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ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE GREEK REVIVAL: A CASE-STUDY OF C. R. COCKERELL

David Watkin

Why was C. R. Cockerell (1788–1863) so hostile to the products of the Greek Revival in which he was ostensibly a leading participant? In answering that question we should begin by looking at the buildings in which the style was established around 1800: Dance's Royal College of Surgeons and Smirke's Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, both designed in 1808. These essentially routine Palladian buildings with fashionable and scholarly Greek trim provided a formula which became the norm for official architecture after Waterloo. This style was sharply censured by the young Cockerell on his return from his remarkable Grand Tour of 1810–17 during which he had made vital discoveries about the use of polychromy, sculpture, and entasis in Greek architecture, thus demolishing the Winckelmannesque ideal of a timeless Greek purity.

Of the College of Surgeons Cockerell wrote: 'the Ionic portico the gravest I have seen most severe', but 'ill-applied to the thin paper front of a house with which it has no connection either by ornamental architectural style, solidity, character, lines or material . . . what is now most essential is to appropriate the Greek style, engraft it on our wants and recast it for our necessities. The Italian architects did this, particularly Palladio'.¹ Cockerell had worked on Covent Garden Theatre when he was in Smirke's office at the age of twenty in 1808. However, in his diary he now condemned the interior, just as Soane condemned the exterior for the lack of relation between its façades. Soane's criticism was levelled by Cockerell at Greek Revival buildings in general: 'we stick a slice of an ancient Greek temple to a barn which is called breadth and simplicity, than which nothing can be more absurd'.²

Cockerell was also hostile to the most striking Greek Revival church in London, St Pancras, Euston Road, designed in 1818 by W. and H. W. Inwood. The younger Inwood was in Athens in 1818–19 where he studied the Erechtheion on which he subsequently published the standard archaeological monograph.³ The form of the church is based on the tripartite plan of the Erechtheion, though the Inwoods could not resist tidying it up and making it symmetrical. The west tower is inspired by the Tower of the Winds and the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates in Athens, while the portico below is modelled on the west portico of the Erechtheion; indeed, actual casts of the door surrounds were shipped back to London to enable exact copies to be made.⁴ The round apse at the east end is a rather un-Greek form, though the caryatids in the flanking pavilions are closely modelled on those of the Erechtheion. However, the caryatids are not exact copies, for they 'carry water ewers and inverted torches to symbolise their function as presiding over the entries to burial vaults'.⁵ The work of the sculptor John Rossi, they are of terra cotta round a load-bearing iron core. The capitals and the imitation Greek roof-tiles are also of terra cotta, though the church itself is of Portland stone. At a cost of nearly £77,000, it was supposed to have been the most expensive church since St Paul's Cathedral.

None of this impressed Cockerell who wrote in his diary: 'simple Greek Greek Greek – radiates bad taste through the whole . . . ignorance and presumption of Mr Inwood

attempting to impose on one an idea of his importance, Mr Inwood and his boys have tormented themselves to invent *du nouveau* and have planned a most minute research into every moulding, wherever their authorities have ceased they as usual have been aground. It is anything but architecture — the inside trite, the apse is flat roofed and the whole ceiling low and unmeaning'.⁶

In conclusion, let us compare an interior view of St Pancras church with a reconstruction of the Erechtheion submitted by Jacques-Martin Tétaz as his Envoi to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris in 1847–48⁷. Tétaz's poetic watercolour gives a very different impression of antique architecture from that of the Inwoods, for, following the recent discovery of polychromy, he shows the building as a vivid slice of life, animated by strong colouring. In fact, the interior of St Pancras church was given a similarly rich decorative treatment by the Crace firm in 1880, though sadly this no longer survives.

Another key monument of the Greek Revival is Smirke's British Museum of 1823, with an Ionic order inspired by that of the great Hellenistic temple of Athena at Priene. After a visit to the British Museum in October 1824 Cockerell noted: 'Exterior architecture is an expense much thrown away in this climate, especially in a corner so little seen [as Great Russell Street], fine effect of wide steps leading up to portico'. He recalled Aristotle's definition of beauty as consisting in magnitude and order, but noted that magnitude is relative and that he 'didn't like the taste of any part of it',⁸ though he was impressed by Smirke's use of cast iron corbels. After the discovery of polychromy, which we have already noted in the context of the Erechtheion, the entrance hall and staircase of the British Museum were richly painted in 1847 to a decorative scheme devised by Leonard Collmann.⁹

Cockerell condemned the architecture of Smirke's Physicians' College and Union Club (1822–27) in Trafalgar Square. In April 1822 he wrote, 'the flank totally out of character with porticoed front. Thin, flat, attempt at play, confused in consequence, & that vicious mode of composition of lapping under & over, a cornice or frieze sometimes appearing, sometimes concealed, somewhat French in composition. Want of strength & character. A something imposing, grand, massive and high is wanted in our buildings at present'. Visiting the interior in 1825 after completion, he noted the 'total deficiency of character, nothing like a public building, nothing monumental, staircase contracted'.¹⁰

In 1825–26 Cockerell entered the competition for University College, London. His design, echoing one for a college published in 1802 by Durand,¹¹ has a noble courtyard in the form of a cloister approached through Greek Doric propylaea and flanked by quadrant wings with horseshoe-shaped lecture rooms. Unlike his contemporaries, Cockerell did not consider that the provision of a huge portico was the way to echo the spirit of Greek architecture. It is thus instructive to compare his design with the less imaginative winning design by Wilkins, executed in 1827–28. This was dominated by a monumental but perfectly useless portico modelled on the Olympeion in Athens.

Let us now investigate Cockerell's experience of Greek architecture while on his Grand Tour to see if it sheds any light on his subsequent hostility to the Greek Revival. Two of his watercolour views of Corfu and Sparta¹² reveal the impact on him of the Greek landscape as a setting for architecture. His panoramic technique recalls that adopted by Schinkel in the views he had drawn in Italy a few years earlier. Cockerell reached Athens late in 1810 where he met the German architect and archaeologist Carl Haller von Hallerstein with whom, so Cockerell wrote to his sister, he swore eternal friendship. This was in the context of the remarkable and little-known Xeineion which Cockerell and a small group of international scholars formed in November 1811. This group consisted, apart from Cockerell and Haller von Hallerstein, of John Foster, the Liverpool architect, Jakob Linckh from Württemberg, the Hon. Frederick Douglas (later Lord Guilford), Baron Otto von Stackelberg and the Danish archaeologist Peter Brondsted. They gave each other bronze rings inscribed

'Xeineion' [token of friendship] and depicting the owl of Minerva. The foundation document,¹³ written in French, is worth translating for its charming blend of high archaeological idealism and *Boy's Own* chumminess:

'Xeineion is the measure of esteem and feeling. The ring is the key of the heart and the home, and it is the duty of each associate as soon as he sees the ring to receive the possessor as his true and own friend and to welcome him with all the honesty and hospitality which he can provide. It is permitted to us, the first seven Xenioi named below, to add to the number of the society; (each new member will be given a ring and a copy of the rules). Every worthy man of every country, every religion and every age can aspire to become a Xenios, the only essential quality being enthusiasm for Greece, ancient literature and the fine arts. On his death every original member can bequeath his rights in the society to a friend who will receive the ring and introduce himself to the other original members. The Xenioi themselves constitute a nation or people, and the moment the ring is on the finger it never leaves it. The arbitrary differences between the nations are abolished and one becomes wholly and uniquely a Xenios.' (Fig. 1).

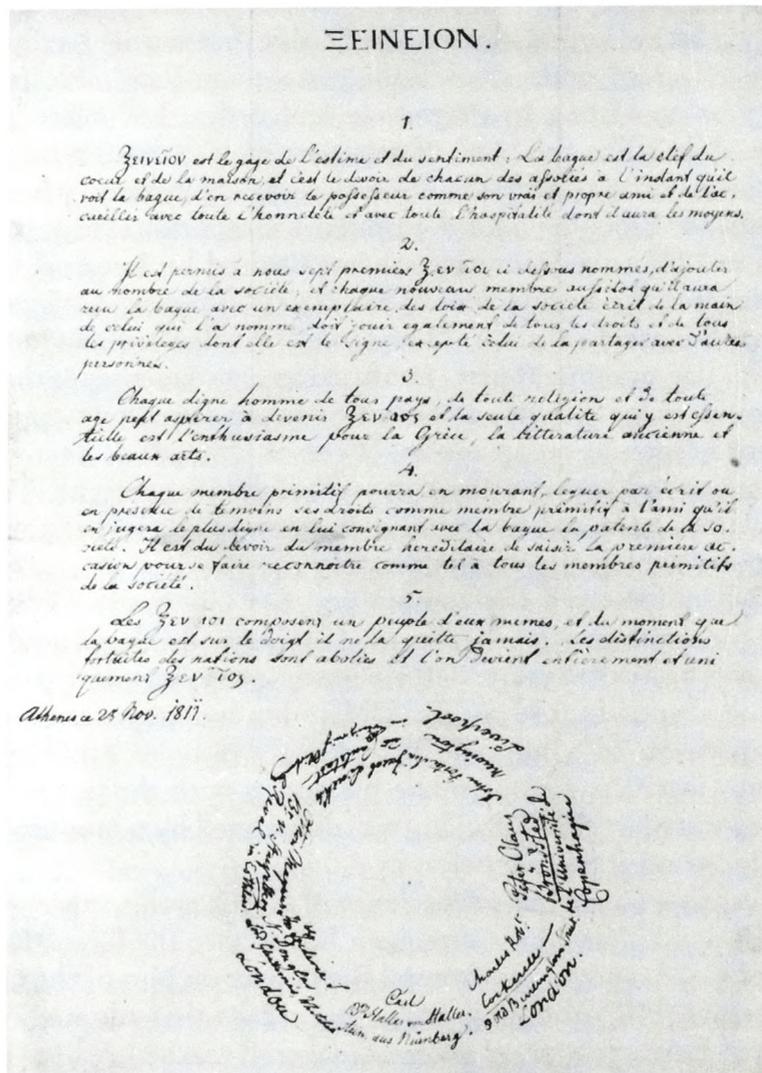


FIG. 1. Founding document of the Xeineion, November 1811

In April 1811 Cockerell, Foster, Hallerstein and Linckh made the short sea expedition from Athens to the late archaic temple of Aphaia on the island of Aegina. This magnificently sited and well-preserved temple was built in c.510–490 BC and dedicated to Aphaia, the old goddess of the whole earth, protectress of sailors and hunters, though Cockerell thought the

temple was dedicated to Jupiter Panhellenius. It was not built of marble, as the Parthenon was to be, but of local limestone faced with cream-painted stucco like a building by Nash! Moreover, its many ornamental features, including the pedimental sculpture, acroteria, lion masks and griffins, were richly painted in bright colours, though these faded on exposure to the air. Cockerell was one of those who in April 1811 made this exciting discovery of consistent architectural polychromy and of the archaic sculpture of Homeric battle scenes at Troy. The use of colour by ancient Greek architects had in fact been noted, in passing, by earlier archaeologists, beginning with Stuart and Revett who illustrated a coloured anthemion frieze from the upper fascia of the architrave of the pronaos at the now demolished temple on the river Ilissus in Athens.¹⁴ Stuart attached little importance to this feature; indeed, the engraving is barely an inch square.

The temple at Aegina also displayed numerous refinements of proportion: for example, apart from the temple of Athena at Paestum, it is the first in which all the columns tilt inwards and those on the corners are slightly thickened; the columns also have entasis, while the stylobate has an upwards curve. Cockerell certainly noticed the entasis but perhaps not the other features. He was intending at this time to publish his discoveries in a book illustrated by Turner who, of course, shared his interest in colour. In 1816 Turner painted a romantic view¹⁵ of the temple with young persons dancing the Greek national dance, the Romaika, for the Byronic interest in Greece involved seeing it as a place where Englishmen could parade their liberal consciences and fight for national liberation from the Turks. The collaboration between Cockerell and Turner failed, though Cockerell did include a lithograph by Turner in his belated book on Aegina and Bassae of 1860.¹⁶

Cockerell had first published his discoveries at Aegina in 1819¹⁷ when he showed that polychromy was integral to Greek architecture from the start, and that both the marble and the stucco on the Aegina temple were coloured. By this time, Thorwaldsen and Johann Martin Wagner were busy in Rome restoring and painting the Aegina pedimental sculpture which had been bought by Crown Prince Ludwig of Bavaria for his Glyptothek in Munich.¹⁸ Cockerell regretted this, both because he had tried to acquire the sculpture for England and because he felt that Thorwaldsen was going too far in adding colour to it. The architect Leo von Klenze created an appropriate setting for the sculpture in the Glyptothek, devising in 1830 on the wall of the room in which it was displayed a coloured plaster version of its façade which is an important early monument in the revival of architectural polychromy. Cockerell's own arresting restoration of the colour on the Aegina temple, doubtless initially prepared in c.1816–19, was not published till 1860 (Fig. 2). He had been beaten to it by the French archaeologist Abel Blouet, a positivist in the circle of Hittorff and Labrousse, who published it in 1832.¹⁹

As if these striking discoveries were not enough, Cockerell followed them by further important excavations at the Temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae (Fig. 3). He was there with a small group for ten days in August 1811, the hottest time of the year. This temple is one of the most fascinating of all, partly because there are so many mysteries about its date, architect, and even dedication. There has also been much speculation about its date but it is now generally supposed to have been designed in c.429–27 BC and completed in c.400 BC. Apart from its marble roof-tiles, the temple is of local grey limestone; its external Doric colonnade has a certain archaic or old-fashioned flavour and also lacks the optical refinements of the Parthenon, save for entasis. So if the exterior seems an improbable work for Ictinus, the interior has a number of striking innovations which more than justify that attribution. The cella is flanked by impressive Ionic half-columns, taller than the Doric columns outside and connected to the cella walls by curious spurs which perhaps recall those in the early archaic temple of Hera at Olympia not all that far away. The strange half-columns seem to be struggling in Michelangelesque fashion to emerge from the walls in

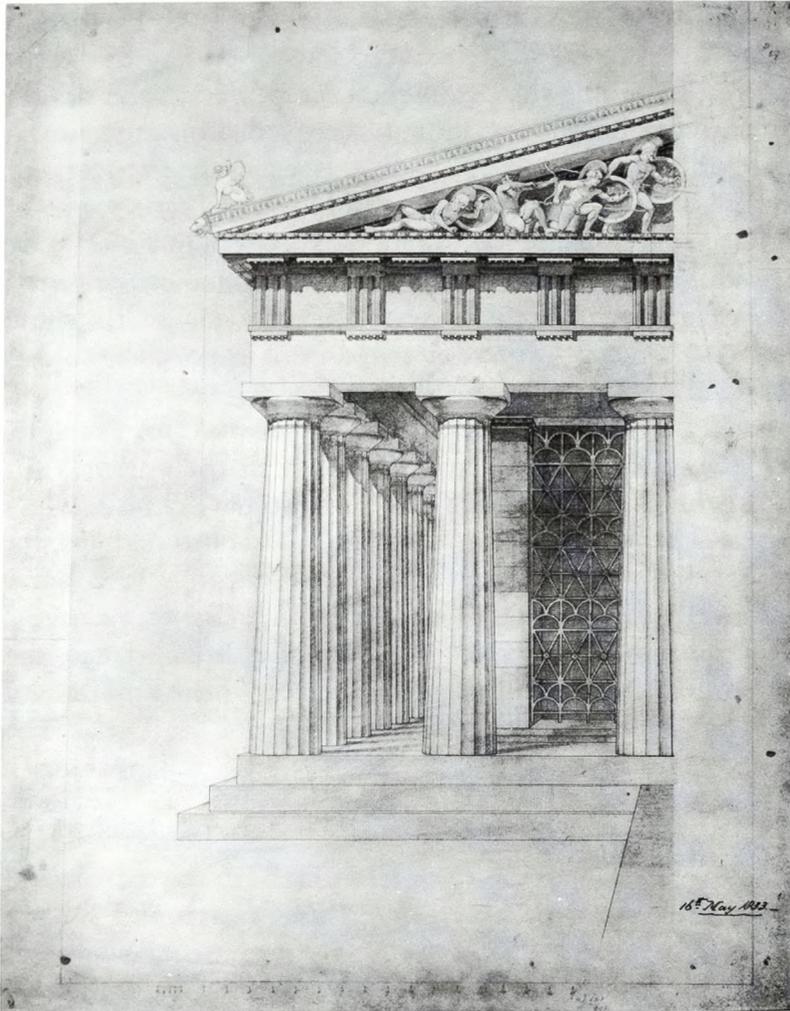


FIG. 2. C. R. Cockerell:
restoration drawing of the
temple of Aphaia, Aegina,
showing the polychromy



FIG. 3(a)

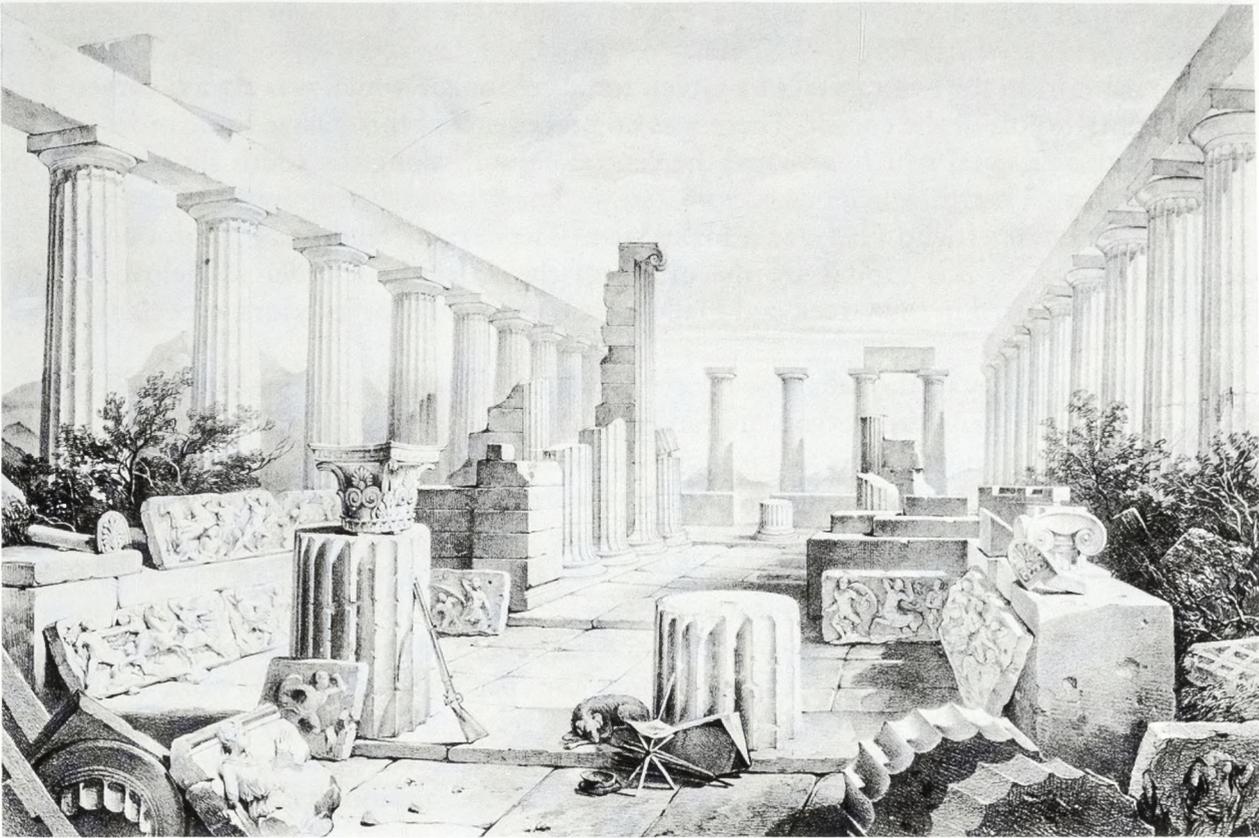


FIG. 3(b)

FIG. 3(c)

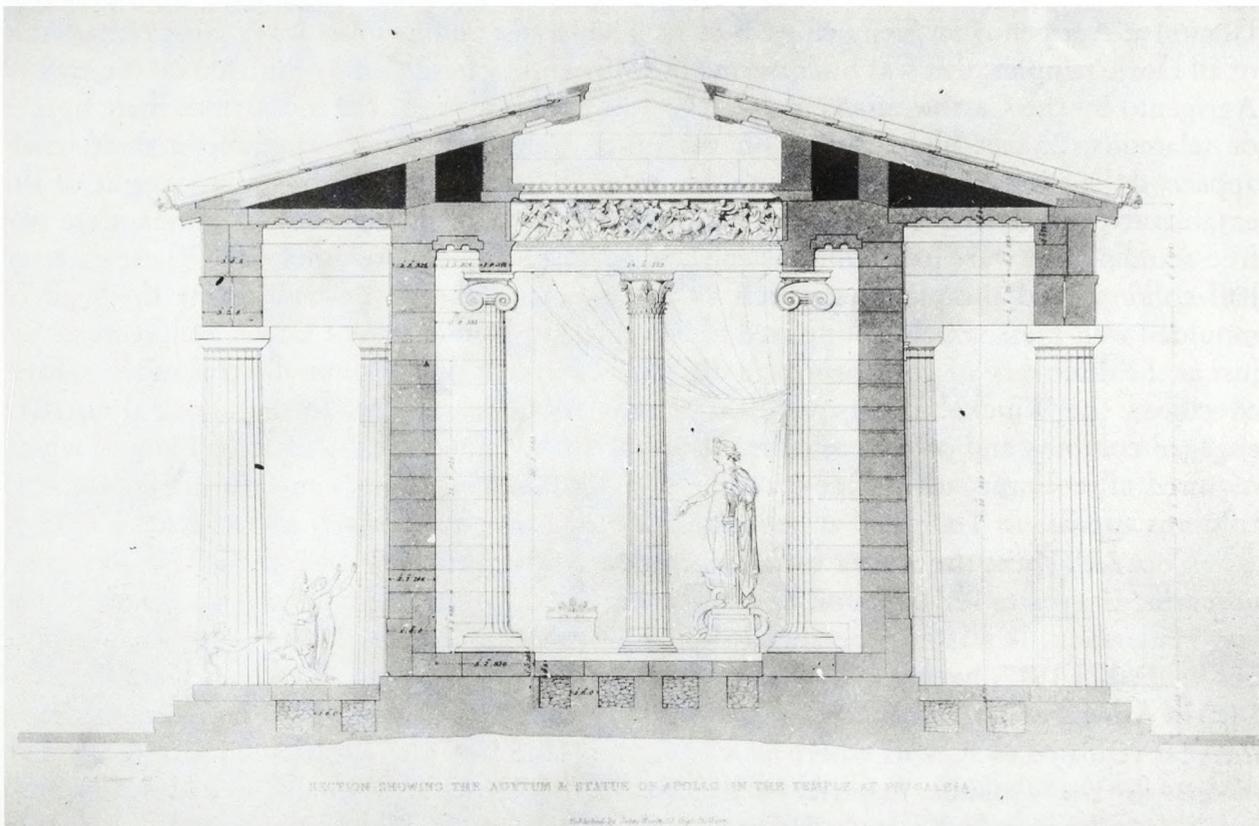


FIG. 3. Temple of Apollo Epicurius, Bassae: (a) distant view (C. R. Cockerell),
(b) interior (C. R. Cockerell), (c) section (C. R. Cockerell)

which they are embedded. They also have extravagantly flared bases which are echoed in the unusual three-faced capitals with their two canted volutes and curved tops. These are a development from the *end* capital of a Greek Ionic colonnade which was always carved with one diagonal volute at the corner. There was no precedent for this Bassae Ionic order nor for the Corinthian capital which crowned the central column along the south short end of the cella. The capital has now been destroyed and we know it only from drawings made on the spot by Cockerell's friend Haller von Hallerstein. The curving tendrils of the double row of acanthus leaves on this capital are the origin of the Corinthian order so beloved of the Romans. It was used in the Greek and Hellenistic period only for interiors, especially sacred ones.

Another novelty in the cella was the continuous figured frieze which ran round all four sides of the interior. It represents in carved marble the battles between the Greeks and Amazons, Lapiths and centaurs and is more vigorous and forceful than the Parthenon frieze. Thanks to Cockerell's efforts it was bought for the British Museum. Cockerell suggested that the cult statue may have stood unexpectedly in the inner adytum or sanctuary on the west wall for there is an oddly placed door in the east wall, allowing sun to flood on to the statue. (The temple unusually faces north not east.) Cockerell's restoration drawing of the interior shows his unique response to its proto-Baroque elements and the picturesque drama of light and shade in the sanctuary. He explained that the 'peculiarities of this work exhibit the perspective science of the architect, and show how freely and confidently he could deal with his material, regardless of the reproach of anomaly and caprice'.²⁰ The temple seems to have been the first Greek building with an interior, though its revolutionary implications were not fulfilled until the Roman period.

The ten-day excavation of August 1811 was followed by a much fuller one from June to August next year in which Cockerell did not take part. The reason was that he was already making new discoveries at yet another temple, this time the temple of Jupiter Olympius (the Giants) at Agrigento on Sicily (Figs. 4 & 5). The largest and in some ways most remarkable of all Doric temples, this was built during the 5th century but left uncompleted on the sack of Agrigento by the Carthaginians in 406 BC. It is memorable for the mysterious male figures or telamons, 25 feet high, carved on the outer walls with their arms above their heads apparently supporting the entablature. In order to help carry the enormous weight of the entablature, which was further strengthened with iron bars, the outer columns were not free-standing but were half-columns engaged against a continuous solid wall. These external half-columns and the pilasters which answer them on the inside wall create the kind of moulded wall-mass which is supposed to be typical of Roman not of Greek architecture. So, just as the discovery of polychromy, a decorative element of an essentially transitory nature, overthrew the Winckelmannesque ideal of timeless Greek purity, so the use of decorative engaged columns and of concealed iron supports challenged the doctrine of Laugier which required all columns to be free-standing and load-bearing. The same feature of engaged columns appears in Temple F at Selinunte on Sicily which Cockerell also visited in 1812.²¹

Cockerell spent the winter from December 1812 to February 1813 in Sicily at Syracuse, preparing the plates for the book he proposed publishing on Aegina and Bassae with Haller von Hallerstein. It was later arranged that Haller should come to England for this purpose but he died in 1817, having given his notes on Bassae to Cockerell. Cockerell spent much of 1813 in Athens where he had a long fever; in 1814 he travelled in northern Greece but later in the year returned to Athens where he stayed until 1815 in which year Haller sent to Munich designs for the Walhalla, inspired by the Parthenon. Thus the Walhalla, as eventually built near Regensburg from Klenze's designs in 1830–42, emerged from the circle of the Xeineion founded by Cockerell and his friends in 1811.

From Athens Cockerell sent a letter to Smirke on 23rd December 1814 in which he

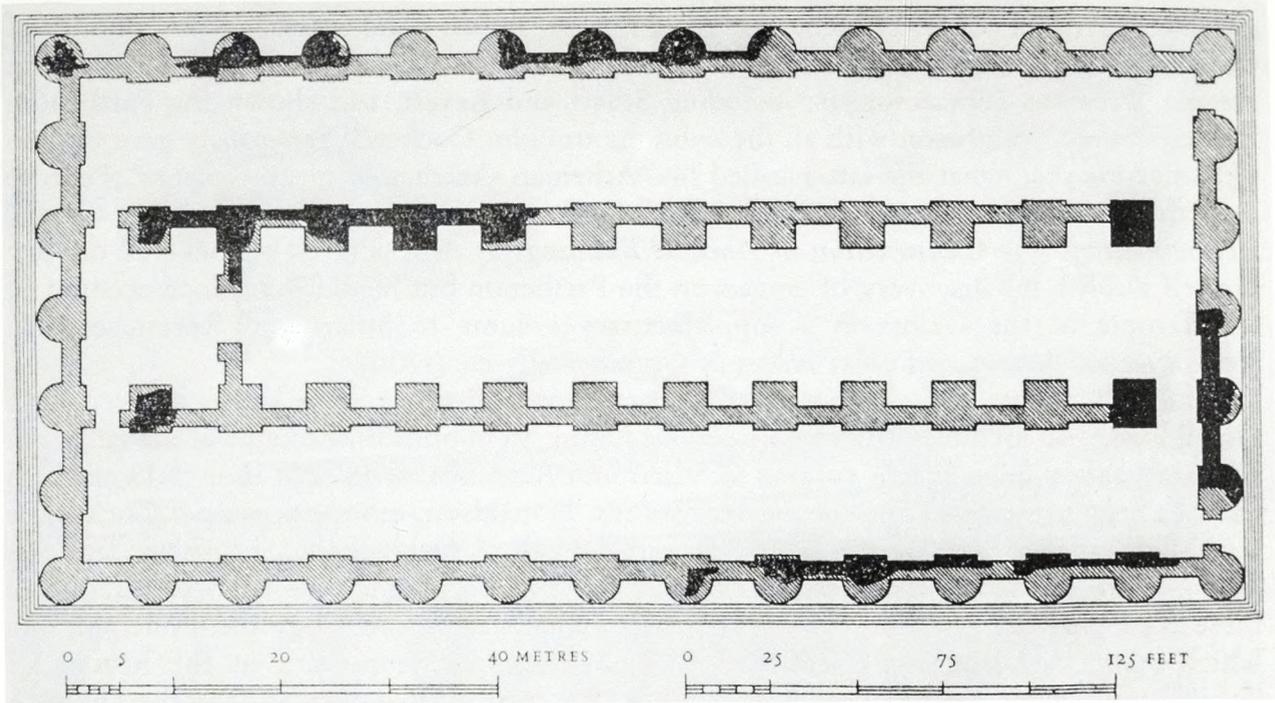


FIG. 4. Temple of Jupiter Panhellenius, Agrigento, plan

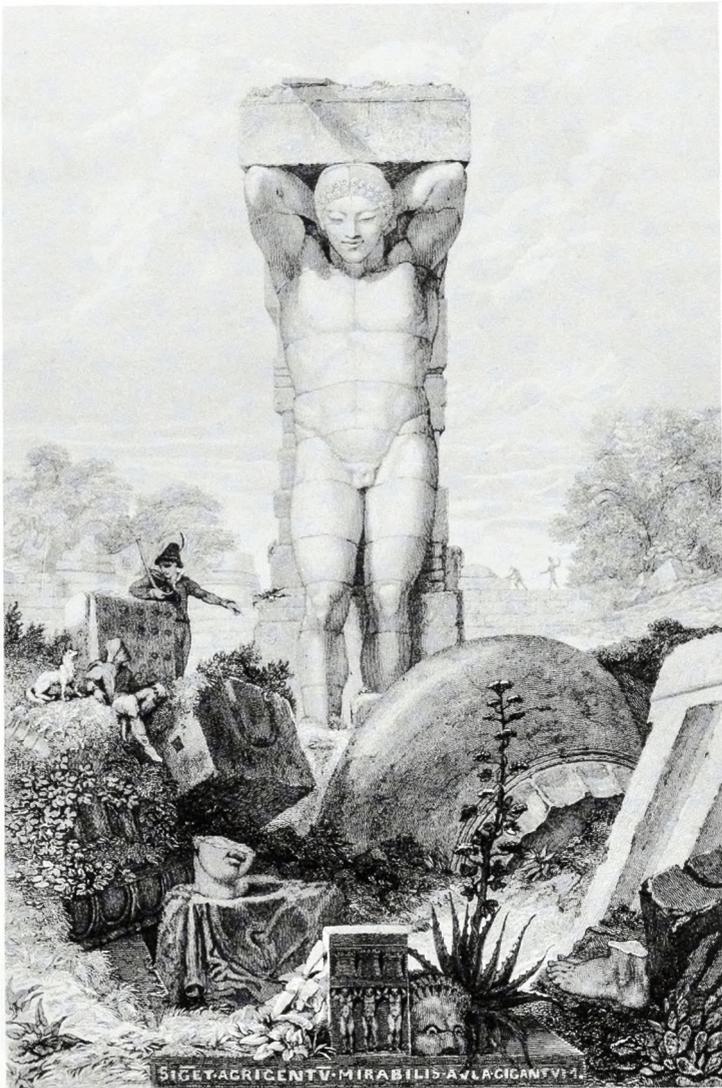


FIG. 5. C. R. Cockerell: *The Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Agrigentum, commonly called the Temple of the Giants*, (London 1830): frontispiece

enclosed a strip of paper, 21 inches long and 6 wide, showing the entasis on the columns of the Parthenon. He notes this also on the columns of the Erechtheion and the temple on Aegina. Previous archaeologists, including Stuart and Revett, had shown the Parthenon, Theseion and Erechtheion with all the columns straight. Cockerell generously gave Francis Cranmer Penrose what the latter called his 'Athenian sketches of measurements'. Penrose used these in his great book *Investigation of the Principles of Ancient Architecture: Optical Refinements in the Construction of Ancient Buildings at Athens* (1851). Cockerell did not himself publish his discovery of entasis on the Parthenon but he did publish an account of the Temple of the Giants in a supplementary volume to Stuart and Revett, entitled *Antiquities of Athens and other places in Greece, Sicily etc* (1830).²²

Just as Cockerell gave his notes on the Parthenon to Penrose, so he kindly allowed T. L. Donaldson,²³ an architect just seven years his junior, to publish the account of the temple at Bassae in the supplementary volume to Stuart and Revett of 1830, even though Donaldson had not been present at either of the excavations. Donaldson, in return, praised Cockerell's scagliola capitals of the Bassae Ionic order in the hall of Oakly Park, Shropshire, and the dining room of 1823 at Grange Park, Hampshire (Fig. 6a). Donaldson obviously regarded these as a happy example of that fruitful interaction between archaeology and modern design which went back to Stuart and Revett. Donaldson was important in the history of polychromy for his investigation in Athens in 1820 of the painted decoration in the Theseion of which he even brought some scraps back to England. It was patterns such as these which

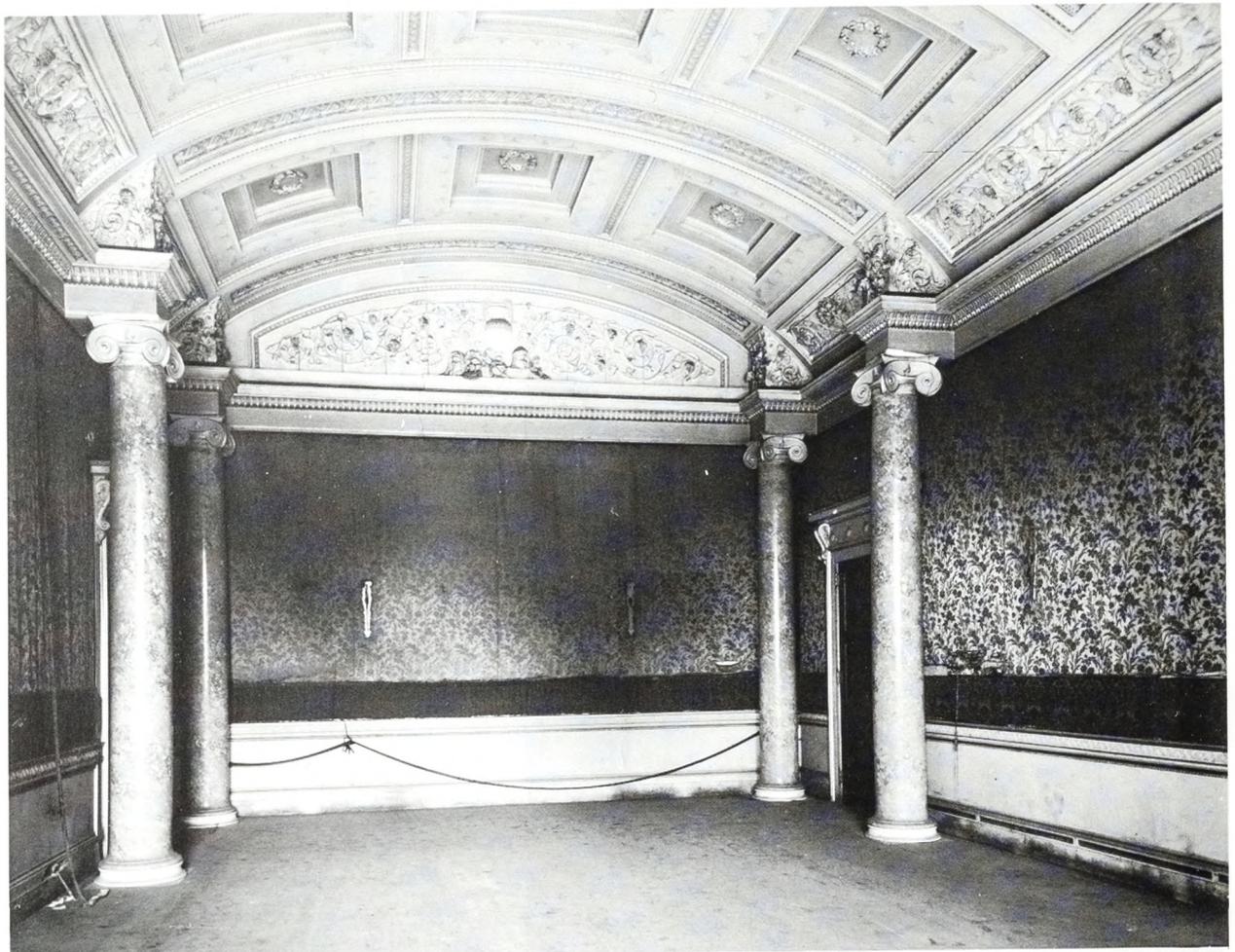


FIG. 6a. C. R. Cockerell: Grange Park, Hampshire. Dining room, 1823 (dem. 1972)



FIG. 6b. C. R. Cockerell: Hanover Chapel, Regent Street, London, 1823–25 (dem. 1896).
East front

were used by designers like Leonard Collmann in his decorative scheme for the British Museum. Like Hittorff, Donaldson became a keen champion of polychromy, though always in theory and not in practice. Cockerell, significantly, did not take up the cause of polychromy nearly so strongly; he doubtless thought it smacked of fanaticism.

In March 1823, eleven years after Cockerell's visit to Selinunte on the south coast of Sicily, two English architects, William Harris and Samuel Angell, visited the site and discovered coloured metopes from the so-called temple C. This exciting discovery brought Hittorff²⁴ to Selinunte in July 1823. Here he excavated the remains of the tiny temple B which had and still has remains of colour.²⁵ Carried away by his determination to find justification in Greek architecture for his passionate love of colour, Hittorff jumped to three wrong conclusions about temple B: its date, its dedication and its decoration. He wrongly claimed that it was a temple of Empedocles, that it combined Ionic columns with a Doric frieze, and that it was Greek in date, whereas in fact it is Hellenistic. He first published his

discoveries in his book with Karl von Zanth, *Architecture antique de la Sicile* in 1827–30 and then more fully in his great work of 1851, *Restitution du temple d'Empédocle à Selinonte; ou l'architecture polychrome chez les Grecs*. He used colour not entirely successfully in his own buildings such as S. Vincent de Paul of 1830–46. In 1844 the Ecole des Beaux-Arts allowed its students for the first time to make records of Greek rather than Roman buildings. This led to a flood of grandiloquently polychromatic Hittorffian restorations such as the exotic, even barbaric, study of the Parthenon prepared by Benoit Loviot in 1879–81.²⁶

In the meantime, a commission had been appointed in London in 1836 to investigate the Elgin marbles and fragments of Greek temples in the British Museum so as to establish whether they were coloured. Architects on this committee included Cockerell, Donaldson and Hittorff who, incidentally, had first visited London in 1820 in order to see the Elgin marbles. The committee met in 1836 and 1837 and Donaldson published its results in 1842 with a bold coloured plate of architectural details from the Erechtheion and Theseion.²⁷

Cockerell's own Hanover Chapel, Regent Street, London (designed 1821–22, executed 1823–25 and demolished 1896) (Fig. 6b), was a remarkable anticipation of the twin-towered west front of Hittorff's S. Vincent de Paul. Cockerell tried to achieve in it something of the richness and variety he had admired at first hand in Greece. The proportions of the portico were based on the temple of Athena Nike in Athens, while the Ionic order was taken from the large-scale Asiatic Ionic temple of Athena at Priene; the pilaster capitals came from a similar Hellenistic source, the great temple of Apollo at Didyma near Miletus. He developed

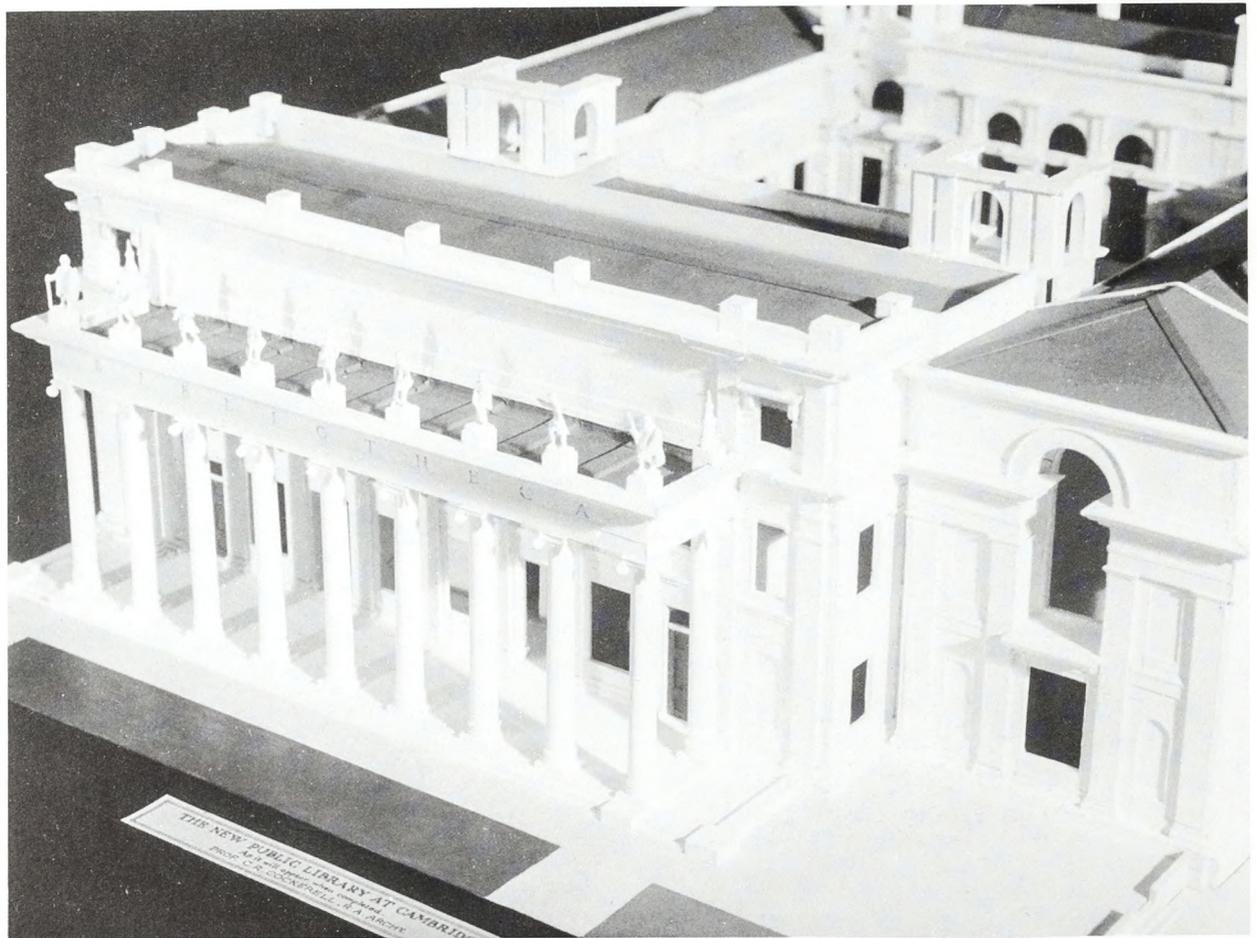


FIG. 7. C. R. Cockerell: project for Cambridge University Library, 1836–37 (from a model by Gavin Stamp)



FIG. 8. C. R. Cockerell: Cambridge University Library, 1836-37. Interior looking west (today Squire Law Library)

a richer and more plastic classicism in his masterpieces, Cambridge University Library (designed 1836–37) (Fig. 7 & 8), Ashmolean Museum (Fig. 10) and Taylorian Institute, Oxford (1839–45) (Fig. 9), and the branch Banks of England at Bristol and Liverpool, designed in the mid-1840s. The entrance front of the Ashmolean, with its largely blank wall articulated with pilasters, may be inspired by similar features at the Temple of the Giants at Agrigento. In the staircase hall Cockerell boldly unites Greek Doric columns with Roman arches, a combination which he might have justified by Ictinus's use of Corinthian in the Doric temple at Bassae, a cast of whose frieze he incorporates round the top of the stair well.



FIG. 9. C. R. Cockerell: Taylorian Institute, Oxford, 1839–40. St Giles's façade

It should now be apparent that Cockerell's hostility to the Greek Revival was related to his discovery that ancient Greek architects, especially in their use of the orders, of colour and of sculpture, did not conform to the theories of Laugier and Winckelmann, or to the practice of Wilkins and Smirke. However, despite his awareness of how an architect such as Ictinus could 'freely and confidently . . . deal with his materials, regardless of the reproach of anomaly and caprice', Cockerell's reluctance to publish his views on Greek architecture meant that his own buildings were sometimes misunderstood. His Liverpool bank was criticized in the *Civil Engineer and Architects' Journal* by someone who had not realised what it was that Cockerell had discovered in Greek architecture, even though the intellectual level of this journal was higher than that of the *Builder*. The anonymous critic complained



FIG. 10. C. R. Cockerell: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1839–40. Staircase

that Cockerell had applied the Doric order ‘illogically and quite contrary to its nature, when he introduces it — as he has done — as mere decoration in fenestrated fronts, consequently essentially different in their general physiognomy from anything in ancient Greek architecture . . . [He] has forcedly introduced a Greek–Doric order (considerably modified, it is true), whose columns are mere ornamental expletives in the structure — architectural rhetoric without architectural logic; for being attached to the wall, they serve no real purpose, but lose the greater part of the effect that would else attend them, and are reduced to mere embellishment’.²⁸ The author of this criticism had inherited a mechanistic and idealist view of Greek architecture which went back at least to the theories of Laugier in the 1750s and which is probably still widely held today.

NOTES

1. Cockerell’s diary, quoted from David Watkin, *The Life and Work of C. R. Cockerell*, (London 1974), pp. 65–66.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

3. H. W. Inwood, *The Erechtheion at Athens: Fragments of Athenian Architecture and a few remains in Attica, Megara and Epirus* (London 1827). Inwood dedicated some of the plates to Thomas Hope to whom he addressed a flattering letter, explaining that he had learnt from Payne Knight that Hope ‘had been pleased to express much approbation of the church lately completed on the model of the temple of Erechtheus’.

4. J. Britton and A. C. Pugin, *The Public Buildings of London*, 2 vols. (London 1825–28), vol. 1, p. 160.

5. Survey of London, vol. XXIV, *King’s Cross Neighbourhood*, part IV, 1952, p. 3.

6. Watkin, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

7. See Ecole National Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, *Paris, Rome, Athènes: le voyage en Grèce des architectes français aux XIXe et XXe siècles*, exhibition catalogue, (Paris 1982), pp. 178–87.

8. Watkin, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

9. The Georgian Group has been active in the so far unsuccessful campaign to reinstate Collmann’s scheme.

10. Watkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 73–74.

11. J.-N.-L. Durand, *Précis des leçons données à l’école polytechnique* (Paris 1802), 1825 ed., vol. 2, pl. 8.

12. Reproduced in Sotheby’s sale catalogue, *18th and 19th-century British Drawings and Watercolours*, 12th March, 1987, lots 52–53.

13. See Hansgeorg Bankel, ed., *Carl Haller von Hallerstein in Griechenland: 1810–1817*, exhibition catalogue, (Berlin 1986), pp. 188–89.

14. J. Stuart and N. Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, vol. I, 1762, chapter II, pl. VIII, fig. 3. David Van Zanten, *The Architectural Polychromy of the 1830s* (New York and London, 1977), is a useful study in this context, though it does not do justice to the role of British archaeologists.
15. On the history of this painting, see John Gage, 'Turner and the Greek spirit', *Turner Studies*, vol. I, no. 2, 1981, pp. 14–25.
16. C. R. Cockerell, *The Temples of Jupiter Panhellenius at Aegina, and of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae near Phigaleia in Arcadia* (London 1860), pl. II.
17. C. R. Cockerell, 'On the Aegina marbles', *The Journal of Science and the Arts*, vol. VI, 1819, pp. 327–31.
18. See *Glyptothek München 1830–1980*, exhibition catalogue, (Munich Glyptothek 1980).
19. A. Blouet, *Expédition scientifique de Morée*, 3 vols. (Paris 1831–38).
20. C. R. Cockerell, *Temples of Jupiter Panhellenius . . . and of Apollo Epicurius* (London 1860), p. 48. Cockerell's suggestion as to the placing of the cult statue is not now generally accepted.
21. Other Greek buildings on Sicily featuring engaged columns are the temples of Asclepius at Agrigento and of Serapis at Taormina. These should not be regarded as provincial aberrations, for such columns also appear on the Greek mainland in the west wall of the Erechtheion and in the stoa at Epidauros.
22. The hall at Kingston Lisle, Berkshire, may be a rare instance of influence from Cockerell's restoration of the Temple of the Giants (or Olympieum) at Agrigento. Round the top of this remarkable interior the anonymous architect has piled caryatids surmounting piers and columns.
23. On Donaldson, see Richard John, *T. L. Donaldson: The Last of the Old Gods?*, Cambridge BA thesis, 1987 (Department of History of Art).
24. On Hittorff's contribution to the polychromy debate, see Donald Schneider, *The Works and Doctrines of Jacques Ignace Hittorff 1792–1867*, 2 vols., (New York & London, 1977).
25. A section of the entablature, apparently with original colouring, can be seen today in the archaeological museum in Palermo.
26. See *Paris, Rome, Athènes*, pp. 230–37.
27. *RIBA Transactions*, vol. I, no. 2, 1842, pp. 101–08.
28. *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*, 1849, p. 323.