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Royal Institute of British Architects.

SUPPLEMENT TO MR. FERGUSSON'S PAPER

(Read at the Ordinary General Meeting 14th February 1876)

ON THE ERECTHEUM AT ATHENS.

COMMUNICATION FROM DR. FORCHAMMER OF KIEL.

Mr. FERGUSSON, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.R.I.B.A., has lately published a very interesting Paper on the most interesting building of Athens,—the Erechtheum, a copy of which the author has been kind enough to send to me. Mr. Fergusson considers the edifice chiefly from an architectural point of view. The less he regards the religious character of it, the bolder he appears in arranging the single parts of the building. He reads the riddle, but by putting outside what should be inside he creates another enigma. I do not intend to criticise the ingenious construction of the Temple propounded by the successful author of the brilliant restoration of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. I prefer to give my own explanation in concordance with what I lately have published in a book entitled "Daduchos, Einleitung in das Verständniss der Hellenischen Mythen, Mythensprache und mythischen Bauten. Kiel, 1875."

Before entering into the question and explaining the building and its parts, we must recall to the memory of the reader the following thesis:—

- a. The whole building was a religious one.
- b. With it were connected a number of religious fables, belonging to the earliest times of Athens.
- c. In these there are at least some very clear indications of the primitive physical character of the Athenian and Greek religion: an olive tree was growing within the temple, the testimony of Athené's benefit to the land. That tree could not exist without water and air. Then there was water or a lake, created by Poseidon, and bearing the name of Erechtheus, who at the same time was called Poseidon and worshipped as Poseidon-Erechtheus. Further, there was a sanctuary of Pandrosos, the goddess of dew. In that sanctuary grew the olive tree.
- d. Besides the temple of Athene Polias and Pandrosos, there was a sanctuary of Erechtheus, a subterraneous chamber of Erechtheus, and a subterraneous chamber of Cecrops, the father of Pandrosos and her sisters Aglauros and Herse. Further, there was a portico of the "Korae" or Karyatides. The body of Cecrops was said to end (instead of in legs) in a serpent; and also Erechtheus was in his lower part a serpent. Pausanias 1,24,7, says, the serpent near to the spear of Athene in the Parthenon is Erichthonios or Erechtheus.

Now, I think in any restoration of the building, all these peculiarities must be accounted for. It certainly is not sufficient to place the rooms mentioned, architectonically, which can be done in many different ways, as is shewn by numerous restorations, and now by Mr. Fergusson, placing the Cecropion, the Pandroseion and the olive tree outside the temple.

It will be desirable first to look at the fables, and to try to understand their meaning. Cecrops

was married to Agraulos and father of Pandrosos, Aglauros and Herse. It is quite clear, that the father of the three genii of dew, as their name indicates, must be a genius of humidity in some form or other; the more so, as he was married to the genius of the Attik land Agraulos. It appears therefore very probable, that Cecrops originally was a genius of rain. Thus we understand, that after death he was elevated to the sky, where he became Aquarius of the Zodiac, whilst on earth he was supposed with regard to the inferior part of his body, to be like a serpent (τὰ πρὸς πὸδῶν δρακοντίδης Aristophanes Wasps. v. 438), which means, that the rain finishes in serpentine rivers and rivulets (on the symbolic meaning of δράκων and δφις. See my book, "Daduchos" pp. 35—42.)

That Cecrops really was a genius of rain, I had already proved 1837, in my book, entitled "Hellenina," page 67. I had therefore ventured to prophecy, that by excavations there would be found a cistern, being the "Hypogeon of Cecrops," under the place in the Pandroseion next to the portico of the Caryatides, as assigned to it by the inscription. (Boeckh Corp. Inscr. 160.) Well,—that cistern with a beautiful double-roofed vault was found two years later, 1839, and may be seen in Mr. Tetas's drawing, attached to Mr. Fergusson's lecture, Fig. I. and IV. It was merely a proof of amour propre, that Professor Thiersch, M. Raoul Rochette, and the Athenian Commission declared the cistern to be modern, though it is cut in the rock, 1·30 metr. deep; and though some parts of the marble-wall of the temple rest on the wall of the cistern. We can now easily understand, why Cecrops enigmatically was called διφύηs, born of heaven; or if you like double-natured, or αἰγυπτιος—αἰγ-ὑπτιος, the hero of the returning waves. Hesych. αἶγες κύματα.

This settled, we have to inquire about the wonders in the history of Erechtheus, which is related in the same enigmatical way. The cloud-collecting god of heavens had devoured the vapour-rising daughter of the ocean. In order to get delivered of his pains and dulness he called the god, who makes lightning and thunder, to help him. Hephaistos cleft the clouds and Pallas with thunder and storm rose from the head of Zeus. In consequence of hail and rain, symbolically called the sperm of Hephaistos, falling on the earth, the goddess Gea procreated Erechtheus, the hero of the source or pond Erechtheis in the Erechtheum. We shall see afterwards how the pond Erechtheis served to moisten the soil wherein the olive tree was growing.

As for Poseidon, we know that he was not only a god of the sea, but that, being particularly worshipped in Arcadia and in other places, which had no connection with the sea, he is in general the god of moistening the earth, and therefore was called Poseidon, Ποσειδάων, Ποτειδάων, from πόσις πότις and $\delta a = \gamma \hat{\eta}$. Now if the Erechthean pond was destined to moisten the soil of the olive tree (as will be proved by the existing ruins) it appears to be very natural that the god and the hero were worshipped under the common name of Erechtheus-Poseidon. After the rain falling on the temple and its Temenos, and after the increase of the water in the pond, it discharged necessarily into a rivulet, which was the reason why the Athenians said that Erechtheus finished in a serpent, and that Pausanias declares the serpent near the spear of Athené to signify Erechtheus. All these heroes and gods on the Acropolis were at the same time representatives of the nature of Attica throughout: Erechtheus of the rivers, Kekrops of the rain, Pandrosos of the dew, and Poseidon of the general watering power; and all these divinities were the promoters of the growth and fertility of the olive tree, the proof and witness of Attica belonging to Athene the goddess of the air, which receives and adopts every childevery produce of the earth. I am quite aware, that the whole of my exposition of these Athenian fables must be proved by the construction of the building, which I know by autopsy, and which I now am going to describe in a more detailed way than hitherto has been done, admitting some peculiarities recently discovered as antique, following a route of Pausanias differing from my predecessors, and not altering the evident meaning of the inscriptions.

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Pausanias, after having turned from the southern enclosure wall of the Acropolis to the north, commences his narrative of the Erechtheum, viz.:—The great stoa (οἴκημα Ἐρέχθειον) at the west end of the temple. He first mentions before the entrance to the οἴκημα, the altar of Zeus hypatos, which was erected by Cecrops, whose hypogeon was under the sanctuary inside of the wall with windows. Pausanias does not speak of the doorway under the second pillar of that wall, which evidently leads into the Cecropion. Leaving the altar of Zeus hypatos, Pausanias enters the Erechtheum, apparently by the little doorway in its southern wall. This was probably the common and perhaps the only entrance to it. The intercolumniations between the six columns probably were enclosed by metal grating; and the great doorway in the wall between the Erechtheum and the main temple was filled in with large regular blocks of blue marble, which I have seen myself. These were afterwards taken away, probably by some unhappy superintendent who naturally could not imagine that a doorway with so fine a cornice and frames should be closed up, being the for ever closed door (θύρωμα) to the hypogeon of Erechtheus. On the stoa-side that filling of the closed doorway was covered by a double door of four large slabs (panels) of black marble inserted in to the (white?) frames (ξυγά). I think the slabs were of black marble, because they represented the door to the tomb of Erechtheus. The inscription, § 12, denotes this: ΙΙΙΙ. θύραι λιθιναι μήκος ὀκτὼ ποδῶν κὰι παλαστής, πλάτος πέντε ἡμιποδίων. πούτων τά μὲν ἄλλα ἐξεποίητο, έε τὰ ξυγὰ δὲ ἔδει τοὺς λίθους μέλανας ενθείναι.

Pausanias does not say a word on his further passage to the temple of Athene Polias. No doubt he returned through the little doorway, by which he entered into the Erechtheum, or he passed through a gate in the gratings of the intercoluminations; he ascended then the steps on the north side of the temple and came in that way to the eastern entrance of the temple of Athene Polias. Within the temple he mentions the statue of Athené, which was said to have fallen from heaven, and some other curiosities. Then speaking of the olive tree, which he probably could see from the sanctuary of the goddess, he justly observes that the Pandroseum was (συνεχής) contiguous with the former. The olive tree was in the Pandroseum, which apparently occupied the whole lower part of the building. Apollod. 1, 14, 1. Besides there was in this sanctuary an altar of Zeus Herceious, which stood under the olive tree according to Hellanicus: Κύων εἰς τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος νεὼν εἰςελθοῦσα καὶ δῦσα εἰς τὸ Πανδρόσειον ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀναβᾶσα τοῦ ἐρκεὶου Διὸς τὸν ὑπὸ τῆ ἐλαὶα κατέκειτο.

After having placed the three chief parts of the building in their proper sites, viz., the temple of Athene in the eastern, the sanctuary of Pandrosos in the lower part to the west, and the Erechtheum in the Stoa to the north; we must return to the latter in regard to some most extraordinary peculiarities.

Pausanias describes the interior of the Erechtheum. There was an altar of Poseidon, upon which they also sacrificed to Erechtheus; and an altar of Hephaistos, the father of Erechtheus; then an altar of Butes (the first priest of Erechtheus-Poseidon), and on the wall the painted genealogy of the Butades. All these things easily can be accounted for. But we have to join to them from the inscription, the altar of the θυήχοος, as is clearly written three times—not θυήκοος. ΘΥΗΧΟΟΣ means a priest who brings sacrifices, which are fluid, not burning or smoking. How this was we learn by the following passage of Pausanias:—" The δἴκημα being double (viz., one above and one underneath, like the οἰκήματα in the labyrinth Herod 2, 148, or like the διπλοῦν οἰκίδιον in Lysias de caede Eracth. p. 12) there is "water from the sea "in a well and in the rock are the signs of the trident, which were said to have appeared as proofs of Poseidon's contest about the possession of the land." These signs are indeed found at the bottom of a well cut in the rock. The well itself is still lined with stucco, and over it stood the hollow altar of the Thyechoos, through which the Butade or priest of Erechtheus in the dry season poured water in order to moisten the olive tree in the inner part of the Pandroseum. For that purpose there is still a subterraneous channel passing from the well under the wall into the soil of

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the olive tree in the Pandroseum. Outside of the stoa is a cistern communicating with the well, and also by a second channel with the Pandroseum. This second channel appears now to be obstructed by masonry.

The olive tree, no doubt, was named $\pi \acute{a}\nu \kappa \nu \phi$ os because it stooped under the roof of the Pandroseum and turned its branches towards the windows, which were clearly intended to admit air and dew $(\delta \rho \acute{o}\sigma os)$ into the room where the olive tree was growing. There was no reason why there should not be an altar of Zeus herceios over the cistern as in other buildings. The whole Pandroseum, being destined for the olive tree, it is difficult to justify the supposition that the large and beautifully ornamented door $(\tau \grave{o} \ \theta \acute{\nu} \rho \omega \mu a)$ in the Erechtheum should be an open entrance into the Pandroseum. If it had been, why did not Pausanias pass through it? All architectonic difficulties in regard to it vanish, when it was, as I have shown, closed and concealed from the inside of the Pandroseum by large blocks of marble, and outside ornamented with black marble slabs, which are the ones, as I presume, mentioned in the inscription.

The water in the well of the Erechtheum was called mysteriously and enigmatically θαλάσσιον ιδωρ, having its origin from the sea, and afterwards was simply called θάλασσα,—as Strabo says, "διὰ τὴν κρύψιν τὴν μυσικην τῶν ἰερῶν, ἤ σεμνοποίει τὸ θεῖον. The religion of the Greeks is full of that κρύψις μυστική. The well chiefly being filled by rain, and the rain coming with the south wind, the priests told Pausanias that the well of the Erechtheum presented the sound of moving water at the time when the south winds blew τὸ φρέαρ παςέχεται κυμάτων ἦχον ἐπὶ νότω πνεύσαντι.

There can be no doubt that also the portico of the six virgins, the Korae of the inscription, strictly belongs to all the other sacred parts of the whole building. I think they cannot but represent the six daughters of Erechtheus, who at a time of war offered themselves for their country, and were said to have been elevated to heaven as Hyades, goddesses of the rain. The flat roof they bear upon their heads, is hollowed so as to prevent the rain from flowing off. Perhaps there was somewhere an arrangement to lead the rain into the interior of the portico and thence by a still existing doorway into the cistern of the Cekropion, or to the roots of the olive tree.

Kiel, April, 1876.

DR. FORCHHAMMER.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—

I thank you for your amiable letter and the care you have taken for getting my Paper on the Erechtheum printed in the supplements of the Institute Transactions. With regard to the idea of closing the great door, I have not seen the slabs, which filled the frames of the door, but I have seen the large regular blocks of Hymettos marble, which filled the door itself, and which were still in place (in situ). "The four black marble slabs, which were to be put into the frames (ζυγά) of the leaves of the folding doors" are mentioned in the inscription (Boeckh, Corp.-Inscriptionum No. 160) as: IIII. θυραι λίθιναι, μηκος ὁκτὼ ποδῶν καὶ παλαστῆς, πλάτος πέντε ῆμιποδίων. τούτων τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐξεποίητο, ἐς τὰ ζυγὰ δὲ ἔδει τοὺς λίθους τοὺς μέλανας ἐνθεῦναι.

Now we must not forget that Erechtheus was worshipped as a Hero; that he had his subterraneous sepulchre within the temple; and that it is proved by many examples of tombs cut in the solid rock: that the Greeks often imitated the permanently closed door of the tomb, by cutting the shape of a closed door in the rock. How then could the Athenians better symbolise the tomb of their progenitor, than by that beautiful closed door composed of black marble framed in white $\zeta v \gamma \acute{a}$? On the other side we know of bronze doors of temples, but nothing of stone doors, much less of black stone doors at the entrance of a temple. Besides there is no possibility of arranging the interior of the Pandroseum if

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Dr. For it appeared i answer to my my restoration during the will of re-stating the large door could be opened. Every attempt to accommodate the interior with the door when opened, as supposed by Müller and Boeckh, has failed. I may add, that the vault of the subterraneous chamber of Cecrops (the cistern) rises above the steps of the door.

Believe me, my dear Donaldson, your most truly and attached Friend,

KIEL, 15th July, 1876.

P. W. FORCHAMMER.

LETTER FROM M. LOUIS BERNIER.

CHER MONSIEUR SPIERS,-

Votre lettre et la brochure que vous avez eu l'obligeance de m'envoyer sont arrivées quelques jours seulement avant mon départ pour Rhodes. En rentrant à Athènes, je vous adresse la reponse qu'une indisposition qui a retardé mon retour, m'a empêche de vous envoyer plus tôt. Si vous avez vu M. Newton, il vous a peut-être dit que vous avons visité ensemble l'Erechthée pendant son sejour à Athènes. J'ai examiné sur place la restauration de M. Fergusson.

J'ai revu hier encore, toutes les parties de l'edifice et j'ai constaté la parfaite exactitude des dessins de M. Tetaz.

Quand on entreprend la restauration d'un monument, il faut d'abord se rendre compte de ce qui subsiste de ce monument, et je suis étonné que M. Fergusson, à qui on doit plusieurs ouvrages remarquables, ait mis dans ses restaurations deux portiques qui certainement n'ont jamais existé. En effet, ces deux portiques, A et B, auraient laissé des traces sur le mur de soubassement puisque M. Fergusson les appuie contre ce mur. Il n'existe rien, absolument rien, qui autorisé cette supposition. Je vous envoie, avec cette lettre, une photographie que ne vous laissera aucune doute. Quant aux autres constructions, je n'en ai vu aucun vestige. Je n'ai donc rien trouvé à l'appui de son travail.

Je crois d'ailleurs que l'olivier sacré n'était pas place derrière le monument principal, et, à mon avis, la remarquable restauration de M. Tetaz est très vraisemblable. Vous me demandez s'il existe les traces des marches de l'escalier, D. Oui, elles sont visibles.

Le mur de soubassement E n'avait probablement pas recu de revêtement on ne voit aucun trou de scellement. Voila je crois, mon cher Monsieur Spiers, tous les renseignements que vous m'avez demandés. Si je dois les completer, dites le moi. Je resterai probablement jusqu'à la fin de mois à Athènes. Recevez, etc.*

Athènes, 3 Juin, 1876.

(Signed) Louis Bernier.

REMARKS ON DR. FORCHHAMMER'S COMMUNICATION.

BY MR. JAMES FERGUSSON, F.R.S., &c.

Dr. Forchhammer's Paper is one that I would not have thought it necessary to have noticed had it appeared independently in any of the ordinary channels of publication, inasmuch as it is not an answer to my article on the subject of the Erechtheum, and indeed, except a complimentary allusion to my restoration of the Mausoleum, he takes no notice of me or of my restoration, directly or indirectly, during the whole of his observations. In fact he only uses my Paper as affording him an opportunity of re-stating certain views regarding the Erechtheum, which he put forward last year in a work called

* See wood-cut at page 10.

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ad his subterut in the solid of the shape of their progenitor, the other side e doors at the Pandroseum if "Daduchos." That work I had in my possession before I wrote my Paper, but the views therein enunciated, appeared to me so strangely at variance with the facts of the case as known to me, that I thought the kindest thing I could do was to say nothing about them. As, however, the Committee of Papers of the Institute think Professor Forchhammer's Paper worthy of being placed on record in the same category as mine, it becomes incumbent on me to state why I dissent from his views, though it is not pleasant to be obliged to speak disrespectfully, as I must at least appear to do, of the theories of one who has attained to such eminence among the Greek scholars of the day.

I may, I hope, however be excused from noticing the mythological views with which the Professor introduces his Paper. I said nothing about mythology, and do not profess to understand anything so transcendental as his views on the subject. My observations were confined strictly to the architecture of the building, of which I fancy I am capable of forming an opinion, and hope to be allowed to adhere to this restriction now, as that only seems to be what really concerns us on the present occasion.

The Professor commences his description of the building at the top of his third page, with what purports to be a quotation from Pausanias. How far it deserves to be considered as such, anyone can see at a glance who will either turn to the original Greek, or be content with the translation of which I printed, every word bearing on the subject (pp. 142, 143). The principal discrepancies are, that Pausanias does not use the word "west" which the Professor puts into italics; had he used any such definite indication the controversy would never have arisen. He does mention the altar of "Zeus hypatos," but does not say that it was erected by Cecrops, and he does not mention the "hypogeon of Cecrops," as existing either where the Professor puts it, or indeed anywhere else. He is absolutely silent regarding this tomb. The assumption therefore that the "little doorway under the second pillar" led in the "Cecropion," is the Professor's own, and whether right or wrong is not justified by anything in Pausanias.

Leaving these "quotations" for the present. The route which Professor Forchhammer assumed Pausanias to have followed has at least the merit of originality. All other writers, so far as I know, understand him to have left the Parthenon by its eastern door, visited the objects at the eastern end of the Akropolis, and entered the Erechtheum by the eastern door. He, on the contrary, makes him come from the south; he either jumps down the terrace wall that extends 80 or 90 feet westward from the temple, or turns it, and then passing by the temple itself, he is made to enter what is usually assumed to be the northern portico, by the little doorway at its south-western angle. This portico thus becomes, according to Dr. Forchhammer, the Erechtheum, but in order to fit it for this purpose metal gratings are assumed to have existed between all its columns, so as to enclose it like a gigantic bird cage or wild beast's den. It need not be said that there is not a shadow of written authority for this, and I hold it to be impossible that such grilles or gratings could ever have been so fixed and sustained without mortices or traces of their fastenings being now found either on the floors or the columns; it need not be added that none such have yet been detected either by the Professor or by anyone else.*

The most startling part however of Dr. Forchhammer's theory of restoration is that the great doorway under this portico—the $\theta i\rho\omega\mu a$ of the inscription, as he admits—was not a doorway at all, but a false doorway or sham, and he asserts that he himself has seen the regular blocks of blue marble with which it was originally built up. It may be so, but it is quite certain that no one else has observed these. It is true that Stuart was denied access to this part, as it was then used as a Turkish arsenal,

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^{*} A grille of some sort seems to have existed between the inner pillars of the Posticum of the Parthenon. At least the mortice holes by which such a thing could easily be sustained are perfectly distinct at the present day. See Bötticher Untersuchungen auf der Akropolis, Fig. 20 to 26.

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but Lord Elgin and his artists had access to every part of the building. So had Inwood, for he drew this doorway in its minutest detail (his work was published in 1827), and so have hundreds since, yet no one either before or since has seen what Dr. Forchhammer saw, or made any remarks that could justify such an hypothesis.* We may therefore, I fancy, fairly assume that when the doorway was built up by the Turks, or whoever did it, they selected some of the larger and more regular blocks that lie scattered about the Akropolis in thousands, and did it with more care than other similar blockings up they have indulged in.

The attempt to connect the $\theta \acute{\nu}\rho\omega\mu\alpha$ of the inscription with the $\theta \acute{\nu}\rho\alpha\iota$ $\lambda\iota\theta\iota\nu\alpha\iota$ is no doubt ingenious, but so far as I can judge it will not bear serious examination. The first term is used in the 78th line of the inscription, without any qualifying epithet which would lead to the assumption that it was anything but a large doorway, capable at least of opening, which is the only meaning attached to the word in any lexicon I have access to. The expression, "for ever closed," is wholly of Dr. Forchhammer's invention, and is not found in Pausanias nor anywhere else. The $\theta\acute{\nu}\rho\alpha\iota$ $\lambda\acute{\nu}\alpha\iota$ occurs in the 180th line of the inscription, but as that is perfectly consecutive, had there been any connection between them they would certainly have been mentioned together. Besides this they will not fit; according to the inscription, the slabs were $8\frac{1}{4}$ feet high. The doorway is only 15 feet in the clear, and they are 18 inches too high. They were 2 ft. 6 wide, or 5 feet together, while the doorway measures 6 feet 6 inches, so that in that direction they were 18 inches too narrow.

It would be easy to go on multiplying these verbal and technical objections to Professor Forchhammer's theory to any extent, for there is hardly a line in his description that does not appear to me to contain a misapprehension of some sort, but to my mind the great argument lies in the question, is it conceivable that the Greeks in the age of Pericles could have perpetrated such a sham. In so far as I am capable of realising the arrangement of this building there is nothing so exquisite either in Greek or in any other art as the proportion of the two pillared porticos of this building to each other, and to the relative importance of the apartments to which they led. Nothing more beautiful either in design, proportion, or utility than the great doorway to the position in which it is placed, and nothing more clever in design than the size and position of the smaller doorway relatively to the functions I conceive it was designed to fulfil. To be told now that all this is a sham which would not be tolerated at Kensal Green, is strange and rather startling, for there is really no analogy between a frontispiece of a tomb engraved on a rock and such a temple building as this. The Professor in his second letter talks of "many examples of these cut by the Greeks." I know some early barbarous ones in Asia, and equally barbarous late examples of the Roman age, but not one in Greece of the great Greek age, but here as in many other instances I must bow to his superior knowledge, and if he will produce his examples it will be time enough to discuss their relevancy. Assuming for the nonce however that these examples do exist, though I am ignorant of the fact, the absurdity in so far as I can judge, lies in the assumption that the Greeks set up a sham doorway in front of what every one in Athens-if the Professor is rightknew to be the tomb of Cecrops, in order that it might simulate the tomb of Erechtheus. In his second letter he admits, in contradiction to the theory of his first, that the sepulchre of Erechtheus was within the Temple, and there I believe he is right, and I have pointed out what I believe to be indubitably the remains of that tomb, but he prefers to contradict himself rather than notice anything I may have pointed out.

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[•] In his second letter to Professor Donaldson he somewhat modifies the expression used in his first statement, but he adheres to the assertion that the masonry he saw was the original filling up of the doorway and erected when the temple was first built; which is all we are at present concerned with.

There are other difficulties in the Professor's theory as great as these, which it would be easy though tedious to dwell upon. Meanwhile I am prepared to take my stand on the broad ground that such contrivances and such shams as he insists upon are in direct opposition, not only to every principle of Greek, but of any, true art, in any part of the world. If he is right, not only I, but every one who has hitherto written on Greek art, is hopelessly wrong; we must all go to school again to learn the first elements of the art.

The truth of the matter appears to be, that Professor Forchhammer has been led away by a discovery he fancied he made on the spot, and to which all his ideas of the building have been made to bow. Just inside the western wall of the Temple is a long, low vault, extending the whole width across. It is about 12 feet wide, and 6 feet 6 inches high in the centre of the arch, which is constructed of rubble masonry, the stones composing it being not much larger than ordinary bricks. In some parts the arch is single, the stones being a foot or so long. In others it is in two rims, but nowhere is it more than 18 inches in thickness; the stones of which it is composed being only very partially dressed. It is divided into three compartments by two strengthening arches, and no access is obtained to it except by a man-hole in the roof of the centre compartment.

Professor Forchhammer admits, in his present Paper that Thiersch, Raoul Rochette, the members of the Athenian Commission—he might have added Tetaz, Beulé, and in fact every one else who has mentioned it—assume it to be a modern Turkish construction. Nine people, in fact, out of ten, who have written on the subject do not mention it at all, it appears to them so manifestly modern; and all those who do mention it, except Forchhammer, distinctly state that it is a Turkish cistern, or granary, or storehouse of some sort. In his "Daduchos" (p. 131), Professor Forchhammer instances the Cloaca Maxima at Rome, as a vault similar to this, but that is composed of three rims of cleanly dressed and perfectly fitted stones, aggregating 5 feet in thickness, and consequently infinitely superior to a rubbishy rubble vault like this, only a foot to 18 inches in thickness; and consequently, till something more analogous is brought forward, I for one decline to believe that this vault was an integral part of one of the most highly finished temples of the best age of Greek art. Besides this, as the Professor admits, its extrados rises a foot or more above the floor line of the temple, as marked by the steps of the north and west doorways, and by the narrow course marking the floor line all round the interior. When covered by the pavement, which I presume it will be admitted it once was, this discrepancy of the levels would have been even more marked, and so far as I can judge, in Greek art impossible.

If what has been said above is sufficient to justify me in rejecting Professor Forchhammer's views on the two cardinal points—of the sham doorway, symbolising the tomb of Erechtheus; and the Turkish vault, being the tomb of Cecrops—it is no use attempting to follow the argument further. If he is right in these, all the assumptions interspersed throughout his essay may be right; but if he is wrong on these two points, his whole theory falls to the ground like a house of cards, and it is no use arguing about what, in that latter case, becomes manifestly untenable.

It may, for instance, be left to botanists to decide whether the olive tree would grow in a chamber with a solid roof, lighted only by three small windows looking to the west. I fancy it would not; but, at all events, I feel sure that his plan of moistening its roots with salt water would not improve its vigour or health. In like manner it is needless to inquire whether the bitch, who figures so largely in all restorations of the temple, was likely to leap down a clear drop of 10 feet, which is the only means of communication the Professor provides between the upper and lower temples. I feel sure, at all events, that neither the priests or votaries were likely to follow her example; and if they did, it is difficult to see how they would ever get back again. But these are details is is hardly worth alluding to, and only to be understood by examining the plates in his "Daduchos."

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As Professor Forchhammer nowhere in his paper alludes to my restoration, nor to the arguments by which I sought to sustain it, no defence or re-statement of them is called for, or necessary, at present. My views remain exactly where they were before the Professor's Paper was written, with this only difference: The Institute have now before them two separate and independent restorations of the Temples of the Erechtheum, and can choose whichever most accords with their interpretation of the authorities, or their views of the principles of Greek art. For myself, I have, I believe, said enough above to justify me in declining to accept the Professor's views as a substitute, or even an improvement in any way on my own; and this seems to be all that is at present required.

In conclusion, I can only say, it is now more than thirty years since I first became personally acquainted with the buildings in the Akropolis, at Athens, and during the interval they have seldom been long out of mind; and I have thought much and written a good deal about Greek architectural art. The result has been, that I have arrived at views so diametrically opposed to those of Professor Forchhammer, not only as to the first principles of Greek art, but also as to the mode in which authorities should be interpreted and restoration attempted, that agreement between us seems impossible. I may, of course, be mistaken, and my views be as completely beneath attention as Professor Forchhammer considers them to be; but I decline to admit that this is the case, till at least, something more pertinent to the subject is brought forward than anything contained in the Paper now under examination.

Postscript.—Since the above was written, a copy of M. Louis Bernier's letter to Mr. Phené Spiers has been communicated to me. It does not in the least shake my confidence in the correctness of my views, though he is so absolutely certain that the two porticos which I showed on the north and south sides of the Pandroseum, never could have existed. In the first place, whether their foundations exist or not can only be ascertained by digging; and he has not dug. I do not, however, feel any confidence that they will be found even then. The place was at one time used as a Christian burying-ground, and afterwards covered by houses; and those who cleared away these houses, "down to the rock"—it is said—most probably cleared away all foundations, ancient and modern. The buildings I assume to have stood there, were so insignificant in size, that their foundations would hardly strike anyone as important, unless he was looking for something he expected from other indications to find. Meanwhile, however, I have perfect faith in Bötticher's elaborate survey of the northwest corner, a woodcut of a portion of which I gave (page 147), and both on the ground and on the wall of the temple he shows that a portico or passage did exist there; and what he asserts is confirmed both by the Greek Commission (Πρακτὶκα Κ. Τ. λ.) and by photographs. It consequently requires something more than a mere assertion by M. Bernier to shake my faith in it.

With regard to the southern portico, there is a sinking in the west wall of the Temple, which Inwood saw and measured with great care; and so convinced was he that some building joined the temple there, that he added the staircase that is shown in his restoration. There was no authority or need for this staircase; but he felt certain something was joined on there, and he could think of nothing better. The Greek Commission of Archæologists confirm Inwood's drawings in the minutest details, and I have before me photographs which I produced at the Institute on the occasion of my reading my Paper, which make all this so clear that I have no doubt they do exist, in spite of M. Bernier's assertion to the contrary. It may or may not have been a portico, but it was something that no one yet has accounted for in a manner that conforms with either the authorities or with the exigencies of the case. Except on the assumption that it was the Stoa mentioned in the inscription, I do not knew what it was, but that, I maintain, does explain all the appearances in so far as they have yet been brought to light, and all the authorities so far as they are known.

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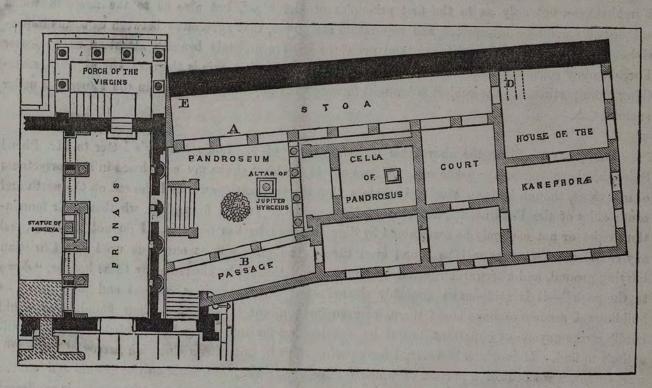
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The truth of the matter appears to be, M. Bernier visited the Akropolis, with a strongly preconceived bias against my views, and saw, not so much what was there, as what he wished to see. He evidently has not read my Paper with attention—probably cannot—and not having his attention specially drawn to the points, overlooked them and denied their existence. Nor does this surprise me in a man who, after the absurdity of the thing is pointed out to him, allows his patriotism to so far warp his judgment, as to believe that the Greeks inserted three windows into the western wall of this temple, in order to light a court yard open to the sky, as is the case in Tetaz's restoration. Poor Greeks! If Forchhammer and Bernier are to be believed, they certainly showed less common sense in their designs than any people whose works have yet come to our knowledge.



PLAN OF PANDROSEUM

With References A, B, D and E in M. Bernier's Letter.

