen Riou. The Grecian Orders of Architecture Delineated and Explained
1769. Richard Chandler, Nicholas Revett and William Pars. Ionian Antiquities
1775. Richard Chandler. Travels in Asia Minor
1776. Richard Chandler. Travels in Greece
1791. William Chambers. A treatise on Civil Architecture
1797. Society of Dilettanti. Antiquities of Ionia Part the Second.

APPENDIX II

Chronological List of Early Greek Revival Works²⁸³

1756-7, 1st Earl Harcourt, Nuneham Park, Athenian Windows

1758-9, James Stuart, Temple of Theseus in Hagley Park

1761-73, James Stuart, Garden Buildings at Shugborough: Doric Temple, Monument of Lysicrates, Arch of Hadrian

1764-66, James Stuart, Lichfield House 15 St. James's Square

1765-67, George Dance, All Hallows

1765-76, George Dance Junior, The Church of All Hallows

1767-71, Nicholas Revett, West Wycombe Park Western Portico, Island Temple, Temple of Flora and Tuscan Portico

1768-70 Nicholas Revett, Standlynch Park Portico

1768-70 Nicholas Revett, Trafalgar House

1772, James Wyatt, Heaton Park

1772-94, James Wyatt, Radcliffe Observatory

1774, No: 1 Foley Place, James Wyatt

1775-77, James Stuart, Belvedere House

²⁸³ An expanded version of the list by Kappatos - Pavlakis (1974, 94-101).

1778, Nicholas Revett, Ayot St. Lawrence Church

1779, Thomas Johnson, Warwick County Gaol

1779-88, James Stuart, Greenwich Hospital Chapel

1783, John Soane, Hamells Park, Dairy

1783-90, Henry Holland, Carlton House

1785-9, James Wyatt, Wynnstay Gateway

1786, John Soane, Langley Park Lodges

1786-91, Henry Holland, Althorp Hall

1787-97, Henry Holland, York House

1787-97, James Wyatt, Oriel College Library

1788, James Wyatt, Aston Hall

1788-1801, John Soane, Bentley Priory reconstructions

1789-92, Joseph Bonomi, Church at Great Packington

1789-98, John Soane, Sydney Lodge

1790, James Wyatt, Acton Hall Gateway

1790, Henry Hollan, Woburn Abbey Portico

1790, James Wyatt, Gresford Lodge

1792-95, Willey Reveley, All Saints Church

1792-97, John Soane, Tyringham Hall

1792, Benjamin Latrobe, Hammerwood Lodge

1792-1800, Thomas Harrison, Chester Castle

1793-94, Benjamin Latrobe, Ashdown House

1793-1808, Biagio Rebecca, Castle Goring

1794-96, John Nash, Hereford Gaol

1795-97, James Lewiss, Cleveland House

1795, James Wyatt, Ottershaw Park

1797, John Nash, Southgate Grove

1798, John Soane, Malvern Hall Barn

1799, James Wyatt, Hanworth Park

APPENDIX III²⁸⁴

First Members List of the Society of Dilettanti, May 1736

Simon (afterwards Earl) Harcourt

Richard Grenville (afterwards Earl Temple)

Sir Francis Dashwood (afterwards Lord le Despencer)

William Ponsonby (afterwards Earl of Bessborough)

Charles Earl of Middlesex (afterwards Duke of Dorset)

Lord Robert Montagu (afterwards Duke of Manchester)

Thomas Lord Archer

Sewallis Shirley

Daniel Boone

George Gray

William Degge

William Denny

William Strode

Andrew Mitchell

Sir James Gray

Thomas Villiers (afterwards Lord Hyde and Earl of Clarendon)

Sir Charles Hanbury Williams

Arthur Smyth (afterwards Archbishop of Dublin)

Robert Hay (afterwards Archbishop of York)

Joseph Spence

William Fauquier

Robert Dingley

Robert Bristow

Peter Delme

Sir Lionel Pilkington

²⁸⁴ adapted from Cust et al. (1898, 7-8).

Sir Robert Long
Sir Brownlow Sherard
Sir Henry Liddell
Sir Hugh Smithson

Viscount Gal way
Viscount Boyne
Simon Luttrell
Thomas Anson
James Noel
Thomas Grimston
John Howe
Henry Harris
Sir Thomas Whitmore
Charles Feilding
George Knapton, painter to the Society.

PLATES

Plate I Western Portico of West Wycombe Park²⁸⁵



²⁸⁵ <https://artandthecountryhouse.com/essays/essays-index/a-select-catalogue-of-drawings-at-west-wycombe-park> accessed 10.09.2024, 19:57.

Plate II Western Portico of West Wycombe Park²⁸⁶



²⁸⁶ after <https://www.britainexpress.com/attractions.htm?attraction=327> accessed 10.09.2024, 20:05.

Plate III Robert Adam's Design for the Portico²⁸⁷



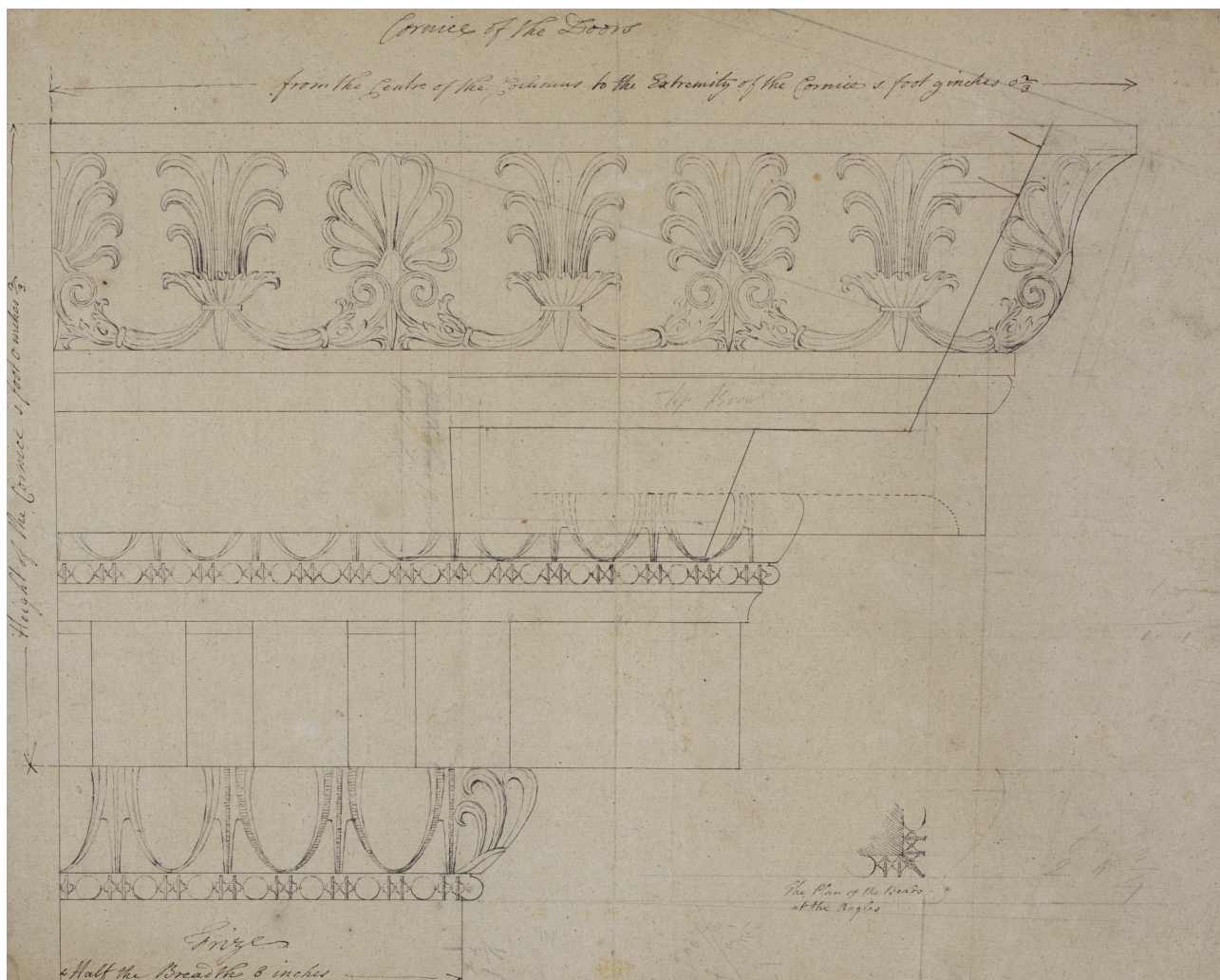
²⁸⁷ after <https://www.artandthecountryhouse.com/catalogues/catalogues-index/west-wycombe-park-west-portico-elevation-and-plan-for-west-portico-1224/house/west-wycombe/page/3/order-by/catalogue-no:asc> accessed 09.09.2024, 15:47.

Plate IV Ionic Screen in Palmyra Hall²⁸⁸

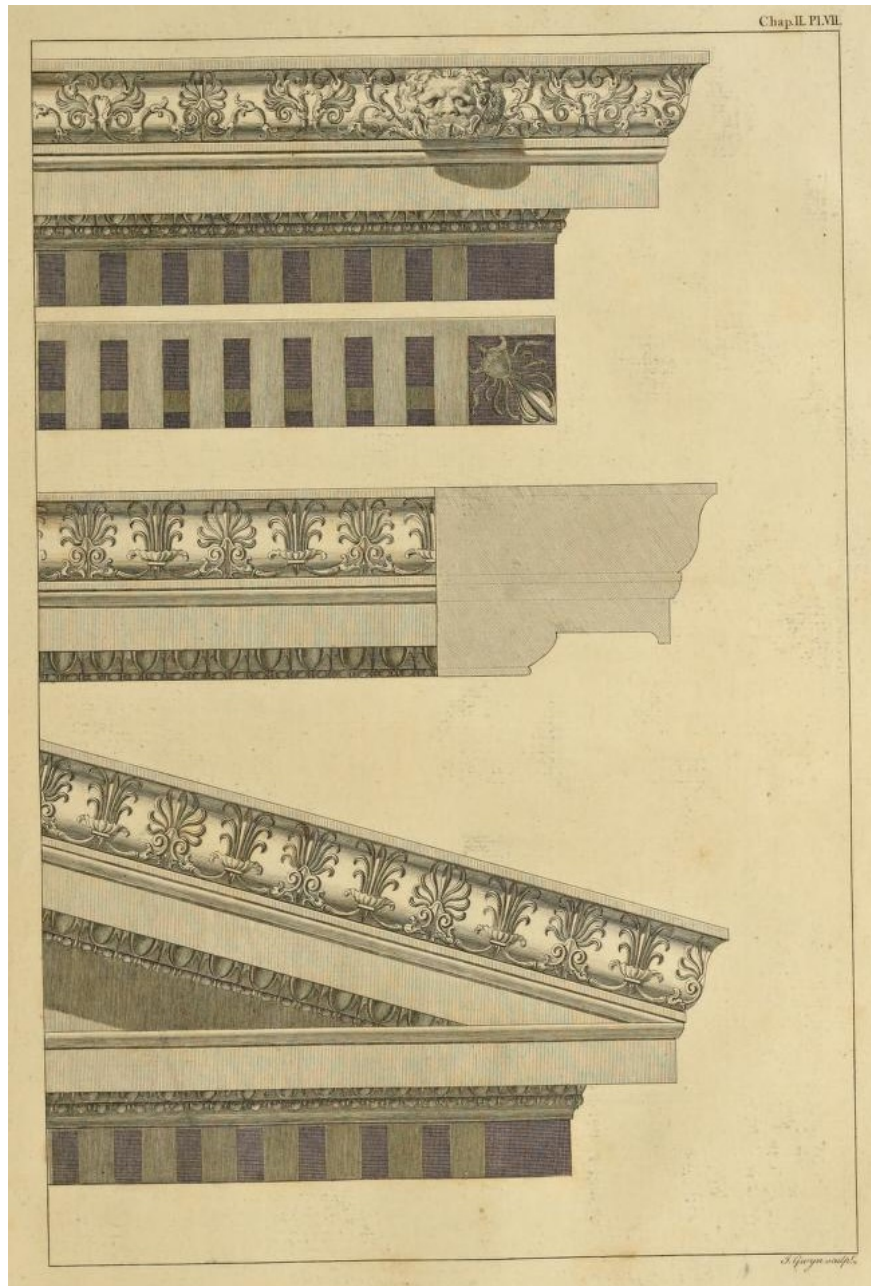


²⁸⁸ after <https://www.artandthecountryhouse.com/catalogues/catalogues-index/west-wycombe-park-interior-decorations-ionic-interior-screen-elevation-and-measured-plan-1230/house/west-wycombe/page/3/order-by/catalogue-no:asc> accessed 09.09.2024, 15: 58.

Plate V Revett's Drawing of the Pediment of the Gates²⁸⁹

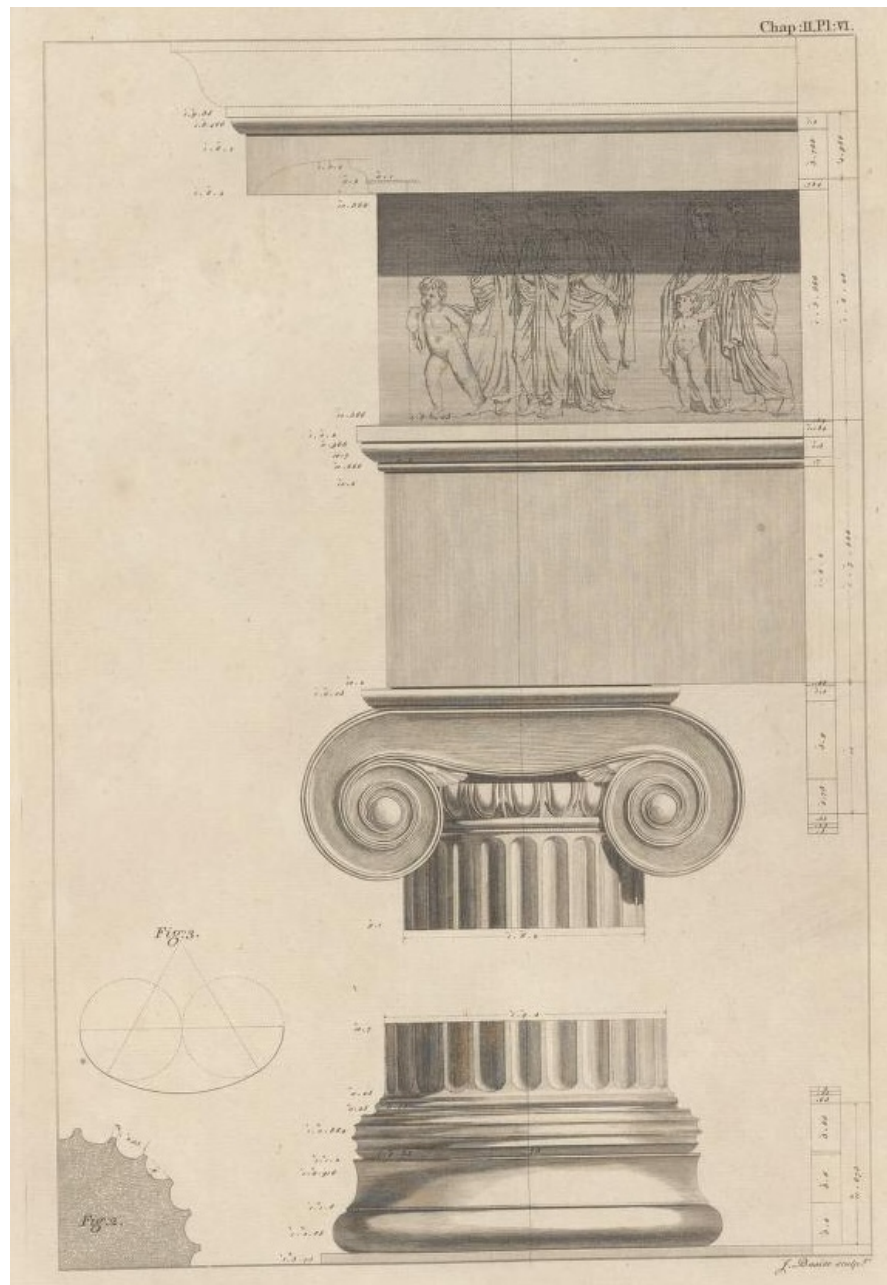


²⁸⁹ after <https://www.artandthecountryhouse.com/catalogues/catalogues-index/west-wycombe-park-west-portico-doorcase-mouldings-for-portico-1227/house/west-wycombe/page/3/order-by/catalogue-no:asc> accessed 05.09.2024, 12:43.



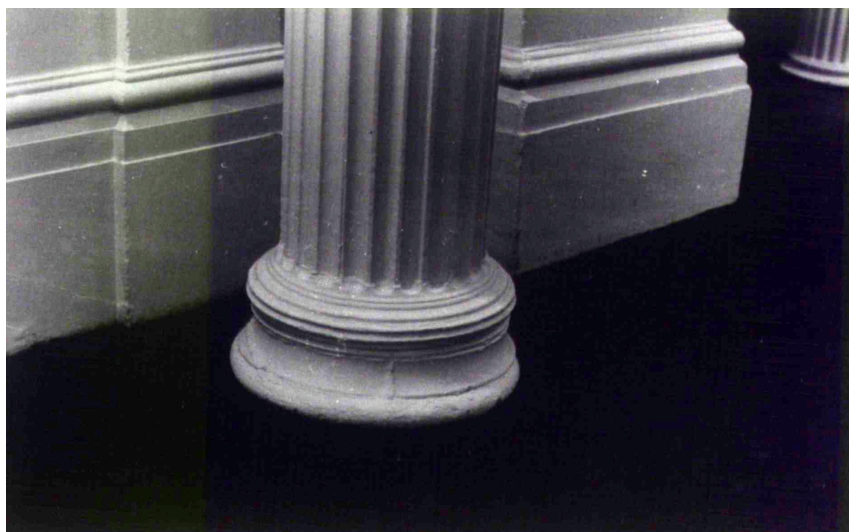
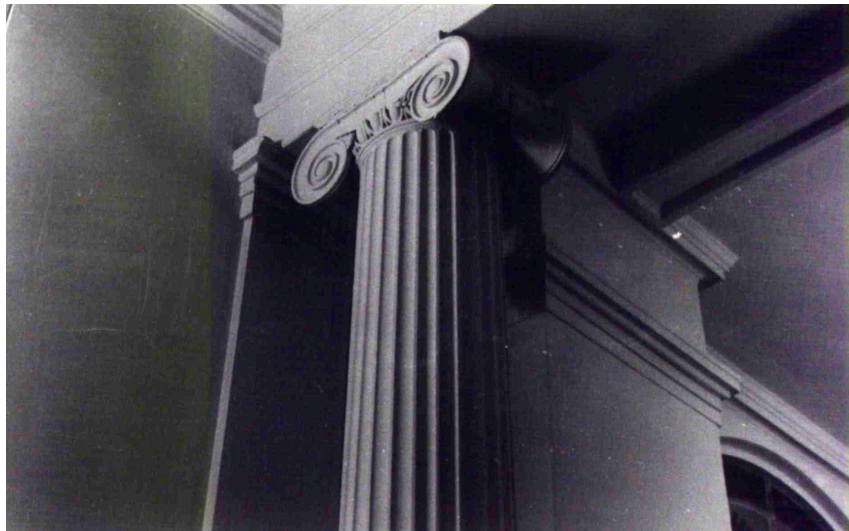
²⁹⁰ after Society of Dilettanti 1769, Chapter II, Pl. VII.

Plate VII Order of the Temple of Ilissus at Athens²⁹¹



²⁹¹ after Society of Dilettanti, 1762, Chapter II, Pl. VI.

Plate VIII The Ionic Screen at Bentley Priory²⁹²

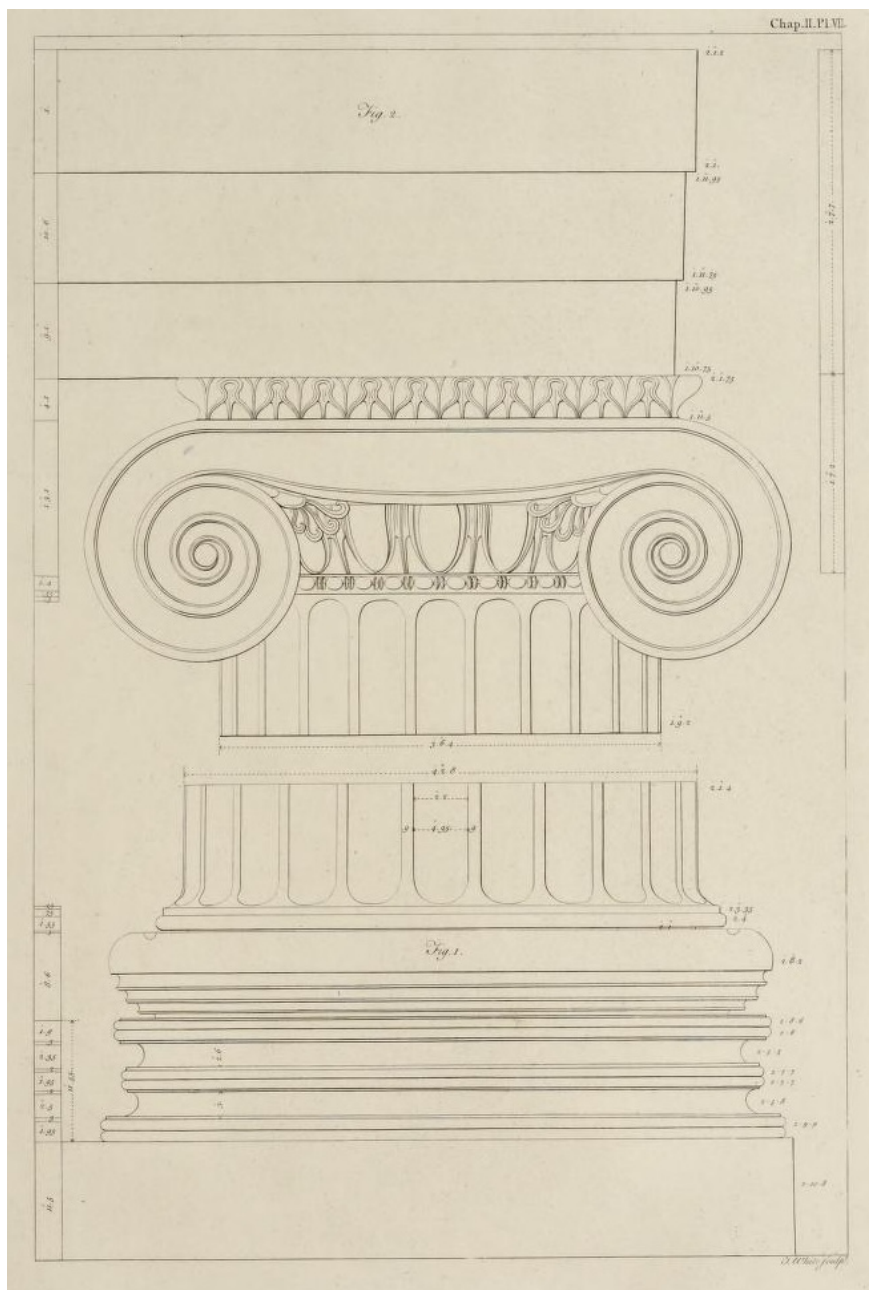


²⁹² after Pavlakis - Kappatos 1974, Pl. 229.

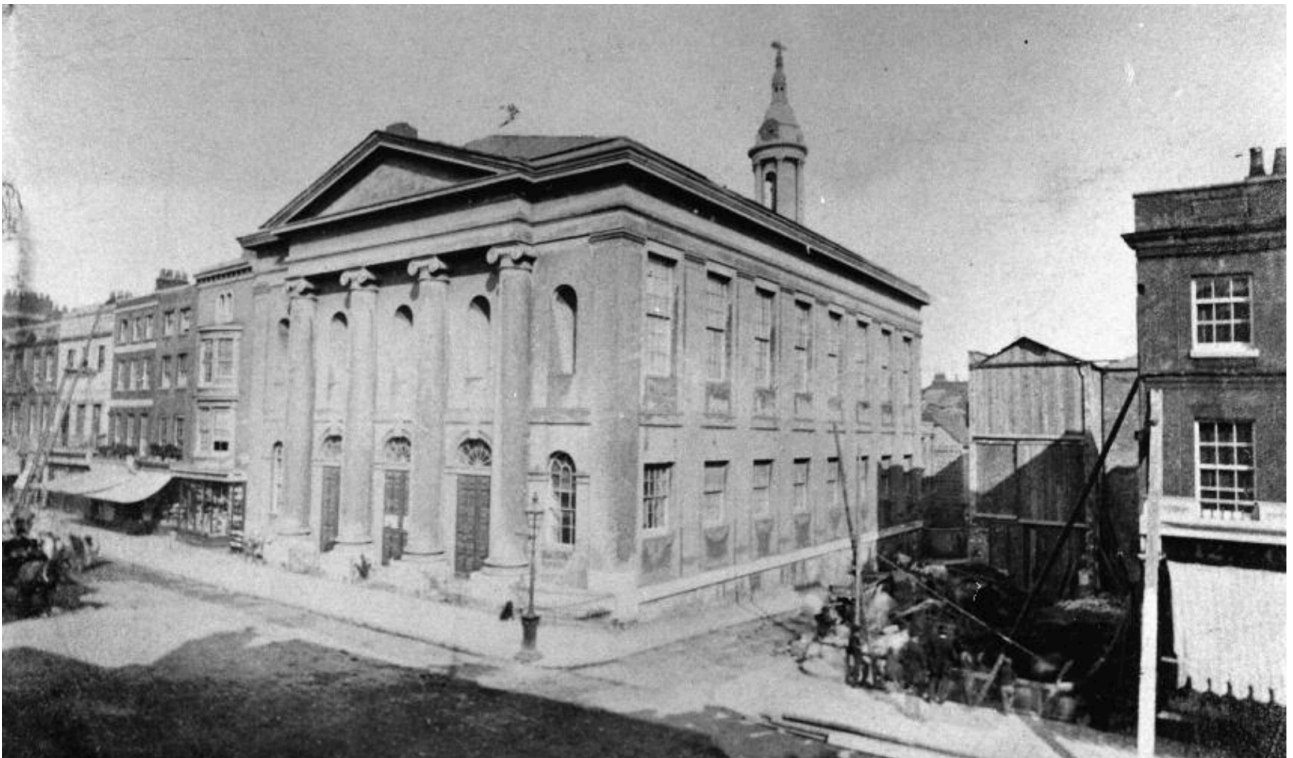
Plate IX Ionic Capitals at Tyringham House²⁹³



²⁹³ after Pls. 297, 298, 299 respectively, after Kappatos - Pavlakis 1974.

Plate X Ionic Order of the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene²⁹⁴

²⁹⁴ after Society of Dilettanti 1821 Chapter II, Pl. VII.



²⁹⁵ after Friedman (2002, Fig. 4).

Plate XII The Portico of All Saints Church²⁹⁶



²⁹⁶ after Kappatos - Pavlakis (1974, Pl. 258).