Acropolis 625: The Endoios Athena
The Statue, Its Findspot and Pausanias

Patricia A. Marx
To my beloved sister Anita M. Marx
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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. Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters. Oxford: Oxford University Press.


CVA = Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Multi-national and multi-volume series. 1922 to present.


Paralipomena = Beazley, J.D. 1971. Paralipomena. Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters and to Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters (Second Edition). Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

$SEG = \text{\textit{Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum}. 1923 to present. Amsterdam, Netherlands: J.C. Gieben; Leiden: Brill. For the history of this sporadic publication see: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Supplementum_Epigraphicum_Graecum (accessed 9 November 2021).}$
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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 Angelopoulous. 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 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 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 are 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 υτ 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,
Judith Binder (d.2013), and Kevin Glowacki. For permission to publish objects in the Acropolis museum and on the Acropolis and on the North Slope I thank Amalia Giannakopoulou, Stamata Eleftheratou and Argyro Karaberidi.

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The Siphnian Treasury Frieze in the Archaeological Museum in Delphi, Phocis Greece, is key to any discussion of Acropolis 625. I thank Olivier Picard, Director of the French School at Athens, for permission to study and photograph this frieze in 1986. For the photographs of the gods on the East Frieze and permission to publish them I thank the Hirmer Verlag in Munich Germany. In 2021 Dimitra-Maria Lala provided me with a new photographic detail of the seated Ares and Athanasia Psalti gave me permission to use it. I thank them both.

I am extremely grateful to Ioanna Ninou, Director of the Greek Archaeological Society in Athens, which holds the Travlos Archives. Despite being only one of two people working there in 2014 Dr Ninou made time to meet with me, arranged to have a number of plans by John Travlos scanned for use in my book and gave me permission to publish them.

I thank the Directors of The American School of Classical Studies at Athens Stephen G. Miller, William D.E. Coulson (d.2001), James D. Muhly, Jack L. Davis and James C. Wright for granting me Associate and Senior Associate Memberships over the years with its many privileges and for signing my many permit requests which were prepared in Greek by Assistants to the Director Maria Pilali and Ioanna Damanaki. I also thank the Assistant Directors of The American School Robert A. Bridges Jr and Nicolas George Blackwell, Archivist Natalia Vogeikoff-Brogan, and the librarians of the Blegen and Gennadius Libraries. I give special thanks to Maria Georgopoulou, Director of the Gennadius Library, and Maria Smali for arranging to have Elias Eliadis take photographs of plans from Stuart and Revett 1787 and Paton and Stevens 1927 and permission to use them. I also thank Mr Eliadis for his excellent work.

At the Athenian Agora I thank Director John McKesson Camp II, the Secretary of the Agora Excavations Jan Jordan and Registrar Sylvie Dumont for answering many questions and providing me with photographs and the permits to use them. I thank Tracey Cullen, then editor of *Hesperia* for publishing my 2001 article and Molly Richardson for editing it. I am grateful to Carol A. Stein, Director of Publications for permission to publish plans by Gorham Philipps Stevens that originally appeared in *Hesperia* 1940 and 1946.

I am grateful to the following Keepers and Assistant Keepers and others at The British Museum in The Department of Greek and Roman Archaeology for answering my many questions by mail and email over the years and for arranging my visits to the museum, most recently to study the many seated statues from Didyma in 2012, and to use the library in their Students Room. These include Dyfri Williams, Ian D. Jenkins, Lucilla Burn, Alexandra Villing, Peter Higgs, Andrew Liddle and Charles Arnold. For permits to publish the Gell sketch and statues from Didyma I thank Elizabeth Bray.

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I thank the following for photographs and permission to use them: the Photo Archivists at the German Archaeological Institute at Athens Hans Rupprecht Götte, Martin Schäfer, Klaus-Valtin von Eickstedt, Joachim Heiden, Jana Mätzschker, Anne Fohgrub and Katharina Brandt; Martina Düntzer at the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin for the engraving of a drawing by Schaubert or Hansen; the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris France for the Fauvel drawing; Bruna Lago-Fazolo at The British Library in London for the image from Les Bas and Waddington 1888; and Fratelli Alinari in Florence Italy for the photograph of Acropolis 625 as seen in the front left three-quarter view.

Others to whom I am grateful for help of various kinds include Julie Gardiner of Oxbow books for suggesting I try Archaeopress, an anonymous reviewer of my earliest effort who suggested reconstruction drawings of the statue, Jürgen Franssen, Jeffery M. Hurwit, Mary B. Moore, Polyxeni Bougia, Kalliope Kritikakou, Johanna Loren Carey Best, Nadin Burkhardt, Mary Ann Eaverly, Douglas Frame, Jutta Stroszeck, Janet B. Grossman, Helle Hochsheid, Alexandra Lesk, Mary Kay Olston, Olga Palagia and Anne Stewart.

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.
The Endoios Athena and Acropolis 625

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

"Ενδοιος ἦν γένος μὲν Ἀθηναίος, Δαιδάλου δὲ μαθητής, οὐκ οἷς καὶ φεύγοντι Δαιδάλῳ διὰ τὸν Κάλο θάνατον ἐπηκολούθθησαν ἐς Κρήτην· τούτου καθήμενόν ἔστιν Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγάλμα, ἐπίγραμμα ἔχον ὡς Καλλίας μὲν ἀναθεῖ, ποιήσειε δὲ "Ενδοιος.

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 'Εφέσῳ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς [μᾶλλον δὲ Ἀθηλᾶς αἰθήλα γὰρ, ὡς οἱ μυστικότερον ἐνοφίλων] τὸ ἄπο τῆς ἑλάσσος τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ τὴν Καθημένην "Ενδοιος·... "Ενδοιος ἐργάσατο μαθητὺς 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

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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.
9 DNO I 2014, 275-276 s.v. Endoios no.6; IG II 256 no.978; Jeffery 1962, 130; Kissas 2000, 66 no.36; Overbeck 1868, 61 no.352; Vivicis 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 II 199, no.492; Kissas 2000, 236 no.194; Raubitschek 1949, 12-14 no.7; Vivicis 1992, 77-84. This column once carried a small statue.
Acropolis 625: The Endoios Athena

credits Endoios with the ivory cult statue of Athena Alea at Tegea, 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.

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

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). 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). 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. Carved in coarse-grained white Parian marble, 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. 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 (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).

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11 DNOI 2014, 273-274 Endoios no.4; Marx 1993, 244-245; Overbeck 1868, 60 no.350; Viviers 1992, 62 and 155-158.
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 Raphael Jacob for recently bringing the sketch by Fauvel to my attention (email 29 July 2021).
17 Hartwick 1993, 276; Marx 1993, 266.
18 Cohen 2010, 749; Milchhöfer 1881, 53; Müller and Scholl 1843, 23 cat.1,3; Scharf Jr 1851, 190. Lepsius 1890, 70 cat.21, refers to it more generally as island marble. The type was determined by macroscopic inspection: Christina Vlassopoulou (email 6 September 2016).
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).
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.

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