

Acropolis 625: The Endoios Athena

The Statue, Its Findspot and Pausanias

Patricia A. Marx



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To my beloved sister Anita M. Marx

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List of abbreviations

General abbreviations list

D =	Depth
DAI =	Deutsches Archäologisches Institut
EM =	Epigraphical Museum in Athens
H =	Height
NM =	National Archaeological Museum in Athens
L =	Length
PH =	Preserved Height
W =	Width

Books and series

ABV =	Beazley, J.D. 1956. <i>Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press.
AMA 1939 =	Schrader, H. (ed.). E. Langlotz, W.-H. Schuchhardt and H. Schrader, <i>Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis</i> . 2 vols. Text and Plates. Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann.
ARV ² =	Beazley, J.D. 1963. <i>Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters</i> . Second edition. 3 volumes. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
<i>Beazley Addenda</i> ² =	<i>Beazley Addenda: Additional References to ABV, ARV² & Paralipomena</i> . Second edition. 1989. Compiled by T.H. Carpenter with T. Mannack and M. Mendonça at the Beazley Archive. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
CVA =	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i> . Multi-national and multi-volume series. 1922 to present.
DNO I 2014 =	Hallof, K., S. Kansteiner, L. Lehmann, B. Seidensticker, K. Stemmer with A. Filges, R. Krumeich and P. Weitmann. <i>Der Neue Overbeck. Die antiken Schriftquellen zu den bildenden Künsten der Griechen. Band I. Frühzeit, Archaik, Frühklassik. Bildhauer und Maler von den Anfängen bis zum 5. Jh v.Chr. DNO 1-719</i> . Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH.
DNO II 2014 =	Hallof, K., S. Kansteiner, L. Lehmann, H. Mielsch and J. Raeder with L. Balensiefen, A. Filges, R. Krumeich, S. Prignitz and M. Taschner. <i>Der Neue Overbeck. Die antiken Schriftquellen zu den bildenden Künsten der Griechen. Band II: Klassik. Bildhauer und Maler des 5. Jhs. v.Chr. DNO 720-1798</i> . Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH.
IG =	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . 1873 to present. Berlin: G. Reimer. For a list of the abbreviations used to indicate individual volumes see: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inscriptiones_Graecae (accessed 14 May 2020).
LIMC =	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , 1981-1997, 8 volumes. Index 1999 in 2 volumes. Zürich and Munich: Artemis Verlag. Supplement in 2 volumes 2009. Düsseldorf: Artemis Verlag.
LSJ =	Liddell, H.G. and R. Scott, 1977. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . Revised and augmented throughout by Sir H. Stuart Jones with the assistance of R. McKenzie and others. With a Supplement 1968. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.
<i>Paralipomena</i> =	Beazley, J.D. 1971. <i>Paralipomena. Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters and to Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters (Second Edition)</i> . Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

RE = von Pauly, A.F. and G. Wissowa. 1894-1963. *Paulys Real Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft: Neue Bearbeitung*. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler.

SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. 1923 to present. Amsterdam, Netherlands: J.C.Gieben; Leiden: Brill. For the history of this sporadic publication see: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Supplementum_Epigraphicum_Graecum (accessed 9 November 2021).

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Foreword and acknowledgments

When I was a Regular Member of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 1982-83 under Director Stephen G. Miller (d.2021) I started my dissertation research on Archaic and Classical images of the goddess Athena. At that time I became fascinated with a headless seated statue of Athena in the Acropolis Museum, inventory no.625, which had been for a long time regarded as the seated Athena by Endoios seen by Pausanias (1.26.4-5) on the Athenian Acropolis in the mid-2nd century AD. In 1974 the attribution to Endoios was shaken by remarks made by J.A. Bundgaard in his book on the last papers of George Kawerau. As a result this statue was then often referred to as the so-called Endoios Athena. I made up my mind that one day I would study her. My dissertation was subsequently narrowed down to narrative images of Athena in Athenian art before 530 BC and I completed it in 1988.

In 1989 Jeffery Hurwit published his ground-breaking article on the Kritios Boy in *The American Journal of Archaeology* and I was inspired to follow his example and focus on Acropolis 625, a study which I imagined could be achieved in a single article. At that time I had no preconceived notions of whether or not the statue was by Endoios. In 1994 I obtained a permit from Ephor Alike-Ismene Trianti through the good offices of the American School, to study the statue and was allowed to visit the North Slope several times. This was the first time I met Christina Vlassopoulou, who has been an invaluable ally and friend ever since. She has helped me in every possible way including gifting me with numerous important books beginning with her book *Αττικοί ανάγλυφοι πίνακες της αρχαϊκής εποχής* 2003. Vlassopoulou is now Ephor Emerita.

I soon discovered that the reported location and date of the find varied greatly from author to author, but I was able to relocate the exact findspot with the aid of the accounts early travelers Sir William Gell, Edward Dodwell, a plan of the Acropolis by James Stuart drawn in 1753, and a sketch by Gell of Acropolis 625 built into a Late Antique Wall. The sketch by Gell was mentioned twice by Eduard Gerhard in 1828 and 1837 but had never been published. I found it in a Gell sketch book in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in The British Museum and was able to see it in 1999 with the permission of Keeper Dyfri Williams and the aid of Assistant Keepers Ian D. Jenkins and Lucilla Burn. I returned to Athens with a new permit in 2000. The North Slope had recently been cleaned and Vlassopoulou arranged permission with Alexandros Mantis (d.2017) for me to visit it and take photographs.

In the year 2000 I continued to make a close study the statue itself, taking more notes and photographs, and making detailed measurements with the assistance of conservator Notis Giannoulatos. The statue was moved from the Old Acropolis Museum to the new Acropolis Museum during the years 2008 and 2009, and I returned to study it more closely in 2010 with the assistance of curator Katerina Diamantidou and conservator Christos Angelopoulos. They helped me recheck my earlier measurements and make new ones. I returned again in 2014 to study the statue with the aid of curators Angeliki Kouveli and Eirini Manoli, and at that time I also made numerous small measurements. During this trip I met curator Raphaël Jacob, who has subsequently given me much help with certain issues regarding Acropolis 625 and very recently shared with me his discovery of an important sketch of the statue in the Late Antique Wall by Louis-François-Sébastien Fauvel in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris.

This book is divided into two parts. Part One encompasses every aspect of the statue itself, including reconstruction drawings of it. Part Two focuses on its relationship to the Athenian Acropolis with regard to both its findspot and where Pausanias may have seen it. I gave an account of the findspot of the statue in the 2001 issue of *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*. Most of the information from the text of that article is included here in Part Two Chapters

I-III courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. I thank the Trustees and Carol A. Stein, Director of Publications for their permission. Given this new evidence it seems fair to conclude that Acropolis 625 is indeed the seated Athena by Endoios that Pausanias saw on the Acropolis. The route of Pausanias is a thorny subject and includes the controversy over the location of the Erechtheion. Jan Z. van Rookhuijzen and Marion Meyer were especially helpful with these issues. I had hoped to also suggest where the statue may have been originally erected, but with sage advice from Nancy Bookidis and Andrew Stewart I eventually realized that was impossible.

It proved difficult to find a publisher for such a focused study and I am extremely grateful to David Davison, Director of Archaeopress, for accepting my proposal in January 2020. I had about 90% of the materials I needed when the pandemic hit and everything went on lock-down in the USA in mid-March 2020. All of the research libraries closed. As of this writing in November 2021 most of these libraries have remained closed with only a few having limited access. I am grateful to the Center for Hellenic Studies (a branch of Harvard University in Washington DC), and particularly to Librarians Thomas Temple Wright and Lanah Koelle who gave me much valuable assistance over the years. Beginning on 31 August 2020 the Center allowed its patrons to request two scans per week from its holdings. I am grateful to Charlotte Houghton for providing them. I wish to thank everyone else who provided me with help of every kind throughout the decades and especially during the pandemic. Their names and specific contributions appear throughout the book in the footnotes. I am grateful to Jacob and Vlassopoulou for studying the back of the statue together in July 2021 to confirm my observations about it.

Before I mention others to whom I am indebted, I must first make a statement about Greek names when translated into English. For example, there two different ways to translate the vowel η (eta) into English, as an 'e' or an 'i,' and κ (kappa) is sometimes translated as a 'c' or a 'k.' The consonant combination $\nu\tau$ is sometimes rendered as 'nd' or 'nt.' My spellings of these names vary depending upon the way the author or the individual, insofar as I have been able to determine it, prefers to translate it. For ancient Greek spellings I take them directly from the Greek into English with a few exceptions of words, such as Acropolis, that are well known in everyday English with the Latinized spellings.

There are many scholars, museums, libraries, photo archives, and foreign schools in Athens, as well as people in all walks of life, who contributed to my work in various ways. First and foremost are my parents Roy L. Marx (d.2006) and Olivia M. Marx (d.2008), and most of all my beloved sister Anita M. Marx who has supported me since day one on this project and helped in every way possible including with computer and software issues and pixelated bitmaps. I give special thanks to Christina Vlassopoulou and Marion Meyer who agreed to be my referees and have provided me with excellent advice and additional information. My good friend Architect Xeni Constantinou welcomed me into her family and provided a place to stay with them in Athens on several occasions. Xeni also gave me steadfast encouragement and sent to me by my request the book by Dimitrios Pandermalis *et al.* 2012 on *Archaic Colors*. Long time friends Dermot and Sue Bassett also welcomed me into their home on my visits to England. Sue, through an arrangement with her friend and colleague Felicity Rose in The British Ministry, was able to purchase Didier Viviers key book on Endoios, Philergos and Aristokles 1992 in Brussels.

For my detailed research on Acropolis 625 itself and comparative sculptural material in the Acropolis Museum, on the North Slope, and various sites and buildings on top of the Acropolis I thank all those who issued permits and who aided my work. These include Evi Touloupa (d.2021), Olga Tzahou-Alexandri, Petros G. Kalligas (d.2016), Alike-Ismene Trianti, Christina Vlassopoulou, Dimitrios Pandermalis, Katerina Diamantidou, Angeliki Kouveli, Eirini Manoli, Vasiliki Bizaki, Raphaël Jacob, the conservators noted above, those who helped in the Acropolis apotheke and the guards. For permits and assistance with my work on the North Slope I thank Eleni Kourinou, Konstantinos S.I. Kissas, Alexandros Mantis, Vasili Barkas, Tasos Tanoulas, Nikolaos Tsarpalas,

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Although this book is detailed, it is not the last word on this statue, the findspot or its location on the Acropolis during the time of Pausanias. The issues of Pausanias's route and the location of the Erechtheion are ongoing. I hope that others will be inspired to study the statue itself in more detail especially using modern technology. Perhaps additional information might be found about what happened to the statue in the immediate years after it was found and perhaps there even exist in some archive more sketches of it or a photograph of it in its position against the guard's shed. Fragments of the statue base or other fragments of the statue might yet be found.

Introduction

The Endoios Athena and Acropolis 625

Sometime in c. AD 155-60 the Greek traveler Pausanias visited the Athenian Acropolis.¹ Before entering the Erechtheion he saw an impressive statue of a seated Athena and wrote the following (1.26.4-5):

Ἔνδοιος ἦν γένος μὲν Ἀθηναῖος, Δαιδάλου δὲ μαθητῆς, ὃς καὶ φεύγοντι Δαιδάλω διὰ τὸν Κάλω θάνατον ἐπηκολούθησεν ἐς Κρήτην· τούτου καθήμενόν ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα, ἐπίγραμμα ἔχον ὡς Καλλίας μὲν ἀναθείη, ποιήσειε δὲ Ἔνδοιος.

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

A short time later Athenagoras, in a plea dated c. AD 177 (*Legatio Pro Christianis* 17.3/4), cited a seated Athena by Endoios. Athenagoras's text exists in only one corrupt copy dating to AD 914.³ It reads:

Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς [μᾶλλον δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἀθήλα γὰρ, ὡς οἱ μυστικώτερον <*> οὕτω γὰρ <*>] τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλαίας τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ τὴν Καθημένην Ἔνδοιος εἰργάσατο μαθητῆς Δαιδάλου, . . .

The image of Artemis in Ephesos, the ancient statue of Athena made of olive wood (or rather Athela, for athela is the more mystical name), and another of the Seated Athena, are all the work of Endoios, a pupil of Daidalos.⁴

Note that Athenagoras attributes the statue of Ephesian Artemis to Endoios.⁵ The olive wood statue might refer to the Athena Polias at Athens, discussed by Pausanias (1.26.6).⁶

Endoios was a major Archaic sculptor of the second half of the 6th century BC. Although Pausanias says he was an Athenian by birth modern scholars are divided as to whether he was an Athenian or an Ionian who later settled in Athens.⁷ He was active in Athens c. 530-500 BC where several of his signatures survive on the bases of votive and funerary monuments. These include the Nelonides monument (EM 12870),⁸ a stele for a lady possibly named Lampito (EM 10643),⁹ and the fragments of a fluted column signed by both Philergos and Endoios (EM 62499).¹⁰ Pausanias (8.46.1&4-5) also

¹ Bowie 2001, 21; Habicht 1998, 10-11.

² Greek and English: Jones 1918, 134-135. Both Diodorus Siculus (4.76.1) and Pausanias (7.4.4-7) say Daidalos was an Athenian. On Daidalos see: Morris 1992, 259-261.

³ Marcovich 1990, vii-viii and 1-2.

⁴ Greek (Parisinus gr.451 leaf 333'): Marcovich 1990, 54. English: Ruprecht Jr 1992, 36. Compare: DNO I 2014, 272; Donohue 1988, 261-263 no.39; Marx 1993, 250-251; Schoedel 1972, 35; Snodgrass 2003; Viviers 1992, 58-60.

⁵ On Artemis Ephesia: The Bible Acts 19:35; DNO I 2014, 269-271 Endoios no.2; Fleischer 1973, 1-139; Fleischer 1978, 324-341; LiDonnici 1992; Pliny (*Natural History* 16.79.213-214), based on Muscianus; Romano 1980, 236-249; Viviers 1992, 60-62 and 154-155.

⁶ Kroll 1982. On this statue: DNO I 2014, 272-273 Endoios no.3; Meyer 2017a, 147-155.

⁷ Raubitschek 1949, 495, gives a balanced view of this issue. Athenian: Adornato 2010, 314-317; Boardman 1991, 82; Dickins 1912, 24 note 1. Ionian: Casson 1925, 172; Evridiki 2002 (2008); Stuart Jones 1966, 7 note at the bottom of the page; Viviers 1992, 55-102.

⁸ Casson 1925, 166-168; DNO I 2014, 276-277 Endoios no.7; Hochscheid 2015, 179-181; Hurwit 2015, 128-129; IG I² 256 no.983; Jeffery 1962, 127 no.[24]; Keesling 1999; Kissas 2000, 71-73 no.42; Philadelphus 1922, 26-35 pl.7; Raubitschek 1939, 62-67 no.XXX; Viviers 1992, 67-77.

⁹ DNO I 2014, 275-276 s.v. Endoios no.6; IG I² 256 no.978; Jeffery 1962, 130; Kissas 2000, 66 no.36; Overbeck 1868, 61 no.352; Viviers 1992, 84-90.

¹⁰ Philergos (Philourgos: Andreiomenou 2000) was a pupil of Endoios. DNO I 2014, 278 Endoios no.8; Hochscheid 2015, 181-183; Hurwit 2015, 118-119; IG I² 199, no.492; Kissas 2000, 236 no.194; Raubitschek 1949, 12-14 no.7; Viviers 1992, 77-84. This column once carried a small statue.

credits Endoios with the ivory cult statue of Athena Alea at Tegea,¹¹ and (7.5.9) a colossal seated wooden cult statue of Athena at Erythrai as well as a series of marble Graces and Seasons set before the same temple.¹²

The Athena dedicated by Kallias is often referred to as the Endoios Athena. Kallias is usually taken to be Kallias (I) son of Phainippos.¹³ But he could have been Kallias son of Hyperochides, father-in-law of Peisistratos's eldest son Hippias.¹⁴

The Endoios Athena has long been identified with Acropolis Museum inv.625, an innovative Late Archaic seated Athena of c. 525 BC (plates 2-12).¹⁵ This badly damaged statue was recovered from the North Slope of the Acropolis at the beginning of the Greek Revolution in c. 1821-22 where it had been built into a Late Antique Wall right side up and facing forward as seen in this sketch by Sir William Gell of c. 1805-06 first published in 2001 (plate 1,1). Another sketch of the statue was made by Louis-François-Sébastien Fauvel sometime in the late-18th or early-19th century (plate 1,2).¹⁶ Acropolis 625 was not buried in the Persian debris and is a rare example of an Archaic statue that has been on view almost continuously.

Acropolis 625 is one of the most important extant sculptures of the Late Archaic period. It is the earliest surviving Athenian monumental statue of Athena seated, as well as the earliest extant freestanding sculptural example of Athena wearing a gorgoneion on her aegis.¹⁷ Carved in coarse-grained white Parian marble,¹⁸ it introduces strong movement into the staid genre of seated statuary. Movement informs the statue from top to bottom with a lively engaging composition that was in its execution quite complicated.

Despite its fame and significance Acropolis 625 has never been the subject of a detailed study.¹⁹ It appears most often in scholarly literature in brief accounts which by their nature have little to say about it. This book gives for the archaeological record a thorough description and analysis of the statue. Detailed measurements, listed in Part One Chapter III, are provided for the first time and enhance our understanding of it. A reconstruction is suggested. The recent rediscovery of its findspot on the North Slope is revisited with updated and augmented information and new conclusions about its purpose there. And the possible location of the statue in Pausanias's day is addressed.

The earliest known images of the statue are the two sketches mentioned above by Gell and Fauvel (plate 1,1-2). A superb engraving dating from c. 1836-37, created for Ludwig Ross's volume two was not published until 1995 (plate 1,3).²⁰ The first published image is a perfunctory engraving by Eduard Gerhard 1842 [1844].²¹ Next, George Scharf Jr published drawings of the statue from three viewpoints in 1851.²² An excellent engraving of a drawing by Eugène Landron appeared in Phillipe

¹¹ DNO I 2014, 273-274 Endoios no.4; Marx 1993, 244-245; Overbeck 1868, 60 no.350; Viviers 1992, 62 and 155-158.

¹² De Waele 1980-1981; Pollitt 1990, 20; Viviers 1992, 56-58. The Seasons may survive. See Izmir Museum inv.5301 and three other korai published by Akurgal 1987, 58 pls.76-77; Herdejürgen 1968, 21; Hermary 1998, 71-74, 67 figs.9a-b; Karakasi 2003, 59-64 pls.54-55.

¹³ Davies 1971, 255-256; Jeffery 1976, 96 and 99; *RE V*, 1905, cols.2553-2554 s.v. Endoios (C. Robert); Shapiro 1989, 26-27; Stewart 1990, 248.

¹⁴ Viviers 1992, 66B67. On Kallias son of Hyperochides see Davies 1971, 450.

¹⁵ See, e.g., Baumeister 1885, 338; Bulle 1912, 355-356; Jahn 1866, 1-5; Kastriotis 1895, 26 cat.625; Pittakis 1835, 280-281. In Brunn and Bruckmann 1900, pl.145: >sog. Athene des Endoios.'

¹⁶ See: Marx 2001; British Museum, Gell Sketch Book no.8 LB 18. The sketch by Fauvel is in the Bibliothèque nationale de France GB-15 (D)-BOITE FOL Folio 228. I am grateful to Raphaël Jacob for recently bringing the sketch by Fauvel to my attention (email 29 July 2021).

¹⁷ Hartswick 1993, 276; Marx 1993, 266.

¹⁸ Cohen 2010, 749; Milchhöfer 1881, 53; Müller and Schöll 1843, 23 cat.1,3; Scharf Jr 1851, 190. Lepsius 1890, 70 cat.21, refers to it more generically as island marble. The type was determined by macroscopic inspection: Christina Vlassopoulou (email 6 September 2016).

¹⁹ The best accounts are: Brouskari 1974, 71-72; Dickins 1912, 160-163; Franssen 2011, 163-166, 276, 506-507 cat.B129, whom I thank for sending me copies of some of the pages in his book (email 2 December 2020); Langlotz in *AMA* 1939, 109-111; Meyer 2017a, 156-157 pl.606 figs.194-197; Payne in Payne and Young 1936, 46-47 pl.116; Schrader 1909, 44-45; Viviers 1992, 62-67 and 162-169.

²⁰ Volume 2 was meant to go with Ross [1839]. For the first publication of this image see: Junker 1995, 755-756 and 757 fig.1 lower right (fig.1,2). Archive Schaubert B Hansen. I am grateful to Martina Düntzer of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Berlin who scanned this image for me and gave me permission to publish it (email 6 July 2021).

²¹ Gerhard 1842 [1844], pl.1,4 (lower left).

²² Scharf Jr 1851, 193. These were frequently republished: Daremberg and Saglio 1877, vol.1,1 A-B, 102 fig.140; Jahn 1866, pl.1,2-3; Lübke 1863, 90 fig.31; Muller-Dufeu 2002, 142 no.401; Murray 1880, 197 fig.35; Overbeck 1881, 146 fig.24.

Le Bas and H.W. Waddington in c. 1877 and 1888 (plate 1,4) and Adolf Boetticher in 1888,²³ and another engraving was published by Maxime Collignon in 1892.²⁴ Several casts were made from the statue. One was purchased by The Museum of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge University in England on 9 October 1880 and is still on display.²⁵

The best photographs were taken by Hans Schrader at the beginning of the 20th century on glass plates (plates 2-4, 6),²⁶ and by one of the Alinari brothers before 1909 (plate 5).²⁷ The Museum was closed during WWII. Afterward the sculptures were de-restored by Yannis Meliades and restored again in 1953-64.²⁸ Acropolis 625 was displayed at the back center of the fourth room (plate 9,2)²⁹ where she was a focal point. A straight on back-view was taken January 2008 (plate 10,2) when photographs were taken during its removal from the old Acropolis Museum. Once it was ensconced in the new Acropolis Museum I was able to study it carefully in the round (plate 8,2).³⁰

In the following Chapters the terms left and right always refer to the left and right sides of the statue itself unless otherwise specified. AD is not used for dates post AD 1000. Measurements for statues and ceramics are given in centimeters cm unless the total measure is less than one centimeter. In that case they are given in millimeters mm. Measurements for buildings and distances are given in meters m.

²³ Boetticher 1888, 84 fig.31; Le Bas and Waddington [1877], vol.4, pl.2,1; Le Bas and Waddington 1888, pl.2,1.

²⁴ Collignon 1892, 338 fig.169. The artist was either P. Laurent or Faucher-Gudin.

²⁵ Cast collection no.68: <http://museum.classics.cam.ac.uk/collections/casts/seated-athena> (accessed 6 June 2016); Waldstein 1889, 19 cat.53. My thanks to curator Susanne Turner for providing information and photographs (email 10 May 2019). The cast once in The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston Massachusetts (Robinson 1891, 71 cat.34) was de-accessioned along with their entire cast collection.

²⁶ Schrader 1909, 43 fig.37; Schrader 1913, 24 fig.18. I was fortunate to obtain these photos in the 1990s in B&W printed straight from the photographic plates which had some damage.

²⁷ This photograph appears in D'Ooge 1909, 101 fig.39.

²⁸ Brouskari 1974, 13-15. On Meliades superb post-war organization of the Acropolis Museum, see Papalexandrou 2016.

²⁹ The entire group can be seen in Trianti 1998, 92-93. Athena is attenuated.

³⁰ The new Acropolis Museum opened in June 2009: Holtzmann 2010; Panderimalis 2016; Tschumi Architects 2009.