

ACROPOLIS 625 (ENDOIOS ATHENA) AND THE REDISCOVERY OF ITS FINDSPOT

ABSTRACT

Acropolis 625, a monumental Archaic statue of Athena seated, is the earliest extant identifiable Athenian statue of Athena, and may be the one by Endoios that Pausanias saw near the Erechtheion. It was found on the Acropolis North Slope at the beginning of the Greek Revolution. This paper pinpoints its exact findspot, and reveals that the statue was built—right side up and facing forward—into a previously unknown Late Antique wall of ca. A.D. 270–300, later incorporated into a mid-18th century Turkish outwork, just inside the new Turkish north gate. The wall was dismantled ca. 1822–1824.

Acropolis 625 (Fig. 1), a marble statue of Athena seated, often attributed to Endoios, is the oldest extant monumental Athenian statue of Athena, and, as such, is a major work of Archaic art. Although scholars have explored its date, attribution, dedication, and relationship to other Archaic seated figures, some other aspects of this badly battered work have yet to be addressed. Among these is the mystery of its findspot, which is given only in vague terms in 19th- and 20th-century texts and catalogues. This article focuses on rediscovering the precise findspot of Acropolis 625, and in so doing reveals not only unexpected new knowledge about the history of the statue since Late Antiquity, but also new topographical information about the Acropolis North Slope.¹

1. For statues of Athena on the Acropolis, see Ridgway 1992 and Hurwit 1999, pp. 12–34. Ridgway (1990, pp. 602–605) interprets some Archaic Athenian korai as representations of the goddess.

The reader will please note that there are many ancient spelling and grammatical forms in the English and German quotations found in this article. I have rendered them precisely as they were written, except to change the archaic letter J into “s.”

ANCIENT LOCATION OF THE ENDOIOS ATHENA

In Book 1 of his *Description of Greece*, written ca. A.D. 155–160, Pausanias mentions a statue of a seated Athena located on the Athenian Acropolis and accompanied by an inscription which read that it had been made by Endoios and dedicated by Kallias:

Endoios was an Athenian by birth and a pupil of Daidalos, who also, when Daidalos was in exile because of the death of Kalos,

followed him to Crete. Made by him is a statue of Athena seated, with an inscription that Kallias dedicated the image, but Endoios made it.²

Pausanias saw the statue on the Acropolis somewhere near the Erechtheion.³ Athenagoras, writing about two decades later (ca. A.D. 177), also lists a seated Athena by Endoios, which could be the same statue referred to by Pausanias:

For the one in Ephesos of Artemis, and the one of Athena [or rather Athela, since she is athela the unsuckled, as they the more mystical sense (*) for thus (*)] the old one from olive wood and *the seated one* were made by Endoios, a student of Daidalos.⁴ [Italics mine]

Acropolis 625 has long been considered the Endoios Athena, and its stylistic qualities agree with the dates when Endoios was known to be working in Athens, ca. 530–500 B.C.⁵ Relatively recently, however, J. A. Bundgaard obliquely questioned the attribution based upon the reported findspot of the statue.⁶ His views will be presented in the course of the discussion below, along with newly discovered evidence for the exact findspot of the statue.

THE REPORTED FINDSPOT

In 1843 Adolf Schöll, in editing Carl Otfried Müller's last papers, wrote that the statue was "Angeblich unter der Akropolis, am Ausgang der Aglauros-Grotte gefunden. (Zugang zu den Propyläen)."⁷ George Scharf Jr., citing Schöll, wrote in 1851: "The statue was discovered, it is believed, at the Aglaurium. This locality is situated immediately at the foot of the Acropolis, *under* the Temple of Minerva Polias."⁸ The rock cleft to which

2. Paus. 1.26.4–5 (trans. Jones [1918] 1978, p. 135). On the date of Pausanias's visit to Athens, see Habicht 1985, pp. 10–11. Despite the spurious association with Daidalos, the other information is reliable: Pausanias saw both the statue and its dedicatory inscription.

3. Pausanias mentions the statue immediately before discussing the Erechtheion, which is usually identified as the Ionic temple on the north side of the Acropolis (Fig. 2). According to Jeppesen (1979, p. 381 and note 1: citing Paton 1927, p. 585, appendix A), Spon (1678, pp. 159–160; 1679, p. 122) was the first writer to label this temple "the Erechtheion." In the Classical era it was known as the new

temple "within which is the old statue" (IG I³ 474, line 1).

4. *Legatio pro Christianis* 17.3/17.4 (Marcovich 1990, p. 54, passage 17.3; Schoedel 1972, p. 34, passage 17.4). The translation is mostly mine, with some reliance on Schoedel 1972, p. 35, and with the kind assistance of A. J. Selman. See Marcovich 1990, p. 1, for the date. This passage is partly corrupt in the existing manuscript and contains certain difficulties, some of which I have reviewed elsewhere (Marx 1993, pp. 250–251 and notes 104–106). See also Viviers 1992, pp. 59–61.

5. Endoios's signature is preserved at least three times in Athens in letterforms dating ca. 530–500 B.C.: Raubitschek 1949, pp. 492–495; Jeffery

1962, pp. 127 and 130. On the date of Acr. 625, see below, note 92.

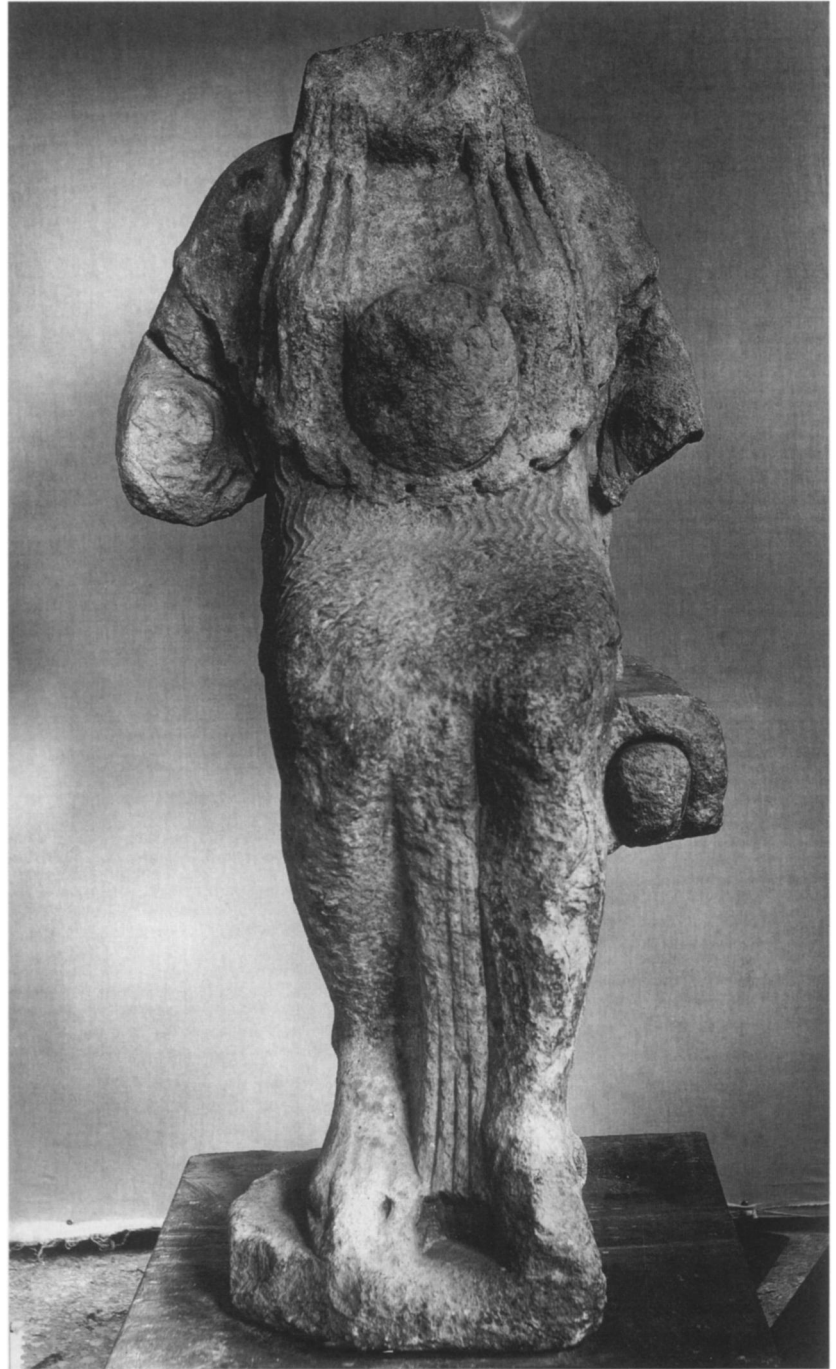
6. Bundgaard 1974, p. 16, and p. 31, note 58. Keesling (1999, pp. 524–525), more recently, is also cautious about the attribution.

7. Müller-Schöll 1843, p. 24. The discussion of the statue, which is referred to as "Thronende Pallas," begins on p. 23, and is numbered I.3. In his foreword, Schöll notes that Müller made a trip to Greece in 1840. The inventory number 625 is based on the number in Kastriotis' 1895 catalogue (p. 26). The statue was therefore not referred to as Acr. 625 until after Kastriotis' publication.

8. Scharf 1851, p. 191.

Figure 1. Acropolis 625, front view.

Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. Schrader 97



9. Breton 1868, pp. 175–176; Travlos 1960, p. 194; Tanoulas 1987, p. 450. Although Dontas (1983, p. 58) thought Wordsworth (1836, pp. 85–88) was the first to identify this particular “cave” as that of Aglauros, Leake (1821, pp. 125–130) had already done so: K. Glowacki (pers. comm.). Wordsworth (1836, preface, p. vi) was in Athens in 1832–1833. For good photographs of the cleft as it appears today, see Dontas 1970, p. 168, figs. 3–4; Hopper 1971, p. 49.

10. Broneer 1939.

11. Dontas 1983, pp. 50–53, supported by Miller 1995, p. 211 and p. 236, note 83, and by Hurwit 1999, p. 101 and p. 340, note 8. The stele is Acr. 13371. Early proponents of an East Slope Aglaurion were Wilkins (1816, pp. 61–64) and Hawkins (1818, pp. 492–493). The East Slope cave was partly excavated by Broneer in 1936 (Broneer 1936). The location of the Aglaurion is important, for Pausanias (1.18.1–5) places the Archaic agora near it. Travlos (1960, p. 35, fig. 14: nos. 15–20, and 1971, p. 578), identifying the Mycenaean fountain with the Aglaurion, placed the Archaic agora on the North Slope. Now Miller (1995, pp. 201–216 and p. 243, fig. 1) places this agora at the base of the North Slope on its eastern aspect; and Luce (1998, pp. 10–22, and p. 15, fig. 2) proposes an agora dating to the 7th century B.C. on the East Slope.

Schöll and Scharf refer lies below the triglyphs built into the North Citadel Wall, west of the Erechtheion, and was regarded for a long time as the cave of Aglauros.⁹ It is distinguished by a secret passage containing steps, which allowed communication with the Acropolis. Oscar Broneer found a Mycenaean fountain there in 1937–1938.¹⁰ On April 16, 1980, a “stele still fastened to its base,” and inscribed with a decree from the 3rd century B.C. stating that it was to be set up in the sanctuary of Aglauros, was found below the large cave on the East Slope.¹¹ Since the discovery of this in-

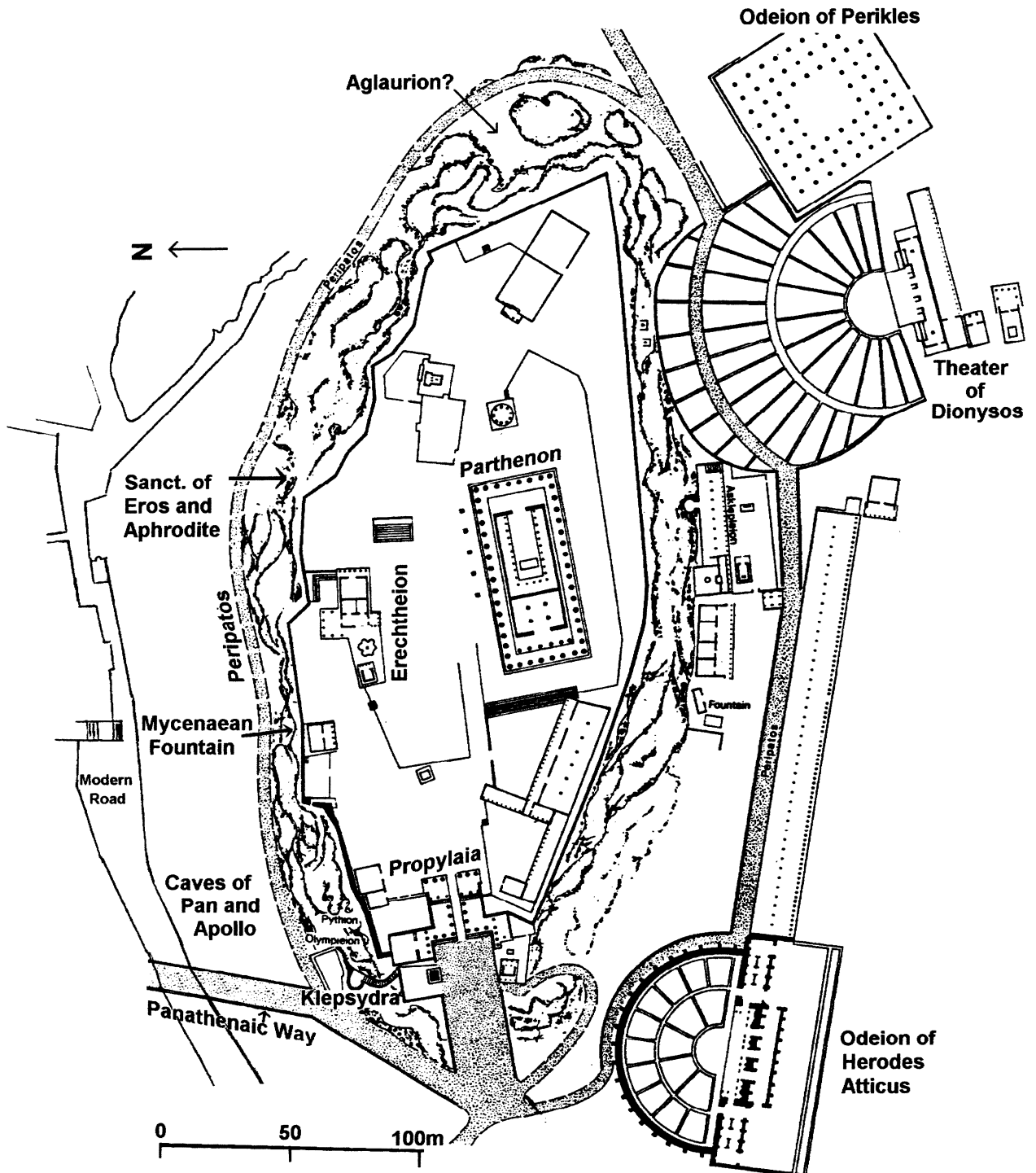


Figure 2. Plan of Acropolis in the 2nd century A.D. Modern road and captions added. From Hopper 1971, p. 208

scription, the cleft in the North Slope is no longer generally regarded as the Aglaurion. It will be referred to here, therefore, as the Mycenaean fountain (Fig. 2).

Later in the 19th century the findspot of Acropolis 625 was given even more vaguely. Milchhöfer wrote: "Es soll am Nordfusse der Berg gefunden sein"; Kastriotes simply reported that it was found on the North Slope.¹² Over the centuries the North Slope had been covered with silt and debris, which had washed down from above.¹³ What did 19th-century scholars mean by the "foot" of the North Slope? Were they referring to the level of the ancient peripatos—which was mostly obscured—or more likely the level of a path where a modern road is today?¹⁴ Portions of both lie directly below the Mycenaean fountain (Fig. 2).

If Acropolis 625 is indeed the Endoios Athena, how and when did it arrive at the foot of the North Slope? And did it lie on the surface (Henri Lechat) or was it buried in the soil (Andreas Rumpf)?¹⁵ Charles-Ernest Beulé and Heinrich Heydemann both wrote that the statue may have been thrown down from above. They were followed by Lechat and Hans Schrader.¹⁶ Thus Guy Dickins subsequently wrote: "It was found on the surface of the slope below the Erechtheum, and therefore must at some time have been rolled over the edge of the Acropolis."¹⁷ Both Schrader and Dickins also added that the weathered condition of the statue showed that it had stood in the open for centuries. Acropolis 625, therefore, had *not* been part of the so-called Persian debris, and thus *could be* the statue of Athena by Endoios mentioned by Pausanias.¹⁸

Bundgaard provisionally accepted Dickins's statement about the findspot of Acropolis 625, but explained its weathered condition differently. He postulated that the statue *was* buried in the "Persian debris" northeast of the Erechtheion next to the North Citadel Wall. A large portion of this wall was rebuilt in the Byzantine era or later. Bundgaard speculates that it collapsed sometime in Late Antiquity, at which time the Classical fill was disturbed. He believes that Acropolis 625 was part of the 5th-century B.C. deposit behind this wall, and that at some point it lay "exposed in the breach for a long time before tumbling down."¹⁹ Hence its badly weathered state. If buried in the 5th century B.C., Acropolis 625 could not have been the statue of Athena by Endoios seen by Pausanias.

12. Milchhöfer 1881, p. 53; Kastriotes 1895, p. 27. See also Sybel 1881, p. 339, no. 5002.

13. See Broneer 1938, p. 164, also explaining how ancient and later materials became mixed. From the 1830s on, early excavators also dumped large quantities of debris onto the slopes: Beck 1868, pl. 9 (North Slope) and pls. 20–21 (South Slope). The process continues: Dontas 1970, p. 167 and fig. 1.

14. In geological terms this path is much closer to the summit than to the base of the Acropolis. The modern

road was reconstructed and improved ca. 1938: Shear 1938, pp. 330–332.

15. Lechat 1903, p. 441 and note 2. Rumpf (1938, p. 44) wrote: "die thronende Athena, die 1821 am Nordabhang der Akropolis ausgegraben wurde."

16. Beulé 1868, p. 441; Heydemann 1874, p. 227; Lechat 1903, p. 441; Schrader 1909, p. 45.

17. Dickins 1912, p. 162.

18. Dickins 1912, pp. 160 and 162; Schrader 1909, p. 45. Others concur, e.g., Brouskari 1974, p. 73.

19. Bundgaard 1974, pp. 15–16.

Broneer (1933, p. 351) dates this part of the Acropolis wall as Byzantine or later. The Byzantine repair was extensive and lay above the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite, as well as a Mycenaean staircase, excavated by Broneer (1932, 1933). The wall repair is rendered as a hatched grid in Travlos's maps for Broneer (Broneer 1933, pl. XI, and 1935, pl. I). The deposits of so-called Persian debris on the Acropolis contain both Archaic and 5th-century B.C. Classical materials: Hurwit 1989, p. 63 and note 74.

About the findspot Bundgaard states in a note:

Dickins refers to Gerhard, *Annali d. I.* 1837 p 106 who writes that he knew the figure from a sketch by Gell. But Gell left Greece [in] 1803. And about the finding spot: La figure [“] qu’on voyait autrefois parmi les décombres de l’enceinte de l’Acropole.”²⁰

Gell is Sir William Gell, a British artist and topographer, who traveled extensively in Greece between 1801 and 1812, and who is discussed at length below. Bundgaard gives the impression that Gell had left Greece for good in 1803, which is not correct,²¹ and that Eduard Gerhard, for some reason, could not have seen any sketches by Gell.²² The last sentence in Bundgaard’s footnote belongs to a letter written by Gerhard in 1837. Here are the relevant sentences in full:

Je me trouvai surtout frappé à la vue d’une statue de *Minerve* assise, de grandeur naturelle, qu’on voyait autrefois parmi les décombres de l’enceinte de l’Acropole; maintenant elle est transférée à l’entrée du grand emplacement des fouilles actuelles. Nous la connaissions auparavant, mais d’une manière trop imparfaite, par une esquisse de Sir William Gell.²³

Gerhard makes a number of significant statements here. We will explore them in the course of the discussion below.

EVIDENCE FOR THE PRECISE FINDSPOT

All who have ventured opinions regarding how Acropolis 625 arrived at the foot of the North Slope have assumed that it was found where it had fallen or had been thrown down from above, and they also seem to believe that this was a fairly “recent” event. The evidence demonstrates otherwise. The exact location of the findspot can be pieced together from a variety of sources: accounts of early travelers, early maps of Athens and the Acropolis, and existing ruins on the North Slope. This evidence indicates not only that the statue was probably brought to that spot deliberately, but that it was brought there much earlier than has been supposed.

Among the early travelers, the testimonia of William Gell, Edward Dodwell, Richard Chandler, and John Cam Hobhouse are paramount. We shall begin with Gell.

SIR WILLIAM GELL (1777–1836)

In a book published in 1819, Sir William Gell, born in 1777 and knighted in 1803, wrote the following in a chapter about Athens:

The temple of Minerva Polias, Neptune Erectheus, and Pandrosus, is on the north of the Parthenon. The salt spring might possibly be discovered by excavation. There is a fountain of brackish water below the rock, which may proceed from that source; and near it in

20. Bundgaard 1974, p. 31, note 58.

This note goes with the statement on p. 16 that “according to Dickins,” Acr. 625 “was found on the slope below the Erechtheum.”

21. Admiral L. Gell, in a letter written to Philip Gell and dated November 10, 1805, states that he has just received a letter from William from Greece, dated July 3. Admiral Gell’s letter has been pasted into Milnes 1834, p. 124, in the library of the British School at Athens.

22. Gerhard and Gell probably met in Italy. Gell settled there in 1820, where he was “a lion in Roman and Neopolitan Society” (Miller 1972, p. 25), and died in Naples in 1836 (Williamson 1964, p. 224). A. Krug, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin, has kindly informed me (pers. comm.) that Gerhard went to Italy in 1819 and lived in Rome until 1833.

23. Gerhard 1837, p. 106. Gerhard’s lengthy letter is dated Berlin, November 1837. It deals with the Athena on pp. 106–107.

a wall is a very ancient statue of Minerva. Below this temple, in the wall surrounding the Acropolis, are triglyphs, either originally placed as ornaments of the wall, or those of the old hecatompedon destroyed by the Persians, as are probably the pieces of unfluted columns near. Below the back front of the propylæa is the cave of Pan, and the holes for votive offerings yet remain. Stuart talks of a source [of water] near it.²⁴

Gell was in Greece in the years 1801–1802 and 1805–1806, and then in 1811–1812 he was sent there by the Society of Dilettanti, along with Francis Bedford and John Peter Gandy-Deering.²⁵ Gell took notes and made drawings, many of which are in the possession of the British Museum's Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. The contents of thirteen of his sketchbooks, which date from 1801 to 1806, were published in 1900 by Laurence Binyon, who numbered the sketches within each book.²⁶

One of Gell's drawings, book no. 8 LB 18, is labeled: "STATUE IN THE WALL OF THE ACROPOLIS Minerva Polias."²⁷ This sketch, which is reproduced here for the first time, shows a statue of Athena, clearly identifiable as the one now known as Acropolis 625, built into a wall right side up and front forward (Fig. 3). Athena is seated, her right foot drawn back. Her knees and muscular calves press through her drapery, a series of vertical folds gathered between them. She wears a poncho aegis with outwardly scalloped edges and a huge round (defaced) gorgoneion on its front center. No doubt both the statue and the wall in the sketch are those to which Gell referred in his written account, even though he does not describe the Athena as seated. This is also likely to be the sketch seen by Gerhard (above, p. 226), which he knew by 1828, for at that time he wrote about a

24. Gell 1819, p. 46. For Gell's knighthood, see Miller 1972, p. 25. Binyon (1900, p. 185) gives his year of birth as 1777. Regarding Stuart, see below, note 39.

25. Gell 1810. Regarding his mission for the Society of Dilettanti, see Binyon 1900, p. 185; Miller 1972, p. 25; Madden 1861, p. 79. Deering's name appears in a variety of ways, including John P. Gandy Dering, John P. Gandy, John Peter Deering, and J. P. Gandy-Derry. The Society of Dilettanti was formed in 1734, and comprised 54 noblemen and gentlemen, including the Earl of Sandwich and Revett: Churton (below, note 62) in Chandler 1825, I, p. vi.

26. Binyon 1900, pp. 185–213. See also Hasluck 1911–1912, pp. 272–273. Some of the Binyon "sketchbooks" are actually loose sketches that were at some time bound together into books. The British Museum also has six other

sketchbooks, three travel diaries, and one account book by Gell, which may be from the Dilettanti mission of 1811–1812: I. D. Jenkins, pers. comm. The British School at Athens also possesses six sketchbooks by Gell. The contents of two of these are given in Woodward and Austin 1925–1926a and 1925–1926b.

27. Binyon 1900, p. 199: "(18) STATUE OF ATHENE POLIAS in the wall of the Acropolis. Pen and ink." The sketch is 11.5 cm high and 19 cm wide, and is situated at the top of a rectangular page, 39 cm high and 21.3 cm wide, which is bound in backward. I thank L. Burn for these precise measurements (pers. comm.). Sketches on pages of different sizes were bound together in book no. 8. The lines of the drawing are much darker and firmer than they appear in the photograph. The inscription is in Gell's hand.

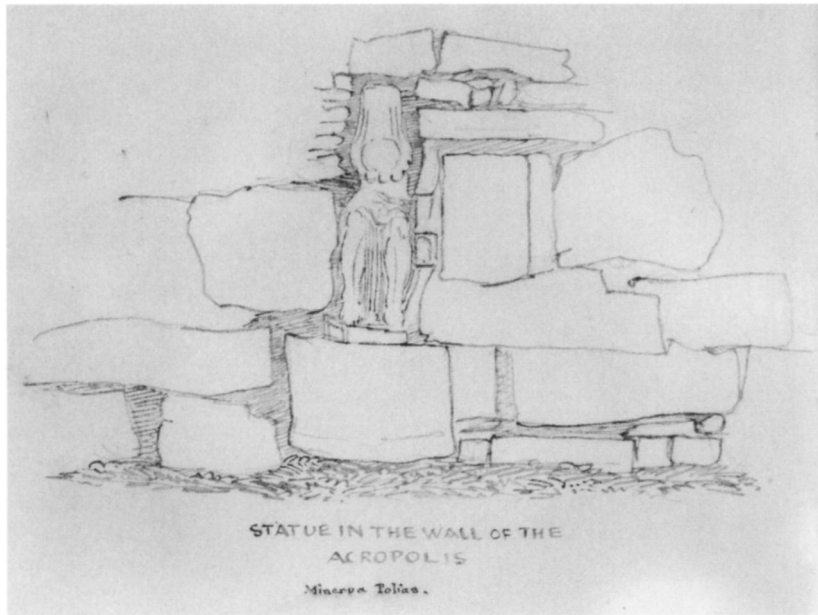


Figure 3. Sketch by Gell. Acropolis 625 built into a Late Antique wall.
Courtesy The British Museum

sketch by Gell of a statue of Minerva that once served as a filling in a wall of the Acropolis.²⁸

The condition of the statue in the early 19th century was apparently not much different from what it is today (cf. Figs. 1 and 3). Athena lacks her head, but her neck and the strands of hair falling over her breasts remain. The head was hacked off at the back and sides with downward blows, and the entire surface of the resulting hollow is badly weathered, as are the neck and much of the front of the statue. Gell left out Athena's shoulders, which were and are still intact; the upper arms were broken with downward blows from the sides and back. The elbows were recovered separately, but the circumstances regarding their discovery are unknown to me. The elbows are present in a drawing dating to 1836, and in the oldest published image, an engraving, dating to 1843.²⁹ The missing forearms were severed below the elbows. The right side of the chair is gone (viewer's left),³⁰ as are its legs; the knob of the left front leg, surrounded by the seat cushion, is extant. These depredations clearly took place before the statue was built into the wall, as they could not have occurred afterward. The snakes of the aegis, which were added separately in bronze, were also removed at some time.

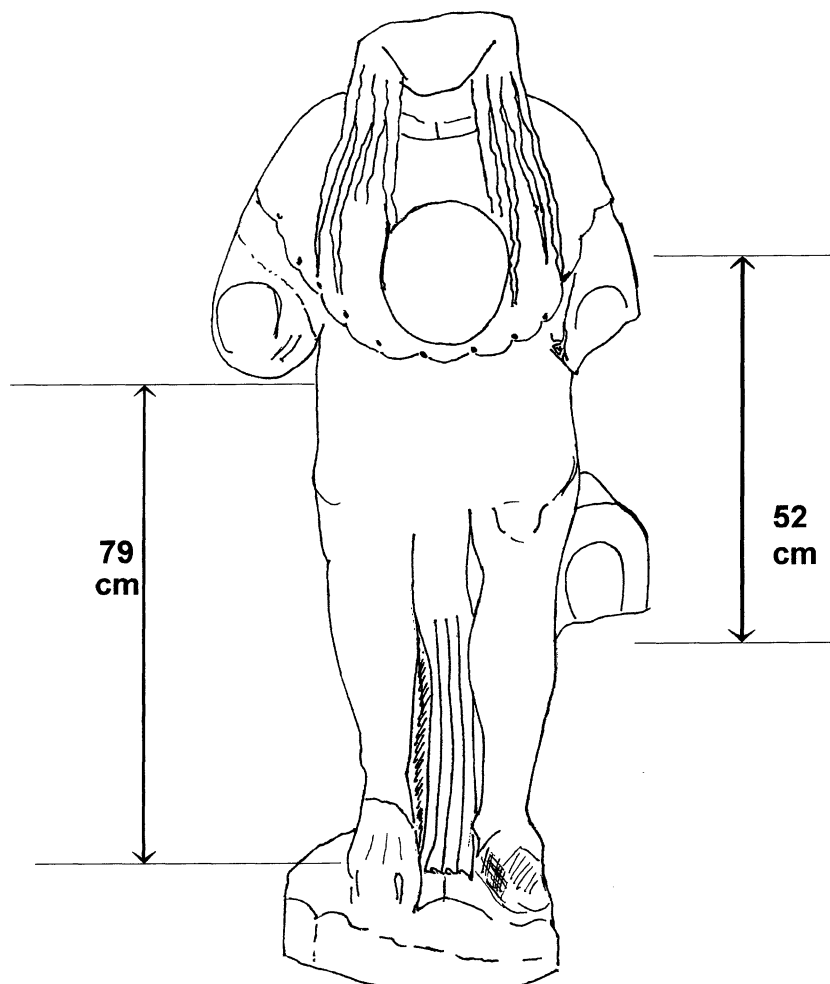
In his sketch Gell deviated slightly from the actual remains. He did not indicate the neckline of the aegis, which is in such low relief and now so battered that it is difficult to discern. He indicated only two strands of hair falling over Athena's chest on either side, whereas the statue has four per side. In order to show the movement of the right leg, he raised that knee higher than the left—on the statue the right knee is actually a bit lower than the left—and showed a nonexistent weight-shift onto her left buttock. Finally, Gell captured the sloping aspect of the plinth when seen from the front, but appears to have added a molding to the right front corner.

28. Gerhard 1828, p. 127, note 23: "Statt des vermeintlichen Minervengebildes im Metroon (CREUZER Symb. II. 687, vgl. oben Taf. I. Anm. 73) kennen wir aus einer Skizze Sir W. GELLs einen ähnlichen Marmorsturz, der noch vor wenigen Jahren einer Mauer der Akropolis zur Füllung diente." Boardman (1978, p. 82) must have been referring to this sketch when he wrote that the ruined state of Acr. 625 might be "due to re-use as building material in late antiquity."

29. For the engraving from the 1836 drawing, by Schaubert or Hansen, intended for pl. 19 of Ross's never-published vol. II (for vol. I, see Ross [1839]), see Junker 1995, p. 756, and p. 757, fig. 1, lower right. That of 1843 appears in Müller-Schöll 1843, pl. I:1, and Gerhard 1844, pl. I:4. Scharf (1851, p. 193) published three new engraved views of the statue.

30. This has been replaced by modern materials, not shown here. The right side was broken and repaired in antiquity, probably at the time of the Persian Wars: Langlotz in Schrader, Langlotz, and Schuchhardt 1939, p. 109. The clamp-hole for the repair is clearly visible in an excellent photograph in Schrader 1909, p. 43, fig. 37.

Figure 4. Acropolis 625. Drawing from Fig. 1, with measurements corresponding to its placement in Fig. 3.



31. The height of Acr. 625, including the plinth, is cited as 1.47 m in Leonardos's 19th-century handwritten inventory (shown to me by Christina Vlassopoulou), and by Langlotz in Schrader, Langlotz, and Schuchhardt 1939, p. 109. The height, taken at the back center of the statue, was confirmed in April 2000 by Notios Giannoulatos, who took a number of measurements of the statue in my presence. Gell makes the block directly to Athena's left the same height as the other two mentioned here, but in this case the distance between the given points on the statue is only about 52 cm (Fig. 4).

32. On the Post-Herulian Wall, which was begun in the reign of Probus, see Frantz in *Agora* XXIV, pp. 5–11 and pls. 5–14, with appendix by Travlos, pp. 125–141. Fowden (1990, p. 494) dates it ca. A.D. 276–305, and Sironen (1994, p. 21) in the 270s and 280s A.C. This wall was once thought to have been built by Valerian in the mid-3rd century A.C., and is referred to as such in older accounts.

33. Camp 1986, p. 197.

The wall seems to have been a Late Antique creation. It is made up of blocks of stone (poros and marble?) of a variety of dimensions, which are not neatly arranged in courses and have fill between. Some may have once been finely dressed orthostates and Doric architraves. The long, thin stones on the bottom and upper right could have been stelae or thin sections from a pseudo-isodomic wall. One large block next to Athena reaches from just above the goddess's right ankle to the top of her lap, or approximately 79 cm in height (Figs. 3–4). The large rectangular block beneath her is of a similar height. It is possible, therefore, that her lap was about 160 cm from the ground.³¹

What was the date of this wall and where did it stand? One thinks of the Post-Herulian Wall, built ca. A.D. 270–285, which protected the North Slope and town below it but not the Classical Agora.³² The west section began with the new "Beulé Gate" and extended from the northwest corner of the Acropolis down the North Slope, continued along what had once been the colonnade of the west stoa of the Library of Pantainos, and utilized the back wall of the Stoa of Attalos, before turning east and incorporating into it the south wall of the Library of Hadrian (Fig. 5).³³ After proceeding some way to the east, the wall turned south again and ended at

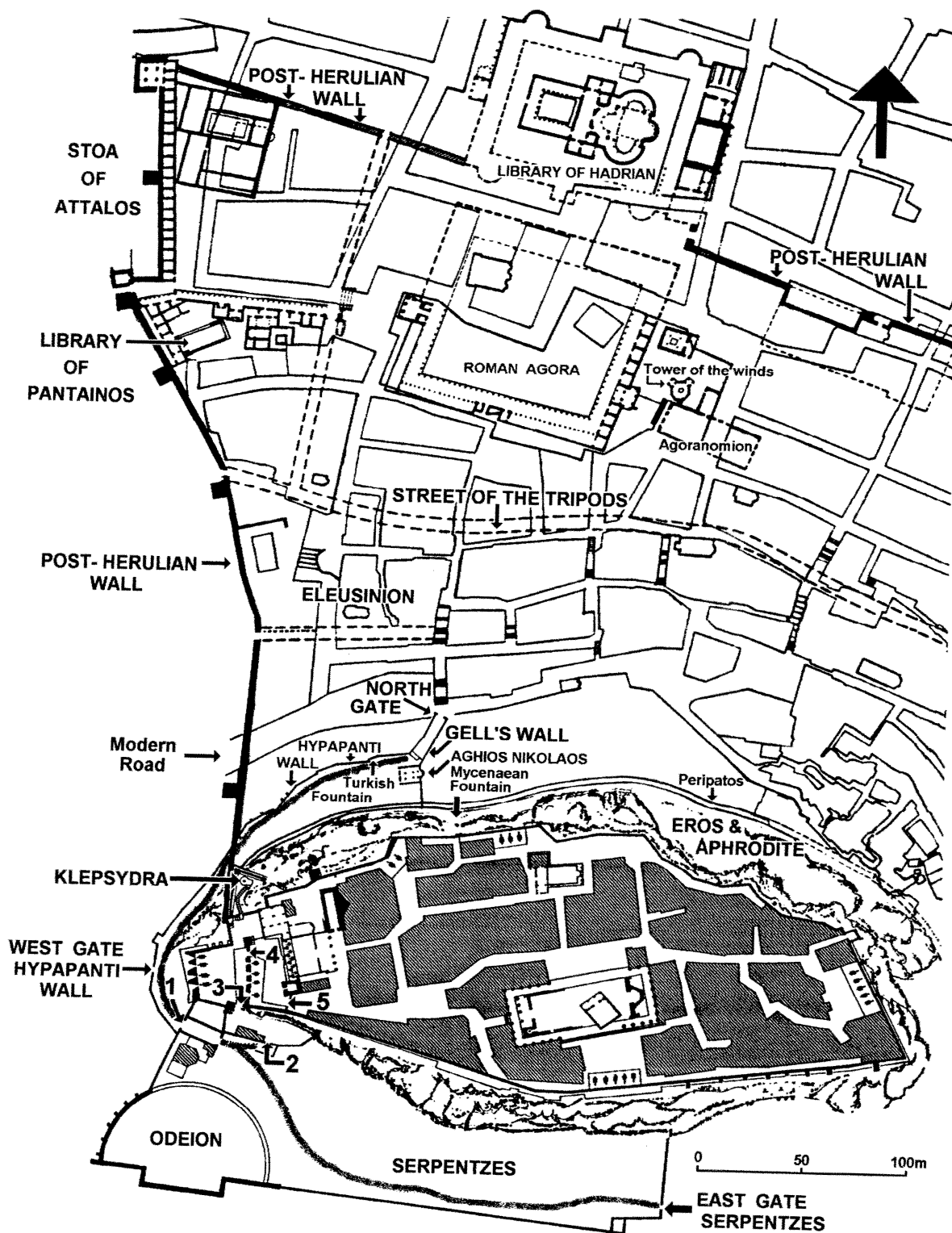


Figure 5. Athens ca. A.D. 300 (from Agora XXIV, pl. 5), combined with the Acropolis ca. 1750 (from Hopper 1971, p. 214—after Travlos 1960, p. 205). Gates 1–5 in medieval Propylaia.



Figure 6. Section of Post-Herulian Wall. Courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations

the northeast corner of the Acropolis.³⁴ Manolis Korres has shown recently that it enclosed important monuments of the South Slope as well.³⁵ The Post-Herulian Wall was double-faced with fill between, built of blocks and column drums from earlier structures—many from the Classical Agora—that had been destroyed or heavily damaged in the Herulian invasions of ca. A.D. 267 (Fig. 6). Sculptures were used in this wall, but built into it so that they were largely hidden, and the wall itself underwent repairs in the Byzantine era.³⁶

The wall in Gell's sketch cannot be part of *the* Post-Herulian Wall, however, because the evidence in Gell's written account, as well as in those of Dodwell and Chandler discussed below, places Gell's wall elsewhere on the North Slope. Since Gell's wall resembles Post-Herulian construction (cf. Figs. 3 and 6) it is certainly Late Antique in date, perhaps ca. A.D. 300.

It is evident, then, that sometime during Late Antiquity, Acropolis 625 was severely damaged; her head, forearms, and the front half of her left foot were deliberately hacked off, and the gorgoneion defaced. The perpetrators would have been enemies either of Athens or of the cult of Athena. As a result she could no longer have stayed on the Acropolis, but rather than being buried, as many other damaged statues had been, she was valued highly enough to be moved and built into a new wall.³⁷

Returning to the passage in Gell (above, pp. 226–227), we find that he is discussing both the Erechtheion and parts of the North Slope. He mentions the Athena as being built into a wall near a “fountain of brackish

34. Travlos in *Agora* XXIV, pp. 125, 138, and plan pl. 5.

35. Korres 1988, pp. 18–19: Odion of Herodes Atticus, Stoa of Eumenes, and Temple of Asklepios. See also Fowden 1990, p. 494; Tanoulas 1997, II, p. 305.

36. Camp 1986, pp. 197–198. For

a stele built horizontally into the wall with only one thin edge showing, see Shear 1939, pp. 217–218 and fig. 14. For a colossal female statue built into its south tower, and there used as a stretcher, see Shear 1935, pp. 384–387 and figs. 11–14. For one of the Byzantine repairs, dating to the 13th

century A.C., see Thompson 1959, p. 95 and pl. 14:b.

37. Statues damaged in war, and those “ritually slain” by the Greeks themselves, were normally buried or reused as building material: Keesling 1999, pp. 513–516 and notes 15–18 and 26–32.



Figure 7. Ancient sarcophagus that served as part of a Turkish fountain, built by 1764. Courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations

[salty] water.” He describes this fountain as being “below the rock,” and believes that the water in the fountain ultimately came from the famous salt sea of Poseidon (Paus. 1.26.5), the source of which he hoped would be discovered one day by excavation. Finally, citing James Stuart, he mentions a source of water near the cave of Pan (Fig. 10: letter *e*).

TURKISH FOUNTAIN

When Gell visited Athens in the early 19th century, the Turks had been in control of the Acropolis for some time.³⁸ The fountain of brackish water to which he refers was Turkish, built between 1753 and 1765.³⁹ It was located near the Hypapanti wall, a new fortification wall on the North and West Slopes. The source of water was the spring Klepsydra (Fig. 2), whose ancient fountain was hidden by debris. Klepsydra’s water has been described “ever since antiquity, as brackish and unfit for drinking.”⁴⁰

Regarding the Turkish fountain Arthur W. Parsons reported:

Its remains lie less than 100 meters east of Klepsydra, against the Turkish wall, facing the cobbled path which in Turkish times was the main road between the town and the *kastro*. There is not much left of it now: only the ancient marble sarcophagus which formed its

38. Greece was part of the Ottoman Empire from 1456/1460 to 1833. The Turks held the Athenian Acropolis from June 1458 until late September 1687, when it was captured briefly by the Venetians, who left in April 1688. The Turks held it again until June 10, 1822—when it was liberated by the Greeks—and from June 5, 1827, to March 31, 1833. See Miller 1893, pp. 546–551; Travlos 1981, pp. 391–395; Tanoulas 1987, pp. 416–418, 441, 459–461; Paton 1951, pp. 3–19;

MacKenzie 1992, pp. 107–124.

39. An earlier Turkish fountain had existed on the North Slope (Parsons 1943, p. 259) and was seen by Wheler (1682, p. 383) in 1675. About this earlier fountain, Leake (1841, p. 171, note 1) wrote: “In the time of Stuart, the Turkish fountain no longer flowed, and the water was conveyed by pipes to a mosque in the *bázár*” (Leake was in Athens in 1807 [1841, pp. 169–170, note 4]). Stuart indicated the stream of water on his 1753 plan of the Acro-

polis (Fig. 10): Stuart and Revett 1787, p. V, and text p. v. The new fountain was in place in 1765 when Chandler (1825, II, p. 74) visited. It was built, therefore, sometime between 1753 and 1765.

40. Parsons 1943, p. 205, also explaining that Klepsydra’s water was not icy cold and had a high lime content. Wheler (1682, p. 383) reports that the Consul told him it “was not very good to drink.”

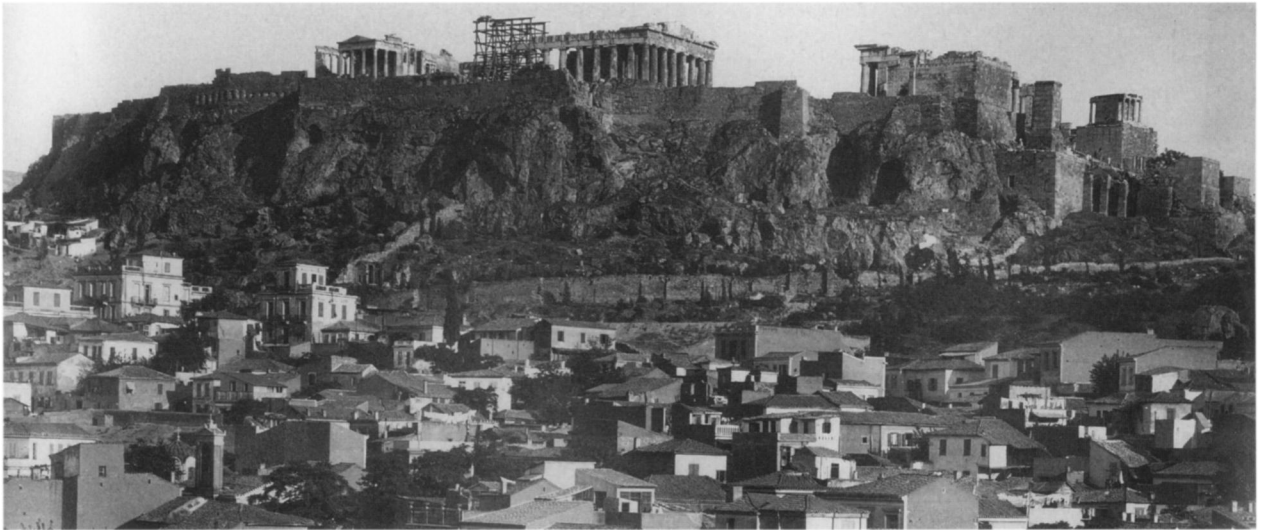


Figure 8. North Slope of the Acropolis seen from the Hephaisteion with much of the Hypapanti wall in good condition.
 Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. THES.2343

basin, with a little rubble and mortar masonry built into either end, which served to support the superstructure. The water of Klepsydra was brought to it in a rectangular terracotta channel which is still in place.”⁴¹

The fountain has not changed much since Parsons photographed it in 1939 (Fig. 7), except that it has lost a few marble fragments from the front wall of the sarcophagus.

HYPAPANTI WALL

The Hypapanti wall⁴² began southwest of the Propylaia at the western portion of the Serpentzes wall just below the western Serpentzes gate,⁴³ and extended around to enclose about one-third of the North Slope (Fig. 5). Much of the lower section of the wall, which served as a retaining wall, remains and is immense and impressive (Fig. 8). There was a gate in the Hypapanti wall due west of the western batteries. Another part of the wall began at the steep rock face of the North Slope, just to the west of the cleft with the Mycenaean fountain, and ran straight down the sharp incline, incorporating into it the eastern wall of the small Byzantine church

41. Parsons 1943, p. 260. Parsons discovered the remains of this fountain in 1939: Shear 1940, pp. 296–297.

42. On the Hypapanti (i.e., “Candlemas”) wall, so-named after a small church nearby, see Burnouf 1877, pp. 26–27, 31; Travlos 1960, p. 194; Tanoulas 1987, pp. 449–450; Matton and Matton 1963, p. 76, fig. 10, and p. 80. The Hypapanti church, which dated to the mid-17th century, was destroyed in 1938: Shear 1939, pp. 220–221. Its section and plan can be found in Travlos 1960, p. 178 and

p. 189, figs. 126–127. The church overlapped the Eleusinion (*Agora* XXXI, p. 73, fig. 10). For its topographical relationship with the Hypapanti wall, see Travlos 1972, pl. 15.

43. The western Serpentzes gate was the first of five gates in the medieval batteries of the Propylaia. In 1805 a barrel-vaulted passage was built behind it, after which it became known as the Tholikon gate: Tanoulas 1987, pp. 432–433 and p. 438, fig. 6; Tanoulas 1997, II, p. 291; Travlos 1960, pp. 204–205 and fig. 10: no. 5. The

Serpentzes wall guarded the South Slope. Its western portion existed in 1670, and the remainder was built sometime between 1674 and 1687. See the drawings of the Acropolis and the South Slope in Omont 1898, pls. 29–29bis (dated 1670—one by an Italian[?], the other by Félix Périn) and 31 (Nointel in 1674 and D’Ortières in 1687); and Matton and Matton 1963, pls. 27–28. See also Travlos 1960, pp. 178 and 204; Tanoulas 1987, p. 432; Miller 1893, p. 546.



Figure 9. Hypapanti wall, western face of part of HW1, just below peripatos, June 1994

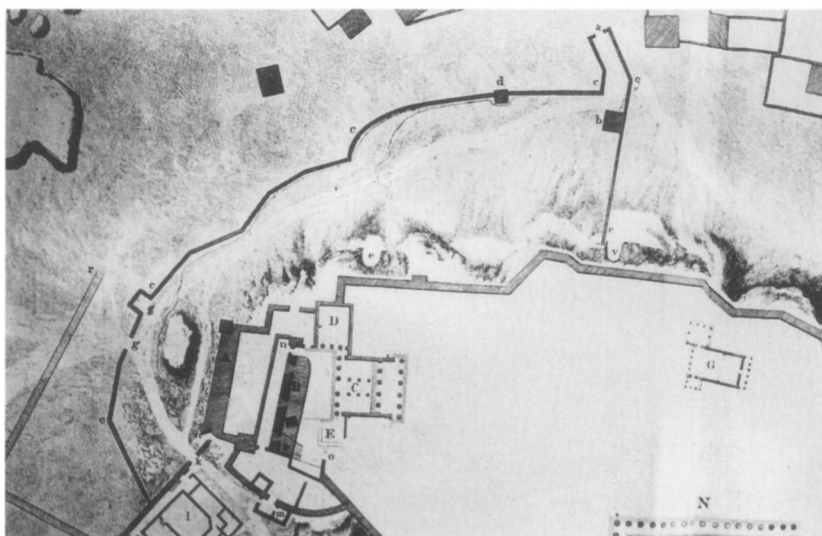


Figure 10. Detail from the plan of the Acropolis by Stuart 1753 (from Stuart and Revett 1787, p. V). Medieval batteries at the Propylaea, and Turkish walls on the North and West Slopes.

of Aghios Nikolaos; the church itself was converted into a fort.⁴⁴ Just below Aghios Nikolaos, the Hypapanti wall turned toward the northeast, flanking a path to a gate at the foot of the North Slope. This gate exited into the medieval town of Athens, and was now the first gate through which visitors normally passed in order to visit the Acropolis. It is usually referred to as the north gate (Fig. 5).⁴⁵

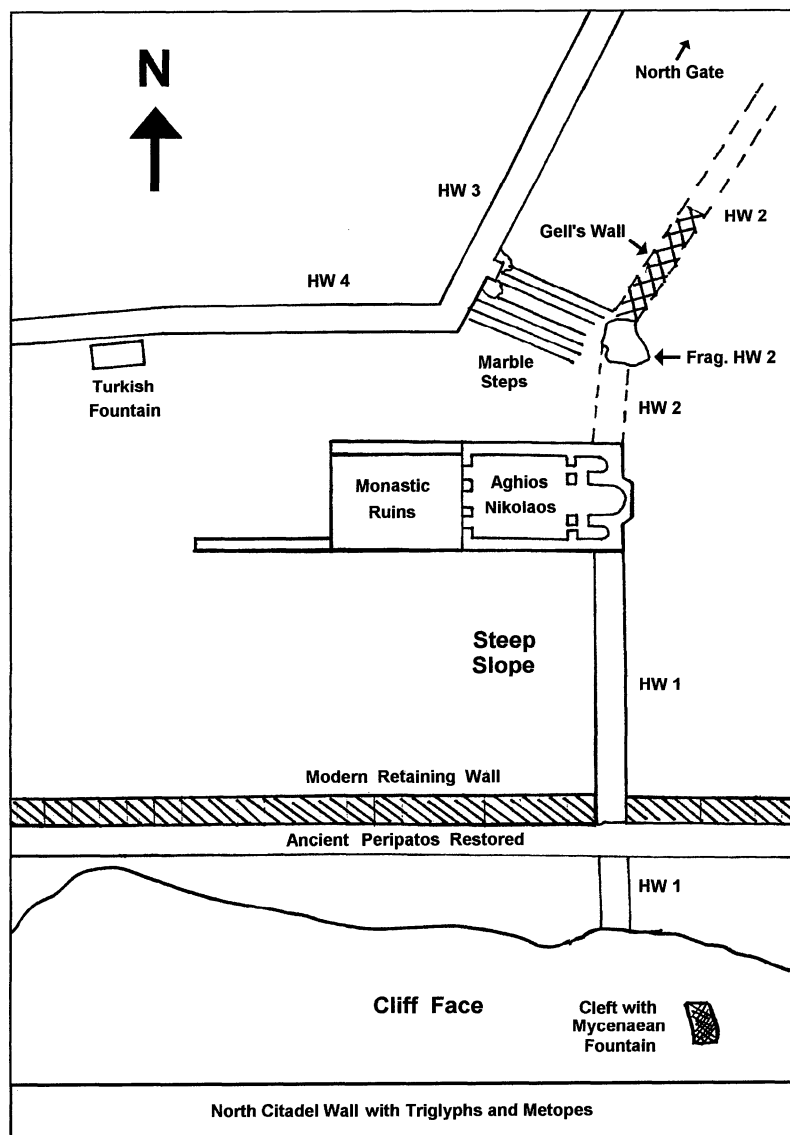
44. Travlos 1960, p. 194. On Stuart's plan (Fig. 10) the church is labeled *b*, and in Stuart and Revett's 1787 text, p. v, it is described as "A small Fort facing that Gate." The church-fort became known as *ντάπια τοῦ λιονταρίου*, "Bastion of the Lion": Travlos 1960, p. 204 and p. 205, fig. 138. I thank T. Tanoulas for translating the word *ντάπια* (pers. comm.). See also Trikoupes 1857, pp. 74–75, recounting a battle of 1826–1827 fought at this spot; Parsons 1943, p. 260, note 169; and

Matton and Matton 1963, p. 76, fig. 10 and p. 80.

45. Travlos 1960, p. 194. On p. 204 he reports that Athenians called it the "Chalasmene" or "Katouremene" gate. Today it is also sometimes referred to as the Lontari gate: Tanoulas 1997, II, p. 289. The path to the north gate from the town was "steep" and "ill-paved": Hobhouse 1817, p. 278. Stuart and Revett (1787, text p. v, letter *a*; Fig. 10) describe the gate as: "A little Gate lying North of the Acropolis: it is the

entrance to a kind of Outwork, through which it was necessary to pass before we came to the Propylaea, and got up into the Fortress." Dodwell, Chandler, and Hobhouse used this gate. Their accounts are given below. One can infer from Clarke 1818, pp. 211–215, and Williams 1820, pp. 295–296, that they also used it, for they talk of a steep ascent and of passing the cave of Apollo and Pan on the way to the Propylaea. Laurent (1821, p. 101) also came this way.

Figure 11. Sketch map of ruins on the North Slope. Not to scale



46. Travlos 1960, p. 194.

47. Tanoulas 1997, I, pp. 67–79.

See the appendix below, pp. 248–250, for the accounts of several early travelers who visited Athens ca. 1740.

48. Stuart and Revett 1787, text p. v, letters *c.c.c.*: “The Wall of the Outwork rudely built, and of little strength, but with a number of small Apertures in it, evidently left, that the garrison might discharge their Musketry through them on the enemy in case of an attack.” There is an excellent photograph of part of the Hypapanti wall by Frédéric Boissonnas in Picard [1929], pl. 11. Boissonnas (1858–1946), a Swiss photographer, spent time in Greece during the first two decades of the 20th century. In 1907 he took a series of photographs of the Acropolis: *PEI* 1985, s.v. *Boissonnas*.

49. Dontas 1970, p. 167 and figs. 1–2; Dontas 1972, p. 25, pls. 34, 38:α–β; Dontas 1974, p. 27, pl. 38; Dontas 1983, pp. 48–50.

The Hypapanti wall, 70–80 cm thick, was constructed mostly of fieldstones, but also small bits of marble and poros, and had musketry holes (Fig. 9). It was built in the mid-18th century,⁴⁶ possibly before 1740,⁴⁷ and appears on Stuart’s plan of the Acropolis, drawn up in 1753 (Fig. 10).⁴⁸ For the sake of clarity in the ensuing discussion, I have numbered the parts of this wall above and below Aghios Nikolaos as follows (Fig. 11):

Hypapanti wall, section one: HW1

Hypapanti wall, section two: HW2

Hypapanti wall, section three: HW3

Hypapanti wall, section four: HW4

The modern retaining wall that intersects HW1 was begun in 1969–1970 for the restoration of the ancient peripatos along the North Slope.⁴⁹

The north gate no longer exists; a narrow modern road (Theorias) covers the spot where it once stood. There is a gate in the Acropolis fence



Figure 12. Looking toward the area of the north gate in April 2000: old marble steps, Hypapanti wall, gate in modern fence, modern road

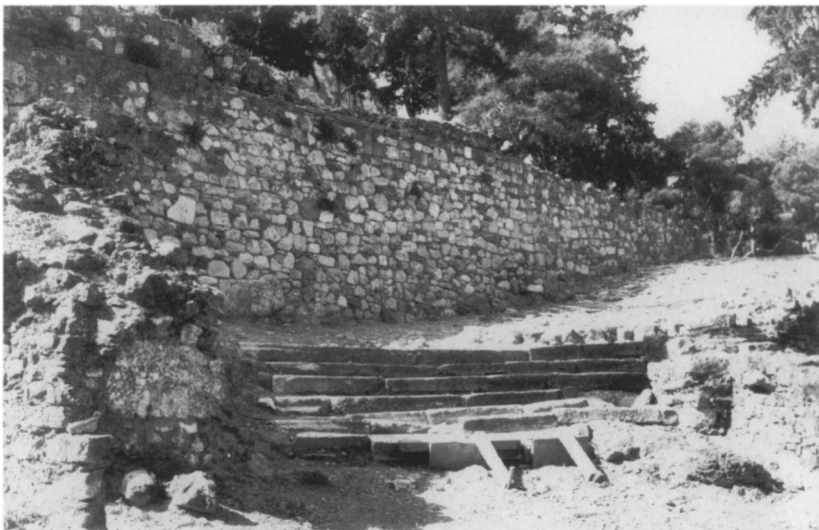


Figure 13. Looking up from the north gate, toward the southeast in April 2000: old marble steps flanked by the Hypapanti wall, north retaining wall of Aghios Nikolaos

here. Across the road is the Kanellopoulos Museum, and next to it a steep staircase covers the medieval path into town (Fig. 12). Plans indicate that the gate was formed by the terminations of the Hypapanti wall.⁵⁰ Wooden doors may have completed the gate, as on other Turkish gates to the Acropolis.⁵¹ The only possible artistic representation of the north gate known to me occurs in a panoramic engraving of Athens by Johann Heinrich Schilbach, dated ca. 1823.⁵² In the right background is a tiny view of the northern and western sides of the Acropolis (Fig. 14). Here one can see HW1, HW3, HW4, Aghios Nikolaos as a fortress, and what might be the western half of the north gate.

50. On Stuart's plan (Fig. 10) the wall forms short returns, but on Fauvel's (below, note 73) it does not. Stuart orients the gate incorrectly, toward the northwest. Le Roy (1758, pl. III between pp. 6–7) gives a better orientation on his plan of 1755 (Tanoulas 1987, p. 443, fig. 32).

51. The first and second gates (Fig. 5) are so described by Hobhouse (1817, p. 279); and the second gate is pictured by Stilling (1853: inside) and Winstrup (1850: outside) in Bendtsen 1993, pp. 87–88, figs. 19–20.

52. On Schilbach, see Nagler 1910–1912, XVII, pp. 198–200.

This print is one that Schilbach distributed himself (p. 199, no. 1). The date is given on the back of a photograph of the print in the Photoabteilung, Kasten no. 45, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. AKR.482.

Figure 14. Detail of an engraving by Schilbach, ca. 1823. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. AKR.482



The Turkish fountain was located just inside the south face of the Hypapanti wall—somewhat to the west of the north gate (Fig. 11)—and was no doubt the “fountain of brackish water” mentioned by Gell. Somewhere nearby, according to Gell, a statue of Athena was built into a wall. But where exactly? For further clues to the location of the statue we must turn to Dodwell and Chandler.

EDWARD DODWELL (1767–1832)

Accompanying Gell on some of his Greek travels was Edward Dodwell, who also published his account in 1819. Dodwell visited Athens briefly in 1801 and then for a much longer time in 1805–1806.⁵³ The following description comes from his stay in 1805:

In going from the town to the Acropolis the first gate which is passed is at the foot of the rock, and faces nearly N.E.; on the wall to the left is a female statue of white marble, sitting on a *thronos*. It is headless, and much ruined, but it is evidently of the ancient Æginetic style: near it is the fragmented statue of a horse.

On the right hand is a modern wall, perforated with loop-holes for musketry, and separating the Acropolis from the Areiopagos.

The small stream already mentioned runs down the declivity towards the town in an easterly direction.⁵⁴

53. Dodwell 1819, I, pp. 2, 76, 526; Dodwell 1819, II, p. 460; Gell 1823, p. 291. Dodwell (1819, I, p. ix) had intended to publish earlier, but was detained for a long time by the French government under Napoleon Bonaparte. In order to visit Greece, Dodwell (1819, II, pp. 462 and 466–467) had obtained a leave of absence from his status as a

prisoner of war and surrendered himself voluntarily at the end of his travels on August 25, 1806.

54. Dodwell 1819, I, p. 310. The account of his 1805–1806 trip begins on p. 76. Dodwell is probably using the Greek word *thronos* in its most basic meaning, as a “seat” or a “chair”: *LSJ*, s.v. *θρόνος*. The horse may have been the same

one Newton (1856, p. 73) saw stored next to(?) Acr. 625 near the guardhouse at the Propylaea in 1852. He describes it as Archaic, with “fore legs and all the hind-quarters” missing, and reports that Pittakis thought it belonged to the Hekatompedon. One possibility for Newton’s horse is Acr. 6454, recently published in Moore 1995, figs. 1–3.

The “first gate” is the north gate, the wall on the left is HW2 and the wall on the right HW3, and the stream is Klepsydra, which Dodwell describes elsewhere as “brackish.”⁵⁵ The sculptures were located just inside the north gate, built into HW2 (Fig. 11). Dodwell does not identify the female statue as Athena, but his description of the figure accords well with Acropolis 625.⁵⁶

Much of HW1 survives in good condition.⁵⁷ Dodwell mentions it and describes it as modern (i.e., Turkish).⁵⁸ Very little of HW2 remains, only a large chunk below Aghios Nikolaos, which resembles an “iceberg.” This huge wall fragment is located just before HW2 turned toward the northeast (Figs. 11–13).⁵⁹ Although it is of Turkish construction, it includes a large reused marble block, about 1.5 meters from ground level (Fig. 13). Seven steps, each made of reused marble blocks, embrace the incline between the “iceberg” and HW3.⁶⁰ These steps could be Late Antique, but it is impossible to say when they were built. They run up against natural rock on both sides. HW3 abuts some of the steps but does not overlap them.

By referring to both HW1 and HW3–4, but *not* HW2 just inside the north gate, as “modern,” Dodwell implies that at least part of HW2 was *not* modern. It may, therefore, have included part of an antique wall, and it was this older wall that would have contained the statue of a seated female, and is most likely the same wall as in Gell’s sketch. The slope is gentle

55. Dodwell (1819, I, pp. 304–305) mentions the same stream in connection with the cave of Apollo and Pan, saying on p. 305: “Below this place rises the small stream which is mentioned by Pausanias, and which Stuart describes as passing near the tower of the Winds. The water is of a brackish taste.” Did Dodwell taste the water from the Turkish fountain? Or did he simply report what he had heard about it? Parsons (1943, p. 261), noting that Dodwell did not mention the fountain itself, thought perhaps it “was not in working order at the time of his visits.” Gell (1819, p. 46), however, does mention the fountain. The situation seems analogous to that of Spon and Wheler, who visited Athens together when an earlier Turkish fountain stood on the North Slope (above, note 39). Spon (1679, pp. 79–210 [chapter on Athens]) does not mention a fountain, but Wheler (1682, p. 383) does, noting Spon’s failure to do so.

56. Although a number of other fragmentary statues of seated female figures have been recovered from the Acropolis, it is unlikely that any of them could have been the statue seen by Dodwell. The better-preserved ones,

Acr. 618, 620, and 655, were found on top of the citadel in the excavations north and east of the Erechtheion: Langlotz in Schrader, Langlotz, and Schuchhardt 1939, pp. 107–116, cat. nos. 57–66. Acr. 618 (cat. no. 61) and Acr. 655 (cat. no. 57) were found in the excavations of 1887: Dickins 1912, pp. 148–150 and 193–194. Acr. 620 (cat. no. 59) was found north of the Erechtheion in March 1838: Dickins 1912, pp. 152–153. For excellent illustrations of Acr. 618, Acr. 620, and Acr. 655, see Brouskari 1974, figs. 90, 83, and 210. Acr. 618 and Acr. 620 are preserved only below the waist. The small statuette Acr. 655 is preserved from the shoulders down.

57. Old photographs—such as a calotype taken by Normand in 1851 (Daux 1956, pl. 12, and p. 619, note 1; École française d’archéologie, Athens, neg. no. R.1545.1); and Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. nos. THES.2343 (Fig. 8), AKR.323, AKR.509, AKR.617, and AKR.2014/15 (an aerial view)—show that HW1 was continuous, as does Dodwell’s testimony (below, note 58). Sometime after the excavations of the 1930s and before

1969, a breach was made in this wall at the level of the peripatos. In 1970 the foundations of the Hypapanti wall, and parts of the wall itself, were strengthened and reinforced: Dontas 1972, p. 26.

58. Dodwell (1819, I, pp. 299–305) came upon HW1 after making a circuit of the Acropolis slopes, beginning on the south and moving counter-clockwise to the east and then the north. After he visited a sanctuary on the North Slope, he states (p. 302): “At the distance of a few paces further is a natural cavern, containing no traces of antiquity except some votive niches; and here all further progress is impeded by a modern wall which joins the rock.”

59. There is a gap today between the northeast end of Aghios Nikolaos and the “iceberg.” Some of this now-missing wall section still existed in the early 20th century and appears in a photograph taken by Boissonnas: Picard [1929], pl. 10:A.

60. The steps are indicated in a cursory way in Travlos 1960, p. 205, fig. 138, and Parsons 1943, p. 263, figs. 41–42.

here, as it is under the wall in Gell's sketch (cf. Figs. 3 and 12), and cuttings in the rock are consistent with foundations for a wall of this nature.

Fountain and outwork were built in the mid-18th century. Both the antique wall fragment and its monumental seated Athena would have been extremely impressive in the compressed area between the two portions of the Hypapanti wall inside the north gate. This would have been a crowded and busy area, which explains why Gell did not attempt a more polished study, and why others did not even attempt to draw her at all.

Combining all the evidence presented so far, the following is clear. Acropolis 625 was once embedded in a Late Antique wall, on the North Slope of the Athenian Acropolis, which was located just inside the north gate of a towering Turkish outwork, not far from a Turkish fountain.

RICHARD CHANDLER (1738–1810)

In 1764, almost forty years *before* Gell and Dodwell visited Athens, Richard Chandler, a noted scholar, was sent by the Society of Dilettanti to Asia Minor and Greece, along with Nicholas Revett, the architect, and William Pars, the painter. Chandler was in charge, and their mission was to study and record the antique monuments of Greece and the Near East. They left on June 9, 1764, for Asia Minor; in August 1765 they sailed for Athens. After spending more than twelve months in Greece, they returned to England in November 1766.⁶¹ Chandler's account of Asia Minor was published in 1775, and that of Greece in 1776. They were combined into a two-volume work in 1817, and were republished in 1825.⁶² Chandler deals with the Acropolis and its slopes in volume II, chapters 9–12.

Although Chandler apparently entered the Acropolis via the western gate in the Hypapanti wall, when he descended, he headed toward the north gate, for he planned to make a complete circuit of the Acropolis slopes in a clockwise fashion.⁶³ Chandler mentions the Propylaia and the caves of Apollo and Pan below [on the North Slope], and then states the following:

By the road-side, before you come to the town, is a fountain, in the wall on the left hand, supplied probably by the same spring as the well once in the temple of Neptune [i.e., Erechtheion]; for the water descends from the Acropolis, and is not fit for drinking. Farther on is a statue of Isis inserted in the wall on the right hand; a ruined church; and the gateway of the out-work next the town. We shall turn up on the right, and keep in the outskirt, on the side of the hill.⁶⁴

61. Churton (below, note 62), pp. vi–vii; Chandler 1825, I, pp. xvii–xviii, xxii (dedication and preface written in 1775).

62. *NUC* 103, p. 208. For the 1825 edition, Churton wrote the introduction (pp. iii–xiv), and Ellis gave the printers a transcript of Revett's notes,

which Revett had added to Chandler's original manuscripts. Revett's comments appear as footnotes. The manuscripts are kept in the British Museum: Churton in Chandler 1825, p. vi, note c. Chandler died in 1810: Churton in Chandler 1825, p. xii.

63. Chandler 1825, II, pp. 47 and

73. On p. 73 he describes the path to the north gate as "the way most frequented" but also mentions a different path leading from the Propylaia "toward the temple of Theseus" (i.e., the Hephaisteion).

64. Chandler 1825, II, p. 74.

The Turkish fountain was on Chandler's left, next to the Hypapanti wall (HW4). The ruined church of Aghios Nikolaos was on his right, as was a statue of a female figure, which he identified as Isis, but which was probably Acropolis 625, for to my knowledge no sizable statue of Isis has ever been found in Athens.⁶⁵ The importance of Chandler's account should not be underrated. He was the first to mention the new Turkish fountain and to associate it spatially with a female statue in the wall, a ruined church, and the north gate.⁶⁶

J. C. HOBHOUSE (1786–1869)

John Cam Hobhouse, who visited Greece in 1809–1810, and who later became the first Baron of Broughton, confirms the location of the fountain:

There are two roads of ascent to the gate of the citadel; one over the burying-ground to the left of the Odéum, the other up a steep ill-paved path, commencing from about the middle of the back of the town. There is a wall, making an out-work to the citadel, on your right hand, all the way as you advance towards the entrance of the fortress. Just after you enter the gate of this out-work, there is a niche on the right, where, in 1765, was a statue of Isis. A modern stone fountain is a little above this, and hither the inhabitants of the citadel come for water, as there is no well on the hill.⁶⁷

The Odeion is that of Herodes Atticus on the South Slope, and the burial ground the Turkish cemetery, which lay on the West Slope immediately outside the Hypapanti wall.⁶⁸ By passing through the Turkish burial ground first, one could enter the western gate in the Hypapanti wall, as had Chandler in 1765. Note that Hobhouse, however, entered by way of the north gate, and his mistaken impression that Chandler's "Isis" had once filled a niche in HW3 or HW4, rather than HW2.⁶⁹

65. Christina Vlassopoulou assures me that there is no statue of Isis in the Acropolis storeroom (pers. comm.). For small images currently in Athens, see *LIMC* V, 1990, nos. 10a, 47, 106, 213, 273, s.v. *Isis* (T.T. Tinh). The cults of Isis and Serapis were practiced on and near the Acropolis: Dow 1937, pp. 208–209 (Serapeion once near modern Mitropoleos Square), pp. 214–215 (South Slope of the Acropolis), and pp. 225–227 (images). Women wearing a garment with an Isis knot appeared often on late Attic grave stelai, beginning in the Augustan era: Walters 1988, pp. 91–111. I am grateful to J. Binder for this last reference. One such stele was found recently in the excavations for the new subway: Goulandris Museum 2000, pp. 196–

197, cat. no. 179. A fragment of another was found by Broneer on the eastern section of the North Slope on April 5, 1939, and is in the Agora storeroom (AS 204). In Late Antiquity, Isis was conflated with Athena and others, and took on attributes such as the aegis: *LIMC* V, 1990, pp. 793–795, s.v. *Isis* (T.T. Tinh). By Chandler's day the art and artifacts of Egypt had already excited curiosity and collecting fervor: Hobson 1987, pp. 25–26.

66. Regarding the older Turkish fountain, see above, note 39. Although the church had been converted into a fortress by the time of Stuart and Revett's visit in 1751–1753 (above, note 44), Chandler recognized it as a church.

67. Hobhouse 1817, p. 278. On

p. 279 he mentions the cave of Apollo and Pan.

68. Regarding the cemetery see Hobhouse 1817, p. 279; Chandler 1825, II, pp. 72–73; and a lithograph showing the west side of the Acropolis in Stuart and Revett 1787, between pp. iii and iv. The lithograph is reproduced in color in Economakis 1994, p. 70, top.

69. Turner (1820, p. 323), who visited Athens in May 1814 (p. 470), made the same error, for he states that when on May 17 he went to the Acropolis with Lusieri, the artist: "We ascended it by a tolerable good road. To our right, as we went up, was a fountain (said to flow from a source near the temple of Neptune Erechtheus above) in a wall near which was a statue of Isis."

THE DATE OF THE FIND

The north gate and part of the walls next to it were apparently destroyed during the early years of the Greek Revolution, which began in 1821.⁷⁰ On June 10, 1822, the Greeks took the Acropolis from the Turks, and searched for a source of water. Cyriacus Pittakis soon found Klepsydra, and in September 1822 the general Odysseus Andritzos had it enclosed in a new bastion to protect it.⁷¹ The Turkish fountain further down the slope was now defunct. Then, in a letter written on April 15, 1824, George Gropius, the Austrian consul of Athens, reported the following:

The wall which enclosed the paved way leading to the first gate of the Acropolis, as also the houses in this part of the upper town, have been demolished, because they were too near, and thus interfered with its defence. It is proposed to convert this space into an esplanade and public promenade, commencing at the temple of Bacchus and terminating at the cave of Pan. A new entrance will be made to the town, between the rocks of the Areopagus and the new bastion, the wall is also to be taken a little further out.⁷²

Gropius is speaking of the North Slope, for the only walls near the upper town of Athens enclosing a “paved way leading to the first gate of the Acropolis” were HW2 and HW3. The houses were those which existed close to the north gate. They appear in another sketch by Gell (Fig. 15), and as city blocks on Louis François Sébastien Fauvel’s plan of Athens.⁷³ These houses had been badly damaged in the War for Independence and a letter written by George Waddington from Athens in February 1824 makes clear that Andritzos had already determined not to restore them:

That part of the town which lay immediately under the northern or Pelasgic wall of the citadel, where the house of poor Lusieri will be

70. MacKenzie 1992, pp. 107–108: uprising in Patras on March 25, 1821; Greek army reaches Athens on May 7, 1821.

71. On the discovery of the spring Klepsydra, see Wordsworth 1836, pp. 83–84; Waddington 1825, p. 90; Raybaud 1825, pp. 433–434. The bastion of Odysseus carried his name and the date of its erection. Wordsworth 1836, p. 84, contains a facsimile of the inscription. Burnouf (1877, p. 17) says that he dismantled this bastion in 1874. The remainder was destroyed in 1888 by the Greek Archaeological Service: Parsons 1943, p. 195; Tanoulas 1987, p. 476.

72. “Extract of a Letter from M. Gropius, Austrian Consul at Athens, relative to the present State of the ancient Remains in that City,” dated

Athens, April 15, 1824, as quoted in Blaquiere 1825, II, p. 158. Blaquiere (1825, I, p. 99) reports that this letter was part of his personal correspondence. Miller 1972, p. 25, gives Gropius’s first name.

73. Gell’s sketch, book no. 5, LB 23, measures 22.6 cm in height and 56.5 cm in width. I thank L. Burn for these measurements (pers. comm.). Fauvel came to Greece in 1780 and over the next four decades spent much of his time there, especially in Athens: Lowe 1936, p. 207; Miller 1972, pp. 16–17; Raybaud 1825, p. 83. His plan of Athens, which dates to the late 18th century (Matton and Matton 1963, p. 330), was first published by Olivier ([1801]–1807, atlas pl. 49). It was copied by Hawkins (1818, opposite p. 480) and by Coubault (Tanoulas 1997, II, fig. 22).

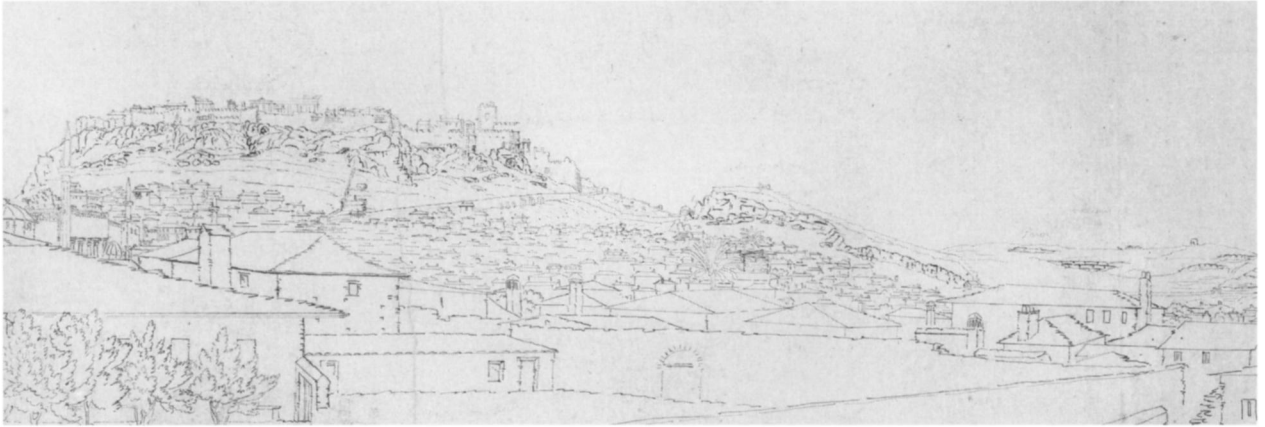


Figure 15. View of the Acropolis from the north, by Gell, ca. 1801–1806, book no. 5, LB 23. Courtesy The British Museum

recollected as very distinguished, has naturally suffered the most severely. It is the intention of Odysseus not to permit its restoration; because the existence of buildings so near to this most accessible side of the Acropolis would facilitate the approaches of an enemy.⁷⁴

If my interpretation of Gropius's letter of May 1824 is correct, the part of the Turkish outwork containing the Late Antique wall was demolished between 1822 and 1824, and at that time the statue was freed from its confinement. This occurred a good ten years before any scientific excavations began on the Acropolis, and the findspot was soon forgotten. The date of the find was not published until 1912, when Dickins reported that Acropolis 625 was discovered in 1821.⁷⁵ By the time Gerhard visited Athens in 1837, the statue was stored near the Propylaea.⁷⁶

The plans to turn the space into a public promenade were necessarily shelved as the war resumed. The Turks retook the Acropolis in 1827, and relinquished it finally in 1833.⁷⁷ By 1835, excavations on the Acropolis had already covered both the North and South Slopes with dirt. On the North Slope, the remains of HW2 and HW3 were covered, leaving the "entrance" now at about the marble steps (Fig. 11),⁷⁸ and it may be this spot that became known as the Liontari gate, after the name for Aghios Nikolaos when it was a Turkish fortress—"Bastion of the Lion."⁷⁹

74. Waddington 1825, pp. 89–90. Raybaud (1825, p. 434), on his last visit to Athens in 1822, also reported the destruction of a Turkish wall (Hypapanti?) around the foot of the Acropolis.

75. Dickins 1912, p. 160: "Found on the N. slope of the Acropolis below the Erechtheum in 1821." In 1939 Langlotz repeated Dickins's information in Schrader, Langlotz, and Schuchhardt 1939, p. 109: "Gef. 1821 am Nordabhang unterhalb des Erechtheions." Dickins does not cite a reference for the date, but perhaps he had heard that the statue was found

at the beginning of the Greek Revolution.

76. Gerhard 1837, p. 106. According to Scharf (1851, p. 190), in June 1840 Müller talked about the statue as having been "lately discovered on the Acropolis." In 1909 Schrader (1909, p. 45) thought that Acr. 625 had been found shortly before 1837.

77. See above, note 38.

78. See a lithograph from Ferdinand Stademann's 1835 drawing, "Panorama of Athens," in Stademann 1841, pl. I; and a watercolor of 1850–1851 by Winstrup in Bendtsen 1993, p. 83, fig. 14. Stademann came to

Athens with King Otto I in 1832: Nagler 1910–1912, XIX, p. 277. The ruins of the medieval monastery in front of Aghios Nikolaos (not yet published, but identified for me by Vasili Barkas [pers. comm.]) had also been covered in the same way. See an 1834 drawing by Hansen in Bendtsen 1993, p. 87, fig. 18, and Tanoulas 1997, II, fig. 67. Today the remains of HW3 are less than 2 m high, whereas those of HW4 and beyond to the west are immense. Eventually most of HW1 was also covered in dirt: Beck 1868, pl. 9.

79. See above, note 44.

The destruction of Gell's wall happened before the invention of photography in 1839.⁸⁰ The only possible visual records of its location would be in drawings, paintings, or the graphic arts. I have not been able to find any extant identifiable renderings of HW2 or of the antique wall fragment with embedded statue within a larger context than in Gell's sketch (Fig. 3).

SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE

Sometime at the beginning of the 19th century (1801–1806), Gell drew a sketch of part of a Late Antique wall containing an Archaic statue of a seated Athena known today as Acropolis 625. In a written account, published in 1819, he mentioned a fountain of brackish water on the North Slope and stated that near it in a wall was a statue of Minerva. This fountain was mentioned by several other travelers. Both Chandler and Hobhouse described it as being not far from a gateway, in a relatively new Turkish outwork, leading from the town to the Propylaia. The ruins of the fountain are still in situ.

The gateway, or north gate, and accompanying wall were built ca. A.D. 1740 as a new entrance and pathway to the Acropolis. Although all of the extant remains of this wall show Turkish construction, not all of it was Turkish. Dodwell, after he entered the north gate, saw an ancient wall (fragment) to his left, containing a statue of a seated female, most probably Acropolis 625. There is a shelf at this spot with a gentle incline, just as the ground below the wall slopes in Gell's sketch. Furthermore, the existing fragment of HW2 (the "iceberg") contains a large marble block. This block may have been reused from adjacent ruins of an ancient wall. Finally, when the 19th-century accounts that place the findspot at the exit to the Mycenaean fountain are combined with those that say the statue was found at the foot of the North Slope, we have the location rediscovered here.

The Late Antique wall containing Acropolis 625 lay just outside the medieval town of Athens. Until the north gate and its attendant walls were built, it was outside the path used by medieval travelers to the Acropolis, who, until then, approached the Acropolis from the west. Early travelers who visited Athens before 1740 may have never seen the wall or the statue. Chandler, who visited Athens in 1765, was the first to mention it.⁸¹

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FINDSPOT OF ACROPOLIS 625

As noted above, the exact findspot of Acropolis 625 is given variously in 19th- and 20th-century sources. It is said to have been found at the foot of the North Slope in three different places: at the entrance to the Mycenaean fountain (Schöll), below the Erechtheion (Dickins), and northeast of the Erechtheion below the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite (Bundgaard). Scholars have also assumed *incorrectly* that it was found where it had fallen from above, and seemingly at some fairly recent time. But, as revealed here, Acropolis 625 most probably remained on the Acropolis until it was

80. See the chapters on Talbot and Daguerre in Gernsheim and Gernsheim 1969, pp. 65–83. Although experiments in capturing images had been made for some time, it was not until 1839 that both Talbot (calotype) and Daguerre (daguerrotype) invented reliable methods that gave enough sharpness, detail, and contrast. On early photographers in Greece, see Benaki Museum 1985. The earliest photographs of the Acropolis date to the 1840s: Tanoulas 1997, II, p. 294.

81. Even after 1750 most travelers do not mention either the wall or the statue, although they must have seen it. We are most fortunate to have the accounts of Gell, Dodwell, and Chandler, Gell's sketch, and Stuart's plan.



Figure 16. Lower back of Acropolis 625, showing the aegis, June 1994

mutilated in Late Antiquity—*thereby strengthening its attribution to Endoios*—and shortly afterward was taken down to the North Slope, where it was built into a wall. The statue occupied a lofty position, right side up, facing forward, the front exposed to the elements for centuries.⁸² Its placement thus was quite unusual, not only because in antiquity statues built into walls were often treated as any other building block, but also because this one had been “killed” by the hacking off of its head and arms. Therefore, it must have still been highly venerated.

Who was responsible for the desecration of the statue, and who for saving it? I am tempted to assign the destruction to the Herulians, because the wall in Gell’s sketch is definitely Post-Herulian in character. Although the Herulians are responsible for much destruction in the Classical Agora, their presence on the Acropolis is more controversial.⁸³ It is also possible that later barbarian invaders—such as Alaric and the Visigoths in A.D. 395–396, or the Vandals in A.D. 467 or 476⁸⁴—were responsible for the mutilation of Acropolis 625. The Christians are also suspect, for they took over the Acropolis in the 430s and soon after removed the Parthenos from the Parthenon.⁸⁵

82. The heavily weathered state of the front half of the statue and its relatively smooth back (cf. Figs. 1 and 16) correspond neatly with its position in the wall, where the back of the statue was sheltered from the elements. A recent chance find provides an interesting parallel. It is a Late Archaic bronze head, complete with eyes and eyelashes, that was, at some time in Late Antiquity, leaded into a stone block so that only the face showed: Goulondris

Museum 2000, pp. 198–203, cat. no. 181. The face is very brown and weathered, but the rest of the head preserves a good green patina.

83. Those who believe that the Herulians inflicted damage on the Acropolis, pointing to the Parthenon in particular, include Travlos (1971, p. 444; 1973, pp. 218–222); Korres (in Korres and Bouras 1983, pp. 136–137; Korres 1996, pp. 140–143); Hurwit (1999, p. 286 and p. 361, notes 12 and

13.) Against this view see Frantz 1979; and Frantz, in *Agora* XXIV, pp. 2–5. J. Binder concurs with Frantz (pers. comm.).

84. Frantz, in *Agora* XXIV, pp. 49–56.

85. Miller 1893, pp. 541–542. J. Binder (pers. comm.) favors the Christians as the culprits and reminds me of the great destructions they wrought on the Acropolis, including defacing the Parthenon metopes.

Despite Christian gains, the ancient gods were still worshiped in Athens in Late Antiquity, especially Athena. It was said that in A.D. 395/6 Athena herself, along with Achilles, appeared on the walls of her city to save it from Alaric.⁸⁶ In the 4th and 5th centuries the Neo-Platonic school flourished there.⁸⁷ Whether it was Herulians, other barbarians, or Christians who despoiled Acropolis 625, she was still revered enough by pagan Athenians to be saved, perhaps in part because of her fame as a work by Endoios, and because of her obvious antiquity.⁸⁸

The Late Antique wall containing Acropolis 625 stood on a shelf in a prominent position on the steep North Slope, well within the protection of the Post-Herulian Wall. It lay directly below the cleft supporting the Mycenaean fountain with its secret passage to the Acropolis and was less than 100 m above the Street of the Tripods and about 150 m above the Roman Market. What is most striking, however, is that it was built in a religious area of great antiquity, the Pelargikon. Above it, along the peripatos, about 135 m to the west, were the ancient caves of Pan and Apollo, and about 100 m to the east, the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite. The Eleusinion lay about 80 m lower, to the northwest (Fig. 5).⁸⁹ It is most likely that the new wall had a religious function as well. The sanctity of the North Slope continued in the Byzantine era, when a number of small churches were built there, including one (Aghios Nikolaos) close to the wall containing Acropolis 625.

Although parts of the North Slope have been excavated, neither Aghios Nikolaos nor the areas around it have been thoroughly explored.⁹⁰ The

86. Zosimus 5.6.1–3, a historian writing ca. A.D. 500: Fowden 1990, pp. 495 and 501; Frantz 1979, p. 398. The city did not escape some destruction, however: Frantz, in *Agora XXIV*, pp. 51–53. On Christian gains, see Fowden 1990 and Miller 1893, p. 542. For continued faith in Athena, see Proclus's *Hymn to Athena* in Saffrey 1994, pp. 48–51. On the endurance of polytheism in Late Antiquity, see Fowden 1998. I am grateful to Marie Spiro for this last reference.

87. Frantz, in *Agora XXIV*, pp. 57–58. Tanoulas (1997, II, p. 284) believes that Athens remained a center of pagan culture until A.D. 529, when Justinian shut down the Athenian philosophical schools. Those who believe that paganism was already seriously on the wane in Athens by the early 5th century A.C. include Fowden (1990) and Hurwit (1999, p. 286).

88. Although Acr. 625 could have eventually taken on a new or augmented pagan identity—such as Isis, Demeter/Ceres, or Cybele—in her own city, she was mostly likely still regarded as Athena. Because of its scale and battered condition it is doubtful that Acr. 625 was ever

given a Christian identity.

89. On the Eleusinion, which lay just inside the Post-Herulian Wall, see *Agora XXXI*.

90. Kavvadias (1896, 1897a, 1897b, 1897c) began excavations on the North Slope in 1896. He concentrated on the northwest caves and on the area between the Areopagus and the North Slope. Kavvadias 1898, cols. 17–18, no. 15, mentions excavations of the Serapheim church (i.e., Aghios Nikolaos), but an account was never published. Among three inscribed fragments from blocks reused for a building of ca. A.D. 250–300, which Frantz, in *Agora XXIV*, pp. 61–62 and note 30, would like to see as headings from alcoves in a library, one was found in the “excavations” of the church of Aghios Nikolaos. Eleni Papafloratu and Anthi Evert, two of the architects in charge of turning the North Slope into an archaeological park, have made reconstruction drawings of the church, which they kindly showed to me in April 2000. In 1931 the American School of Classical Studies at Athens began a series of excavations on the North Slope.

K. Glowacki informs me (pers. comm.) that Broneer was responsible for the eastern half of the North Slope, and Parsons for the area west of Aghios Nikolaos, which falls into Agora section Omicron Alpha (OA). Part of section OA, which now lies under the modern road and which included part of the Post-Herulian Wall, was excavated in 1937: Shear 1938, pp. 330–331 and fig. 13. This area is further west than the Turkish north gate. Agora notebooks OA I–XIII, and his own 1943 publication, show that Parsons did a thorough job in excavating Klepsydra in 1937–1939 but never got a chance to proceed east of the Turkish fountain. He mentions it along with Aghios Nikolaos in Agora notebook OA XI, p. 2088. The area from Klepsydra to HW1 was reexcavated in the 1960s and 1970s: Platon 1968, pp. 43–44; Papapostolou 1968, pp. 34–35; Dontas 1972. Both Aghios Nikolaos and the area above it were cleaned and strengthened in the excavations of 1967–1970, at which time a variety of sculptural and inscribed fragments, dating from the Archaic through Hellenistic periods, were found.

existence of a Late Antique wall and its placement here were unreported by modern scholars until now, and it provides an important new fragment of topographical information for an area of the North Slope that is not well understood. There is much yet to be done before the Late Antique wall can even be tentatively identified. Most of Roman and Late Antique Athens is today beneath Plaka, and the identities of some of its famous exposed structures are unknown or in dispute.⁹¹ Not only is the study of Roman and Late Antique Athens just coming into its own, but the North Slope itself needs more attention.

THE HISTORY OF THE ENDOIOS ATHENA IN BRIEF

In the late 6th century, ca. 525 B.C.,⁹² a seated statue of Athena was sculpted by Endoios and dedicated on the Acropolis by Kallias. The exact location where it stood is unknown. The statue survived the Persian sack of the Acropolis in 480/479 B.C. Pausanias saw it in the vicinity of the late-5th-century Classical Erechtheion ca. A.D. 155–160. Later the statue was deliberately mutilated, the head and arms broken off, and the gorgoneion defaced, probably in the Herulian invasions of A.D. 267 or the somewhat later Christian depredations. The statue was then taken down from the top of the Acropolis rock and built into a wall on the North Slope. A fragment of this wall still containing the Athena was incorporated into a Turkish outwork sometime around 1740. The ancient goddess, now much weathered as well as battered, greeted visitors to her citadel after they entered the new Turkish gate. Gate and wall were destroyed by the Greeks between 1822 and 1824, and the statue was “found.” In truth, it had never been “lost.” The statue was then moved to the Propylaia—most likely in 1837 when Pittakis began storing sculpture there—where it rested near the guardhouse, built in 1834.⁹³ It stayed there from 1837 through 1878,⁹⁴ the year in which the Acropolis Museum was built. Milchhöfer and Ludwig von Sybel report that it was located in the first room of the museum,⁹⁵ which has since been enlarged and renovated. Today Athena sits at the back center of the fourth room, flanked by a semicircle of korai (and one clothed youth), commanding the attention of all who visit.

91. E.g., Karivieri 1994; Hoff 1994. Recent subway excavations have been a bonanza for Athenian topographical studies and archaeological finds: Stavrakakis 2000; Goulandris Museum 2000. Continuous occupation of the city from the Neolithic to the present day has been confirmed, and many impressive Roman and Late Antique structures have come to light.

92. The date of this statue has been hotly debated. For example, Lechat

(1903, pp. 416 and 441) placed it after 480 B.C., while Viviers (1992, pp. 65–66, and p. 164, note 54) places it ca. 540–520 B.C. I agree with Brouskari (1974, p. 73), who dates it ca. 525 B.C.

93. On the erection of the guardhouse below the southwest side of the Propylaia “set in the first low battery over the Tholikon” (in the vicinity of the earlier Turkish guardhouse), and on Pittakis’s activities, see Tanoulas 1987, pp. 462 and 470.

94. Gerhard (1837, p. 106—above, p. 226 and note 23) says that she “has been transferred to the great site of the present excavations” (i.e., the Propylaia). Müller-Schöll (1843, p. 24—above, page 222) says “(Moved to the Propylaia).” Saulcy (1845, pp. 270–271) and Newton (1856, pp. 66 and 73) add that it was near the lodge of the guards.

95. Milchhöfer 1881, p. 53; Sybel 1881, p. 339, no. 5002.

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APPENDIX

DATE OF THE HYPAPANTI WALL

Tasos Tanoulas dates the Hypapanti wall ca. 1743, about the same time as the third battery of the Propylaia.⁹⁶ There are three early travelers who visited Athens ca. 1740 and give evidence for the Propylaia batteries, but they are of less help in establishing the existence of the Hypapanti wall. It is worth reviewing the relevant writings of all three men here in the original English.

JOHN MONTAGUE (FOURTH EARL OF SANDWICH, 1718–1792)

Montague visited Athens in 1738 and 1739.⁹⁷ In his written description of Athens, he traces a large clockwise circle around the Acropolis, visiting the temple of Theseus (Hephaisteion), the temple of Jupiter (Library of Hadrian), the Tower of the Winds, the Lanthorn of Demosthenes (Monument of Lysicrates), the Ilissos Temple, the Pantheon of Hadrian (Temple of Zeus Olympeios), the Arch of Hadrian, and the [Thrasyllus] Monument. He then mentions the Theater of Bacchus (Odeion of Herodes Atticus) and says opposite it lies the Musaeum (Philopappus Hill).⁹⁸ After describing the latter he returns to the Theater of Bacchus, and states:

Above this theatre is the only entrance into the citadel; it being on all other sides defended by a high rock mostly perpendicular, and surrounded by a wall partly ancient and partly modern. After you are past the second gate, on your right-hand is a beautiful bass-relievo representing several combatants, some on foot and others on horseback; it probably belonged to the temple of Victory, which as Pausanias reports, stood on the very spot of ground where this bass-relievo is now stuck into the wall.⁹⁹

“The only entrance” is most likely the guard’s shed, and the “second gate” that below the Nike bastion (Fig. 5). Montague may have entered the Serpentez through its eastern gate.¹⁰⁰ He gives no indication that the Hypapanti wall existed, but his account was presumably written long after his visit; his book was published posthumously in 1799.

RICHARD POCOCKE (1704–1765)

Pococke visited Athens in 1740,¹⁰¹ and describes it in chapter 10 of his book.¹⁰² First he locates Athens and the Acropolis in general terms:

To the west of mount Hymettus, which was famous for its honey and fine marble, there is a range of lower hills; that which is nearest to Athens is mount Anchesmus [now called Tourkovounia]: Athens

96. Tanoulas 1997, II, p. 289.

97. The family name is now spelled Montagu, but it appears as Montague in his book (1799, p. i), and I use that spelling here.

98. Montague 1799, pp. 48–60.

99. Montague 1799, p. 61.

100. Tanoulas 1997, I, p. 67.

101. Tanoulas 1987, p. 443;

Tanoulas 1997, I, pp. 67–68.

102. Pococke 1745, pp. 160–170.

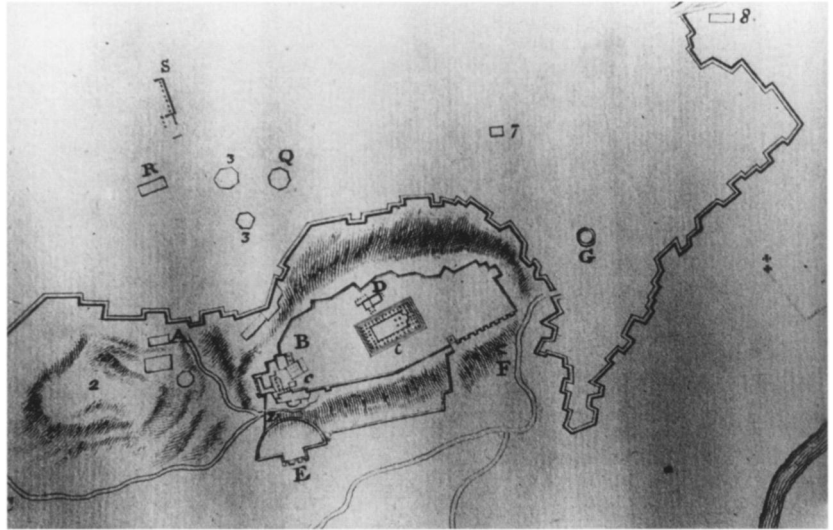


Figure 17. Detail of plan of Athens published by Pococke in 1745, pl. 65

was about a mile to the south west of it, on a hill, which on every side, except to the west, is almost perpendicular rock; it is about three furlongs in length, and one in breadth; this hill was the antient Acropolis, first called Cecropia; to the north of which the present city of Athens is built; a plan of it may be seen in the sixty-fifth plate, as the antient city in length of time probably extended all around it; the walls, I suppose being those modern ones with which it was defended when it was under the Venetians.¹⁰³

Pococke gives the correct orientation of Anchesmus, but the Acropolis is more than a mile to the southwest. Unfortunately, his plan, which was taken from Fanelli, was already fifty years out of date.¹⁰⁴ The Hypapanti wall does not appear on it, and there is nothing in Pococke's text to suggest that it yet existed. Regarding the approach to the Acropolis Pococke states:

The ascent A, to Acropolis is at the west end; there are three gates to be passed through in the way to the top of the hill; the propylaeum was probably about the third gate, which was built at a great expense; there is a small square tower c, remaining a little way within it, which seems to be of great antiquity.¹⁰⁵

The third gate was just below the Nike bastion, the second was through the guard's shed, and the first was the western gate in the Serpentzes wall (Fig. 5). The path labeled A on Pococke's plan (Fig. 17) began at the Arceopagus and ended at the west entrance to the Serpentzes. The entire path is to the west of the Acropolis.

CHARLES PERRY (1698–1780)

The exact years in which Perry was in Athens are hard to pin down. In his dedication, he seems to hint that he was there at the same time as Montague: "Tis from the Moment I first met with Your Lordship in those Parts, that

103. Pococke 1745, pp. 160–161.

104. Pococke 1745, p. 161, note a; Fanelli 1707, plan opposite p. 317. A detail of Fanelli's plan showing the Acropolis is published in Omont 1898, pl. 45, upper left; and Tanoulas 1987, p. 426, fig. 11. Pococke has changed the lettering and numbering. Fanelli credits the Count of San Felice, but Omont (1898, pp. 17–18) says this plan is derived from Verneda. Fanelli never visited Athens: Tanoulas 1987, p. 421, note 13; Matton and Matton 1963, p. 331.

105. Pococke 1745, p. 161.

I date my good Fortune and Happiness.”¹⁰⁶ His book was ready for printing in December 1742, but he decided to wait for the arrival of two additional plates.¹⁰⁷ Regarding the Acropolis in general he states:

The Acropolis, or Citadel, (at this Day commonly called the Fortress) which is the Seat and Theatre of so many precious Remains, deserves likewise that we give a brief Description of it.

The Acropolis, or Fortress, is situate upon the Summit of a Rock, in a very considerable Elevation above the circumjacent Plains. The Top or Summit of the Rock, where all these Remains of Antiquity are, does not terminate in a Point, nor yet in a conical or convex manner, but it leaves a spacious Plain or Flat.

The extent of this plain Space is about three quarters of a Mile in Circumference, as we guess. The Rock is extremely steep, being of almost a perpendicular Ascent, on all its sides, except only to the North-west, where we enter, and ascend it. Its Figure is an oblong Square, only that its Angles are somewhat obtuse. The Rock is flanked all around with a tolerable good Wall, which, at the North-west End, where we enter it, is of a good Height, Thickness, and Strength.¹⁰⁸

Both the last sentence here and Perry’s repeated emphasis on entering at the northwest end may indicate the presence of the north gate and Hypapanti wall.¹⁰⁹ Further on Perry states:

Of the Fortress, or Citadel: We enter’d the Way that leads up to the Fortress, at the Foot of the Rock it stands upon, and mounted all the Way up to the Top of it, on the West Side, inclining to the Northward.

Having pass’d through the most advanced Port, or Gate, the first thing of Note, which we saw, was a Piece of *Basso Relievo*, representing Two Persons Hand in Hand. Having passed through the Second Port, we saw some imperfect Vestiges of the antient *Propylees*; which, according to some Historians, was so grand and sumptuous a Fabric, as to have cost an immense Sum of Money the building; and yet this (according to the strict and just Sense of the Word) could be no other than an Appendage, or Ante-part of some more considerable edifice. Upon the Third Gate is an Eagle, carved in Marble; which may be supposed to imply the Subjection of *Athens* to the *Roman* yoke, or Government, at that Time.¹¹⁰

Tanoulas interprets this part of Perry’s account sequentially. Having entered at the north gate, Perry climbed the North Slope around to the West side, and entered the western gate in the Serpentes wall.¹¹¹ The phrase “inclining to the Northward” makes little sense, however, unless Perry was inside the medieval Propylaia batteries and climbing from the third to the fourth gate (Fig. 5).¹¹² The first sentence here was probably a general overview, before enumerating the gates.

106. Perry 1743, p. 2 [dedication].

107. Perry 1743, pp. xvii–xviii, pls. XXXI and XXXII.

108. Perry 1743, p. 492.

109. But see Wheeler 1682, p. 358, which also discusses the entrance as being at the northwest end of the rock. The Hypapanti wall did not exist when Wheeler visited Athens.

110. Perry 1743, p. 503. Much of this section is a paraphrase from Wheeler 1682, p. 358, and, as Tanoulas (1997, I, p. 83, note 42) has observed, from Spon and Fanelli. Tanoulas (1987, p. 434) explains the “eagle” as actually being a Nike figure, from the Nike Balustrade, in ruined condition.

111. Tanoulas 1997, I, pp. 69–70.

112. Hobhouse (1817, p. 279) uses the word “inclining” to describe the ascent from the second to third gate. *Pace* Tanoulas 1997, I, p. 69.

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