

The Andriake Marbles: record of “a small ruined temple of very white marble” -a Roman 1st – 2nd century hilltop mausoleum and coastal navigational marker at Andriake, Lycia, that disappeared in the early 19th c.

T. Michael P. DUGGAN*

A caprice or *capriccio* is a drawing or painting that has been composed from a variety of different elements recorded separately that have been combined by the artist to form an imagined composition, often depicting an idea of a time or of the passage of time, and the idea of a place, relating to patrimony and history, to the consequences of the passage of time and to destiny, rather than taking a more or less exact copy of a particular place from a particular position. The latter work would in the 18th c. have been termed a view or *veduta*, rather than a caprice or *capriccio*. Those 18th and 19th c. artists, such as G. A. Canaletto, G. P. Panini, C. R. Cockerell, and H. J. Johnson, who drew and painted *capriccio* also drew and painted accurate views. The insertion of transients, people, ships and boats, birds and animals drawn elsewhere into the depiction of a view or *veduta* does not change the work into a *capriccio* but, for example the painting entitled, *A Capriccio Of Roman Ruins And Monuments, Including The Arch Of Titus, The Farnese Flora, The Temples Of Saturn, Vespasian And Fortuna Virilis*, painted by the Italian Giovanni Paolo Panini (1691-1765), combines a selection of ancient buildings that are in fact in various parts of Rome, impossible to see in a single view, into a single composition; as likewise, the insertion by William Marlow, of the depiction of Sir Christopher Wren’s St. Paul’s Cathedral in London into an oil painting of c. 1795 otherwise depicting the waterways of Venice, is a caprice, a work itself entitled, “*Capriccio: St Paul’s and a Venetian Canal*”¹.

Luigi Mayer (1750-1803), an artist who had studied in Rome with Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-78) who produced both *capriccio* and *veduta*, was consequently often described by contemporaries as Luigi Mayer Romano², but who was of German descent and born in Naples, depicted a small ruined temple-like mausoleum on the hilltop behind Hadrian’s *horrea*³ at Andriake (Cacamo), with the vast imperial *horrea* and its inscription being the main subject of this work. The famous⁴ hand coloured aquatint of this subject entitled, “*Ancient Granary at Cacamo – Ancien Grenier A ’Ca-*

* Terrance Michael Patrick Duggan, Lecturer, Art Historian, Akdeniz University, Mediterranean Civilisations Research Institute (MCRI), 07058 Campus, Antalya, Turkey (tmpduggan@yahoo.com).

¹ At http://www.tate.org.uk/art/images/work/N/N06/N06213_10.jpg, accessed on 27.02.2018.

² Eg. Sestini 1790, vii.

³ “On the north side of the entrance are the remains of large Roman horrea, with a perfect inscription, which states that the horrea were Hadrian’s: the date is Hadrian’s third consulate, which is A.D. 119.” s.v. Andriaca, Smith 1854, 135.

⁴ Famous in part through a set of Spode painted pottery which was produced carrying designs based upon Luigi Mayer’s Caramania series of aquatints, with the Caramanian pattern first introduced about 1809, usually transfer printed in blue. It was manufactured after the Spode period, from 1833-1847 carrying the marks of Spode’s owners, Copeland & Garrett, including transfer prints of the “*Ancient Granary at Cacamo*”, see Coysh 1972, 97. However the hill and temple tomb are not depicted in this print and Luigi Mayer’s depiction of the “*granary*”-horreos has been extensively altered as well as showing only a detail of the original, rather than being simply a copy of the aquatint. <http://spodeabc.blogspot.com.tr/p/c.html>.

camo” (Fig. 1), depicting this massive imperial sub-divided depot with its Latin inscription, was Plate 3, engraved by Thomas Milton (1743-1827) et al., and printed by T. Bensley on watermarked (1801 J. Whatman) paper, in a volume of plates and text first published by R. Bowyer of Pall Mall, London, in the year of Luigi Mayer’s death, 1803⁵, entitled, “*Views in the Ottoman empire, chiefly in Caramania, a part of Asia Minor hitherto unexplored; with some curious selections from the islands of Rhodes and Cyprus, and the celebrated cities of Corinth, Carthage, and Tripoli; from the original drawings in the possession of Sir R. Ainslie, taken during his embassy to Constantinople, by Luigi Mayer; with historical observations and incidental illustrations of the manners and customs of the natives of the country*”.

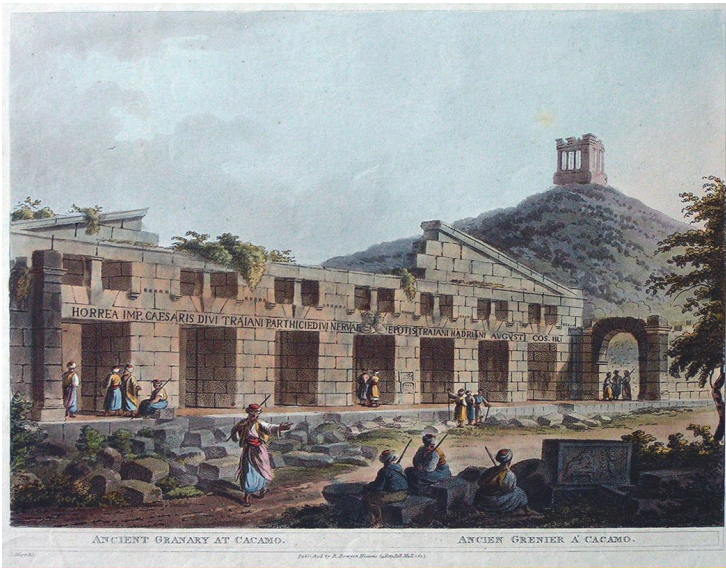


Fig. 1) Luigi Mayer’s coloured aquatint entitled, “Ancient Granary at Cacamo - Ancien Grenier A’Cacamo”⁶

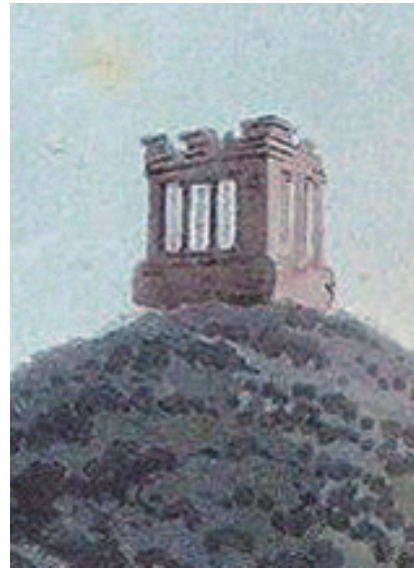


Fig. 2) Detail of Fig. 1. The “small temple” on the summit of the hill at Andriake.

A year later three different collections of views made by Luigi Mayer were published as a single volume containing 96 hand-colored folio aquatint plates engraved after Mayer’s drawings and with a new title page⁷, *Views in Egypt* (originally published in 1801 with 48 plates), *Palestine and the Holy Land* (with 24 plates originally published in 1802), and *Other Parts of the Ottoman Empire* (largely of Caramania, the subject of 18 of a total of 24 plates, originally published in 1803), again printed by Thomas Bensley for Richard Bowyer of Pall Mall, London, 1804. A selection of 24 of these plates was also published by Richard Bowyer in 1811 entitled, *A Selection of the most interes-*

⁵ After graduating from Oxford, Richard Pococke spent three years travelling in the Middle East, from 1735 to 1738 and William Bowyer (1699–1777), published Richard Pococke’s *A Description of the East and Some other countries*, a work illustrated by numerous engravings in 1745, and his son, also named William Bowyer, published the volumes of Luigi Mayer’s views, as also the Rev. F. J. V. Arundell’s tome entitled, *Discoveries in Asia Minor: including a description of the ruins of several ancient cities, and especially Antioch of Pisidia*, with engravings in 1834.

⁶ https://archive.org/details/gri_33125008694883 The version, Ref: P/1038 at <http://www.rareoldprints.com/p/1038> records in error Luigi Mayer’s aquatint of the Granary at Andriake, Lycia-Asia Minor-modern Turkey, as being made in the country of Egypt with the Location: Cacamo=Kekova.

⁷ The hand coloured title-page by Luigi Mayer for the volume entitled “*Views in Turkey, Asia, Palestine, Syria*”, published in 1804, at: V&A No.SP.385 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1106725/views-in-turkey-asia-palestinesyria-etching-mayer-luigi/>.

ting of Sir Robert Ainslie's celebrated collection of views in Turkey, in Europe and in Asia: in Egypte (sic.), Palestine and Asia Minor and another edition in 1811 and in 1812, entitled, *A Selection of the most interesting of Sir Robert Ainslie's celebrated collection of views in Turkey, in Europe and in Asia: Syria, Sicily, the Eolian Islands: Temple of Diana at Ephesus, Jupiter Ammon in Libya, &c. &c.* and in 1812, *A selection of the most interesting of Sir Robert Ainslie's celebrated collection of views in Egypt, Asia Minor, etc.* The titles of the selections made from the views of Caramania, published in *A Selection...* were: *An ancient bath at Cacamo in Caramania, Ancient Theatre at Cacamo in Caramania* and, *A Colossal Sarcophagus at Cacamo*⁸. The plates were engraved between 1801 and 1805 by William Watts (1753-1851).⁹

This small Roman temple-like mausoleum (Fig. 2) over the course of the last century has come to be understood to have been an imaginary building, a caprice that was introduced for artistic effect by the artist onto this hilltop location in the finished depiction of this subject, inserted into the drawing he made at Andriake at some point between May and the 22nd of June, 1792, the date he left Caramania and returned by boat to Constantinople¹⁰. The former presence in this location of this building, as depicted in this aquatint, was unmentioned by F. Stark, who mentions both the 'granary' at Andriake and the remains of the Hellenistic tower-fortification on Andriake point, but does not mention the former presence of this structure in her 1956 book¹¹. In 1975 it was briefly mentioned as a watchtower through Beaufort's quote by Jürgen Borchhardt and Günter Neumann: "Ihm verdanken wir die Entdeckung der Ruinen zu beiden Seiten des Flusses, des Garariums und des Wachturms II, den er allerdings für "a small ruined temple of very white marble" hielt. Beaufort identifizierte auch den Ort richtig mit dem antiken Andriake."¹² But it is not mentioned in the text concerning Andriake in the entry on Myra written by G. E. Bean in the PECS of 1976, nor in 2017¹³; nor is it mentioned in G. E. Bean's Lycian Turkey¹⁴; nor is it mentioned by J. Freely in his guide to The Western Mediterranean Coast of Turkey.¹⁵ N. Çevik has employed Luigi Mayer's aquatint depicting the "Ancient Granary at Cacamo - Ancien Grenier A' Cacamo", as an illustration to the sections in his works on the Horrea Hadriani at Andriake,¹⁶ but the team have found no evidence for this white marble temple-mausoleum on the hill depicted in this drawing and aquatint, suggesting the nearby Hellenistic tower of limestone blocks was represented as a temple by Luigi Mayer.¹⁷ It is unmarked on modern archaeological maps of the site.

The implication of the current line of thought concerning this structure being that the depiction entitled, "Ancient Granary at Cacamo - Ancien Grenier A' Cacamo", Plate 3 in its initial 1803 publi-

⁸ Malte-Brun 1823, 179, footnote, incorrectly records this work as entitled: "Picturesque Travels in Caramania etc. From the Cabinet of Sir Robert Ainslie, London, 1809."

⁹ Obituary in The Art-Journal March 1, 1852, 76; Spooner 1852, 1077.

¹⁰ See, Taylor 2013, for somewhere in excess of 18 finished drawings made in Caramania in about 6 weeks.

¹¹ Stark 1956, 154-5.

¹² Borchhardt – Neumann 1975, 39.

¹³ PECS 2017, 603-4.

¹⁴ Bean 1989, 129-130.

¹⁵ Freely 1997, 264-265.

¹⁶ Çevik 2002, 109; Çevik 2015, 385.

¹⁷ Çevik 2015, 381, "... Kumdağ Tepe'nin batı yönde tatlı bir sırt yapmaya başladığı kayalık tepe üzerinde konumlanan kule, Beaufort (sic.) tarafından 'beyaz mermerden yapılmış küçük bir tapınak kalıntısı' olarak yorumlanmış, Luigi Meyer de böyle çizmiştir..."

cation, in the volume entitled “*Views in the Ottoman empire, chiefly in Caramania, a part of Asia Minor hitherto unexplored...*” was not, as Luigi Mayer stated in the title to this volume, a view; but rather, the depiction of this temple-like building on this hilltop was introduced by the artist, a caprice, thereby presenting the viewer of the aquatint with a capriccio masquerading as a view. In 2010 the art historian-archaeologist Prof. D. Behrens-Abouseif, in the catalogue to the exhibition held at the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, *Archaeologists and Travellers in Ottoman Lands*, stated that with one possible exception Luigi Mayer’s depictions in Egypt, “*have no documentary value for the architectural historian.*”¹⁸ However, in 1813 the Rev. J. Haggitt wrote, “*I refer you to the designs of the late Luigi Mayer, a draftsman of acknowledged exactness*”¹⁹, an opinion recently echoed by Anda-Lucia Spânu in 2012 in her description of the artist as, “*a pre-Orientalist painter, known as the author of very precise views of the Middle East*”²⁰, and Luigi Mayer furnished the drawings engraved as two plates in a numismatic work by Domenico Sestini, with Plate II depicting the obverse and reverse of Medieval Lesser Armenian gold and silver coins, forming a part of Sir Robert Ainslie’s collection, where Luigi Mayer is described in the Prefazione as: “*le quali addiamo fatto disegnare con esattezza, e diligenza da un bravo Disegnatore, e pittore, cidè dal Sig. Luigi Mayer Romano, unico allievo del Celebre Piranesi, acciò l’ Europa, e la Repubblica Letteraria possa darle quel merito dovuto. Questa serie di monete è stata, ed era trascurata, e negletta da quasi tutti gli Antiquarj, per esser poco.*”²¹, indicating his drawings and paintings were regarded as being both diligent and exact. Further, two of Luigi Mayer’s depictions of the theatre at Myra from 1792, were published in *Dilettanti* 1797, Plates LVI and LVII, and the *Dilettanti’s Antiquities of Ionia* was described in 1860 as, “*a work yet unsurpassed for accuracy and beauty, and invaluable to the students of ancient architecture.*”²² Both of these plates of Myra’s theatre were engraved by William Bryne (1743-1805), both were given an incorrect title, describing them as “*Theatre at Patara*”, rather than Theatre at Myra, as also in the text, “*In Plates LVI. LVII. are views of the Theatre at Patara (sic.) on the coast of Lycia, shewing the remains of the scene. The hill above the Theatre is covered with sepulchral monuments.*”²³, as likewise, “*The Society are indebted to Sir Robert Ainslie for the two views of the Theatre at Patara, that of Castell Rosso, and of Macri or Telmessus, which are taken from drawings by Mr. Myers (sic.)²⁴, in his possession, and finished under his inspection.*”²⁵ This mis-description of the theatre at Myra as the theatre at Patara was pointed out in a letter from William Wilkins R.A. to W. R. Hamilton, Treasurer and Secretary of the Society from 1830, who wrote the general articles for Part III of *Antiquities of Ionia*, a letter noted in Volume V of 1915, “*The Roman theatre (at Myra) was first illustrated in the second part of the Antiquities of*

¹⁸ Exhibition catalogue, Between Istanbul and Cairo: Louis François Cassas and the Panoramic Perspective. In *Archaeologists and travellers in Ottoman Lands*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Exhibition catalogue 1.-14. 2010, 5.

¹⁹ Haggitt 1813, 93.

²⁰ Spânu 2012, 321; likewise 326, “In all of these illustrations, Luigi Mayer paid great attention not only to the architectural elements of the buildings, but local occupations, the clothes and characteristic details of the places crossed.” https://www.academia.edu/2374209/Luigi_Mayer_and_his_18th_Century_Urban_Views.

²¹ Sestini 1790, vii.

²² Chambers Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts, No. 325, Saturday, March 24th 1860, 180.

²³ *Dilettanti* 1797, 34.

²⁴ This same spelling of Luigi Mayer’s surname as Myers was employed by Hamilton 1847, 251.

²⁵ *Dilettanti* 1797, 43. See also Cust 1914, 104, who records these four Lycian engravings as taken from the drawings of Luigi Mayer.

Ionia, but under the title Patara. This fact is pointed out in a letter from Wilkins to Hamilton, and he was certainly right."²⁶ The fact that the illustration of the theatre at Antiphellus was in error labelled Castell Rosso was not noted. But for Luigi Mayer's work in Lycia to be engraved and published in *Dilettanti* 1797, containing its measured drawings and architectural plans, does rather suggest that his depictions were regarded at the time as being quite accurate views, like those drawn by William Pars that appeared in the same volume (Figs. 6, 7), rather than that the depictions in Lycia drawn by Luigi Mayer were regarded as exhibitions of 18th century artistic caprice. It is of note that in *Dilettanti* 1915, the editor records at the end of the list of plates of Myra in this volume, that, "*Some interesting illustrations of Myra from drawings made for Sir. R. Ainslie at the end of the eighteenth century are published in Mayer's Views in the Ottoman Empire, 1803.*"²⁷, while not noting that these two plates made from drawings at Myra, and the plates made from drawings of Castell Rosso and of Macri/Telmessus were from drawings by Luigi Mayer, a total of four plates, which were first published in *Dilettanti* 1797, and only subsequently were published in Mayer 1803. In further support of the accuracy of record provided by Luigi Mayer's drawings in 1792, R. C. Severis noted that in excavations by the French Archaeological Mission on Cyprus in 1989, architectural pieces were found sharing the same architectural characteristics as those that were recorded by Luigi Mayer, confirming the accuracy of Mayer's 1792 representation of the architecture in the scene on Ottoman Cyprus he drew depicting the Roadstead at Amathus-Amathonde.²⁸

It can be suggested Luigi Mayer differed little in his intention in making his drawings of views in Caramania from that expressed in the preface to Cornelius Le Bruyn's *A Voyage to the Levant*, published in English translation in 1702, that records Le Bruyn's intention expressed in the drawings he made in the Levant between 1674 and 1681, which "*was to give the world exact designs or draughts of the cities, places and edifices, which he met with on his travels; and herein he is very accurate, having drawn all his prospects upon the very place where he was.*"²⁹ This same intent was expressed by the architect James 'Athenian' Stuart (1713-1788) who wrote concerning the views presented in *Dilettanti* 1762: "*The views were also furnished on the spot: and in these, preferring Truth to every other consideration, I have taken none of the Liberties with which Painters are apt to indulge themselves, for a design of rendering the representation of Places more agreeable to the Eye and better Pictures. Not one object here is embellished by strokes of Fancy, nor is the situation of any one of them changed,... The Figures that are introduced in these Views are drawn from Nature, and represent the Dress and Appearance of the present Inhabitants of Athens.*"³⁰ This was a volume certainly in the library of Luigi Mayer's patron, in the service of the Levant Company,³¹ the Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty to the Sublime Porte from 1775 to 1793, Sir Robert Ainslie (1729/30-1812), elected a Member of the Society of *Dilettanti* in 1795,³² a collec-

²⁶ *Dilettanti* 1915, 16.

²⁷ *Dilettanti* 1915, X.

²⁸ Severis 1999, 59.

²⁹ Le Bruyn 1702, preface.

³⁰ Stuart 1762, viii. For the Preface remarking upon the same in the French edition, Paris 1714, (f.5), see: <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bruyn1714/0010?sid=718aa4c1553e753f2825b5677580ced8>.

³¹ For the British trade network in the Mediterranean at the end of the 18th and first decade of the 19th c. see Galani 2017, 35-38, in respect to Robert Ainslie's correspondence and Levant Co. connections, see maps 2.3A, 2.3B.

³² A subsequent British Ambassador to the Porte from 1799-1803, The seventh Earl of Elgin, was elected a Member in 1831; British Ambassador to the Porte from 1803-1804, William Drummond, was elected a Mem-

tor of antiquities and coins,³³ created baronet in 1804, who seems to have employed the artist Luigi Mayer in Ottoman territory from 1786 to 1794.³⁴ This intent in representation was doubtless expressed to Luigi Mayer by his patron, as he wanted no drawings “*embellished by strokes of Fancy*”, no liberties taken, but a clear and accurate record of the view.

Although Hadrian’s *horrea* was depicted in the published aquatint, as presumably in the original drawing made by Mayer at Andriake, from which the finished coloured gouache was subsequently painted, which formed the model employed for the aquatint, with a total of seven, rather than the eight doors it actually has in this facade - a simple matter of miscounting the number of openings in the facade when drawing this very long facade from an angle, rather than face on³⁵ - and the size of some of the Lycian sarcophagi and tombs that he drew in Caramania, as also in the depiction of the size of the interior of the cistern at Andriake, which, like the Lycian tombs and sarcophagi, was depicted of a greatly increased relative size for effect - introduced into these depictions a touch of the sublime, while the human figures were reduced in scale, thereby drawing greater attention to the physical remains of these structures; there seems to have been no attempt made by Luigi Mayer to introduce into any of the views taken in Caramania any structures that lay beyond the frame of

ber of the Society in 1800; Sir Stratford Canning, Ambassador to the Porte from 1825-1827, 1841-1858, was elected a Member in 1834. Earlier, Robert Colebrooke, Ambassador to the Porte in 1764, was elected a Member in 1740; Sir James Porter, Ambassador to the Porte from 1747-1762, was elected a Member in 1766 and Edward Wortley Montague, Ambassador to the Porte from 1716-1718, was elected a Member of the Society of Dilettanti in 1749. For these dates of election of members, see Dilettanti 1855.

³³ His fine collection made from Constantinople of the coins of the Syrian and Macedonian kings was sold for £8,000, one half bought by R. Payne Knight, a Member of the Society of the Dilettanti, today in the British Museum, the other half was in Lord Northwick’s collection at Flambards, Middlesex before 1811, Lord Northwick was also a Member of the Society of the Dilettanti. Sir Robert Ainslie purchased the Kufi coin collection of L’Abbe Beauchamp, the French consul-general at Baghdad and added further examples to it and this collection of early Islamic coinage was purchased by William Marsden in September 1805 and led to Marsden’s publication in London between 1823-1825 of, *Numismata Orientalia Illustrata. The Oriental Coins, Ancient and Modern, of his Collection, Described and Historically Illustrated*, a watermark volume in Islamic numismatics. Col. W. M. Leake married William Marsden’s widow in 1838. Sir Robert Ainslie also built a collection of gold and silver coinage from Medieval Lesser Armenia vis. Sestini 1790. For additional official information, see the letter-books compiled during the embassy of Sir Robert Ainslie. 1776-94. 7 vols. F.O. 261.

³⁴ See Taylor 2013. At a salary of 50 guineas per year, with board, lodgings, laundry and travel expenses.

³⁵ Beaufort made this same mistake, recording the number of sections and openings as seven, “*The granary is divided into seven compartments, each of which had a door to the front*”. Beaufort 1817, 27-28; then repeated from Beaufort in Texier 1862, Ch.XXI, 694. It has in fact the same number of rooms as the horrea of Hadrian at Patara. This was drawn and measured by the Society of Dilettanti Mission to Ionia in 1812, the two unpublished finished drawings of the horrea at Patara by Francis Octavius Bedford are in the RIBA, SD 134/39 RIBA65720 (section and elevation) and SD 134/38 RIBA65719 (Plan), both of which have been incorrectly dated 1810, but which on the Plan of Patara drawn by William Gell published in Dilettanti 1840, Chapter III, Plate I, it is marked as F, Horreum, and is strangely depicted, not in its correct location, smaller and with only three compartments. Yet on William Gell’s own View of Patara, in Dilettanti 1840, Chapter III, Plate II, this large building seems to have been drawn. The discrepancies between the Plan and the View of Patara are remarkable.

the view recorded, and thereby to misrepresent the content of the views he recorded in the gouaches and in the published plates, through the introduction of structures from elsewhere.

It seems probable that part of the reason why the view he took depicting the horrea-‘granary’ from the side, with the Latin inscription extending along the facade, was to include this building on this hilltop within the view, with the line of the pediment of the horrea echoed by the ascending line of the hilltop leading to this temple-like structure. Taking this aspect, rather than depicting the horrea from the front, from which viewpoint the inscription would, in fact, have been more legible, but then this hilltop and its ‘temple’ would not have been included within the view. The text of the inscription that extends along this facade was subsequently added to the drawing after it was otherwise completed. This is because if the inscription on the facade had been legible and recorded on the drawing at the same time as the building was being drawn, the number of doors in the facade would have been recorded as eight, rather than the seven depicted, with the letters and words of the inscription correctly located relative to each of these eight door openings³⁶. Further, from the angle this view was taken from, this inscription is largely, if not entirely invisible on the facade in the afternoon light; rather than, as is depicted in this aquatint, which shows from this angle the text as being completely legible along the entire length of the facade, an impossibility from this angle even in 129 A.D. when the letters of the inscription carried their fresh colouring, as today or in 1792.

The depiction by Luigi Mayer of this “small temple” on this hilltop shows a stone building, square in plan, orientated towards the South, constructed upon a relatively low podium of stone blocks with two free-standing Corinthian columns between each pillar, with two corner pillar pilasters per side, four pillars at the corners of the peristyle. The North East corner, North wall and presumably the North West corner, seems perhaps more solid, suggesting the cella walls of a “small temple”. The building is summounted by a cornice and entablature, presumably with the roof having triangular pediments, or possibly constructed in corbelling technique; of marble beams transversely crossing the space to form on the exterior a stepped pyramid. It seems the columns and pilasters were not fluted, although given the small size of the representation, this is uncertain. From this depiction it seems probable that this building was in the 1790’s relatively intact, although the podium was depicted as undermined at the South East corner facing the sea, the entablature was damaged, the roof was missing and the North West corner of the North facing wall seems already to have fallen, together perhaps with one of the columns from the South facade, which seems to be indicated as four fallen column drums or four blocks of masonry on the hilltop to the left of this building (Fig. 2).

This Roman monumental temple-tomb at Andriake, by 1792, although in a much more ruined condition, has a considerable resemblance to the Carian Mylasa-Milas Gümüşkesen memorial tomb dating from the 1st or 2nd century A.D. (Figs. 3, 4, 5 and 6), a building that remains *in situ* with its structure largely intact today. However, the rear of the monument at Andriake seems perhaps to be depicted as a walled enclosed area with applied pilasters, rather than open like the Gümüşkesen memorial tomb. Although it seems Luigi Mayer did not draw the Milas Gümüşkesen memorial tomb himself, it had already been drawn by both Richard Pococke and by Jean-Baptiste Hilaire, whose drawings were engraved and were published in travel accounts in London in 1745

³⁶ This was the case for the architectural drawing of its elevation, today in the RIBA, drawn by J. P. Gandy from sketches and measurements he made in 1812, where the inscription is accurately depicted relative to the eight door openings in the facade, SD140/9, RIBA65811.

and in Paris in 1782 (Figs. 4, 5) and doubtless he had access to these volumes in the library of his patron. The Roman mausoleum nearly 13 m. high, in Karabucak district, about 2.5 km. to the West of Myra-Deme, of the Corinthian Order with pilasters, is of a different type, with walls raised on three sides of the podium and could not have served Luigi Mayer as a nearby model for his depiction of this building at Andriake, the ancient port for Myra.

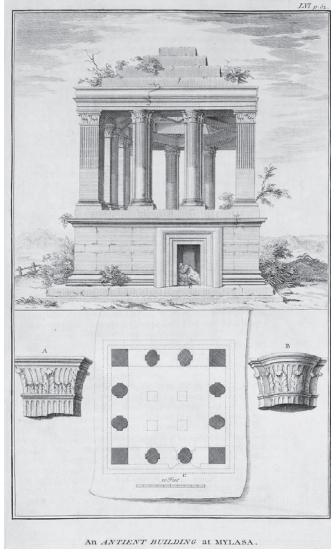


Fig. 3) Engraving entitled "An Ancient Building By Mylasa", from Pococke 1745, 62-63, Plate 56, recording the Mylasa-Milas, 'Gümüşkesen' memorial tomb.³⁷



Fig. 4) Engraving by Liénard and Choffard from the drawing made by J. B. Hilair of 1776 entitled, 'Tombeau près de Mylasa', from Choiseul Gouffier 1782, 144-145, Plate 45 of the Mylasa-Milas, 'Gümüşkesen' memorial tomb.³⁸



Fig. 5) The corrected (reversed) engraved image of the published composition Fig. 4, depicting the Mylasa-Milas, 'Gümüşkesen' memorial tomb, as it was drawn by J. B. Hilair, with the entrance to the tomb to the left.



Fig. 6) William Pars's water-colour entitled, "A Sepulchral Monument at Mylasa", from the Society of Dilettanti, Ionian expedition 1764-1766, B.M., Museum No. Mm,11.73© Trustees of the British Museum.³⁹

It can be noted that both Figs. 3 and 4 have unfortunately, mistakenly been engraved, printed and published in reverse, a mirror image of the original drawing being published rather than an accurate copy of the original drawing. This was a relatively common error made by engravers, not only in the

³⁷ <http://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=50559>.

³⁸ <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8449081d/f301.image>.

³⁹ Listed in British Museum 1844, 274. See at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=33999001&objectId=745607&partId=1.

18th century, through copying the drawing directly onto the engraving plate without reversing the image, resulting in the print taken from the engraver's plate being the reverse of, rather than the same as the original drawn image. In consequence of this error in technique, what should be on the left of the engraving is printed on the right, what should be on the right appears on the left, and the composition of the published engraving is fundamentally different from that of the original drawing. The printed depiction altered in terms of their position the recorded details, as for example, the door into the base of this tomb should be, as it is in fact, on the left, and not, as in these published engravings on the right hand side of this face of the monument. For the corrected (reversed) image of Fig. 4, see Fig. 5 below. Luigi Mayer in 1792 was probably unaware of William Pars' watercolour view of this monument taken in 1764, published as an engraving in 1797 see Figs. 6, 7.

The question to be answered is did Luigi Mayer in this depiction record what he saw at Andriake in 1792, was this small Roman mausoleum, which he described as a temple, in fact standing on this hilltop at that time? Or, did he introduce into his view, this 'temple', a copy of a similar type to the square in section Mylasa-Melasso-Milas, 'Gümüşkesen' memorial tomb, a caprice introduced as an artistic embellishment to this view at Andriake?

Luigi Mayer in his views of Caramania in 1792 was concerned with making what he recorded in his views legible to the Enlightenment eye, firstly to that of his patron, Sir Robert Ainslie, who almost certainly was not present⁴⁰ and probably did not visit the places where these drawings were made. In consequence of this requirement of legibility, the proportions of the exceptional remains of antiquity Luigi Mayer recorded were increased in size, relative to the size of the landscape and the to size of the people he depicted in the view he took. This was his practice in the record he made, of emphasising by scale the exceptional, the exceptional being the reason for the particular view being taken, rather than, as was later the case with artists such as the Rev. E. T. Daniell and William James Müller working in Lycia in the 19th c., treating the view as a whole, with all of its elements to be recorded to the same scale, tombs, hills, people and trees. The system he employed was to make the initial drawing on the spot, which was presumably the set of drawings that is recorded in 1805.⁴¹ In 1792 this finished drawing was then copied four times in gouache, once for the Ambassador Sir Robert Ainslie, another copy for Mr Graves, for Mr. Berners⁴² and one for Mr. Tilson, and it was

⁴⁰ The group of travellers with Luigi Mayer are mentioned by name as "*Groves, Berners and another*", *Eclectic* 1805, 313, but see, Taylor 2013 for the names, Graves, Berners and Tilson. The Bodleian Library Oxford, Ms. Eng. Misc. 433, Vol. 1, 180, records of the party that toured in 1792 with Luigi Mayer, "*we had dismissed the artist which we brought with us from Rome, and we were fortunate enough to supply his place by a man who was an excellent draughtsman and a pleasant agreeable companion. His name was Mayer. We became acquainted with him at the Ambassador's in whose employment he had been many years.*", cited Sevius, fn.106, http://research-information.bristol.ac.uk/files/34490974/300709_vol1.pdf.

⁴¹ Presumably "*the sketches in the possession of his widow*," in 1805 were the artist's set, although Mayer's widow is not recorded as Clara, the daughter of Sir Robert Ainslie's interpreter, Mr. Barthold, but is described for some reason as, "*a Greek from Bulgaria*", *Eclectic* 1805, 313.

⁴² It may be the reason for the initial A and B on some of these gouaches, e.g. Adam's Auctions, Dublin, Lot. 532, 06-10-2009, "*LUIGI MAYER SARCOFAGHI COLOSSALI TAGLIATI NELL' VIVO SASSO ESISTENTI NEL PORTO DI CACCAMO NELLA CARAMANIA Tavola N LXIV del Viaggio pittoresco del Sig. Cav. Roberto Ainslie, Signed with initials LM: f, lower left (in the margin) and the letter 'A'. SARCOFAGO COL SUO COPERCHIO ROVESCiato, CHE SERVE DI ABITAZIONE AL GUARDIANO DEL PORTO DI CACCAMO*

from the Ambassador's copies of the original drawings that the published aquatints of these drawings were made.



Fig. 7) William Pars water-colour drawing was correctly engraved by William Bryne and published in *Dilettanti* 1797, Plate XXIV, entitled, “Sepulchral Monument at Mylasa”.⁴³

The absence of any identifiable published physical-archaeological remains of this building *in-situ*, on this site at Andriake today, does not of course supply us with conclusive evidence as to the past presence or absence of a structure in this location. Although there are no published modern archaeological records of any physical remains from a small, square in section, temple-like mausoleum standing in this location on the hilltop behind Hadrian's horrea at Andriake, no recognised evidence of any cuttings for locating the blocks of the foundation of this building in the rock outcrop forming the summit, no *in situ* podium blocks or fallen columns, no column or pilaster capitals or blocks that have been identified and published as belonging to such a building; it remains the case that in the biligual text to the list of plates in this volume, Luigi Mayer clearly and explicitly records, “No. 3. Ancient Granary at Cacamo... On the summit of a hill near is a small temple, perhaps belonging to the ancient Myra.” “Tout près sur le haut d'une colline est un petit temple, qui appartenait peut-être à l'ancienne Myre.”⁴⁴

From both the depiction recorded in this aquatint, and presumably in the original drawing, as in the gouache from which this aquatint was made, and in the associated published text to this plate by Luigi Mayer, it would seem that in the 1790's there stood on the summit of this hill behind the

Signed with initials LM: f: lower left (in the margin) and the letter 'B,' identified the work as Ambassador Anislie's or as Bernier's copy.

⁴³ http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglitData/image/dilettanti1797bd2/4/038_ROEM_024.jpg.

⁴⁴ List of engravings and text from Mayer 1803, 368-385, 369 reads: “3. Ancient Granary at Cacamo. This granary, as appears by the inscription, *Horrea imp. Cæsaris Divi Trajani Parthici F. Divi Nervæ; Nepotis Trajani Hadriani Augusti Cos. Ill*, was built in the year 119 by the emperor Hadrian, the adopted son of Trajan, whom he succeeded, and the grandson of Nerva. On the summit of a hill near is a small temple, perhaps belonging to the ancient Myra - 4”. “3. Ancien Grenier à Cacamo, Ce grenier, comme il paroît par l'inscription, *Horrea imp. Cæsaris Divi Trajani Parthici F. Divi Nervæ Nepotis Trajani Hadriani Augusti Cos. Ill*. fut construit l'an 119 par l'Empereur Adrien, fils adoptif de Trajan, à qui il succéda, et petit-fils de Nerva. Tout près sur le haut d'une colline vure. Doil élie placée via-vis de est un petit temple, qui appartenait peut-être à l'ancienne Myre 4” https://archive.org/stream/gri_33125008694883/gri_33125008694883_djvu.txt.

horrea at Andriake, what was understood to be a small, square in section Roman temple (rather most probably a building of the temple-tomb type) which had been constructed at Andriake on this prominent hilltop position overlooking both the harbour and the sea. It was a landmark building, certainly forming at that time at the end of the 18th century a noteworthy structure, and also, through its location, it would have provided for mariners a noteworthy harbour-coastal navigational marker. It seems this was a structure that Luigi Mayer recorded because it was there on this hilltop location as he stated, and he took the prospect he recorded of the Imperial horrea as it would include this “*temple on the hill*,” because he regarded it as an important building.

A summary of the contents of “Views in the Ottoman empire, chiefly in Caramania...” of 1803, was published in French by M. Malte-Brun in Paris in Tome VI of, *Annales des voyages, de la géographie, de l'histoire; ou Collection Des Voyages nouveaux les plus estimés, traduits de toutes Des Relations Originales, inédites, communiquées par les Voyageurs Français et Etrangers; ...*, 1809, 368-385. It includes an extended excerpt concerning the history of Caramanie and the description of all of Luigi Mayer's plates, with the text to Plate 3 reading: “Ancien grenier à Cacamo. Ce grenier, comme il paroît par l'inscription: *Horrea imper. Cæsaris Divi Trajani Parthici F. Divi Nervæ Nepotis Trajani Hadriani Augusti Eos. III, fut construit, l'an 119, par l'empereur Adrien, fils adoptif de Trajan à qui il succéda, et petit-fils de Nerva. Tout près, sur le haut d'une colline, est un petit temple qui appartenoit peut-etre a l'ancienne Myra.*”⁴⁵

In the 1813 notice of Luigi Mayer's prints of Caramania in “Views in the Ottoman empire, chiefly in Caramania...” in the *Sammlung von Anekdoten und Charakterzügen auch Relationen von Schlachten und Gefechten aus den merkwürdigen Kriegen: in den Jahren*, Baumgärtner, Leipzig, of 1813, this Plate, numbered 3 in the first edition, is here numbered 2, and is entitled: Ein alter Getreideboden zu Cacamo, that is, the Roman horrea is described as a depot, rather than as a granary-grenier-kornhaus.

In Herstadt – Rhun – Baumgärtner 1816, notice is made of the publication of Johann Adam Bergk's translation of “Views in the Ottoman empire, chiefly in Caramania...”, entitled, *Ansichten von der Türkei hauptsächlich von Caramanien einem bisher wenig bekannten Theile von Kleinasien*, which was published by Baumgärtner in Leipzig in 1812. The 20 plates in this translation are numbered and named, with the second plate in this German edition, entitled, “2. Ein alter Getreideboden zu Cacamo.”, the Roman horrea is again described as a depot, rather than as a granary-grenier-kornhaus.

Captain Francis Beaufort's record of this building in 1811

Less than twenty years after Luigi Mayer had drawn at Andriake and eight years after the aquatint of Hadrian's horrea at Andriake had been first published, the British Admiralty hydrographer Captain Francis Beaufort recorded this structure in 1811⁴⁶ in the course of his hydrographic survey of the coastline of southern Asia Minor, a record of which was published in Beaufort 1817. In it he simply states: “Above the granary, on the summit of a peaked hill, is a small ruined temple of very

⁴⁵ Malte-Brun 1809, 369.

⁴⁶ Beaufort records C. R. Cockerell's visit to Myra as “in the following year” (Beaufort 1817, 30) and Cockerell visited Myra in 1812, prior to meeting Beaufort by Phaselis in April 1812, consequently Beaufort's observations at Andriake were made in 1811.

*white marble. This hill commands an interesting view of the indented shores of Kakava, and of the extensive plain of Myra, which is bounded to the northward by a range of huge black mountains.*⁴⁷

This passage records Captain Beaufort saw this structure at Andriake in 1811, the same structure that had already been drawn and described by Luigi Mayer, and that he had climbed this peaked hill behind the “granary” and had personally obtained the prospect that he describes, and he was able to describe this “small ruined temple” as being constructed of ‘very white marble’. Neither of these observations recorded by Beaufort, ‘ruined’ and, constructed of ‘very white marble’ were recorded by Luigi Mayer in the text to his plate, nor did Luigi Mayer provide any written account of the prospect that was obtained from the summit of this hill. Consequently, we have today two quite separate records, both recorded from first hand observation, but which were made nearly two decades apart, in 1792 and in 1811, in these two accounts, which were published in London 14 years apart, written by Luigi Mayer and by Captain Francis Beaufort, of the presence of a small temple-like building on this hilltop location behind Hadrian’s horrea-‘Granarium’ at Andriake.

It seems evident that Captain Beaufort was no Latinist and he had not read Luigi Mayer’s bilingual text published in 1803, nor read its précis, published in French in 1809, even though Luigi Mayer depicts (Fig. 1) and Francis Beaufort records that the horrea at Andriake had seven openings in the facade⁴⁸, when in fact it had eight. Both had miscounted the number of openings in the facade, in part, caused by the two busts sculpted above one of the door openings in the middle of the facade, over the middle, the fourth, the central door in Mayer’s depiction, and located by Beaufort in his description as follows: “Over the centre door are two busts of a male and a female.”⁴⁹ As there is recorded a centre door, a doorway emphasised by the presence of these two busts, there is therefore implicitly an uneven number of openings in this facade, seven, rather than, as there are in fact, eight openings, the busts are over the fourth entrance from the left.

Captain Beaufort does not cite in any way from Luigi Mayer’s work in his *Karamania* of 1817 and he appears not to have seen or read it. This can be understood from the fact he clearly records on his Admiralty chart of this part of the coastline published in 1819 (see below), that the horrea-‘granary’ at Andriake was constructed by Emperor *Trejan*(sic.), while publishing the full text of the Latin inscription on page 27 in his *Karamania* of 1817, not recording this building as constructed by Emperor Hadrian, in his book or on his chart. Yet the inscription on this building had already been correctly recorded by Luigi Mayer in 1803, as also recorded in *The British Critic* of August 1804, where Plate 3 is described as: “An ancient granary, built by Hadrian, and inscribed with his name.”⁵⁰, as likewise in the précis of Mayer’s volume published in Paris in 1809 as being construc-

⁴⁷ Beaufort 1817, 26. That Capt. Beaufort could distinguish between “very white marble” and limestone is evident, “They were of the whitest marble, and of very neat workmanship.” Beaufort 1817, 60; “The latter are made of coarse marble, which has suffered so much from time and weather,” idem. 201; “Here they are constructed of a hard grey limestone, neatly laid in regular courses of equal thickness,” idem. 210; “faced and covered with blocks of yellowish shelly-limestone” idem. 250.

⁴⁸ Beaufort 1817, 27-28.

⁴⁹ Beaufort 1817, 28, hence, Texier 1862, 694, “il est d’une conservation parfaite et divisé en sept chamres ayant chacune une porte: celle du milieu est surmontée de deux bustes.”

⁵⁰ Critic 1804, 171.

ted by Emperor Hadrian, as the transcription of the Latin inscription published by both authors records.⁵¹



Fig. 8) Above: Detail showing the position of the “Temple” at Andriake marked in its hilltop location between Andriake Point and Trejan’s (sic.) granary on the 1819 British Admiralty Karamania Chart I, from Makry to Khelidonia drawn by J. Walker from the data compiled from observations, triangulation, measurement and soundings made by Captain F. Beaufort in 1811, © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London.⁵²

Fig. 9) Below: Detail from Google Earth© Geoeye 2011, showing from left to right: Andriake Point, the position of the “Temple”, and the eastern tip of Pt. Pyrgo-Stamirra-Taşdıbi marked in their positions as they are indicated on the 1819 British Admiralty chart.

It seems therefore to be most improbable that Captain Beaufort, in giving his account of this temple-like building on the hilltop behind the horrea in 1811, was influenced in any way at all by the account and depiction of this same building presented in Luigi Mayer’s earlier publication, the hydrographer Captain Beaufort seems to have been quite unaware of it. It can also be noted that technically, the horrea was not necessarily “a granary”, although many have described it as such, including Luigi Mayer and Captain Francis Beaufort, as the Latin plural form “horrea”, as is recorded on this facade inscription, is the plural of horreum, which means a depot, storehouse, magazine, granary, and consequently this depot or storehouse structure consists of: depots, storerooms, magazines or granaries in the plural, and it would appear that it was perhaps the single depot that carries the two imperial busts carved above the entrance that was the Imperial depot, the other seven sections perhaps were not directly employed by the state.

Further, this “small ruined temple of very white marble” on the summit of this hill at Andriake was such a noteworthy navigational marker on this coastline at the time of Captain Beaufort’s repeated passages past Andriake in the course of his coastal surveying work conducted in 1811 and 1812,

⁵¹ William Martin Leake records it as “apparently a granary of Hadrian”, in his, *Journal of a tour in Asia Minor...*, Leake 1824, 183.

⁵² National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, Object ID, G235:8/6 Karamania Chart I from Makry to Khelidonia... by Francis Beaufort F.R.S.... 1811, <http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/539782.html> Repro ID: F8518.

that this building is clearly marked and recorded by name on the British Admiralty chart of this section of the coastline. The sequence of names recorded on this section of the chart of this coastline (Fig. 8) from west to east reads: *Andriake Pt.*, *Temple*, *Trejan's* (sic.) *Granary*, *Pyrgo Pt.*, on the Admiralty chart of 1819 drawn to a scale of: circa 1:150,000, a chart entitled, *Karamania Chart I, from Makry to Khelidonia*, which measures 39 by 26 inches (c. 100 by 67 cm). The structure named as a 'Temple' on this chart being this "white marble" hilltop temple-type tomb.

Further, on the topographical view of this section of the coastline, entitled: "V. View from Castelorizo to the Khelidonia Islands", presented on this same British Admiralty chart of 1819 (Fig. 10), this building is also explicitly named as a "Temple", with its precise location indicated by a vertical line, just to the right of the co-ordinates recording, "N. 17 degrees W." for the un-named Andriake point, while to its right, the "white beach" of Sülük Plaj is also noted below, without a vertical line, followed by the co-ordinates and name of the adjacent promontory to its east, "N. 4 degrees E. 6m'. *Pyrgo Pt.*", today the promontory named Taşdıbi.⁵³ Along this section of the coastline these points were recorded in this way as providing important visible visual markers for navigation.



Fig. 10) Above. Detail showing the location of the "Temple" at Andriake clearly marked in its hilltop location on the 1819 British Admiralty Karamania Chart I, from Makry to Khelidonia drawn up by J. Walker from data recorded in 1811 by Captain Francis Beaufort, ©National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London.⁵⁴

Fig. 11) Below. Detail from Google Earth © Geoeye 2011, showing from left to right: Andriake Point, the position of the "Temple", and the eastern tip of Pt. Pyrgo-Stamirra-Taşdıbi marked in their positions as are indicated to scale on the 1819 British Admiralty chart.

Recorded in his diary and published in his book, and recorded on his chart as providing a noteworthy navigational marker for maritime passage along this coastline, a navigational marker clearly recorded twice as a 'Temple', on both the chart and on the topographical view on the British Admiralty chart of this coastline published in 1819, there can be no doubt whatsoever that the hydrographer Captain Francis Beaufort had seen what he describes as a "small ruined temple of very white marble" on the hilltop behind Hadrian's horrea at Andriake in 1811 and 1812, both from the sea and on land. He had climbed the hill, and he had seen this building, both the prospect from it and the prospect of it, and he considered its visibility from the sea, a small ruined temple of very

⁵³ Duggan – Aygün 2015.

⁵⁴ National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, Object ID, G235:8/6 Karamania Chart I from Makry to Khelidonia... by Francis Beaufort F.R.S.... 1811, <http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/539782.html> Repro ID: F8518.

white marble on this hilltop, to be such a noteworthy feature on this extent of coastline that it was recorded as a navigational marker on the topographical view of this section of the coastline from Castelorizo to Cape Gelidonya published in 1819, thereby clearly indicating that this temple-mausoleum, although described as a “ruin”, its roof had fallen, was highly visible and was still standing upon this hilltop to the height of its entablature in 1811, and in April 1812 when Captain Beaufort passed by Andriake sailing east along this coastline.

For the following four reasons, I think there is no possibility that Captain Beaufort described the perhaps Late Classical or Early Hellenistic tower on the hilltop further towards Andriake Point, as a ‘Temple’. Firstly, its walls are not constructed “of very white marble,” but are of weathered limestone, surface grey. Secondly, it is without any columns-column drums, so how could both Luigi Mayer and Francis Beaufort have mistaken the remains of this Hellenistic tower for a temple? Both had seen and knew the differences between watchtowers and temples.⁵⁵ Beaufort would have marked “Tower,” not “Temple” on his chart, and, in the Key to this Chart, he records that at Pyrgo Point, there was a “Tower.” The tower towards Andriake Point was noted as “une tour hellénique,” not as a temple by Charles Texier in 1836 and published in 1861, “là on découvre l’entrée du port Andraki indiquée par une tour hellénique, la Pointe Pyrgo îles portulans.”⁵⁶ (However, this “tour hellénique” at the entrance to the port of Andriake noted by Texier, was not in fact the tower at Pointe Pyrgo of the portulans as was stated by Charles Texier, as Pointe Pyrgo is not at the mouth of the Andracus - Andraki River, but lies further to the east, closer to the mouth of the River Myrus, and is marked as such on Beaufort’s chart, where the Seljuk manār, often termed the Tower of St. Nicholas or Pyrgos-kule⁵⁷, stands at the Medieval port of Stamirra-Strumica (and is recorded as with Tower on Beaufort’s Admiralty Chart) the base of which remains *in situ* today, but almost all of the shaft of which was brought down in the 1741 seismic event,⁵⁸ at Pyrgo Pt.- the promontory today termed Taşdibi.) Likewise the fortification tower at the entrance to the port of Andriake was described as “une tour carrée” not as a temple in the *Itinéraire descriptif, historique et archéologique de l’Orient par Adolphe Joanne et Emile Isambert*, L. Hachette et C., Paris, 1861, 560, (Route 92), “Descendant le cours de l’Andriacus, on atteint au bord de la mer (3 kil.) le v. de Andraki, signalé deloin par une tour carrée, qui s’élève au fond de la baie du même nom. Sur le rivage à l’E., sont les ruines d’un édifice dit le Grenier d’Adrien. D’Andraki, on se rembarquera pour Kékoba.”.) Thirdly, because this tower fortification is closer to Andriake Point, than the location of the hilltop ‘Temple’ indicated in the drawing by Luigi Mayer, and its location is described by Beaufort as, “Above the granary, on the summit of a pointed hill,” not, “To the west of the granary, on the summit of a pointed hill.”. Fourthly, there is not the slightest evidence to suggest British Admiralty hydrographers in the 19th century marked unverified, non-existent, fanciful structures on British Admiralty charts and topographical views to serve as navigational markers for shipping sailing along this, or along any other coastline.

⁵⁵ For Towers, Beaufort 1817, 121, 195, 201, 236, 285; idem Temples, 4, 14, 43, 142, 241.

⁵⁶ Texier 1862, 690, 694.

⁵⁷ The place where D. E. Colnaghi embarked following his visit to Myra in 1854, Newton 1865, 344, “Monday April 3rd. – From Myra we proceeded in a country boat to Deliktash. We embarked from a little bay; on the promontory which formed it (Taşdibi) are the ruins of a Byzantine (sic. Seljuk 13th c.) watch-tower or lighthouse.”

⁵⁸ For further on this medieval manār, a territorial marker, harbour marker and signalling tower at Pyrgos Point, see Duggan – Aygün 2015.

Consequently, this hill-top Roman temple-tomb stood in this position and it can be stated with some certainty that this Roman temple type mausoleum, recorded in this hilltop position on this British Admiralty chart of 1819 as a *Temple*, shows it had not been imaginatively introduced by Luigi Mayer into his depiction of Hadrian's horrea at Andriake in 1792, thereby converting a view into a caprice.

Further, it seems probable that it was deliberately constructed of this "very white marble" in this location to serve from sea and land both as a most prominent memorial to the entombed, who, from the location of his monument and the very white marble employed in its construction, was evidently a Roman of some considerable consequence, perhaps of Senatorial rank, and, also to serve as a highly visible navigational marker for mariners off this coastline over the course of more than 1600 years, when it was again recorded as such a navigational marker by Captain Francis Beaufort on this chart published by the British Admiralty in 1819. It would have served as a navigational marker for Roman vessels nearing the port of Andriake from the East, and it doubtless served this same function, when the entrance to the harbour at Andriake was no longer passable for shipping, for its successor, for vessels approaching from the West, for the Medieval port established at adjacent Stamirra-Taşdibi.⁵⁹ This white marble hilltop temple-tomb, functioning as a coastal navigational marker over the course of more than 1600 years, may remind of similar relationships between prominent coastal tombs-mausoleum and adjacent Mediterranean ports, such the Roman Hıdırlık mausoleum on the cliff-top and the harbour at Attalia-Attaleia-Antalya; as also, but no longer extant today, a large brick pyramid marking an island anchorage by Dalaman, "The bay of Dalaman is separated from that of Koi-gez by a high bold promontory named Kapanya, on rounding which an island will be seen, whose towering cliffs are crowned by a large brick pyramid; there is anchorage under this island for small vessels."⁶⁰

The architect and a member of the *Society of Travellers-Society of Friends* (a group of Europeans who undertook excavations in Ottoman territory to auction their finds for financial gain, an association of looters, eg. the Aegina Marbles) Charles Robert Cockerell (1788-1863) who visited Andriake in April 1812, crossed with the crew of his caique on foot from a port at the eastern end of Karadağ to Myra to visit the Church of St. Nicholas and he returned with his crew and the pappas-priest from the church the following day down the river by means of a rowing boat. Remarkably in his son's edition of his fathers' journal published in 1903, he mentions neither the 'temple-tomb' on this hilltop, nor the tower, nor the enormous *horrea*, nor is there record he drew them. He just records that, "*The road was wretched, and what made it worse was that in wading across a river which was over my knees I so wetted my shalvar that they were heavy to walk in. At the mouth of the river Zanthus* (sic. Çay Ağzı-the mouth of the Andracus River) *we found many tombs, but none of which I could read the inscription...Accompanied by the pappas, we took a boat on the river and rowed down to the port at the mouth* (today Çay Ağzı), *and across the bay to the port where our bark lay.*"⁶¹ However, given that an interesting account of him drawing at Myra was published from his Journal⁶², as is repeated in Francis Beaufort's Karamania of 1817,⁶³ it may well be that amongst the more

⁵⁹ Duggan – Aygün 2015. The height of the medieval manār was not less than 25 m.

⁶⁰ Hoskyn 1843, 144.

⁶¹ Cockerell 1903, 165-166; idem 168. "Myra" on page 165 is not Myra but should be read as Kekova Island, as likewise, "Zanthus" on page 166 is not Xanthus, but should be read as Andraki.

⁶² Cockerell 1903, 171.

⁶³ Beaufort 1817, 59-60.

than 700 of his today largely unpublished drawings of Greece and Asia Minor in the British Museum, London, there are drawings of this hilltop monument, as also of Hadrian's Horrea, and the tower at Andriake, and perhaps record of this building is amongst the unpublished parts of his journal.

The Society of Dilettanti's Mission to Ionia of 1811-13, at Myra-Andriake in September 1812

The Society of Dilettanti Mission to Ionia of 1811-13, left Britain in a refitted Ottoman naval sloop, "*The Africa*", of 24 guns captained by Ismail Gibraltar (of Rhodes)⁶⁴ in November 1811 and the Mission departed Asia Minor for Athens at the end of 1812, returning to England after working in Greece in the summer of 1813. John Peter Gandy (later recorded with the names J. P. Gandy-Deering and, J. Deering)⁶⁵ (1787-1850) was one of the two young architects, the other being, Francis Octavius Bedford (1784-1858), members of the Society of Dilettanti Mission to Ionia of 1811-13, which was led by William Gell (1777-1836),⁶⁶ with the Hon. Keppel Richard Craven (1779-1851) as companion.

A considerable period of time, more than a month in 1812 was spent by the Dilettanti Mission, at Myra and its port of Andriake, from where a total of 46 listed measured architectural drawings, plans, views and maps were produced.⁶⁷ From these drawing the finished drawings were made to be engraved for publication, one of which, a view by J. P. Gandy, was published in 1840 (see below), another 21 of which, Plates XI-XXXI and one figure in the text, were published by the Society of Dilettanti in 1915 in *Antiquities of Ionia*, III, part V. Less than half of the record made by the Dilettanti Mission at Myra-Andriake listed in the 1814 Catalogue, remains unpublished todate, these amongst "*the many others (architectural drawings) of Myra and Telmessus that have not been engraved,*"⁶⁸ that were given by the Society of Dilettanti to the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) in 1912.⁶⁹

It is certain that J. P. Gandy and perhaps also, given its importance to the mission, Francis Bedford, recorded this building on this hilltop in different ways, through measured drawings and a reconstruction of it, and through recording a view of it on this prominent hilltop. J. P. Gandy also certainly produced plan, elevation and detailed drawings of Hadrian's horrea, which are recorded in the General Catalogue of Drawings and Plans of the Mission of 1814, as Nos. "200, *Plan of the Horreum*, 201, *Ele-*

⁶⁴ Cust 1914, 151.

⁶⁵ J. P. Gandy (1787-1850) changed his name to J. P. Gandy Deering on receiving an inheritance from Henry Deering in 1828. Through the Society of Dilittanti, he became a friend of Lord Elgin for whom he built Broomhall, the family seat of the Earls of Elgin. In 1830 he was voted a member of the Society of Dilettanti and he is listed as John Deering, not as John P. Gandy Deering in the List of Members of the Society (Dilettanti 1855, 126); but recorded as T. (sic.) P. Deering, in *Antiquities of Ionia (Volume V): Being a supplement to part III*, London, 1915, 5, published by the Society.

⁶⁶ He was paid a fee of £50 a month plus expenses, the two artist-draughtsmen £200 per year plus expenses, Cust 1914, 154.

⁶⁷ For this catalogue first published in 1814, see Dilettanti 1915, 7-9. The Myra-Andriake Cat. Nos. are: 164-203 and 102-106, a total of 46. A total of 482 drawings, plans, view and maps produced by the members of this mission were catalogued, while others are unrecorded, including those drawn by the Mission on Aegina in 1811.

⁶⁸ Dilettanti 1915, xii.

⁶⁹ It can be noted that the drawing entitled, "*Detail of the doorway of the Late Tomb,*" by Francis Bedford which was published on Page 15 of Dilettanti 1915, seems not to have been given to the RIBA. <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/dilettanti1915bd5/0039?sid=fa32b25c6293a9b0daec8a316cfe278a>.

vation, 202 Details”,⁷⁰ works that remained unpublished by the Society of Dilettanti in 1915 and to-day. The RIBA has a finished architectural drawing by J. P. Gandy (catalogued as by J. P. Gandy-Deering) entitled “Horrea at Myra Port,” dated by the RIBA as 1812, which is not the date of this finished drawing, but the date the measurements were taken at Andriake, SD140/9, RIBA65811. It shows the Elevation and Details, Nos. 201 and 202 in the 1814 General Catalogue of Drawings and Plans produced by the Mission, combined into one single image. However, No. 200, the “Plan of the Horreum” at Andriake made in 1812 has been lost.⁷¹ It is suggested here, that although a most detailed architectural record was made in September 1812 of this hilltop Temple-like mausoleum, these drawings were not recorded in the General Catalogue of Drawings and Maps from the Mission that was published in 1814, which were republished in 1915. That these particular drawings were quite deliberately excluded, together with those drawn on Aegina at C. R. Cockerell’s excavation in 1811, from the catalogued published list of drawings and maps produced by the mission. The reason one knows these detailed measured architectural drawings of this building were made in September 1812 is because of the record of the state of this building provided by J. P. Gandy in his view of it in 1812, published in 1840. One can surmise, if all had gone well with William Gell’s objectives, it seems probable these measured architectural drawings of the temple-like mausoleum at Andriake would have been recorded in the published General Catalogue of Drawing and Plans produced by the Mission which was published in 1814, and these would have formed engraved plates illustrating this building for their subsequent publication by the Society in the Antiquities of Ionia.

The architect J. P. Gandy’s record of this Temple-like building from September 1812

There is published visual record of the remains of this structure standing on this hilltop at Andriake in a view taken by J. P. Gandy in September 1812. This water-colour drawing was taken, probably late in September,⁷² early in the morning with the sun rising over the range of hills 15 km. to the east of Andriake, from onboard a vessel with its deck high above the water, moored off the mouth of the Andracus - Andraki River at Çay Ağzı. It is possible that one of the telescopes purchased for the Mission⁷³ was employed in the taking of this view, against the rays of the rising sun, given the degree of accurate detail depicted at such a distance. It is recorded as Number 108 in the 1814 General Catalogue of Views and Maps made by the Mission.⁷⁴ The depiction of this view was subsequently engraved by A. R. Freebairn (1794-1846) and it forms a steel engraved vignette entitled, “View of the entrance of the river of Myra (sic.)” (Figs. 12, 13, 14) inscribed with the name J. P. Gandy-Deering, rather than J. P. Gandy, which was his name when this drawing was made and remained so until 1828. This vignette was oddly employed for Chapter III which is entitled “Patara”, on page 75 of the third volume of the Antiquities of Ionia published in London in 1840 by the Society of Dilettanti.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Dilettanti 1915, 8.

⁷¹ Dilettanti 1915, 19.

⁷² For this date see: Dilettanti 1915, 5; <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O143875/a-tomb-in-lycia-turkey-watercolour-gandy-john-peter/> “in Summer/Autumn 1812, he and Francis O. Bedford investigated and drew antiquities in Lycia, including Myra (Demre) and Antiphellus (Kas).”

⁷³ For the purchase of telescopes for the Mission, at a cost of £65.13 s., see, Dilettanti 1855, 111.

⁷⁴ Dilettanti 1915, 9.

⁷⁵ It is today unknown if J. P. Gandy employed any form of camera obscura in his work for the Society of Dilettanti at this time, but one was certainly employed by William Gell at Pompeii with J. P. Gandy in 1817-1819, “It may be proper to state, that the original drawings for this work were made by the camera lucida, by Sir William Gell. To render the subject clearer, a slight alteration has in two or three instances been made, but always mentioned in the text”, Gell – Gandy 1821, I, xvi.

The architectural expert William Wilkins R.A., elected Member of the Society of Dilettanti in 1809 was the prospective editor of this volume of the *Antiquities of Ionia*, whose illness and demise in 1839, together with the absence from England on official duties of Col. William Martin Leake (1777-1860), Member of the Society of Dilettanti from 1814,⁷⁶ who was to have been supervising the work,⁷⁷ had in part, together with various other commitments, caused the delay in the publication of this third volume of the *Antiquities of Ionia* until 1840,⁷⁸ 27 years after the Mission's return.



Fig. 12) Vignette entitled, “View of the entrance of the river of Myra (sic.)”, heading Chapter III entitled, “Patara”, in the third volume of the *Antiquities of Ionia* published in 1840 showing the mouth of the Andriake river at dawn, the Ottoman buildings to the left by the mouth of the river, the sand banks and the remains of this temple-mausoleum tomb on the hilltop on the right.⁷⁹



Fig. 13) Detail of Fig.12



Fig. 14) Detail of Fig.12

It is hard to determine today the reason why this mis-named vignette depicting Andriake was ever published, and why it heads the chapter entitled Patara in this 1840 publication. However, as the only remains of antiquity clearly recorded in this view and given its known importance through the

⁷⁶ Dilettanti 1855, 125.

⁷⁷ Cust 1914, 168.

⁷⁸ Dilettanti 1915, xi.

⁷⁹ *Antiquities of Ionia*, Part the Third, London, 1840, 75; <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/dilettanti1840bd3/0141?sid=20696109c6dddaf09e2dbd62330adca3>.

record of it published by Luigi Mayer in 1803, there seems little room for doubt that sketches and measurements of this building were taken on site by J. P. Gandy or F. O. Bedford in 1812, for subsequent publication as finished measured architectural drawings of this building, for the projected publication of the architectural remains at Myra-Andriake by the Society of the Dilettanti.

J. P. Gandy also produced at Myra-Andriake an accurate watercolour of the exterior of the Myra theatre in September 1812, today in the British Museum, which was engraved for the Society of Dilettanti, and published in *Antiquities of Ionia*, Vol. V, 1915, entitled, “*Exterior of the Theatre*”, Plate XII.⁸⁰ A further water-colour view by J. P. Gandy, looking across the interior of the Myra theatre, entitled “*Interior of the Theatre*”, Plate XIII, was etched by G. Cooke (1781-1834), engraved and was published in *Antiquities of Ionia*, Vol. V, 1915, a view taken looking in the opposite direction to the view taken by Luigi Mayer of the theatre in 1792 which was published as Plate LVII in *Antiquities of Ionia* of 1797. He also produced an unpublished page for engraving of the front elevation of the horrea at Andriake and details thereof, today in the RIBA archive⁸¹ and drew the plan of it. Another watercolour, probably by William Gell, was etched by G. Cooke (1781-1834) and engraved by his pupil, G. Hollis (1793-1842) and entitled, “*General view of the Tombs and Theatre*”, Pl. XI, published in *Antiquities of Ionia*, Vol.V, 1915, that complements Luigi Mayer’s view of the Myra theatre of 1792, which was published as Plate LVI in *Antiquities of Ionia* of 1797.

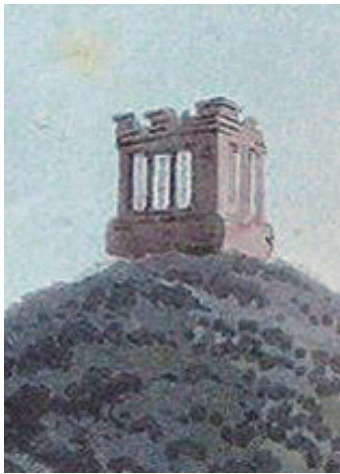


Fig. 15) Detail of Fig. 1



Fig. 16) Detail of Fig. 12

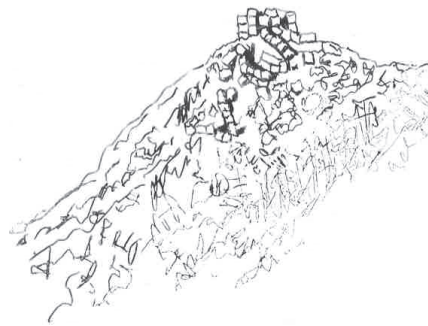


Fig. 17) Tracing of the remains indicated by the engraving Fig. 16

From the comparison of the depiction of the remains of this structure drawn in 1792 and again in 1812 (Figs. 15, 16), it is quite evident that at some point over the course of these two decades that this building had been largely dismantled, and further, given that Francis Beaufort recorded this hilltop structure as a noteworthy navigational marker in 1811, for which it would need to be stan-

⁸⁰ V&A Museum, London, SD.413, Watercolour, *Exterior of the Theatre, Myra, Lycia, Turkey, 1812* by John Peter Gandy (afterwards Deering) R.A. see, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O143875/a-tomb-in-lycia-turkey-watercolour-gandy-john-peter/> The V&A Historical Context Note reads in error, “*Antiquities of Ionia, Vol.V, 1815, PLXII*” rather than 1915. The V&A Museum, London, has a water-colour by William Gell of a Lycian type Tomb, SD.412, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O143873/a-tomb-in-lycia-turkey-watercolour-gandy-john-peter/> that from his water-colour of Myra, engraved and published as Plate XI Myra, in *Dilettanti* 1915, could perhaps be localised to Myra, to the west of the west necropolis.

⁸¹ SD 140/9, RIBA65811, it is recorded as drawn in 1812 but was certainly a drawing that was made for publication and was made long after the Mission’s return to Britain in 1813.

ding to the height of its entablature, one knows this building was dismantled after 1811, and probably after April 1812, the last time Captain Beaufort passed along this coastline. The detail of the engraving of John Peter Gandy's watercolour of September 1812 (Fig. 16) appears to show columns and large masonry blocks spread in a deliberate fashion over the slope below the western face of the remains of this building, prior to their removal. Noteworthy are what appear to be four lines of column drums (Figs. 16, 17).

As can be understood from Luigi Mayer's drawing, this building had two freestanding columns on the west face, as also implicitly on the east face, and consequently, what is represented in P. J. Gandy's view is not evidence of any collapse of this building from natural causes, as if this were the case, only the fallen drums from three or two columns would be recorded, and they would not be lying in the orderly rows that are recorded by J. P. Gandy on this steep slope. It is therefore evident, from the evidence recorded in the engraving of the drawing of September 1812, that this dismantling was on-going at the time this drawing was made. This seems to be the only plausible reason for these lines of column drums, showing the methodical orderly de-construction of this building, that is, for the building's orderly removal, to enable its subsequent re-erection elsewhere. Therefore what is depicted in this detail of this engraving is evidence of the quite deliberate and methodical dismantling of this structure in September 1812, clearly suggesting the subsequent removal from this hilltop of all the pieces of this entire building, down the landward slope to the Andraki River, for shipment and re-erection elsewhere.

The secondary sources

The presence of this structure on the hilltop continued to be repeated, even though the building no longer stood in this location. It is noteworthy that Captain Beaufort's Karamania and the British Admiralty Chart published respectively in 1817 and 1819 which record this building were, in fact, both published after this building had been physically removed from this location.

A translation into French of Beaufort's text (Beaufort 1820), with the passage concerning this small temple on page 29 of this translation: "*Au-dessus du grenier, sur le sommet d'une montagne aigüe, sont les ruines d'un petit temple en marbre très-blanc. La vue s'étend de la sur les rivages dentelés de Cacava, et sur la vaste plaine de Myra qui est bornée au nord par une chaîne de hautes montagnes noires.*"⁸²

In Condor 1824, 240 is the description of this building and the view from it, which has been taken directly from Beaufort 1817, 28: "*Above the granary, on the summit of a peaked hill, is a small ruined temple of very white marble. This hill commands an interesting view of the indented shores of Kakava, and of the extensive plains of Myra, which is bounded to the northward by a range of huge black mountains.*" This is likewise the case for his updated version (Condor 1830), where this same passage is reprinted on p. 240.

⁸² <https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=O4tTAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA5&dq=1820+beaufort+Nouvelles+Annales+Des+Voyages,+de+la+G%C3%A9ographie+Et+de+L%27histoire+Ou+Recueil+Des+Relations+Originales+In%C3%A9dites,&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiytrh4eDSAhWsJ5oKHSDDGQQ6AEIGTAA#v=onepage&q=1820%20beaufort%20Nouvelles%20Annales%20Des%20Voyages%2C%20de%20la%20G%C3%A9ographie%20Et%20de%20L%27histoire%20Ou%20Recueil%20Des%20Relations%20Originales%20In%C3%A9dites%2C&f=false>

In the *New Piloting Directions for the Mediterranean Sea, the Adriatic, Or Gulf of Venice, the Black Sea, Grecian Archipelago ...Containing Instructions for Navigating the Various Coasts, Islands, Bays, Ports, and Harbours, and for Avoiding the Numerous Rocks, Shoals, and Other Dangers in Those Seas ...*, published by John William Norie & Company at the Navigation Warehouse and Naval Academy in London in 1831, page 307 records this structure as “an old temple” that is located, “A little within the point (Andraki Point)”:

“*Andraki River, which has already been noticed, is situated a little to the northward of Andraki Point: the water in summer is brackish, and, like every other river on this coast, has a shoal bar, over which only boats of very light draught can pass. Andraki Point bears from the eastern end of Kakava Island N.E. ½ N. (N.E.1/2E.), distant 2 1/2 miles. A little within the point is an old temple, and near it a building called Trajan’s (sic.) Granary; there are also the remains of many ancient tombs scattered about the banks of the river and shore to the northward.*”

However, as the horrea-granary is described in *The New Piloting Directions* of 1831 as being Trajan’s⁸³ rather than Hadrian’s, it seems most probable that this was not an entry written from any fresh observation but employed the record of this coastline that was provided by Beaufort’s 1819 Admiralty chart, as on Beaufort’s chart Hadrian’s horrea=depot, is recorded as *Trejan’s (sic.) Granary*, as noted above. Although these three publications date from 1824, 1830 and 1831 respectively, these three accounts of this ‘*Temple*’ at Andriake simply repeat the information acquired by Captain Beaufort in 1811-1812 and they add nothing further to our knowledge of the state of preservation of this building at Andriake in the period after 1812. However, in the 1841 revised and corrected edition of, *New Piloting Directions for the Mediterranean Sea, the Adriatic, Or Gulf of Venice, the Black Sea, Grecian Archipelago, and the Seas of Marmara and Azov: Containing Instructions for Navigating the Various Coasts, Islands, Bays, Ports, and Harbours, and for Avoiding the Numerous Rocks, Shoals, and Other Dangers in Those Seas ...*, printed for Charles Wilson, written to accompany and illustrate a new general chart of the Mediterranean Sea by J. W. Norie, at the Navigation Warehouse and Naval Academy, London, there is no mention of “*an old temple*” nor is there any description or note of this building in the *Andraki* entry.⁸⁴

In the 1826⁸⁵ and 1827,⁸⁶ 1832⁸⁷ editions of John Purdy’s, *The New Sailing Directory for the Strait of Gibraltar and the western division of the Mediterranean Sea: comprehending the coasts of Spain, France, and Italy, from Cape Trafalgar to Cape Spartivento; the Balearic Isles, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, and the Maltese Islands; with the African coast, from Tangier to Tripoli*, R. H. Laurie, London, no notice is made of this building and the 1840 edition states, “*The Coasts of Anadoli and Karamania have been so well and fully described by Captain Beaufort as to require no further addition.*”⁸⁸ and this entire coastline is consequently unrecorded in these sailing directions of 1840.

⁸³ As likewise Cramer 1832, 253, cites Beaufort’s Karamania in attributing the ‘granary’ at Andriake to Trajan; which is also repeated in the translation from Beaufort in, Eyriès 1841, 219; Conybeare-Howson 1869, 316 and fn. 3, still records it as built by Trajan, citing Beaufort.

⁸⁴ Norie 1841, 237.

⁸⁵ Purdy 1826, 300.

⁸⁶ Purdy 1827, 300.

⁸⁷ Purdy 1832, 240.

⁸⁸ Purdy 1840, XXV.

The Rev. George Newenham Wright in his *A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer*, in Volume 1 of 4, published by Thomas Kelly in London in 1834, on page 177 records of Andriake the “granary of the time of Adrian”, but makes no mention of any hilltop temple of white marble, either because it no longer stood at the time this entry was compiled, or because it was not regarded as noteworthy:

“ANDRAKI (*anc. Andriace*), the port of Myra, in Asiatic Turkey, prov. Anadolia, on the S. coast. Lat. 36. 13. N. Long. 30.0. E. The water of the river is very brackish during the summer months: like all other rivers on this coast, the Andraki has a shoal bar, over which only boats of light draught can pass. On its banks are several remains of antiquity, particularly the ruins of a granary, of the time of Adrian. The Turkish population in this neighbourhood are not hospitably disposed towards strangers.”

However, it is noteworthy that this navigational marker, the hilltop white marble temple-tomb at Andriake is not mentioned in the 1841 edition of the *New piloting directions for the Mediterranean sea, the Adriatic...*, published by John William Norie & Company at the Navigation Warehouse and Naval Academy in London, it has been removed from the Andriake entry on page 237, but it was recorded as a navigational marker on this coastline in the 1831 edition. Consequently, it would seem that this structure, which was certainly standing in 1812 and which is recorded in 1831, had perhaps been reported as no longer standing by 1841 for it to serve as a noteworthy navigational marker on this coastline, this even though the 1841 edition states Captain Beaufort’s description of this coastline requires no further addition.

Félix Marie Charles Texier (1802–1871), who briefly visited Andriake from Myra in 1836, provides neither record or any mention of this building, but records the horrea-*grenier* from Beaufort’s account, and so also with seven rather than eight storage rooms, although giving its construction to Hadrian rather than Trejan-Trajan on the basis of the published inscription:

“A notre retour a Andraki, je fis faire une reconnaissance aux abords du grand édifice décrit par le capitaine Beaufort, mais le marais qui l’entoure était impracticable.

*D’après l’inscription placée sur le frontispice (sic.), ce monument était un grenier bati par ordre de l’empereur Hadrien; il est d’une conservation parfaite et divisé en sept chambres ayant chacune une porte: celle du milieu est surmontée de deux bustes.*⁸⁹ The absence of reference to this building on the hilltop may indicate, given his exhaustive and abiding interest in the ancient buildings and antiquities he saw in his travels through Asia Minor, being “sent by the French government in 1836 to procure antiquities for the French”,⁹⁰ with many of these recorded in his *Asie mineure: description géographique, historique et archéologique des provinces et des villes de la Chersonnèse d’Asie*, first published by Didot frères in Paris in 1862, that perhaps this ‘Temple’-mausoleum tomb visible from over a wide area, no longer stood in 1836 on this hilltop behind the horrea-‘granary’ at Andriake.

In 1843 the French artist and archaeologist Ernest François Pierre Hippolyte Breton (1812-1875) produced the first volume of *Monuments de tous les peuples*, published by Librairie Ethnographique in Paris, which records the horrea and its inscription on page 265, taken from Luigi Mayer’s work, and has a wood engraved copy of the aquatint of Luigi Mayer’s view of the “granary at Cacamo”, which shows this hilltop “Temple”, Plate 51, engraved by E. Duverger, here entitled, “Grenier Romaine, à Cacamo (Asia Mineure)”, printed between pages 264 and 265. This volume was subsequently

⁸⁹ Texier 1862, Ch. XXI, 694.

⁹⁰ Hodos 2015, 92.

translated into German by H. K. W. Berghaus and was published with the same wood engraving in 1849 (see below, Fig. 18). The engraving presents a somewhat simplified version of Mayer's aquatint.

Andriace is described in the 1845 *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*: “*The ruins of houses, sepulchres, and a spacious granary erected in the time of Hadrian, are evidently the remains of Andriaca, the port of Myra.*”⁹¹ but there is no mention of the ‘Temple’ on the hill.

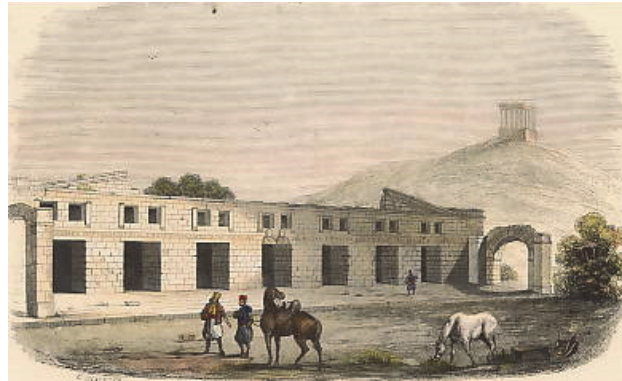


Fig. 18) A hand coloured copy of 1849 of the wood engraving made by E. Duverger in 1843 of the aquatint published in 1803 from the aquatint made from Luigi Mayer's 1792 view entitled “Ancient Granary at Cacamo - Ancien Grenier A'Cacamo” (for comparison see Fig.1).⁹²

E. Duverger's 1843 wood engraving (Fig. 18), republished in 1846 is a somewhat less than accurate copy of the aquatint of the ‘Ancient Granary at Cacamo - Ancien Grenier A'Cacamo’ by Luigi Mayer, showing this ‘Temple’ on the hilltop, republished in 1849 as Plate 55 (between pages 278-279) entitled “*Romanisch Speicher in Myra*” - Roman depot at Myra, and the inscription from the horrea is recorded on page 278 of H. W. K. Berghaus's, *Die Baudenkmäler aller Völker der Erde, in getreuen Abbildungen dargestellt und mit Hindeutung aus ihre Entstehung, Bestimmung und geschichtliche Bedeutung geschildert*, published in 1849 in Leipzig und Brüssel by Carl Kuquardt, translated from Ernest F. P. H. Breton's, *Monuments de tous les peuples*, 1, published in Paris by Librairie Ethnographique in 1843. However, Luigi Mayer recorded the pediment of the horrea on the left as rising from before the first window in the facade, in this copy it rises from above the outer upper corner of the window, and Luigi Mayer depicts the remains of the pediment to the right, as being broken above the third opening in the facade, in this copy, it is broken above the second opening in the facade which, in actual fact, is more accurate than in Luigi Mayer's depiction. This copy after Luigi Mayer has the addition of a flock of birds in the sky and different figures in the foreground and, while the spatial relationship between the horrea and this hilltop ‘Temple-tomb’ is clear, the difference between the rear wall and the side wall of this structure indicated by Mayer is not recorded on this copy, which has the same spaces between all the columns on the two visible sides, as with the Milas Gümüşkesen memorial tomb (Figs. 3, 4, 5, 6), while the line of the hillside to the left of the ‘Temple-tomb’ is different in the copy from that recorded by Luigi Mayer in 1792.

There is further record of this temple, not in the first edition of 1840 entitled, *A Handbook for Travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, and Constantinople: Being a Guide to the Principal Routes in Those Countries, Including a Description of Malta, with Maxims and Hints for*

⁹¹ Smedley 1845, 620.

⁹² <http://www.antique-prints.de/shop/catalog.php?cat=KAT43&product=P014691>.

Travellers in the East; nor yet in the second edition of 1845; but in the third edition entitled, *A Handbook for Travellers in Turkey: Describing Constantinople, European Turkey, Asia Minor, Armenia, and Mesopotamia-With New Travelling Maps and Plans*, published by John Murray in London in 1854. In its description of Route 50, Adalia to Smyrna, which records of the route from Myra to Andriake:

*“The river is narrow, but navigable. On the rt. Bank are many sarcophag (sic.) of peculiar shapes, with tablets for inscription; but too much corroded to be legible. On a high and well-wooded prominence, to the l. of the river, are the remains of a temple, which forms a pretty object in the scene and are (sic.) visible from Myra, although near the coast. At the entrance to the river, on the same side, is an extensive Roman building, known by an inscription, which extends along the whole of the front, to have been a granary. Large beds of sand are deposited at the entrance of the river, as at Xanthus and Patara.”*⁹³ This same text is reprinted unchanged in the description of Route 48, from Adalia to Makri, in the *Handbook for Travellers in Turkey in Asia: Including Constantinople, the Bosphorus, Plain of Troy, Isles of Cyprus, Rhodes, &c...*, with *General Hints for Travellers in Turkey, Vocabularies &c.* published by John Murray in 1878, 356.

Clearly described by Beaufort at Andriake in 1811, *“Above the granary, on the summit of a peaked hill, is a small ruined temple of very white marble. This hill commands an interesting view of the indented shores of Kakava, and of the extensive plains of Myra, which is bounded to the northward by a range of huge black mountains.”*, with its remains depicted by John Peter Gandy in September 1812, the problem with the scant subsequent published references to this building, that do not simply directly quote from Luigi Mayer’s text or from Captain Francis Beaufort’s text and/or chart in English or in translation, is that there is no certain evidence to suggest the sources employed by any of the authors of these later brief references, as in 1824, 1830 and 1831, that all record *“A little within the point is an old temple,”* or in 1854 and 1878 that record *“On a high and well-wooded prominence, to the l. of the river, are the remains of a temple, which forms a pretty object in the scene and are (sic.) visible from Myra, although near the coast.”*, have employed any primary source that was later than that provided by Captain Beaufort in his *Karamania* of 1817 and on his chart of this section of the coastline published in 1819, both made from his 1811 observations; while much of the description given in Murray’s *Handbook* in 1854 and repeated in the 1878 *Handbook*, *“On a high and well-wooded prominence, to the l. of the river, are the remains of a temple, which forms a pretty object in the scene and are (sic.) visible from Myra, although near the coast.”*, could have been obtained from Beaufort’s published record, if combined with Luigi Mayer’s aquatint depiction entitled, *“Ancient Granary at Cacamo - Ancien Grenier A’Cacamo”*, although the visibility from Myra of the remains of a ‘temple’ on this hilltop seems to be otherwise unrecorded. This statement, that this hilltop and ‘temple’ was visible from Myra, might have been the result of reported observation subsequent to Beaufort’s visit, but this seems unlikely (see below), or may have stemmed from the inaccurate summarising of Beaufort’s observation that, *“this hill commands an interesting view...of the extensive plains of Myra.”*, the latter being perhaps the more probable.

It is of note that Luigi Mayer in 1792 and J. P. Gandy in 1812 made drawings of both the theatre at Myra and of this temple-like mausoleum on this hilltop at Andriake and it seems possible, although by no means certain, that the first drawing to be made by a European artist of this temple-like mausoleum at the ancient port of Myra was taken by the French landscape painter, sculptor, architect,

⁹³ Murray’s *Handbook* 1854, 247-248.

archeologist and antiquary, Louis François Cassas (1756-1827), one of several artists in the entourage of the Comte M. G. A. F. de Choiseul-Gouffier in 1776 and who, in travelling along this coastline, certainly visited Myra and drew the Myra theatre in 1776, but I have been unable to find his 1776 drawing of this temple-like structure at Andriake, if he made one. His drawing of the Myra theatre was an accurate depiction, from which, more than 30 years later, he developed this subject into the picturesque scene that is depicted in his water-colour version of this subject painted in 1808.⁹⁴

Dating the disappearance to September-early October 1812, the precedent, who was there when it was removed and some suggestions as to the present possible location of this Temple-like mausoleum

It can be stated with some certainty that this very white marble mausoleum had disappeared from this hilltop long before the 1841 edition of the *New Piloting Directions for the Mediterranean Sea, the Adriatic...*, published by John William Norie & Company, was being compiled. The 1831 edition of this work records this “temple”, presumably from the record of it provided on the British Admiralty chart of 1819, while the 1841 edition does not record it. That is, at some point in the period after September 1812 and before 1840, this structure ceased to be a sea-mark and it was no longer recorded as such on this hilltop location at Andriake at approximately 36°13' 26". 44 N., 29° 57' 10". 92 E. at a height of approximately 40 m. ASL, in the published sailing directions for the Mediterranean. At some point shortly after J. P. Gandy had completed his water-colour drawing of the riverine entrance to Myra showing the remains of this building on this prominent hilltop in the course of its dismantlement in late September 1812, when the last certain first hand record of this structure on this hilltop was made (Fig. 12), this prominent ‘ruin’ of white marble had been completely removed from its hilltop location.

There is no record of any major seismic event in the period from 1810 to 1840 on this seismically active coastline, adjacent to the southern Anatolian fault in the Mediterranean sea-bed, that could have caused the collapse of the remains of this Roman building, and although large pieces of very white marble may have been taken away to be burnt in lime kilns, small shattered fragments of white marble should have remained on site. But there seems to be no evidence *in situ* of any fragments from any ruined large white marble structure in this area, nor has there been any published archaeological evidence of such from this location, as noted above. In consequence of the absence of any physical remains of white marble from this structure on-site today, or published over the course of the last two centuries, it seems to be far more probable that this Roman tomb-mausoleum was quite deliberately and completely removed, its careful removal leaving no remains *in situ* on the slope or on the summit of this hilltop. That is, the removal of this entire stone building, including its fallen parts for its subsequent re-erection, rather than the removal of just some column drums and dressed blocks for re-use in local building, a practice which had been the case for centuries, and which was for example related by William Turner Esq. on his voyage to Syria and Egypt, who records the removal of marble columns from somewhere in Karamania, which had been brought to the Ottoman island of Symi before 1815: “*I had been once before deceived in Symi with respect to antiquities, seeing some great quantity of large broken marble columns lying about the*

⁹⁴ V&A London SD.214, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O142327/theatre-of-myra-now-demre-water-colourcassas-louis-francois/> Signed and dated L. F. Cassas f. 1808.; on the back inscribed *Vue du Theatre De Cacanien en Caramancie*.

town, I was in hopes to trace the remains of some temple, but found on enquiry that the Greeks had brought them over from Caramania to build themselves a church.”⁹⁵ A practice which Luigi Mayer had recorded in his drawing on Cyprus of 1792 entitled *Roadstead of Amathonda*, with the depiction of the transport of ancient stone blocks from the Hellenistic fortification wall being loaded onto a boat for transport and their re-use elsewhere.

The removal of this white marble temple-like tomb seems almost certainly to have happened in 1812 with J. P. Gandy’s record of this process, 24 years before Charles Texier visited Myra-Andriake, who does not mention this formerly highly visible white marble Roman mausoleum tomb-‘temple’ on this prominent hilltop; although the absence of remark upon it by Texier, is not itself of course, any proof of its absence in fact - as, for example, in 1811 Beaufort records it, in April 1812 the architect Charles Cockerell in the 1903 published passages from his journal does not mention it, nor does he mention Hadrian’s horrea-granarium; yet in September 1812 the architect John Peter Gandy does record it, and it seems to be the case that the engraving of the water-colour taken by J. P. Gandy entitled “*View of the entrance of the river of Myra (sic.)*” records a stage in the deliberate dismantling of the stonework of this temple-like mausoleum in September 1812. It seems possible that further numbered record of the architecture of this monument is today with the Society of Dilettanti, a written document, as, after packing the marbles in wooden crates-cases⁹⁶ and their shipbourne passage to their destination, the proper reconstruction of this monument would require such documentation, including the numbering of the blocks and wooden chests, a list of them, an inventory, although this record may, in consequence of events, have been lost or been destroyed.

The Precedent

It seems probable that the precedent in general for such wholesale removal of an entire structure from Ottoman territory was provided firstly by the actions of the Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty to the Sublime Porte from 1799-1803, Thomas Bruce, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, who had removed with Ottoman permission⁹⁷ the “Elgin marbles” from the Parthenon on the Acropolis in Athens between 1801 and 1812⁹⁸, employing 300

⁹⁵ Turner 1820, 29. Also, for the removal of ancient stone-work to Cyprus, Beaufort 1817, 188.

⁹⁶ The marbles would have been packed in wooden cases, as John Galt records of the Elgin Marbles, “*It was near this village (on the island of Cerigo, then a part of the British protectorate of the United States of the Ionian Islands, today Kythira), that a vessel foundered, with a part of the Athenian marbles, the spoils of the temple of Minerva. The cases, though many were of a great weight, and sunk to the depth of fourteen fathoms, were, afterwards, raised by sponge divers (from Syme and Calymno after the passage of two years, Memorandum 1815, 22-23), and have since been transported to London. It is somewhat curious, that the vessel happened to bear the name Mentor. The pillage of the Parthenon...*” Galt 1812, 138; and, was likewise the case for the Bassai frieze, with the slabs, *boxed and bagged*, before transporting them (Cooper 1996, 22), and as is noted below for the Zanthian Marbles.

⁹⁷ “...in 1801, the Turkish government gave Lord Elgin permission to remove the sculptures from the Athenian acropolis and ship them to England.” Cohen-Joukowsky 2006, Preface. For the translation into English of the translation from Ottoman into Italian of this Ottoman firman see, Shaw 2003, 71.

⁹⁸ See the account provided by Smith 1916, as also in Memorandum 1815² (no author, but a work understood to be authored by W. R. Hamilton, see: Elwes 1876, 14, fn. §; Anderson DNB 24, 234.

men, both Greeks and Turks,⁹⁹ to remove, pack and transport hundreds of pieces of sculptured marble, including columns, sculpture, reliefs and inscriptions from the Parthenon, from the Temple of Athena Nike and from elsewhere, which were transported to London in British navy ships,¹⁰⁰ arriving from 1805 onwards. This action was, at least in part, a considered reply to French antiquity collecting activities, both in Ottoman Athens in the latter part of the 18th century and in Ottoman Egypt after the 1798 invasion, when one-hundred and fifty French savants descended upon the country and removed manuscripts, ancient Egyptian mummies, sculptures and statuettes. Perhaps above all, to the collecting activities of his perceived rival, the French Ambassador to the Sublime Porte, the Comte M. G. A. F. de Choiseul-Gouffier (1752-1817), author of *Voyage pittoresque de la Syrie, de la Phoenicie, de la Palaestine [sic] et de la Basse Aegypte*, published in Paris in 1799, whose personal collecting agent had arrived in Ottoman Greece in 1780, the painter Louis François Sébastien Fauvel (1753-1838), who subsequently became the French consul in Athens.¹⁰¹ James Stuart recorded that “*The inhabitants of Athens are between nine and ten thousand, about four fifths of whom are Christians.*”,¹⁰² where Louis F. S. Fauvel settled in 1786 and from where in 1787 alone, he sent 16 cases of marbles and 40 cases of plaster casts to the ambassador¹⁰³ and from where he continued collecting antiquities until 1801. He was in receipt of a letter of 1784 from the French Ambassador that read, “*Take everything you can. Do not neglect any opportunity for looting all that is loatable in Athens and the environs. Spare neither the living nor the dead.*”¹⁰⁴ Through his agent’s efforts based in and around Athens, the French Ambassador obtained a rich collection of antiquities, including a slab of the frieze and two metopes which had fallen down from the Parthenon, another metope was smashed when it was being lowered to the ground in the course of its removal,¹⁰⁵ the slab and one of the metopes are today in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. The Commander in Chief of the British Mediterranean Fleet, Baron Nelson of the Nile, wrote to Joseph Banks concerning a French Republican ship loaded with Greek antiquities that had been seized in 1803, to establish the proper valuation of its cargo of antiquities for prize money.¹⁰⁶ They included marbles collected by the French Ambassador Comte M. G. A. F. de Choiseul-Gouffier on board *L’Arabe*, which was taken at sea by Nelson and was sent, a prize to London.¹⁰⁷

The Earl of Elgin’s competitive response to the French collecting of antiquities in Athens,¹⁰⁸ as elsewhere, was the collection of the “Elgin Marbles”, and other antiquities secured by his agent in

⁹⁹ Mr Bankes, “*Not only the local authorities in Athens were favorable, but the natives, both Turks and Greeks, assisted as labourers.*” Hansard 1816, 1028.

¹⁰⁰ Including: HMS Pylades, HMS La Victorieuse, HMS Mutine, HMS Braakel and La Diane, a French frigate captured by the British off Valetta, Malta, 24th August 1800. Subsequently, in 1811 the R.N. brig Pauline was sent to collect the Aegina Marbles from Athens (Cockerell 1903, 103); in 1812 General Airey organised naval ships to transport the Bassai-Phigaleian frieze from Buzi-Elaia to Zante, (Cooper 1996, 18) where they were sold for 60,000 dollars on the 1st of March 1814; and R.N. vessels conveyed casts of antiquities from Italy to Britain for the Royal Academy Schools, London, in 1815 (Eustace 1997, 17-18).

¹⁰¹ He remained French vice consul in Athens until 1822.

¹⁰² Stuart 1762, x.

¹⁰³ Webb 1982, 199.

¹⁰⁴ Cited, Morris 1994, 24; Fagan – Beck 1996, 289; Shaw 2003, 70; Cohen – Joukowsky 2006, Preface.

¹⁰⁵ Memorandum 1815, 8-9.

¹⁰⁶ Chambers 2016, 33.

¹⁰⁷ Hooek 2007, 62.

¹⁰⁸ Memorandum 1815, 72-77.

Athens from 1801 to 1820, Giovanni Battista Lusieri, the Neapolitan painter (known to Sir William Hamilton on Sicily who was also a Member of the Society of Dilettanti¹⁰⁹). Initially in 1803 the Earl of Elgin's desire was that his collection of "*marbles should be handed over unconditionally to the British Government*,"¹¹⁰ he had desired casts for the embellishment of his Broomhall mansion in Fife,¹¹¹ with much of the Parthenon sculptures being first offered for sale in 1811, again in 1815, and finally purchased in 1817 for £35,000¹¹² from the Earl of Elgin by the British parliament, to much fanfare and some controversy in the British press. Thomas Bruce, Earl Elgin had become a Family Trustee of the British Museum in 1816¹¹³ and was elected a Member of the Society of Dilettanti in 1831, an election to the membership of which he declined.¹¹⁴

Subsequently the British Royal Navy would, with Charles Fellows direction,¹¹⁵ remove the Xanthian marbles from Lycia via the Xanthus-Esen river in 1841-44, with their removal pre-announced in the preface to Fellows' book, *A Journal written during an excursion in Asia Minor in 1838*, published in 1839: "*The Drawings introduced here have been selected from my sketchbook for the purpose of illustration only. Those which represent the sculptural remains found at Xanthus have been seen by the Trustees of the British Museum, and I hear that on their recommendation the Government has given directions for having these monuments of ancient art brought to this country; we may hope therefore to see them amongst the treasures of our National Institution.*";¹¹⁶ as again related in 1840 in the Edinburgh Review, "*that the government has given directions for this and other specimens of sepulchral art in the same locality to be added to our national collection.*"¹¹⁷ Through the urging of Charles Fellows and the auspices of Lord Ponsonby, British Ambassador to the Sublime Porte 1832-1841,¹¹⁸ permission was granted for the removal of the "Zanthian Marbles". Charles Fellows records the use of a sledge to transport stone blocks overland from the base of the acropolis to the Zanthus/Esen river¹¹⁹ and, in the period from the 2nd of January 1842¹²⁰ to the 1st of March, over the course of 55 days with 15 working men, two carpenters, timbers, planks and ropes, 80 tonnes of carved stone, the largest pieces weighing 2 tons 1 cwt,¹²¹ including much of the Nereid Monument,¹²² were unhurriedly removed from the top of the Xanthus Acropolis and from, and beside the hill upon which the Nereid monument stood and were packed in 82 wooden cases which were removed to the bank of the Esen river. The Nereid monument, a somewhat larger 33 by 22 by approx. 50ft. high

¹⁰⁹ Cust 1914, 132. In 1812, 80 cases of antiquities for the Earl of Elgin arrived in Britain from Athens for decorating Broomhall in Scotland, Wroth 1886.

¹¹⁰ Cust 1914, 130-132.

¹¹¹ See for example, Mori 2010, 179.

¹¹² When the cost to the Earl of Elgin of their removal to London, including the recovery of some after three years from off the coast of Cerigo-Kythira when the *Mentor* sank in 1802, was calculated as being £62,440, Mori 2010, 179.

¹¹³ British Museum 1839, 43.

¹¹⁴ Cust 1914, 173-174.

¹¹⁵ See Charles Fellows record of this to December 14th, 1842, Fellows 1843, 5.

¹¹⁶ Fellows 1839, v-vi.

¹¹⁷ Edinburgh Review July 1840, Vol. 71, 409.

¹¹⁸ Edwards 1870, 646.

¹¹⁹ Fellows 1843, 33.

¹²⁰ Fellows 1843, 19.

¹²¹ Fellows 1843, 42.

¹²² Except for its foundation blocks weighing between 6 and 10 tonnes each, Fellows 1848, 4; 16.

(10 by 6.7 by 15 m.)¹²³ temple-like structure, in the Ionic rather than Corinthian Order, but a similar type of building to that which it is suggested here, was removed from the hilltop behind the horrea at Andriake. If Charles Fellows when he was deciding on the methods and means to be employed in the removal of marbles from Zanthus had any knowledge of the means and methods of removal employed in 1812 is today unknown. 78 cases containing a total of 80 tonnes of carved stone including much of the Nereid Monument, were brought to London in December 1843¹²⁴ by H.M.S. *Cambridge*, the remainder of the cases, including that containing the Lycian winged chariot-horse tomb were removed in 1844.¹²⁵ Likewise the 12 marble reliefs from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus-“the Budrum Marbles” were removed from the castle in 1846¹²⁶ to Britain through the auspices of Sir Stratford Canning, British Ambassador to the Sublime Porte 1809-12, 1825-27 and 1841-58,¹²⁷ elected a Member of the Society of Dilettanti in 1834, and again, a further quantity of the Halicarnassian Marbles through the auspices of Sir Stratford Canning, and through the auspices of his successor Sir Henry Bulwer, who secured permission from the Porte in 1858,¹²⁸ for their excavator, the temporary British vice-consul in Mitylene, Charles Newton, seconded from the British Museum, including four more reliefs, colossal statues and architectural elements, “*in sufficient in quantity and diversity to warrant a faithful restoration of the ancient building by a competent hand.*”¹²⁹ and for the removal in 1858 of 12 statues from the sacred way at Geronta-Ieronta¹³⁰ -Didyma-Didim which were brought by warship to Britain for the British Museum’s collection. These rather large statues, including the lion and the sphinx, were removed over a distance of three miles down the sacred way with the assistance of Corporal Jenkins of the Royal Engineers¹³¹ and 60 Turkish labourers, brought from Cnidus in August 1858, employing to transport them, on four wheeled wooden trucks and ropes.¹³² The Lion of Cnidus, a single block of stone weighing 6 tonnes, 2.9 by 1.8 m., found in 1858 was moved from its cliff-top and brought on board H.M.S. *Supply* and delivered to the British Museum in the same year.

The much earlier more general precedent for the secret removal of antiquities without securing permission from the Ottoman authorities is recorded, and this was placed in the public record through the publication in London in 1740 of “*The negotiations of Thomas Roe in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte from the year 1621-28 inclusive.*” In a letter of May 1624 from the English Ambassador to the Porte Sir Thomas Roe, to the Earl of Arundel, the ambassador states: “*I may also light of some pieces of marble by stealth; as now I am offered a lion to the waist, of pure white, holding a bull’s head in his claws; but the very nose and mouth is defaced, the rest very fair, and they say, a l’antiqua: I have not yet seen it, but expect it hourly, if the ship meet it not: it was taken up at*

¹²³ Fellows 1848, 4.

¹²⁴ Fellows 1843, 43; Edwards 1870, 651-652.

¹²⁵ Edwards 1870, 652.

¹²⁶ Newton 1865, 335.

¹²⁷ Edwards 1870, 663.

¹²⁸ Newton 1863, 537.

¹²⁹ Edwards 1870, 664.

¹³⁰ Described as such in the General Catalogue of views and maps, made by the Ionian Mission, Nos. 80, 87 and 92, *Antiquities of Ionia*, 1915, 9.

¹³¹ The group of Royal Engineers at the Cnidus excavations was commanded by Lieutenant Robert Murdock Smith (1835-1900).

¹³² Newton 1863, 538.

*Lampsacum (Lapseki) in Natolia. On (the) Asia side, about Troy, Zizicum, and all the way to Aleppo, are innumerable pillars, statues, and tombstones of marble, with inscriptions in Greek; these may be fetched at charge and secretly; but if we ask leave, it cannot be obtained; therefore Mr. Markham will use discretion, rather than power, and so the Turks will bring.*¹³³ In other words, the ambassador wrote, Mr John Markham, the Earl of Arundel's agent will use secrecy and money to secure antiquities from Ottoman territory. Ottoman law as recognised at that time in the 17th c., firmly objected to the removal of antiquities from Ottoman territory, in part doubtless because of the understood talismanic function of ancient inscribed stones and statues and, further, it can be understood there were at times, as under the Grand Vizier Pargarli Ibrahim Pasha (executed 1536), who brought by boat from Buda in 1526 three 15th c. bronze statues taken from the Budin-Buda royal palace representing Apollo, Hercules, and Diana, which were set them up in front of his palace in Constantinople, that, at times, there was an Ottoman interest in sculpture, for itself and well as publicly exhibited as military trophies. Consequently, "*The premise of Ottoman indifference served as justification for the removal of objects, even entire monuments, from Ottoman territory to western and central European collections*" was just a useful dishonesty, simply an articulated European premise in respect to the "Other", addressed to a European audience, as was noted in 2015 by Benjamin Anderson in a slightly different ethno-archaeological context, in the reaction of local populations in Ottoman territory to the removal by Europeans of antiquities.¹³⁴

Noteworthy is the fact that it was known to the English ambassador that the Ottoman Sultan Murad IV (1623-1640) would certainly not permit the export of antiquities at this time, "*if we ask leave, it cannot be obtained.*" Consequently, although the 1884 Ottoman decree on antiquities, in which the Ottoman state declared itself the owner of all antiquities and therefore, there was an absolute prohibition on the sale or transfer of antiquities found anywhere within Ottoman territory;¹³⁵ it was the case that it was known 260 years earlier that if permission, "leave" was requested, it would not be granted by the sultan for the export of antiquities taken from Ottoman territory.

The example provided by The Society of Travellers-the Society of Friends

It seems within the bounds of probability that the Society of Dilettanti expedition to Ionia of 1811-13, led by William Gell, Member of the Dilettanti Society since 1807, who is also recorded in April 1812¹³⁶ as a member of the *The Society of Travellers-the Society of Friends* etc. (a group including Charles Robert Cockerell, involved in "archaeology" in Ottoman territory for financial profit after the removal from Ottoman territory and the public sale by auction of the finds they had made),¹³⁷ who was Knighted in 1816,¹³⁸ had as an objective in September 1812 at Myra-Andriake the dismantling and the complete removal of this prominent white marble Roman temple type mausoleum from its hilltop location above Hadrian's Horrea at Andriake. A course of action which the

¹³³ Roe 1740, 154.

¹³⁴ Anderson 2015, 450.

¹³⁵ Özel 2010, 179.

¹³⁶ Cooper 1996, 20.

¹³⁷ Cooper 1996, 13.

¹³⁸ In his obituary, published in Vol. 5 of the Gentleman's Magazine, Ed. Sylvanus Urban, June 1836, 665, it states he received a knighthood on return from a mission to the Ionian Isles, on May 14th 1803. But this knighthood would have been a foreign decoration, the Earl of Elgin addresses him as Mr. Gell and he is recorded in the 1814 List of Members of the Ionia Committee as Mr Gell Esq.

print made from J. P. Gandy's watercolour records, the progress of ordered dismantlement of this Roman monument (Figs. 15, 16, 17). The immediate precedent for this removal seems to have been provided by the actions of the *The Society of Travellers-the Society of Friends*, within the more general context set by the Earl of Elgin for the removal of major elements of ancient structures from Ottoman territory. The immediate precedent had been in the previous year, with C. R. Cockerell and his associates's (the *Society of Travellers, the Society of Friends*) removal of the Aegina Marbles in 1811, which are today in the Munich Glyptothek. These marbles were removed without any Ottoman official permission for their excavation and removal being obtained by Barons Stackelburg, Haller, Kestner, Mr Linckh and C. R. Cockerell.¹³⁹ The sale of the Aegina Marbles on British ruled Zante in 1812 was on behalf of J. Foster Jnr., C. R. Cockerell, Baron Haller and J. Linckh, members of the *Society of Friends*, and their agent, G. Gropius.¹⁴⁰ The fact that there was no Ottoman permission for the excavation and removal of the Aegina Marbles by the *Society of Friends* was known to William Gell and the other members of the Dilettanti Mission who in 1811 were on Aegina and they recorded the Aegina finds,¹⁴¹ and, as noted above, William Gell, the leader of the Dilettanti Mission was recorded as a member of this *Society of Friends* in April 1812.

The actions of the so-called *Society of Friends* or *Society of travellers* seems to have provided the immediate precedent as, unlike the Ottoman permission that seems to have been secured for the removal of the Earl of Elgin's Marbles from Athens, and which was certainly subsequently secured from the Porte for the removal of the Zanthian Marbles and for the Budrum-Halicarnassian Marbles, as noted above; there is no record whatsoever of any Ottoman official permission being given for the complete removal of this building from its hilltop location at Andriake in 1812 by William Gell's mission, as had likewise been the case for the Aegina Marbles in 1811. Nor apparently did the British *chargé d'affaires* from 1809 to 1812, Stratford Canning, nor the Ambassador Sir Robert Liston, Sir Robert Ainslie's successor from 1793-96 and again His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador to the Sublime Porte from 1812-20 employ their good offices in this respect.

It can be noted however, that the removal of any ancient buildings or major elements of ancient structures is not recorded amongst the articles of the "*Instructions for Mr. Gell, Mr. Gandy, and Mr. Bedford,*" signed by Mr Gell on behalf of the Mission in 1811. These *Instructions* were written by a Member of the Society of Dilettanti, George Hamilton-Gordon, Lord Aberdeen (1784-1860), and forwarded to the Secretary of the Society of Dilettanti, Sir Henry Englefield on the 15th of September 1811. In Article 2 are listed the principle objects of research for the mission in their order of interest to the Society as being: Samos, Sardes, Aphrodisias, Hierapolis, Tralles, Laodicea, Telmessus, Patara and Cnidus. Quite unmentioned as an objective of the mission at that time is either Myra-Andriake or Antiphellos-Kaş. However, Article 5 states: "*Having entire confidence in the knowledge and zeal of Mr. Gell, we hereby declare that the direction of the whole expedition is intrusted to his care, and state implicitly, that it is our intention he should be vested with the sole management of the undertaking, as well in the necessary expenses to be incurred as in the manner and time of*

¹³⁹ For further on this venture of the Aegina Marbles in 1811-12 and that of the sculptured frieze at Bassai in 1812, likewise excavated and removed from Ottoman territory for financial profit by the *Society of Travellers, the Society of Friends*, members who bought shares in a venture, see Cooper 1996, 12-18; Dilettanti 1855, 156.

¹⁴⁰ Cooper 1996, 15.

¹⁴¹ Cust 1914, 157.

carrying into effect the general objects of the Society.”¹⁴² George, fourth Earl Aberdeen founded the Athenian Society in 1803,¹⁴³ open only to travellers who had visited Athens, had been a Member of the Society of Dilettanti since 1806,¹⁴⁴ was elected Trustee of the British Museum from 1812,¹⁴⁵ and was President of the Society of Antiquaries from 1812 to 1846. He wrote *An Inquiry into the Principles of Beauty in Grecian Architecture*, published by John Murray, London, in 1822, a text which was first published in 1812 as the introduction to the translation of *The Civil Architecture of Vitruvius* by William Wilkins R. A., who since 1809 was also a Member of the Society of Dilettanti.

In May 1812 William Gell in Smyrna-İzmir obtained a further £1.500¹⁴⁶ from the Society of Dilettanti, a most considerable sum, initially advanced by the Secretary, Sir Harry Charles Englefield,¹⁴⁷ who was reimbursed after January 3rd 1813 when this advance for the Mission to Ionia was brought to the committee’s notice.¹⁴⁸ In the context of the removal of this small monument from Andriake, it is worth noting the language that was employed by the Society concerning the acquisition of the sculptures from a far larger structure, as on May the 17th 1812 the Society of Dilettanti requested the Third Earl of Hardwicke, Philip Yorke (1757-1834) Fellow of the Royal Society, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, elected Member of the Society of Dilettanti from 1790,¹⁴⁹ Trustee of the British Museum from 1803,¹⁵⁰ Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of Cambridgeshire, High Steward of Cambridge University and First Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to lay the letter by William Gell and the drawings made by the Dilettanti mission concerning the Aegina Marbles before the Trustees of the British Museum, “and to inform them of the wish of the Society to encourage by any means in their power to the acquisition of the same for the Publick^(sic).”¹⁵¹ (These were the pedimental sculptures from the Temple of Aphaia on Ottoman Aegina excavated by Charles Robert Cockerell and the other financial sponsors and active participants in the *Society of Travellers-Society of Friends* in April 1811, which Cockerell “bought” from the villagers for 400 piasters-£40,¹⁵² and which, on the advice of the French consul in Athens, Louis François Sébastien Fauvel were rapidly taken from

¹⁴² Dilettanti 1855, 47-48.

¹⁴³ Venn 1947, 90.

¹⁴⁴ Dilettanti 1855, 125.

¹⁴⁵ British Museum 1839, 45.

¹⁴⁶ Cust 1914, 156. The initial budgeted cost for this Dilettanti Mission to Ionia was of £1.000. There are different ways of trying to understand what a budget of £1.000 represented, at a time when the pedimental sculptures from the Temple of Aphaia, on Aegina were auctioned for £6,000. In 1812 the average family income for British agricultural labourers was £30 per year. The Manchester cotton spinning firm of McConnel & Kennedy, employing 1,000 workers, was valued in 1812 at about £20,000. The equivalent purchasing power of £1.000 in 1812 is, from the consumer price index, approximately £69,000 in 2018. <https://www.officialdata.org/1812-GBP-in-2018?amount=1000> Alternatively, in 1821, Britain was on the gold standard and one could exchange at the bank 20 shillings for a gold sovereign, with a value of £1 in 1821. Newly minted, the gold sovereign of today still has a nominal face value of £1, but to buy 1,000 sovereigns will cost about £210,000. The initial budget of the mission was therefore a most considerable sum of money, which was increased in May 1812, to reach at total of £2,500.

¹⁴⁷ Elected 1781, Secretary and Treasurer of the Society from 1808-1822, Dilettanti 1855, 122.

¹⁴⁸ Cust 1914, 157.

¹⁴⁹ Dilettanti 1855, 123.

¹⁵⁰ British Museum 1839, 44.

¹⁵¹ Cust 1914, 155.

¹⁵² Cooper 1996, 14, fn. 16.

Ottoman Aegina to British Malta, and which were bought at an auction held on the Island of Zante-Zakynthos, a part of the British Protectorate of the Ionian Islands, on the 1st of November 1812 by the German agent of Prince Ludwig of Bavaria, who secured the Aegina Marbles held on Malta for £6,000 which are today in the Munich Glyptothek. The representative from the British Museum sent to purchase the marbles, Mr. Coombe, went to Malta where the sculptures were, instead of to Zante where the auction was held, missing the auction.¹⁵³

William Gell wrote from Smyrna-İzmir to the Society of Dilettanti on the 14th of May 1812, “*setting forth the risk the mission ran from privateers and pirates in the seas near Asia Minor*,” and requested “*an application to Government for assistance*.”¹⁵⁴ There is clear collaborative evidence of the risk from privateers and pirates in the seas off Asia Minor that was recorded in 1812, for example by Charles Robert Cockerell who records of Hasan Bey, the Ottoman governor of Rhodes, “*He builds ships here for the government, and has one, a frigate, for his own behoof, which he uses himself for piratical purposes while with it he clears the neighbouring seas of all other pirates*.”¹⁵⁵

This request for Governmental (Royal Navy) assistance by William Gell for the Dilettanti’s Ionia mission was immediately acted upon by the Third Earl of Hardwicke, Philip Yorke, “*who drew up a letter signed by the members present, was by the Earl of Hardwicke transmitted to the Admiralty, together with a note from his Lordship to the First Lord (of the Admiralty), and a note from the Secretary to Mr. Barrow, Secretary of the Admiralty, enclosing Mr. Gell’s letter*.”¹⁵⁶ In consequence of the Earl of Hardwicke’s rapid response to this request, it seems reasonable to suggest, at a time of relative peace in the course of Mediterranean naval warfare in the Napoleonic wars, a British naval vessel from the Mediterranean fleet was allocated to provided security from pirates and privateers for the Dilettanti Mission as it went around part of the South-Western coastline of Asia Minor, after the party reached had Cnidus in July.¹⁵⁷ From Samos in June, they travelled via the Temple of Apollo near Miletus and Halicarnassus to Cnidus, Telmessus-Fethiye, Patara and then to Myra-Andriake in September and to Antiphellus-Kaş. From Antiphellos the mission would have parted company with British naval assistance when it moved inland, via Aphrodisias, to Magnesia, then Priene and the mouth of the Meander River, before the Mission departed Asia Minor for Athens at the end of 1812.

It seems J. P. Gandy’s watercolour of September 1812 depicting the “*View of the entrance of the river of Myra (sic.)*” (Fig. 12), was probably made from the deck of a British warship escorting the mission and, if this was the case, naval ratings were doubtless employed under the supervision of the team of Society of Dilettanti architects in the careful dismantling (Fig. 16, 17) and transport of the

¹⁵³ Cockerell 1903, 213-214. The question of the mis-directing of Mr Coombes by the agent Mr. G. Gropius is raised in Cockerell’s work.

¹⁵⁴ Cust 1914, 156.

¹⁵⁵ Cockerell 1903, 163. See also, Lewis 1866, 517, quoted in fn. below.

¹⁵⁶ Cust 1914, 156.

¹⁵⁷ William Gell wrote to Miss Berry from Cnidus July 3rd 1812, “*This letter ought to be addressed to all lovers of retirement, for there is not a soul except our own party or its adherents within three hours, which may indeed be all the better for us, as the whole country has the plague, from Pergamo to Attalia...but that is not all: the Asiatic terra firma is plagued, the islands will not receive you for fear of the plague, you have French privateers in all the gulphs, and behind every rock you are in danger of pouncing upon the Mainiote pirates, - so I don’t know whether it will be possible to avoid such a series of plagues, or jockey such a variety of thieves*.” Lewis 1866, 517.

marbles from the hilltop down to the riverbank, packing them in wooden cases and their transport from the mouth of the Andraki River out to the British naval or other vessel moored in Cacava-Cacavo-Kekova Bay for the transportation of the dismantled temple-tomb from Andriake to its destination. There remains in the absence of confirmatory evidence, the possibility that William Gell employed other monies or a part of the additional funds sent to him to hire a vessel, perhaps from the Castell Rosso-Meis fleet, to transport the marbles to their destination, although this may seem improbable, not least with the precedent of Lord Elgin's misadventure with the *Mentor*, the polacre he purchased to transport marbles from Athens to London sinking off Cerigo in 1802, combined with the probability that William Gell had the assistance of a Royal Navy vessel at Andriake in September 1812, given the Earl of Hardwicke's communications with the Admiralty.

It seems probable that the removal of this building by the Society of Dilettanti expedition to Ionia in September 1812, prior to the publication of Captain Beaufort's *Karamania* in 1817 and the publication of the Admiralty chart of this coastline in 1819, both of which record this "Temple" of very white marble as standing on this hilltop, where, it is suggested by the time both *Karamania* and the Admiralty chart were published, it no longer stood; was largely inspired by the published aquatint of the drawing made of it by Luigi Mayer in 1792 for his patron, Sir Robert Ainslie, member of the Society of Dilettanti, and through the circulation of this image, together with the notice of it published in 1809 in France, and the possibility that the French may decide to remove it from the hilltop at any time, combined with its striking physical presence on this accessible hilltop at Andriake when the Society of Dilettanti mission led by William Gell's arrived at Myra-Andriake in September 1812.

Its dismantlement and removal seems to have been a work of a somewhat private enterprise, undertaken by the leader of the Society of Dilettanti expedition-Mission to Ionia, William Gell, and member of *The Society of Travellers*, although if its removal without Ottoman permission was on behalf of the Society of Dilettanti, on his own behalf as a Member of the *Society of Travellers*, or for another party, remains today altogether unknown. If it was subsequently sold, and this seems most improbable, it was not sold at any public auction, unlike the Aegina and the Bassai-Phigaleian Marbles, excavated and removed from Ottoman territory by the *Society of Travellers-Society of Friends*.

The Members of the Ionian Committee of the Society of the Dilettanti responsible for supervising the expedition and for the relevant publications following the return of the Mission in 1813 were: the Earl of Aberdeen, the Earl of Hardwicke, Viscount Morpeth, Lord Northwick, Lord Selsey, Sir. H. C. Englefield, (secretary), William Gell, Thomas Hope, R. Payne Knight, Thomas Laurence, Benjamin West, Roger Wilbraham and William Wilkins.¹⁵⁸

"On the 6th of February, 1814, the thanks of the Society had been unanimously voted to Mr Gell for his great services to the Society and learning in general during his late voyage; and, on the motion of Mr. R. P. Knight, seconded by Mr. Wilbraham, it was Resolved, That the Secretary do direct Mr. Lawrence, Painter to the Society, forthwith to paint the picture of Mr. Gell, at the expense of the Society, and that the picture, when finished, be hung up in the room of the Society (The commission was never executed). The thanks of the Society were also voted to Messrs. Gandy (Deering) and Bedford, draughtsmen to the Society, "for their constant attention to the objects of the Mission, and their very

¹⁵⁸ Dilettanti 1915, 4.

*meritorious exertions of skill and talent in making measures and drawings of the several remains of antiquity met with in the course of their voyage.*¹⁵⁹

Some suggestions as to the possible location of the Andriake Marbles today

Sir Robert Ainslie had died in Bristol on the 21st of July 1812 before the expedition reached Myra-Andriake. There is no sign of this building catalogued as an 18th-19th c. Neo-Classical or Greek revival temple, nor yet recorded as Roman Imperial period monument of very white marble in the grounds of William James Hamilton's manor from 1812, Appledram,¹⁶⁰ with its landing at Dell Quay, by Chichester harbour in West Sussex, England. The residence of the Third Earl of Hardwicke, Wimpole House in Cambridgeshire was sold in 1897 and is today in the hands of the National Trust, and likewise there seems to be no evidence of any such temple-like building, catalogued as standing within the grounds of Wimpole House; and this is also the case for Haddo House, the Earl of Aberdeen's Palladian country seat near Tarves in Aberdeenshire, also today in the hands of the National Trust. The whereabouts of this Roman monument over the past 200 years since its removal from Andriake in 1812 seems to be altogether unrecorded.

The Society of Dilettanti expressed in 1801, in an important proposition concerning the reduction of the *ad valorem* tax of 33.3% then in force, a prohibitive duty on the import of works of sculpture into Britain, the aim that:

*"the native of England be enabled, without going abroad, to behold on his own native shore some of those celebrated monuments of antiquity, so highly attractive to the traveller, so interesting to the antiquarian and man of letters; and, above all, so very essential to artists, manufacturers, and artisans of every description..."*¹⁶¹

However, although *"The Society of Dilettanti has from time to time presented the original works of art which it had collected to the British Museum"*,¹⁶² including the marbles brought to England by the members of the Society's first Ionian Expedition, a fragment of the Parthenon frieze brought to England by Dr. Chandler,¹⁶³ two fragments of the Panathenaic frieze transferred in 1816,¹⁶⁴ inscribed marbles¹⁶⁵ and ancient busts;¹⁶⁶ and there were also the gifts made to the British Museum by individual members of the Society of Dilettanti, in the 19th century by Col. William Martin Leake who donated his collection of marbles, as well as the support of the Society for the purchasing for the British Museum of the Aegina Marbles in 1812, there is simply no record of the presentation by the Society of Dilettanti of this Roman "Temple" type building from Andriake to the British Museum.¹⁶⁷

In consequence of the above, there seem to be the following three possibilities as to the whereabouts of this Roman white marble monument after its deliberate removal from its hilltop location at An-

¹⁵⁹ Dilettanti 1855, 51.

¹⁶⁰ Elwes 1876, 14.

¹⁶¹ Dilettanti 1855, 98.

¹⁶² Dilettanti 1915, xi; Dilettanti 1855, 41.

¹⁶³ Cust 1914, 105.

¹⁶⁴ Dilettanti 1855, 102.

¹⁶⁵ Cust 1914, 106.

¹⁶⁶ Cust 1914, 105.

¹⁶⁷ See for example Dilettanti 1855; Cust 1914.

driake in its dismantled state at the time the Dilettanti Mission was at Myra-Andriake and which it is suggested was almost certainly removed by the Dilettanti Mission led by William Gell in late September-early October 1812.

Firstly, and this seems the most probable reason for its complete disappearance for more than 200 years, although there seems to be no record of any Royal Navy ship leaving the Mediterranean for London, loaded with a cargo of marbles or not, that sank, or was sunk or was captured between October 1812 and the spring of 1813, there is certainly the possibility, and perhaps the probability, that the ship that was being used to transport the Andriake Marbles removed by Dilettanti mission sank,¹⁶⁸ like the *Mentor* transporting some of the Elgin Marbles in 1802, but in a depth of water that made the recovery of the Andriake Marbles at that time entirely impossible. In this period shipwrecks were frequent and transported antiquities lost. About one third of Sir William Hamilton's prized second collection of vases were lost when the ship transporting it back to England, HMS *Colossus*, a 74-gun ship-of-the-line, struck a reef and sank off the Isles of Scilly in December 1798. The recovery of fragments of 115 of those vases, after almost 200 years on the seabed, took place between 1975 and 1979, with the fragments formally acquired by the British Museum in 1981;¹⁶⁹ while E. D. Clarke in November 1800 loaded a statue of Ceres from Eleusis, weighing two tonnes, onto a ship bound for Smyrna. At Smyrna the statue was loaded onto the *Princessa*, Captain Lee, which then set sail for England but she was wrecked off the Sussex coast, near Beachy Head, the statue of Ceres from Eleusis and other antiquities were salvaged, but E. D. Clarke's specimens were all lost in the wreck.¹⁷⁰ The recovered statue was placed in the vestibule of Trinity College Library, Cambridge. Likewise J. T. Wood dispatched a number of antiquities excavated at Ephesus in the vessel *Cornish Lass* in 1867 for England, including the upper part of a statue of Lucius Verres (the lower part is in the B.M., London) and a white marble life-size headless statue of the muse Erato, but the ship was wrecked off the coast of Syros.¹⁷¹ The statue of the muse was recovered from the seabed but the carved 7 string lyre was missing, broken off and the drapery badly damaged by the sea, with other antiquities not recovered.

¹⁶⁸ British transport ships that were lost in the period from October 1812 to December 1813 include: in 1812 the British merchant ship *Dispatch*, wrecked in the Bay of Trapani, Sicily in 1812, the *Tiger* on the 9th of January off the Tagus by Lisbon (Lloyd's List No 4742 Feb 2 1813), the *Manum Bonum*, Southampton, Harlequin and Alfred, all four of which were lost off the mouth of the Ebro in 1813 and the *Fox*, sunk by the French warships *Circé* and *Pallas* while sailing from Malta to London at some point between the 4th and the 16th of December 1813.

¹⁶⁹ CVA: Great Britain, XX; Morris 1979, *passim*.

¹⁷⁰ Clarke 1815, 241; Clarke 1809, frontispiece illustration (flaxman), 32-37. Some idea of the shipping losses per year only reported as having occurred on and near the coasts of the United Kingdom is provided in the Board of Trade Wreck Registers kept from 1854 to 1898. For 1861, 1,494 ships wrecked, 884 lives lost through drowning, losses exceeded £1,000,000; for 1871, the number of ships lost or damaged was 1927 from a total of 1,575 wrecks, casualties, and collisions, representing 626 lives lost and a loss of registered tonnage of upwards of 458,000 tons. Chambers Journal No. 466, Dec. 6, 1862, 368; Mechanics Magazine Nov. 2, 1872, 371-372.

¹⁷¹ Wood 1877, 50. The Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle for 1867 records that in January, "*The Cornish Lass, bound from Smyrna to London, has been totally wrecked near the island of Andreas, and we regret to state that the captain and two of the crew have been drowned.*"

There is the probability that the vessel that took the marbles from Andriake, if, as it probably was, a Royal Navy vessel belonging to the Mediterranean fleet, rather than a private transport vessel, off-loaded the marbles at Malta, or possibly Zante, for their onward transshipment else where. This was the case for some shipments of the “Elgin Marbles,” as also for the Aegina Marbles off-loaded in Malta in 1811, where they remained until the end of 1812, and for Charles Newton’s Halicarnassian Marbles off-loaded by the Royal Navy on Malta by H.M.S. Supply in 1857 and 1858, for their subsequent transshipment to London, a part of which, consisting of plain stone blocks from the Mausoleum wall, seem to have been re-used in the lining of Dock No. 1 in Bormla (Cospicua), Malta, rather than being forwarded to the British Museum.¹⁷² However, there seems to be no record of the arrival or the departure of this shipment of William Gell’s or of Dilettanti marbles in 1812 in the Maltese archives.

The loss of this entire ancient monument at sea would of course have been a most embarrassing turn of events for all concerned, for the members of the Ionia Mission and for the Members of the Ionian Committee of the Society and for both the individual Members and for the reputation of the Society of Dilettanti, and, as such, was an event that would not have been publicised by the Society, rather it would have been unmentionable.

This most unfortunate turn of events may have had resulted in the confusion, delays and the omissions from the subsequent publications of the Antiquities of Ionia, of any published record of and the measured drawings made of this “Temple” mausoleum at Andriake etc. Myra-Andriake was not included as a chapter in the 1840 publication having chapters on Cnidus, Aphrodisias and Patara; it was supposed to form a chapter in a supplementary volume, with the exception of the vignette (Fig. 12) depicting the mouth of the Andraki River, oddly misnamed the Myra River, which headed the chapter on Patara in the 1840 publication, as noted above.

Some of the measured drawings, plans and water-colour drawings taken in 1812 at Myra, of the rock-cut tombs and theatre, sarcophagus and part of a Roman baths at Andriake, were finally published in 1915 in Chapter III of Volume V of the Antiquities of Ionia entitled “*Myra and Lycian Sculpture*”, although Plate XI, a fine general view of the rock tombs and theatre at Myra by William Gell, together with the detail of the doorway of a mausoleum were published within the text of the previous Chapter, II, entitled, “*The Temple of Artemis at Magnesia and the Ionic Order*”. The 1812 Plan of Myra, numbered 165 in the General Catalogue of Architectural Drawings made by the Mission¹⁷³ which should provide record of this structure remains unpublished today. The 1812 Map of Myra, numbered 106 in the General Catalogue of Views and Maps made by the Mission,¹⁷⁴ was finally published in 1915 (Fig. 19) from the proof of an unfinished engraved plate from 1837,¹⁷⁵ which marks the location of the “*Horrea*”, Hadrian’s Horrea, but not its actual size, nor the location of this “Temple”-Mausoleum, nor the locations of the other two mausoleums as mausoleums that were drawn by the mission at Myra-Andriake that are recorded in the General Catalogue of Drawings of 1814, Nos. 186-188 and 195-199. Nor does this map mark the location of the fortification at Andriake Point, nor the position of the so-called Roman Baths by the medicinal springs at Andriake, baths which are illustrated in this volume by an engraving from a John Peter Gandy

¹⁷² See for example: www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/.../dock-1-made-from-ancient-ruins.266812.

¹⁷³ Dilettanti 1915, 8.

¹⁷⁴ Dilettanti 1915, 9.

¹⁷⁵ Dilettanti 1915, 16.

drawing, Plate XXXI. Andriake is not named on this plan and nor are the Andracus or the Myros Rivers that are depicted on this map named. The river recorded on this plan at Andriake is only labelled as being “*Navigable for Boats*”. There are numerous discrepancies, errors and omissions from both the 1840 and the 1915 publications of the *Antiquities of Ionia* by the Society of Dilettanti, with at least a part of this incomplete and misleading material perhaps attributable to the leader of the mission and member of the Ionian Committee, William Gell.¹⁷⁶



Fig. 19) The incomplete Map of Myra published in *Antiquities of Ionia*, Vol. V in 1915 on page 17, from an incomplete page proof produced in 1837 of the map drawn from data collected at Myra-Andriake in September 1812. The Horrea is marked at the Port of Myra-Andriake but not to scale and the location of this hilltop Temple-mausoleum, marked on Beaufort's Chart published in 1819, together with another two mausoleum recorded in detailed drawings at Myra-Andriake, are not marked on this map. It is evident from the font employed for the legends on this map that most have been added to the 1837 proof for the 1915 publication, except for the legend, “*navigable for boats*” by the Andracus River, which appears to belong to the original 1837 engraving.¹⁷⁷

Further, and somewhat extraordinarily, one reads, “*The original drawings made at the several sites, and the Journal of the Mission, have for the most part been lost. One or two sketches, now in the Institute of Architects, are all which are known to exist...*”¹⁷⁸ How the Society of Dilettanti's own Journal of the Mission to Ionia of 1811 to 1813 was actually lost, together with almost all the original drawings made by the mission, given their importance to the Society, and with the reiterated stress laid by the Society in Article 4 of The Instructions for Mr. Gell, Mr. Gandy, and Mr. Bedford of 1811, upon the supply of regular record and documentation, which the Journal contained, as well as the drawings, that were to be provided by the members of the mission in the course of its work, is noteworthy. Article 4 of the Instructions reads: “*You are hereby requested to correspond with the*

¹⁷⁶ An article is in preparation concerning the Mission's work, actual at Patara in 1812, and the published results.

¹⁷⁷ <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/dilettanti1915bd5/0046?sid=fa32b25c6293a9b0daec8a316cfe278a>.

¹⁷⁸ Dilettanti 1915, 6.

Secretary of the Society, stating at length, from time to time, your own proceedings; and although the principal view of the Society is directed towards the ancient state of those countries, it is not intended to confine you to that province; on the contrary, it is expected that you transmit, together with such drawing as you shall have made (all of which shall be considered the property of the Society), a full narrative of occurrences, with all the information you may be able to obtain, accompanied by such observations as you may consider to be worthy (of) the perusal of the Society."¹⁷⁹ The Editor of Vol. V, of 1915, R. A. Lethaby, records, "*The drawings given in 1912 to the Royal Institute of British Architects were the whole of those remaining in the possession of the Society so far as architecture is concerned. They comprise the originals (the finished drawings for publication) of most of the plates now published, the many others (architectural drawings) of Myra and Telmessus that have not been engraved,*"¹⁸⁰ which are recorded as given by the Society of Dilettanti to the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) Library in 1912 on Pages xi to xii of this work. Yet, concerning the record in drawings made on site by the mission, the sketchbooks with original drawings made in 1812, these are all lost, except for the "*One or two sketches, now in the Institute of Architects, are all which are known to exist,...*" recorded on Page 6 of this same 1915 work.¹⁸¹

Was there some disquiet concerning the activities of the Society of Dilettanti's Mission at Myra-Andriake in September 1812, by some of its members, leading to the subsequent disappearance of the Society of Dilettanti's *Journal of the Mission*, which would have recorded in detail the course of dismantling and the removal of this building from Andriake, today only otherwise recorded in a small detail of J. P. Gandy's view entitled: "*View of the entrance of the river of Myra (sic.)*" (Fig. 12, 14), and which would have contained the record of the name of vessel onto which the wooden cases of marbles were loaded. Did this disquiet, not only lead to the excision of all record made of this monument at Andriake by the Mission, including from the General Catalogue of Drawings and Maps produced by the Mission published in 1814 and the non-publication of the Plan of Myra recorded in this list as No. 165? Did this disquiet, in part also lead to the long delays in publication of the work of the Mission, as also to the excision in the 1814 published account of the mission of its visit to Aegina, where the mission spent some time drawing, the copies of these drawings were sent by the Earl of Hardwicke to the British Museum in the attempt to obtain the Aegina Marbles for Britain in 1812 as is noted above? Was this disquiet in part due to the loss in the course of its passage of the ship that was conveying the wooden chests containing the parts of this very white marble late 2nd early 3rd c. A.D. Roman mausoleum from Andriake, when perhaps the ship employed for this task sank in very deep water or jettisoned its cargo at sea late in 1812 or 1813?

Secondly, although there seems to be no published evidence for this, there is the slight possibility that the Andriake Marbles were brought to Great Britain and they were re-erected in the grounds of a large estate, their origin unacknowledged and today forgotten, perhaps even catalogued as an 18th-19th c. Neo-Classical or Greek revival temple or folly, or, there is the possibility that the British naval or other vessel transporting the marbles from Andriake sailed to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies where this building may have been re-erected, perhaps in Naples, with its longstanding British connections and where two members of this Society of Dilettanti mission, its leader, Sir William Gell

¹⁷⁹ Dilettanti 1855, 47.

¹⁸⁰ Dilettanti 1915, xi-xii.

¹⁸¹ There is also J. P. Gandy's finished watercolour of the Myra theatre in the V&A Museum, London, SD.413, as noted above.

with his “*beautifully situated and elegantly arranged villa*,”¹⁸² and the Hon. William Keppel Craven had settled.¹⁸³ Both had been chamberlains to the former Princess of Wales, the exiled Queen Caroline who left Naples in 1815.¹⁸⁴ William Gell resided in Italy from 1814 and permanently from 1820 until his death in 1837¹⁸⁵ and, due to his limited financial resources, the Society of Dilettanti in a special reservation made to the Society’s rules, waived Sir William Gell’s fees to the Society from 1830 onwards, in exchange for regular information concerning the antiquities and ancient topography of the area¹⁸⁶ and the Society also arranged the publication and payment of copyright to him of £300 as well as a £200 gift for his map in his work entitled, *The Topography of Rome and its Vicinity*, in two volumes with a separate map¹⁸⁷ of 1834, published in London by Saunders and Otley. A visitor to Naples was Sir William James Charles Maria Drummond of Logiealmond (1777-1828), voted a Member of the Society of Dilettanti in 1800, the former Ambassador to the Sublime Porte in 1804, Envoy Plenipotentiary at the Court of Naples in 1802-3 and again 1806-9, who in 1810, together with Mr Robert Walpole, published “*Herculanensia*”,¹⁸⁸ containing archaeological and etymological observations, partly directed towards the collection of charred inscribed papyrus rolls found in the ruins of Herculaneum,¹⁸⁹ that were brought from Palermo to London in 1808 through the Envoy Plenipotentiary at the Court of Naples, under the auspices of the Prince of Wales.¹⁹⁰ Another member of the Society of Dilettanti, William Richard Hamilton was the Minister and Envoy Plenipotentiary at the Court of Naples, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies from 1822 to 1825. J. P. Gandy Deering, voted a Member of the Society of Dilettanti in 1830,¹⁹¹ had worked again with William Gell, in both Rome and Naples after 1814, on the ruins of Pompei, resulting in the publication of their co-authored work: Sir W. Gell - J. P. Gandy, Esq., *Pompeiana: The Topography, Edifices, and Ornaments of Pompeii, 81 plates on 77 leaves, Engravings from Drawings made on the spot*, Rodwell and Martin (issued in parts), London, 1821, Part I, although J. P. Gandy’s actual contribution to this volume remains somewhat unclear.

Thirdly, and this seems a very remote possibility, the cases of marbles may for some reason not have been loaded onto the vessel and were instead buried in the sand dunes at the mouth of the Andraki river for future collection, which for some unknown reason never happened. The precedent for this course of action, of burial of marbles in the sand for future collection was the consignment of Athenian Marbles loaded onto the *Mentor*, the polacre purchased by the Earl of Elgin to convey his marbles from Athens to England, as Royal Navy ships could not be spared from the

¹⁸² Madden 1855, 13; see also his obituary, published in Vol. 5 of the Gentleman’s Magazine, Ed. Sylvanus Urban, June 1836, 665-666. He had brought amongst other finds, examples of the Mycenaean bronze nails from the Treasury of Atreus at Mycene to Britain.

¹⁸³ From 1805 the Hon. Keppel William Craven had resided largely in Naples, Madden 1855, 130-131.

¹⁸⁴ Madden 1855, 8-9.

¹⁸⁵ With the exception of the trial of Queen Caroline, when both of these Chamberlains to the Queen came to London to give evidence in 1820.

¹⁸⁶ Dilettanti 1855, 175.

¹⁸⁷ Dilettanti 1855, 175-176.

¹⁸⁸ Drummond-Walpole 1810.

¹⁸⁹ Between fifteen hundred and eighteen hundred Mss. in Latin, but primarily in Greek, Gell-Gandy 1821, vii-viii.

¹⁹⁰ Drummond – Walpole 1810, xii.

¹⁹¹ Where his name is recorded as ‘*J. Deering Esq.*’, Dilettanti 1855, 126.

Mediterranean blockade at that time. The *Mentor* sank off the island of Cerigo-Kythira at a depth of 12 or 14 fathoms (22 to 26 m.) of water in 1802 and the cargo was brought to the surface with the aid of sponge divers brought from Syme and Calymno over the course of two years,¹⁹² with the cases of recovered marbles being buried in the sand of Cerigo until their final removal, to prevent their possible loss, if left on the beach, to French vessels. This rescue operation was supervised in part by William James Hamilton (1777-1859), private secretary to the Ambassador, the Earl of Elgin from 1799, and who served as Permanent Secretary for Foreign Affairs from 1809 to 1822, and who played a considerable role in the 1815 legal restitution of works of art taken to France in the course of the Napoleonic wars,¹⁹³ and he was honoured for this with a pair of *rosso antico* Egyptian obelisks by Pope Pius VII (1742-1823)¹⁹⁴ and, while not being an artist, by being made a member of the Accademia di San Lucca in Rome.¹⁹⁵ He was an elected Member of the Society of Dilettanti from 1811 and became its Secretary from 1830-1859 and was elected a Trustee of the British Museum in 1838.¹⁹⁶ He had served in a diplomatic capacity in Egypt following the French surrender of Alexandria on the 2nd of September 1801 to General Abercromby's besieging forces and he, together with the Rev. Dr. E. D. Clarke, secured in 1801 the trilingual Rosetta Stone from a plague infested French ship in Alexandria harbour, to the consternation of General Menou¹⁹⁷ and ensured its secure transportation to Britain, and, with the artilleryman Captain William Martin Leake until March 1802 was compiling a general survey of Egypt, including mapping the course of the Nile from its mouth to the Cataracts. On their return from Egypt both had boarded the *Mentor* in the Piraeus, Athens, with its cargo of cases of marbles and its sinking off Cerigo resulted in the loss of Captain Leake's maps, papers and notes from the survey of Egypt, as also of numbers of ancient Greek papyrus rolls that had been taken from Egypt.¹⁹⁸ In consequence of the above, there seems little possibility that these cases of marbles were left abandoned buried under the sand at the entrance to Andriake in 1812. This, not least because if William James Hamilton with his abiding interest in works of art and antiquities, had known of the whereabouts of this 'Temple-Tomb' buried in the sand at the mouth of the Andraki River, there seems every probability that he would have ensured its collection and presentation to the British Museum.

Conclusions

This article shows that some reliance can be placed upon at least some of the drawings made by 18th and 19th century European artists tasked with making a record of the particularities of place in Ottoman territory; not least if there is also some corroborative written evidence, even if the depicted structure no longer stands and there are no surviving *in situ* archaeological remains of it visible today. The drawing made by Luigi Mayer in 1792 for the Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty to the Sublime Porte, Sir Robert Ainslie, was accurate in its depiction of a small, square in plan, temple-like Roman building in the Corinthian Order that

¹⁹² Memorandum 1815, 22-23; Galt 1812, 138.

¹⁹³ Eustace 1997, 12-13; 16.

¹⁹⁴ Eustace 1997, 28.

¹⁹⁵ Eustace 1997, 28.

¹⁹⁶ British Museum 1839, 45.

¹⁹⁷ Hamilton 1809, 402-3; see also, Thomson 1872, 230. The Greek text and an English translation of the Rosetta Stone inscription in Greek is published in Hamilton 1809, 431-439.

¹⁹⁸ Hamilton 1809, iv; 406; see also Wroth 1893, 324.

stood on the hilltop behind Hadrian's horrea at Andriake, this is shown on the basis of the surviving first hand published written, drawn and cartographic evidence, until the autumn of 1812, when it seems to have been deliberately dismantled and removed. This article also records repeated references in the literature to this structure standing in this location into the seventh decade of the 19th century, more than sixty years after this building seems to have been removed from this location, indicating the nature of the problem with employing only published secondary sources.

This article suggests that this small "very white marble" temple-like building was removed from its hilltop location without Ottoman permission at the time the Society of Dilettanti Mission to Ionia led by William Gell was at Myra-Andriake in September 1812. The absence of notice of it, or of its reconstruction in some other location over the course of the past 200 years would suggest that the ship that was transporting the Andriake Marbles was lost at sea, either late in 1812 or in 1813, or, that this cargo was cast overboard to preserve ship and crew. In the list of the measured architectural drawings made by the Society of the Dilettanti Mission to Ionia at Myra-Andriake published in 1814 there is no record of this building and on the Map on Myra compiled from data collected by the mission, finally published in 1915 from an incomplete page proof of 1837, the location of this structure is not marked. Yet, given Luigi Mayer's depiction of it, Captain Francis Beaufort's written description and his cartographic record of it made in 1811, which clearly marked it as a contemporary coastal navigational marker, together with the record made of its dismantlement in 1812 in a detail of J. P. Gandy's work entitled, "View of the entrance of the river of Myra (sic.)", it seems certain that measured architectural drawings of this building would have been made, by either J. P. Gandy or by F. O. Bedford in September 1812. The Mission's 1812 Plan of Myra which should have recorded its position remains unpublished, and is presumably lost.

It is suggested that the reason why the Society of the Dilettanti's Mission to Ionia's record of this noteworthy building remained unpublished, except for a small, perhaps at the time un-noticed detail in a vignette published in 1840 heading a chapter which was itself entitled "Patara", while the Society's official Journal of the Mission of 1811-13 has been lost, together with all the sketchbooks containing the original drawings and notes made at Myra-Andriake, is that with the loss of the Andriake Marbles in 1812-1813, most considerable embarrassment to the members of this Mission to Ionia, to the members of the Ionian Committee and to the Society of the Dilettanti and its members would have been caused through its publication, and, in consequence, this building became unmentionable. Due to the loss of the Society's Journal of the Mission it is unclear if the dismantlement and removal of this structure from Andriake was on the initiative of William Gell for the Society of the Dilettanti, or for one of its members; or if it was undertaken as a private venture for its intended auction, as were the Aegina Marbles in 1811 and the Bassai Marbles in 1812 by the *Society of Travellers-Society of Friends*, of which society William Gell was a member.

Bibliography

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| Anderson 2015 | B. Anderson, An alternative discourse: Local interpreters of antiquities in the Ottoman Empire, <i>Journal of Field Archaeology</i> , 40/4, 2015, 450-460. |
| Anderson DNB 24 | R. E. Anderson, Hamilton, William Richard, in: S. Leslie (ed.), <i>DNB 24</i> , London 1886-1900, 234. |
| Bean 1989 | G. E. Bean, <i>Lycian Turkey: An Archaeological Guide</i> , London 1989. |

- Beaufort 1817 F. Beaufort, *Karamania, Or, A Brief Description of the South Coast of Asia-Minor and of the Remains of Antiquity: With Plans, Views, &c. Collected During a Survey of that Coast, Under the Orders of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in the Years 1811 & 1812*, R. Hunter (successor to Mr. Johnson), London 1817.
- Beaufort 1820 F. Beaufort, *Caramanie ou courte description de la côte méridionale de l'Asie-Mineur et des restes d'antiquités qui s'y trouvent*, in: *Nouvelles annales des voyages, de la géographie et de l'histoire ou recueil des relations originales inédites, communiquées par des Voyageurs Français étrangers; des voyages nouveaux, traduits de toutes les langues Européennes...*, Volume V, Paris 1820, 5-133.
- Borchhardt – Neumann 1975 J. Borchhardt – G. Neumann, *Lykische Studien*, in: J. Borchhardt (ed.), *Myra - Eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit*, *Istanbuler Forschungen* 30, Gbr. Mann Verlag, Berlin 1975, 93-156.
- British Museum 1839 *Statutes and Rules for the British museum, as altered in consequence of the report of a committee of the trustees. Revised eighth of June 1839*, British Museum, London 1839.
- British Museum 1844 *A Catalogue of the Manuscript Maps, Charts, and Plans, and of the Topographical Drawings in the British Museum, Volume III*, London 1844.
- Chambers 2016 N. Chambers, *Joseph Banks and the British Museum: The World of Collecting, 1770-1830*, Routledge, London 2016.
- Clarke 1809 E. D. Clarke, *Greek Marbles brought from the shores of the Euxine, Archipelago, and Mediterranean and deposited in the Vestibule of the Public Library of the University of Cambridge*, Cambridge 1809.
- Clarke 1815 E. D. Clarke, *Travels in various countries of Europe, Asia and Africa, Part II, Section II, Vol. IV*, New York 1815.
- Cockerell 1903 S. P. Cockerell (ed.), *Travels in Southern Europe and the Levant, 1810-17, The Journal of C. R. Cockerell, R. A.*, Longman and Co., London 1903.
- Cohen – Joukowsky 2006 G. M. Cohen – M. S. Joukowsky, *Breaking Ground: Pioneering Women Archaeologists*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 2006.
- Condor 1824 J. Condor, *A Popular Description of Syria and Asia Minor: Geographical, Historical and Topographical, Vol. 2*, London 1824.
- Condor 1830 J. Condor, *The Modern Traveller: A Description of the various countries of the Globe, Syria and Asia Minor, Vol. 3*, London 1830.
- Conybeare – Howson 1869 W. J. Conybeare – J. S. Howson, *The Life, Times, and Travels of St. Paul*, E. B. Treat, New York 1869.
- Cooper 1996 F. A. Cooper, *The Temple of Apollo Bassitas: The architecture, Vol.*

- 1, ASCSA, Princeton, N. J. 1996.
- Coysh 1972 W. Coysh, *Blue-Printed Earthenware 1800-1850*, Charles E. Tuttle, 1972.
- Cramer 1832 J. A. Cramer, *A Geographical and Historical Description of Asia Minor with a Map, Vol. 2*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1832.
- Critic 1804 *The British Critic*, Mayer's Views in Egypt, Palestine and Caramania, 170-174, Vol. XXIV, August 1804.
- Cust 1914 L. Cust, *History of the Society of the Dilettanti* (ed. S. Colvin), Macmillan and Co., London 1914.
- CVA XX V. Smallwood – S. Woodford – J. C. Quinton, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Great Britain, Fragments from Sir William Hamilton's second collection of vases recovered from the wreck of HMS Colossus, Vol. XX*, London 2003.
- Çevik 2002 N. Çevik, *Taşların İzinde Likya: Alternatif Bir Rehber*, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yay., İstanbul 2002.
- Çevik 2015 N. Çevik, *Lykia Kitabı*, Suna-İnan Kıraç AKMED Yay., İstanbul 2015.
- Dilettanti 1762 *The Antiquities of Athens: Measured and Delineated* By James Stuart FRS and FSA and Nicolas Revett, Painters and Architects, Volume the First, Society of the Dilettanti, London 1762.
- Dilettanti 1797 *Antiquities of Ionia, Vol. II*, Society of the Dilettanti, London 1797.
- Dilettanti 1840 *Antiquities of Ionia, Part the Third*, Society of the Dilettanti, London 1840.
- Dilettanti 1855 *Historical Notices of the Society of Dilettanti: Printed for Private Circulation Only*, John Bowyer, Nichols and Sons, London 1855.
- Dilettanti 1915 *Antiquities of Ionia, Vol. V*, Society of the Dilettanti, London 1915.
- Drummond – Walpole 1810 W. Drummond – H. Walpole, *Herculanensia: or Archaeological and Philological dissertations concerning a manuscript found amongst the ruins of Herculaneum*, W. Bulmer and Co., London 1810.
- Duggan – Aygün 2015 T. M. P. Duggan – Ç. A. Aygün, *The Medieval and Later Port of Myra/Stamira – Taşdibi*, in: S. Ladstätter – F. Pirson – T. Schmidts (edd.), *Byzas 19 - Harbors and Harbor Cities in the Eastern Mediterranean from Antiquity to the Byzantine Period: Recent Discoveries and Current Approaches*, Ege Yay., İstanbul 2015, 245-269.
- Eclectic 1805 *The Eclectic Review*, Vol. 1, Part 1, Article XXX, Select Literary Information, January-June 1805 inclusive, London 1805.
- Edwards 1870 E. Edwards, *Lives of the Founders of the British Museum: With Notices of Its Chief Augmentors and Other Benefactors: 1570-1870, Vol. 2*, Trübner and Co., London 1870.
- Elwes 1876 D. G. C. Elwes, *A History of the Castles, Mansions, and Manors of*

- Western Sussex, Longmans and Co., London 1876.
- Eustace 1997 K. Eustace, *Questa Scabrosa Missione: Canova in Paris and London in 1815*, in: K. Eustace (ed.), *Canova: Ideal Heads*, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford 1997, 9-38 (<http://www.veniceinperil.org/newsletters/Canova.pdf>).
- Eyriès 1841 J. B. B. Eyriès, *Malerische Reise in Asien und Afrika: eine allgemeine Uebersicht der alten und neuen Reisen, nach Ermann, Lesseps, Gmelin, Pallas, Kämpfer, Marco Polo, de Guignes, Moorcroft, Turner, Staunton, Laloubère, Kirkpatrick, Tavernier, J. Thevenot, Bernier, Heber, Pyrad, Burnes, Forster, Pottinger, Pietro della Valle, Chardin, Morier, Tournefort, Klaproth, Beaufort, Paul Lucas, Niebuhr, Burckhardt, Volney, Symes, Chateaubriand, Leon de Laborde, Badia, Cadalvene und Breuvry, Caillaud, Bruce, Salt, Combes und Tamisier, Flacourt, Bory, Le Vaillant, Thompson, Caillé, Bowdich, Laing, Mollien, Brue, v. Buch, Mungo Park, Denham, Clapperton, Lander u. A. m, Baumgärtner, Leipzig 1841.*
- Fagan – Beck 1996 B. M. Fagan – C. Beck, *The Oxford Companion to Archaeology*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1996.
- Fellows 1843 C. Fellows, *The Xanthian Marbles: Their Acquisition, and Transmission to England*, John Murray, London 1843.
- Fellows 1848 C. Fellows, *Account of the Ionic Trophy Monument Excavated at Xanthus*, John Murray, London 1848.
- Freely 1997 J. Freely, *The Western Mediterranean Coast of Turkey*, Istanbul 1997.
- Galani 2017 K. Galani, *British Shipping in the Mediterranean during the Napoleonic Wars: The untold Story of a Successful Adaption*, Brill, Leiden 2017.
- Galt 1812 J. Galt, *Voyages and travels in the years 1809, 1810 and 1811, containing observations on Gibraltar, Sardinia, Sicily, Malta, Scrigo and Turkey*, London 1812.
- Gell – Gandy 1821 W. Gell – J. P. Gandy, Esq., *Pompeiana: The Topography, Edifices, and Ornaments of Pompeii, 81 plates on 77 leaves, Engravings from Drawings made on the spot*, Rodwell and Martin (issued in parts), Band I, London 1821.
- Choiseul Gouffier 1782 M. G. A. F. de Choiseul Gouffier, *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*, Tome I, Paris 1782.
- Haggitt 1813 Rev. J. Haggitt, *Two Letters to a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries with the subject of Gothic Architecture...and an inquiry into the Eastern Origins of the Gothic, or Pointed Arch*, Cadell and Davis, Cambridge 1813.
- Hamilton 1809 W. R. Hamilton, *Remarks on Several Parts of Turkey: Aegyptiaca, or Some account of the antient and modern State of Egypt, as obtained in the years 1801, 1802. Accompanied with etchings*, from

- original drawings taken on the spot by the late Charles Hayes of the Royal Engineers, Volume 1, T. Payne, Pall Mall, London 1809.
- Hamilton 1847 W. R. Hamilton, On the Budrúm Marbles (read on March 26th, 1846), in: Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom, Second Series, Vol. 2, London 1847, 251-257.
- Hansard 1816 The Parliamentary Debates from 1803 to the Present Day, XXXIV, 26 April to 2 July 1816, H. M. Stationery Office, Hansard, London 1816.
- Herstadt – Rhun – Baumgärtner 1816 F. S. Herstadt – C. G. Rhun – F. G. Baumgärtner, Ansichten in der Türkei, in: Neues Magazin aller neuen Erfindungen, Entdeckungen und Verbesserungen für Fabrikanten, Manufakturisten, Künstler, Handwerker und Oekonomen..., No. 51, Litterarischer Anzeiger - No. IV, Leipzig 1816.
- Hoskyn 1843 R. Hosyn, Narrative of a Survey of part of the South Coast of Asia Minor; and of a Tour into the Interior of Lycia in 1840-1; accompanied by a Map, 143-161 in, The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, XII, London 1843.
- Hodos 2015 T. Hodos, Lycia and Classical Archaeology: the changing nature of archaeology in Turkey, 87-118, in D. Haggis – C. Antonaccio (ed.), Classical Archaeology in Context: Theory and Practice in Excavation in the Greek World, Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., Berlin 2015.
- Hooock 2007 H. Hooock, The British State and Anglo-French Wars over Antiquities 1798-1858, The Historical Journal 50, 1, 2007, 49-72.
- Leake 1824 W. M. Leake, Journal of a tour in Asia Minor, with comparative remarks on the ancient and modern geography of that country Accompanied by a map, John Murray, London 1824.
- Lewis 1866 Lady T. Lewis (ed.), Extracts from the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry: From the Year 1783 to 1852, Vol. 2, Longman, Green and Co., London 1866.
- Le Bruyn 1702 C. le Bruyn, A Voyage to the Levant: or, travels in the principal parts of Asia Minor, the islands of Scio, Rhodes, Cyprus, &c. with an account of the most considerable cities of Egypt, Syria and the Holy Land ..., Done into English, by W. J., for Jacob Tonson and Thomas Bennet, London 1702.
- Madden 1855 R. R. Madden, The Literary Life and Correspondence of the Countess of Blessington, Vol. 2, T. C. Newby, London 1855.
- Malte-Brun 1809 M. Malte-Brun, Annales des voyages, de la géographie et de l'histoire; ou collection des voyages nouveau les plus estimés, traduits de toutes les langues Européennes,... Vol. IV, Paris 1809.
- Malte-Brun 1823 M. Malte-Brun, Universal geography, or a description of all the parts of the World, on a new plan, Vol IV, Edinburgh-London

- 1823.
- Mayer 1803 L. Mayer, *Views in the Ottoman Empire, chiefly in Caramania, a part of Asia Minor hitherto unexplored; [etc.]*, London 1803.
- Memorandum 1815 Memorandum on the subject of the Earl of Elgin's pursuits in Greece, printed for W. Miller, London 1815.
- Mori 2010 J. Mori, *The Culture of Diplomacy: c. 1750-1830*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 2010.
- Morris 1979 R. Morris, *HMS Colossus: The Story of the Salvage of the Hamilton Treasures*, London 1979.
- Morris 1994 I. Morris (ed.), *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies*, Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Murray's Handbook 1854 *A Handbook for Travellers in Turkey: Describing Constantinople, European Turkey, Asia Minor, Armenia, and Mesopotamia - With New Travelling Maps and Plans*, John Murray, London 1854.
- Murray's Handbook 1878 *Handbook for Travellers in Turkey in Asia: Including Constantinople, the Bosphorus, Plain of Troy, Isles of Cyprus, Rhodes, &c..., with General Hints for Travellers in Turkey, Vocabularies &c.*, John Murray, London 1878.
- Newton 1863 C. T. Newton, assisted by P. P. Pullan, *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus & Branchidæ, Vol. 2, Part 2*, Day and Sons, London 1863.
- Newton 1865 C. T. Newton, *Travels & Discoveries in the Levant, Vol. 1, Appendix, A Tour in Lycia by Mr D. E. Colnaghi*, Day and Son, London 1865.
- Norie 1831 J. W. Norie, *New Piloting Directions for the Mediterranean Sea, the Adriatic, Or Gulf of Venice, the Black Sea, Grecian Archipelago, and the Seas of Marmara and Azov: Containing Instructions for Navigating the Various Coasts, Islands, Bays, Ports, and Harbours, and for Avoiding the Numerous Rocks, Shoals, and Other Dangers in Those Seas...*, printed for Charles Wilson, written to accompany and illustrate a new general chart of the Mediterranean Sea by J. W. Norie, at the Navigation Warehouse and Naval Academy, London 1831.
- Norie 1841 J. W. Norie, *New Piloting Directions for the Mediterranean Sea, the Adriatic, Or Gulf of Venice, the Black Sea, Grecian Archipelago, and the Seas of Marmara and Azov: Containing Instructions for Navigating the Various Coasts, Islands, Bays, Ports, and Harbours, and for Avoiding the Numerous Rocks, Shoals, and Other Dangers in Those Seas...*, printed for Charles Wilson, written to accompany and illustrate a new general chart of the Mediterranean sea by J. W. Norie, at the Navigation Warehouse and Naval Academy, London 1841.

- Özel 2010 S. Özel, Under the Turkish Blanket Legislation: The Recovery of Cultural Property Removed from Turkey, *International Journal of Legal Information*: Vol. 38: Iss. 2, Article 10, 2010, 179-184 (Available at: <http://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/ijli/vol38/iss2/10>. Accessed 12-01-2015).
- PECS 2017 G. E. Bean, Myra (Demre; Kale) Lycia, Turkey in: R. Stillwell – W. L. MacDonald – M. Holland – W. L. McAllister (eds.), *The Princeton encyclopedia of classical sites*, Princeton 1976 (Reprint: Princeton 2017), 603-604.
- Pococke 1745 R. Pococke, *A Description of the East and some other Countries*, Volume II, Part II: Observations on the Islands of the Archipelago, Asia Minor, Thrace, Greece, and some other Parts of Europe, London 1745.
- Purdy 1826 J. Purdy, *The new sailing directory for the Strait of Gibraltar and the western division of the Mediterranean Sea: comprehending the coasts of Spain, France, and Italy, from Cape Trafalgar to Cape Spartivento; the Balearic Isles, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, and the Maltese Islands; with the African coast, from Tangier to Tripoli*, R. H. Laurie, London 1826.
- Purdy 1827 J. Purdy, *The new sailing directory for the Strait of Gibraltar and the western division of the Mediterranean Sea: comprehending the coasts of Spain, France, and Italy, from Cape Trafalgar to Cape Spartivento; the Balearic Isles, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, and the Maltese Islands; with the African coast, from Tangier to Tripoli*, R. H. Laurie, London 1827.
- Purdy 1832 J. Purdy, *The new sailing directory for the Strait of Gibraltar and the western division of the Mediterranean Sea: comprehending the coasts of Spain, France, and Italy, from Cape Trafalgar to Cape Spartivento; the Balearic Isles, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, and the Maltese Islands; with the African coast, from Tangier to Tripoli*, R. H. Laurie, London 1832.
- Purdy 1840 J. Purdy, *The new sailing directory for the Strait of Gibraltar and the western division of the Mediterranean Sea: comprehending the coasts of Spain, France, and Italy, from Cape Trafalgar to Cape Spartivento; the Balearic Isles, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, and the Maltese Islands; with the African coast, from Tangier to Tripoli*, R. H. Laurie, London 1840.
- Roe 1740 T. Roe, *The negotiations of Thomas Roe in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte from the year. 1621-28 inclusive*, Society for the Promotion of Learning, London 1740.
- Sestini 1790 *Dissertazione sopra alcune monete armene dei principi Rupinensi della collezione Ainslieana. Fatta dall'abate Domenico Sestini accademico etrusco, nella Stamperia di Tommaso Masi, e Comp., Li-*

- vorno 1790.
- Severis 1999 R. C. Severis, *Although to Sight Lost, to Memory Dear, Representations of Cyprus by foreign travellers/artists 1700-1955*, Bristol University, Doctoral Diss. 1999. at: http://research-information.bristol.ac.uk/files/34490974/300709_vol1.pdf.
- Shaw 2003 W. M. K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*, University of California Press, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 2003.
- Smedley 1845 E. Smedley – H. J. Rose – H. J. Rose (ed.), *Encyclopædia Metropolitana: or, Dictionary of Useful Knowledge, on an original plan: comprising the twofold advantage of a Philosophical and an Alphabetical arrangement*, Volume XXI, B. Fellowes, London 1845.
- Smith 1854 W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, illustrated by numerous engravings on wood, John Murray, London 1854.
- Smith 1916 A. H. Smith, *Lord Elgin and His Collection*, JHS 36, 1916, 163-372.
- Spânu 2012 A. -L. Spânu, *Luigi Mayer and his 18th century Views*, Brukenthal, Acta Musei VII.2, 2012, 321-332.
- Spooner 1852 S. Spooner, *A Biographical and Critical Dictionary of Painters, Engravers, Sculptors and Architects, from Ancient to Modern Times: With the Monograms, Ciphers, and Marks Used by Distinguished Artists to Certify Their Works*, G. P. Puttenham and Co, New York 1852.
- Stark 1956 F. Stark, *The Lycian Shore*, John Murray, London 1956.
- Stuart 1762 *The Antiquities of Athens: Measured and Deliniated By James Stuart FRS and FSA and Nicolas Revett, Painters and Architects*, Vol. 1, Society of the Dilettanti, London 1762.
- Taylor 2013 B. J. Taylor, *Sir Robert Ainslie, Domenico Sestini and Luigi Mayer: A Case of who went where, with Whom and When*, in: D. Fortenberry (ed.), *Souvenirs and New Ideas: Travel and collecting in Egypt and the Near East*, Oxbow Books, Oxford 2013, 158-178.
- Texier 1862 C. Texier, *Asie mineure: description géographique, historique et archéologique des provinces et des villes de la Chersonnèse d'Asie*, Tome I, Paris 1862.
- Thomson 1872 T. Thomson (ed.), *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, Vol. 2, Blackie and son, London 1872.
- Turner 1820 W. Turner, *Journal of a Tour of the Levant*, Vol. 3, John Murray, London 1820.
- Venn 1947 J. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900*, Vol. 2., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1947.
- Webb 1982 T. Webb, *English Romantic Hellenism 1780-1824*, Manchester

- University Press, New York 1982.
- Wood 1877 J. T. Wood, Discoveries at Ephesus including the Site and Remains of the Great Temple of Diana, London 1877.
- Wroth 1886 W. W. Wroth, Bruce, Thomas (1766-1841), in: S. Leslie (ed.), DNB, 7, Smith, Elder & Co., London 1886, 130-131.
- Wroth 1893 W. W. Wroth, Leake, William Martin, in: S. Leslie (ed.), DNB, 32, Smith, Elder & Co., London 1893, 323-324.

Andriake Mermerleri:

Lykia-Andriake'deki bir tepe üzerinde bulunmaktayken erken 19. yüzyılda kaybolan, İ. S. 1.-2. yüzyıla ait bir Roma anıt mezarı ve seyrüsefer işaretçisi olarak "yıkılmış, beyaz mermerden küçük bir tapınak"

Özet

Myra'nın limanı Andriake'de, Hadrian horreumu'nun arkasında, kıyıya yakın meşhur bir tepede beyaz mermerden Korinth düzeninde inşa edilmiş, kare planlı küçük bir Roma dönemi tapınak mezarının varlığının birinci el kaydı görsel, kartografik ve yayımlı metinlerde mevcuttur. Bu yapı, konumu itibarıyla yaklaşık 1600 yıllık bir süre boyunca sahil şeridinde seyirleri yönlendiren bir amaca da hizmet etmiş olmalıydı. Mevcut birincil belgelerin hepsi 1792 ile 1812 arasındaki zaman diliminden gelmektedir. 19. yüzyılın sonuna kadar yapıya ilişkin tüm referanslar bu birinci el kaynaklardan yapılmakla beraber, bina artık yerinde durmamaktadır. 1812 yılından sonra Andriake'deki tepede bu Roma yapısının var olduğunu gösteren birincil bir belge yoktur. Günümüzde, bu yerde söz konusu yapıya ait fiziki bir kalıntı olmaması yüzünden, bina yakın zamanda yayımlanan kaynaklarda göz ardı edilmiş ve ressam Luigi Mayer tarafından Myra-Andriake Limanı'ndaki Hadrian horreumu'nun 1792 bakış açısıyla tanıtılan bir *capriccio* olarak kabul edilmiştir.

Bu makale, söz konusu yapının Myra'nın limanı Andriake'deki bu tepede 1812 yılına kadar mevcut olduğunu göstermekte ve bu yapının Osmanlı otoritelerinden izin alınmaksızın 1812 yılı Eylül ya da Ekim başlarında, Dilettanti Cemiyeti'nin William Gell önderliğinde İonia'ya yaptığı görev ziyareti kapsamında Myra-Andriake'de oldukları sırada kasten ve metodik olarak tepedeki yerinden kaldırıldığını işaret edecek belgeler sunmaktadır. Ayrıca, makalede bu yapının ölçülmüş mimari bir kaydının kesinlikle yapıldığı ama bu çizimlerin Dilettanti Cemiyeti tarafından 1814 yılında yayımlanmadığı düşüncesi de önerilmektedir.

Makalede bu yapının bugünkü olası yeri hakkında öneriler yapılmaktadır. Geçtiğimiz 200 yıllık süre boyunca Britanya'da ya da başka bir yerde parçaları yeniden bir araya getirilen bir Roma yapısının yokluğu da göz önüne alınarak, büyük olasılıkla parçaları ayrıştırılmış bir şekilde bu Roma yapısını taşıyan gemi batmış gibi görünmektedir ya da gemiyi kurtarmak için bu ağır kargo büyük olasılıkla 1812 sonunda ya da 1813 yılında suların derinliklerine bırakılmıştır. Eğer Andriake mermerleri sıkça olduğu üzere yükün aktarılması amacıyla Akdeniz'de boşaltıldıysa, William Gell tarafından nakliye amaçlı kullanılan bu geminin adı ya da belki de sayısı iki olan gemilerin adları bugün bilinmemektedir. Çünkü bunu kaydetmiş olması gereken ve 1811-1813 arası yapılan İonia görev gezisine ilişkin Dilettanti cemiyetinin zimmetinde olan el yazması bülteni, bu anıtlarla ilgili pek çok şeyle beraber, kaybolmuş durumdadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Likya; Andriake; Roma mausoleum'u; seyrüsefer işaretçisi; Dilettanti Cemiyeti.

The Andriake Marbles: record of “a small ruined temple of very white marble” -a Roman 1st-2nd century hilltop mausoleum and coastal navigational marker at Andriake, Lycia, that disappeared in the early 19th c.

Abstract

There is first hand record, pictorial, cartographic and in published texts of the presence of a small Roman square in plan temple-tomb in the Corinthian Order constructed of very white marble on a prominent coastal hilltop behind Hadrian's horrea at Andriake, the port of Myra. It was a structure that from its location would also have served as a coastal navigational marker over the course of about 1600 years. All of the surviving primary evidence for it dates from the two decades between 1792 and 1812. Although reference continued to be made to this structure from these first hand sources into the latter part of the 19th c., this building no longer stood in this location. There is no primary evidence for the presence of this Roman structure on this hilltop at Andriake after 1812. Due to the absence of visible physical remains in this location today, in the recent literature, the record made of it, has been regarded as an inaccurate record of a nearby Hellenistic tower, a caprice introduced by the artist Luigi Mayer into his view of Hadrian's horrea at the Port of Myra-Andriake of 1792, which, was then repeated by the British Admiralty hydrographer Captain Beaufort in his work, which seems inexplicable, or has been ignored.

This article shows this building stood in this hilltop location at Andriake the port of Myra until 1812 and provides record to indicate that this structure was deliberately and methodically removed without Ottoman permission from its hilltop location in September-early October 1812, at the time that the Society of the Dilettanti Mission to Ionia led by William Gell was at Myra-Andriake. It also suggests a measured architectural record of this structure was certainly made, but note of these drawings was not published by the Society of Dilettanti in 1814.

Suggestions are made as to the possible location of this building today and it seems most probably the case, in the absence of record of this reassembled Roman structure in Britain or elsewhere over the course of the past 200 years, that the vessel transporting the disassembled parts of this Roman building sank, was sunk, or to save the ship, this heavy cargo was cast into deep water, most probably in late 1812 or in 1813. The name of the vessel used by William Gell for transport, or perhaps, two vessels, if the Andriake Marbles were offloaded within the Mediterranean for transshipment, as was often the case, is unknown today, as the handwritten Journal of the Dilettanti Mission to Ionia of 1811 to 1813, the property of the Society of Dilettanti, which would have recorded this, and much else besides concerning this monument, has been lost.

Keywords: Lycia; Andriake; Roman mausoleum; Navigational Marker; Society of Dilettanti.