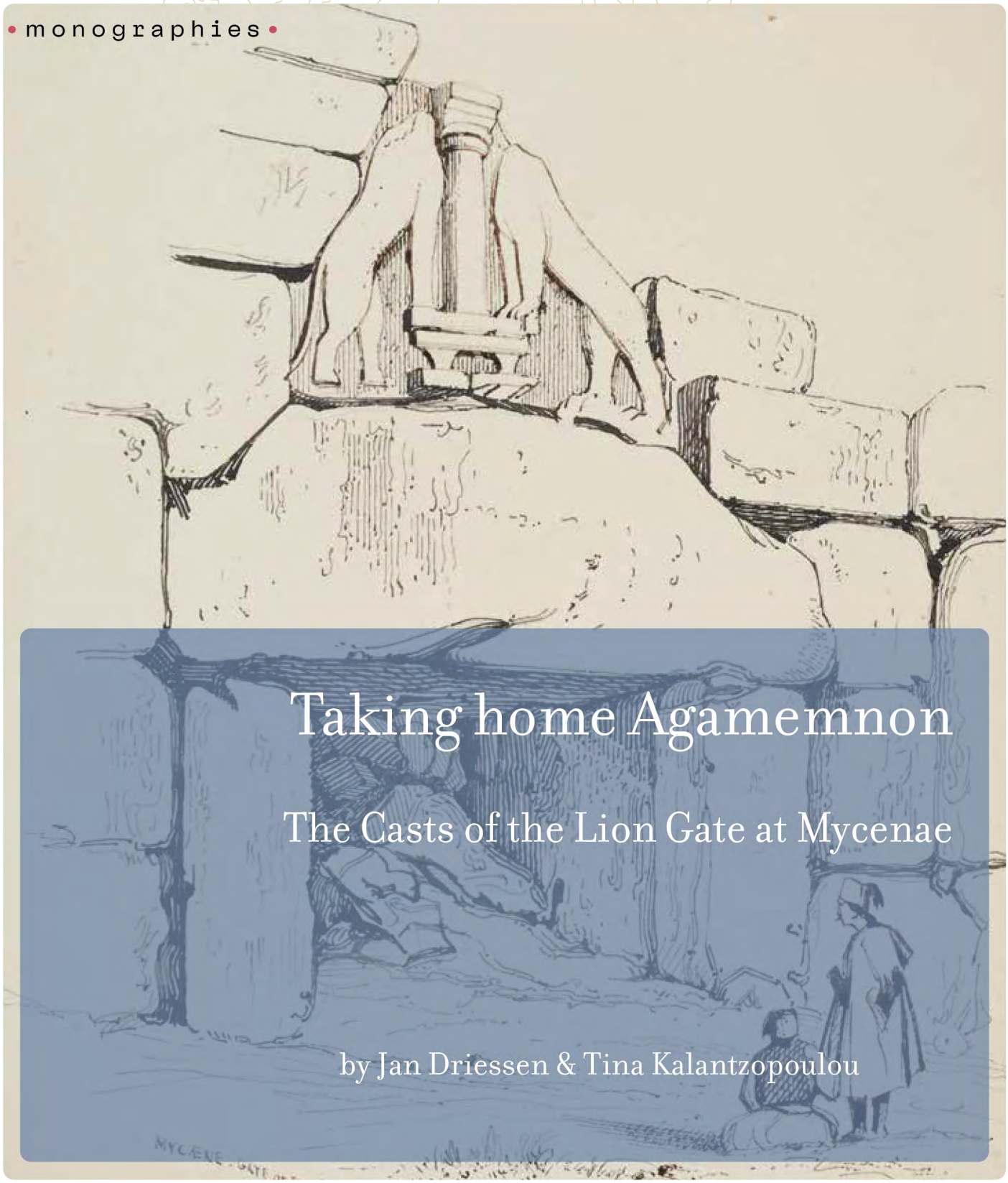
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Taking home Agamemnon

The Casts of the Lion Gate at Mycenae

by Jan Driessen & Tina Kalantzopoulou

Taking home Agamemnon. The Casts of the Lion Gate at Mycenae

PUL PRESSES UNIVERSITAIRES DE LOUVAIN

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Jan Driessen & Tina Kalantzopoulou

PUL PRESSES UNIVERSITAIRES DE LOUVAIN

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John Hawkins, 1875 (*The Society of Dilettanti*, plate III) ©The Trustees of the British Museum

I have seen no monument of deeper interest than this, - the oldest sculpture in Europe, - the first bud of that flower which blossomed in the Parthenon (Chase 1863: 41)

To the memory of Elizabeth French, née Wace (1931-2021)

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Foreword

The Lion Gate is an icon, a piece of art more than 3300 years old, representing the glory of Mycenaean Greece. Preserved *in situ*, it has passed through time and circumstance, witnessing its own civilisation fail and many others flourishing since. Often considered as an emblem for the royal house of Mycenae, it is the only surviving piece of large-scale sculpture of the Greek Bronze Age. The quality of its creation, its symbolic force, and its prime position towering above the entrance gate to the site that epitomizes a period that gave rise to enumerable legends may be seen as framing the atmosphere in which this book was written.

It is the fruit of collaboration, not only between the two authors but also between a vast community of researchers that are interested in studying and reviving plaster casts of ancient monuments. It should be seen as being part of this wider movement of rehabilitating cast collections after a long period of neglect between 1930 and 1990.

Our quest – since it really was one – was initiated by the presence of a cast of the Lion Gate in a restaurant, aptly called '***Mykene'***, in Leuven, the hometown of one of the authors. Through discussions with the restaurant owner, Mr. Jo Hermans, the seeds were planted for a wider study that took us to different parts of the world, from Moscow to Chicago. It gradually became a real Odyssey, and, on this journey, we were very much accompanied by our respective partners, Florence Gaignerot-Driessen and Stefanos Apostolidis.

But we had many other *compagnons de route* and a lot of people to thank and, at the same time, we hope they forgive us for the occasional harassing. Special thanks go to Vasiliki Pliatsika (National Archaeological Museum Athens) for information on old plaster cast catalogues, Sylvie Paesen and Nele Strobbe (Royal Museums Brussels) for information on the Brussels piece, now in 'Mykene', Laure Caillot for the manuscript of her unpublished PhD, Veronika Tocha of the *Berliner Gipsformerei*, Jack Davis for letting us use his incredible personal library, Chrysanthi Tsouli for the Theseion collection, and Bernard Van Den Driessche for his expert knowledge on plasters and bringing us in contact with other experts. We also thank Fritz Blakolmer for detailed discussions on the gate – this is probably a book he would like to have written – and to Nicoletta Momigliano, Yannis Galanakis, Nektarios Karadimas and Nicolas Blackwell for preventing us from mistakes.

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The following colleagues are thanked for informing us that their museum did **not** possess a plaster cast of the Lion Gate: Yannis Galanakis (Cambridge), Elisabeth Breton (Louvre), Katarina Horst (Karlsruhe), Rüdiger Splitter

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We also thank the following institutions for the permission to use images for which they hold the copyright: the Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma, Ashmolean Museum and the Classical Art Research Centre (Oxford), the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston), Beloit College (Beloit), the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris), the Winckelmann-Institut der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Universiteitsarchief KULeuven, the Akademisches Kunstmuseum Bonn, Nicholas Shaw Fine Art Ltd., the Museum of Fine Arts (Budapest), the Archäologische Sammlung der Universität Zürich, the Photothèque MAH Genève, the Academy of Fine Arts (Vienna), Allard Pierson, Universiteit van Amsterdam, the CMS Heidelberg, the British Museum Images, the Royal Danish Library (Copenhagen). Individual copyright holders are acknowledged in the text.

As usual, Nicolas Kress, our long-time collaborator and friend, ably prepared the manuscript for publication.

We dedicate this study to the memory of Elizabeth French (1931-2021), née Wace, who worked at Mycenae since age 8, and later became the first female director of the British School at Athens (1989-1994).

Leuven-Cincinnati-Athens, April 2024



Introduction: Finding the Gate[1]

In Sophocles' play Philoctetes, produced in 409 BCE, Herakles says to Achilles:

> '*And to you I give the same council, son of Achilles; for you have not the strength to conquer the land of Troy without him [=Agamemnon], neither has he without you; but guard each other like two companion lions*' (1433-37)[2].

We may wonder whether 'the two companion lions' reflect one of the very rare references to the Lion Gate at Mycenae which, apart from a brief mention by Pausanias (II.16.4) (Wace 1923: 286-287; Aström & Blomé 1964; Moore *et al*. 2014: 31; Blackwell 2014) is notoriously absent from classical sources till its rediscovery in 1448 by Cyriacus of Ancona[3]. Although Moore (*et al*. 2014: 3) and van Wijngaarden (2018: 224) assumed that Cyriacus mistook Katsingri for Mycenae during his visit, Di Benedetto (2011) has found a manuscript explicitly mentioning the Lions:

> '*vertice summo lapis marmoreus unicus i(dest) triangularis est lat(itudo) basis p(edum) XII cathectus11 vero p(edum) X alt(itudo) duabus pantherum imaginibus insignis et ornatiss(imus) adhuc ingens manet*'[4]

Even if Cyriacus of Ancona associated the bas relief 'with two panthers' with the toponym Nemea, there is little doubt that he in fact saw the Mycenae gate.

Afterwards, however, it would take another 250 years of silence before the relief would be mentioned again. In 1700, Frans Van Dyck (Francesco Vandeyk, also Vandich, Van Dyke), a Dutch military engineer in the service of Francesco Grimani, the *Provveditor* of Venice (Beaudouin 1880; Andrews 2006: 10; Dokos & Panagopoulos 1993: XXVII, XXX; van Wijngaarden 2018: 229; Pinzelli 2021), commented upon it as mentioned in the Grimani codex[5]:

1 Essential reading is Moore *et al*. 2014; we have also made extensive use of Weber 1952, an inventory of travelogues in the Gennadeion in Athens; see also the blog by Dimitris Totsikos: https://argolikivivliothiki.gr/2017/04/07/mycenae-and-argos/.

2 See also Winniczuk 1968 and Hiller 1976 for other references to Mycenae (not the relief, however) in Greek tragedies. The one cited here, however, is not mentioned. See also Konstantinou (2012) for the lioness imagery in Greek tragedy and its link with women but also Geoghegan (2021) who stresses masculinity.

3 Also Lavery & French 2003: 1 -2 for references to other potential visitors. Lavery and French wondered whether the gate was entirely covered before and if it was not Vandeyk, in search of building stone for his fortress constructions, who revealed it. Since Cyriacus saw the lion relief, this seems unlikely though not impossible. The Dutch traveller Olfert Dappert (1636-1689) left a lively account of his voyage in the Morea but Mycenae and Tiryns are only referred to for mentions in ancient sources and it is unlikely he saw their remains (Dappert 1688: 110-115). He does refer to Pausanias who noticed "een overblifsel van eene poortte, dear aen leeuwen stonden" (ib. 112) (translation: "the remains of a gate on which stood lions").

4 Free Translation: "The very top is a single triangular marble stone, the width of the base is 12 feet, the side 11 while the height is 10 feet, with two distinctive and decorated images of panthers; it still remains huge".

5 Francesco Grimani (1659-1733) was elected *Provveditoire Generale della Morea* at the end of 1697, and, in 1704, *Provveditor General da Mar*, in charge of governing the Venetian oversees empire (Pinzelli 2021). Eric Pinzelli (pers. com.) writes: "he [Vandeyk] had taken part in a meeting of the Venetian high command (*consulta*) that took place on the isthmus of Corinth in September 1691 along other European engineers and high ranking officers. In 1692-93, he worked for 6 months on the first and second enclosures of the Acrocorinth, in 1697 he is at Modon (repairs of the western sea wall and Castel da Lanterna). In the following years, he continued to work on the cadaster, sometimes with Pierre de la Salle (who had supervised the Line of Corinth). Different drawings made during that period are obviously from his hand and sometimes signed with the initials "V.D." or "V.F." His collection of drawings were published by Savonarola Raffaello (Lasor a Vera), in *Universus terrarum orbis*, Padua, 1713. In 1700, La Salle and Vandeyk surveyed together the Castle of Morea" and "in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia (Frari) [he is mentioned] is in this entry: A. S. V., Senato da Mar, registro 158 of 1692, May 3rd, April 26: "*Portatosi Venturier nella Morea Fran:co Vandeyk Olandese fù fermato da Sindici Catasticatori, in qualità di perito per quell'occorenze importanti, ne quali si è fatto apparir esperto perito non solo, Mà versato Ingegnere ancora, come dimostrano Molti dissegni e piante prodotte, e risulta dalle giurate risposte hora lette Pub:ce Nobili... Domenico Gritti...* Since he was able to draw maps and accurate designs, he obviously had acquired some previous experience beforehand". Vandeyk may have been a student in an important school of military engineers that had developed fortresses during the Independence War in the Netherlands (Pinzelli 1997: 73-74). Their most important engineer in the late 17th c. was Menno van Coehoorn. Vandeyk stayed on till 1701, leaving together with Grimani. In Moerbeke (Flanders) lived a topographer Martinus Van Dijck(e), author of 'Preuve der Landt-Meters', a manual on topography, published in 1714, but thus far no link can be made between him and Frans/Francis Vandeyk. The name Van Dyck (with variants) is very common in the Low Countries unfortunately. We thank John M. Nicovich for additional information on the Venetian enterprises in the Morea. For more details on Vandeyk's cartographic work, see the papers in Katsiardi-Hering (2018).

'*una pietra triangulare nella quale vi son scolpiti due lioni seduti con le gambe di dietro che anno in mezzo una Colonna*' (Beaudouin 1880: 209).

As discussed by Dokos & Papagelos (1993: XXX-XXXI, XXXIII, n. 56, LVII), Vandeyk was involved in surveying several large military infrastructures in the Morea but also in their construction (Pinzelli 1997). Andrews (2004: 10) mentions he was "il capo di tutti"[6].

A generation later, one of the first to sketch Mycenae seems to have been l'abbé Michel Fourmont in 1729 (French 2002: 18-20; Lavery & French 2003: 3; Gere 2006: 49; Zambon 2014: 189, with his visit to Mycenae mentioned by Pouqueville 1805: 191)[7]. In 1728, he was sent to Constantinople by Louis XV, passing Greece, accompanied by François Sevin, and although he was meant to gather manuscripts, essentially collected and copied inscriptions (Omont 1902). Fourmont's reputation is not unspoken (Gengler 2020), and it seems he used drastic ways to dismantle monuments to obtain inscriptions, even destroying them entirely (Dodwell 1819: 404) or forging evidence (Böckh 1828: 31 calls them "Fourmontiana"). Fourmont, however, correctly locates 'Mycènes' and the 'Tombeau d'Atré' and he saw the Lion Gate[8].

But again, the relief remained undocumented for half a century till the visit by Louis-François-Sébastien Fauvel in April 1787 (Zambon 2014: 70). In an earlier visit, Louis Fauvel was accompanying count de Choiseul-Gouffier and Jacques Foucherot (Zambon 2020), but they had bypassed Mycenae[9]. Now, however, he spent time there and produced a watercolour of the Lion Gate dated 1787, which is in the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* (Zambon 2014: 70, plate 1) (**Fig. 1**).

Afterwards, as noted by Moore *et al*. (2014), visits rapidly multiplied with *e.g*. John Hawkins (visit in 1795), François Pouqueville (before 1800 *cf*. Pouqueville 1826: 190), Thomas Hope (visit around 1797; *cf*. Tsigakou 1985: esp. 131; Blakolmer 2010a: 50), Edward Daniel Clarke (visit around 1800), Lord Elgin (pillage around 1802[10]), William Gell (1805), François René Chateaubriand[11] (1806; Berger 2008), Edward Dodwell (1806, accompanied by the artist Simone Pomardi) and Lord Sligo (1809; Finn 2002). Some (starting with Hawkins) left detailed descriptions and drawings[12] (Fitton 1996: 74-75).

John B.S. Morritt of Rokeby also visited Mycenae in 1795 and commented: "Owing to its entire desertion, the place has changed very little since Pausanias. We found in the walls a gate he mentions. It is composed of enormous stones, as are the walls beyond, and over it we found with pleasure a basso-rilievo of two lions,

6 Francis Vernon travelled through the Peloponnese in 1675 but does not mention Mycenae. In 1703, the Italian traveller Alessandro Pini visited Mycenae but only mentions the tomb of Agamemnon (Malliaris 1997 : 45) and the same is the case for Xavier Scrofani who visited Mycenae in 1794-1795 – he remarks: "Micène? Cherchons-en les ruines. Elles se réduisent aux restes d'une porte et une espèce de pyramide qui paraît avoir été jadis un tombeau. Quant au premier monument, les voyageurs imaginent que c'est la porte des Lions; mai il n'y reste aucun vestige des sculptures…" (Scrofani 1801: 155). He may only have seen the postern gate at the site. Likewise, other travellers, like John Galt, only visited the Treasury of Atreus in 1813 but did not go up to the citadel. Richard Chandler seems not to have visited Mycenae in 1776; he only mentions 'a gate, on which were lions', following Pausanias, and the use of the past tense suggests he assumed they were no longer there; during his trip, he seems to have realised he passed the site without realising (Chandler 1776: 231 "On reviewing our journey, I found with regret, that Mycenae was at no great distance on our right, when we entered between the mountains". His journey continued to Nemea. Fiedler likewise didn't visit Mycenae during his travels in Greece in 1834-1837.

7 "Les lions, hauts de dix pieds, posés comme dans les blasons, ont entre eux une colonne renversée…." (Pouqueville 1826: 192).

8 Even Le Bas (1844: 630) called Michel Fourmont already "ce nouveau vandale". His sketch of the gate is, however, at a very small scale, see Buscemi 2010: 72, fig. 5. Also https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52500094v/f8.item.r=michel%20fourmont. Another map, detailing the remains at Mycenae, is, unfortunately very damaged (https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52500094v/f11.item.r=michel%20fourmont). (https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9064017g/f18.item.r=michel%20fourmont%20Myc%C3%A8nes).

9 Fauvel had visited Greece for the first time in 1780-1782 but did not visit Mycenae then (Lowe 1936: 217).

10 Elgin's party visited Mycenae on May 7th and May 12th, 1801, according to Tregaskis (1979: 47), on May 6th, 1802, according to Buscemi (2010: 74) and Karadimas 2020: 91. For Ittar's work, see especially Buscemi 2010 and n. 42; he completed his drawings in 1803.

11 Even if there are doubts on whether he really visited…..See also Gere 2006: 56.

12 A good drawing of the Lion Gate dated to 1810 by C. Haller von Hallerstein is also preserved in the *Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg* (MS 2.724, 2, 17, k 1842, f° 354) (Lefèvre-Novaro 2021: 132-133, fig. 62).

supporting a plain column. They are rudely carved…" (Morritt 1795: 185).

Jean-Baptiste Vietty (Gioanni 2008), a member of the *Expédition de Morée*, who failed to publish his notes of his 1829 visit to Mycenae because of early death, commented[13]:

"La porte des lions est la porte principale de la citadelle. {Elle est} tournée au nord-ouest. Le linteau et les chambranles sont bruts (vid. graφ.). Le linteau de 4 m 55 cm de long sur 1,20 de haut et plus de 3 de large. Il est en pouding, ainsi que les parements voisins, assez réguliers et de 5 à 7 pieds sur 3, 4 et 5 de haut. Ce sont de fins blocs. Sur le linteau est une dalle triangulaire en calcaire (ou grés) de 10 à 12 pieds de haut sur laquelle sont sculptés les lions, bas-reliefs presque médaille, du style gras égyptien n'ayant rien de la raideur et sécheresse étrusque ou éginétique. Il n'a pas non plus beaucoup du talent hellénique (il faudrait voir les têtes qui manquent). On y en reconnaît le plus dans le profil des moulures, principalement du marchepied. Il m'a fait l'effet d'être d'un style mixte entre l'égyptien et le grec. Les jambes des lions sont assez informes. De loin, il est plus satisfaisant. C'est un des plus antiques et des plus intéressants de l'histoire hellénique. De superbes touffes d'agnus castus bleu sont dans {cette espèce} de vestibule et leur forme élégante contraste admirablement avec cette sévère et colossale ordonnance. La porte est encombrée : on passe en rampant par une ouverture pratiquée dans les décombres et l'on arrive sur le premier plan de la citadelle. Le sommet était entouré d'un autre rempart. Il est nivelé ; il y a des blocs. Là, sans doute, était le temple de la grande divinité, et non loin le palais des Atrides ; ainsi, l'on arrive de la plaine par plans (illisible) et toujours garnis de roches ou de murailles jusqu'au plateau élevé de l'acropole, défendu, outre ses murs de cyclopes, par deux ravins rocheux de plus de 200 pieds de profondeur. Véritable ville de pierre !" (J.-C. Moretti, *per litteras*).



FIG. 1 WATERCOLOUR OF THE LION GATE BY FAUVEL, DATED 1787 (©THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONAL DE FRANCE)

13 The unpublished manuscripts are at Lyon and the following excerpt was kindly communicated by Prof. Jean-Charles Moretti.

Between 1827 and 1834, Nafplion was the capital of the young nation, and together with the foreign and local dignitaries, the visits to Mycenae increased. Hence, the 'Gate of Lions' was, before the 1840s, well incorporated in scholarly literature (*e.g*. Fosbroke 1828: 167-169)[14] and illustrated (by Gell) in the *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture,* published in 1809 by the Society of Dilettanti (Ballantyne 2002: Plates 1 & 2)[15]. This was further enhanced by the publication of the 2nd volume of the *Expédition de Morée* which had explored the ruins of Mycenae in 1829 (Blouet 1833: 151, Plates 64 and 65)[16].

And even Edward Dodwell (1819: 238) stated that:
"The Gate of the Lions….This singular relic of the heroic ages has been so fully illustrated by former travellers, that little remains to be added on the subject".

Anton Prokesch von Osten in 1827 was of similar view:
"Dr Clarke, Sir Will. Gell und Dodwell haben hievon eine so genaue Schilderung gegeben, dass ich wenig beizumessen und wenig zu berichtigen Weiß" (Prokesch 1836: 269).

It was also fully appreciated in the study of cyclopean monuments (Petit-Radel 1841: 239-247) and, by 1858, the Lion Gate was 'vielbesprochen' (Braun 1858: 45) and already included in guidebooks to Greece (*e.g*. Neigebaur & Aldenhoven 1842: 356-358).



14 Contra Blackwell 2014: 452 who assumes the renown only happened after Pittakis' cleaning in 1841; see especially Moore *et al*. 2014 and van Wijngaarden 2018 for travellers' impressions. See Lavery & French 2003: 5 for a detailed list of visitors. A full account of all those who visited, described or illustrated Mycenae is still lacking, however. Even Hancarville (1787: 69) stated: "Persée, petit fils d'Acrisius, bâtit Mycènes; on sculpta de son tems les deux lions, que l'on voyoit encore sur l'une des portes de cette ville…." (*sic*).

15 The gate was again illustrated in the second volume which appeared in the 1830s.

16 Blouet (1833: Plate 71), like Donaldson (in Cockerell *et al.* 1830), reconstructed a relief in the triangle of the Treasury of Atreus (see **Figure 51**). Many travellers met, dined, and exchanged information in Athens, often in Fauvel's house or in that of the Macri family (see Tregaskis 1979), of which one of the girls, Teresa, was known as 'The Maid of Athens', famous through Byron's poem (1810). Her father, Procopios, accompanied Henry Philip Hope, brother of Thomas, to Mycenae in 1799 (Buscemi 2010: 72). Thomas Hope had visited the site in 1797 already.

Revealing the Gate[17]

Before Schliemann

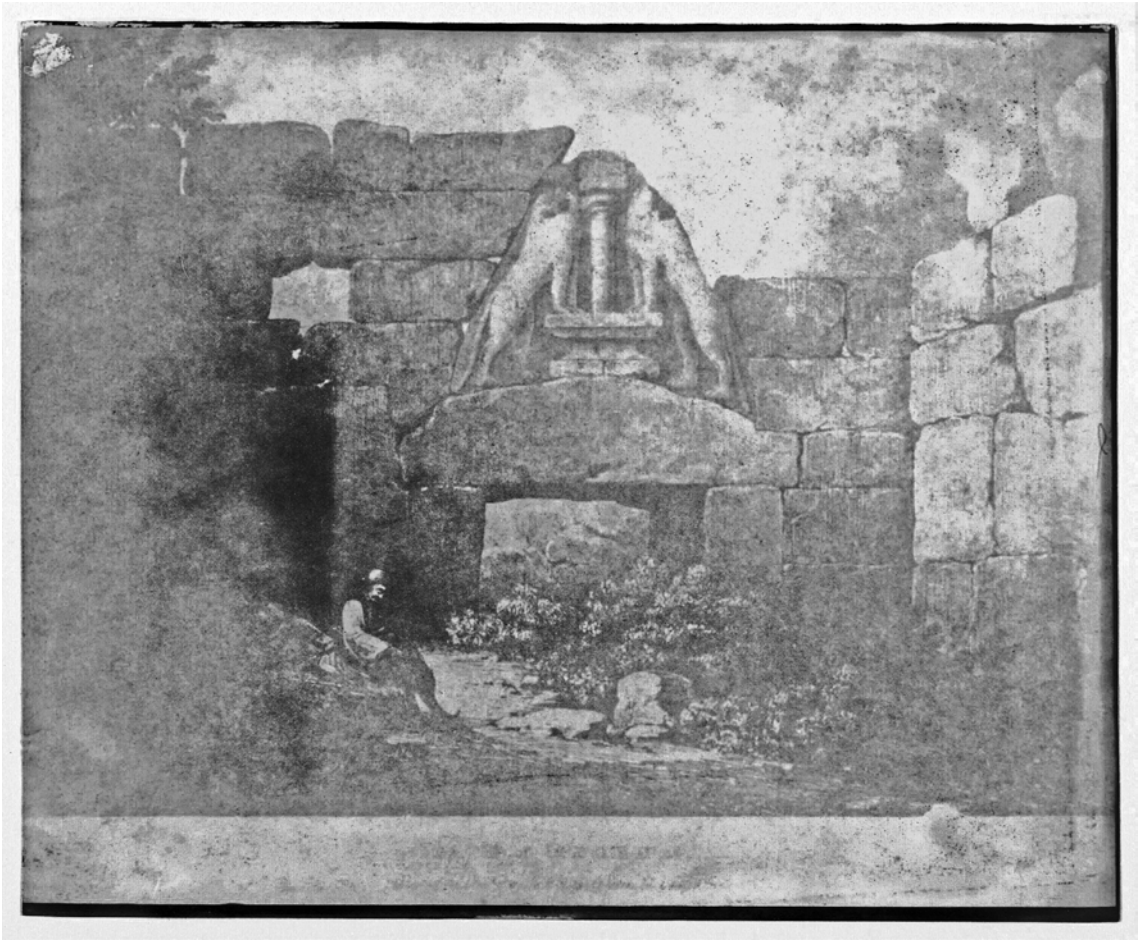


FIG. 2 PROBABLY THE VERY FIRST PHOTO OF THE LION GATE BY WILLIAM TALBOT IN 1839, BEFORE THE ENTRANCE WAS CLEARED BY PITTAKIS IN 1841 (GETTY'S OPEN CONTENT PROGRAM)[18]

Although the Lion relief itself probably remained visible through time and travellers discussed the nature of the heads, and why, how, and when they had disappeared – before or after Mycenae's destruction in 468 BCE by Argos –[19], the gate itself had become blocked and choked with debris "nearly concealed under an accumulation of earth and ruins" (Dodwell 1819: 238) or "soil and rubbish which accumulated below so as to reach nearly to the lintel" (Clarke 1818: 509). William Wilde (1840: 583) notes that the "gateway was choked with stones and brambles", or "Erde und Trümmer füllen den Engang" (Prokesch 1836: 270). This is clear from the early drawings (*cf.* Tsigakou 1985: 131, 225, by T. Hope) but also on a little known photograph, probably the very first photo ever taken of the gate, by William Talbot, one of the founding fathers of photography, in 1839[20] (**Fig. 2**). That it was "partly covered by the rubbish that has fallen" is noted by Thomas Trant (1830: 135, illustrated but not very good). Ferdinand

17 A fine collection of images of the gate by travellers can be found at https://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=53491.
18 https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/106N7Q#full-artwork-details
19 Younger 1978: 298 and note 2 for a discussion; Younger assumes they may have been in steatite covered with gold foil.
20 Not much is known of William Henry Fox Talbot's (1800-1877) travels in Greece, but the Talbot archives in the Bodleian at Oxford also include early photographs of Athens and its monuments. See https://archives.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repositories/2/resources/2715.

Aldenhoven (1841), who otherwise made a good plan of the citadel and must have visited the site around the same time, does not mention this although he provides a fine drawing of the top part of the gate, which may imply the bottom part was still inaccessible.

Likewise, in the Spring of 1851, Johann Bachofen (1815-1887) – author of *Das Mutterrecht* – visited Mycenae during his Greek voyage and remarked: "Mauersteine und Schutt haben das Löwentor wohl zu zwei Dritteilen seiner ursprünglichen Höhe ausgefüllt, und auch der letzte Rest seiner Öffnung ist von der Innenseite her gänzlich verrammelt. So kann man die Skulptur über dem Tore ganz aus der Nähe betrachten" (Bachofen 1927: 102). Earlier, Joseph Woods (1828: 301) had commented: "The gateway recedes, and you arrive at it through a sort of lane formed by the walls, and almost filled up with bushes of the *Vitex Agnus Castus*. It is ornamented with two figures of animals, which occupy a triangular space over the entrance; they have lost their heads, perhaps by violence, as they do not seem much weather-worn; but I will not detain you with a subject on which so much has been written by those whose pursuits have better qualified them to do justice to this interesting relick, perhaps the most ancient bas-relief in existence".

This meant that the many visitors[21] were forced on all fours to crawl through an opening to get inside the citadel (*cf*. Moore *et al*. 2014: 71, 97, 102, 104, 108, 114, 117, 142, 149; Burgess 1835: 181, this volume p. 77; Stephens 1839: 104). Fine views of how the Gate looked like before 1840 were made by Thomas Hartley Cromek[22], now in a private collection (**cover**), and by Karl Wilhelm Freiherr von Heideck (also called Heidegger, his father's name), a Bavarian military officer and painter, made in the late 1820s[23]. It is now in the *Müncher Stadtmuseum* (**Fig. 3**)



FIG. 3 KARL WILHELM VON HEIDECK, DAS LÖWENTOR VON MYKENE, ÖL AUF LEINWAND, MÜNCHNER STADTMUSEUM, SAMMLUNG GRAPHIK / GEMÄLDE (CC-BY-SA 4.0)

21 See *e.g*. Weber 1952, *s.v*. Mycenae for the travelogues mentioning the site in the Gennadeion.

22 See the fine watercolour, now in a private collection, dated 1845 at https://www.rountreetryon.com/artworks/categories/14/10101-thomas-hartley-cromek-the-lion-gate-mycenae/.

23 The painting is already mentioned in the *Münchener-Conversations-Blatt* of 1830, p. 518: «Der Obrist von Heidegger hat in Rome wieder ein Bild gemalt, das Löwenthor der Akropolis in Mycene. Das Basrelief über dem Stadthore ist die älteste authentisch bekannte Skulptur in Europa». Apparently von Heideck finished the painting while in Rome. Heideck also painted a group of travellers, including Anton Prokesch – the diplomat turned scholar – within the Treasury of Atreus in 1827, also mentioned by Prokesch himself (Modl 2019: 55, fig. 5). With him was also Georg Christian Gropius, who had been in Greece since 1803 (Callmer 1983). Prokesch himself visited Mycenae several times, between 1825 and 1846, and was a friend of Louis Fauvel, Ross and Le Bas (Prokesch 1836: 270-275, with a detailed account).



FIG. 4 KYRIAKOS PITTAKIS (COURTESY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY ATHENS)

It was only in 1841 that Kyriakos Pittakis[24] (1798-1863) (**Fig. 4**), once apprentice of Louis Fauvel, but eventually the first General Ephor of Antiquities (the Greek archaeological service) and secretary of the Archaeological Society, cleared the Lion Gate when he was "Monsieur l'intendant du Musée" (Rangavis 1841: 137; also Petrakos 2013: 119). At the same occasion, he revealed much of the Tomb of Klytaimnestra (Rangavis 1841: 135; 1842: 9; Kavvadias 1900: 22; Petrakos 1987: 28; Tsouli 2020a[25]).

Rangavis (1841), secretary of the Society, gave a short report on his work in the *Praktika* of the Archaeological Society, which was then still also provided with a French translation:

"…et plus d'un savant a formé le vœu qu'il se trouvait quelqu'un qui, dans sa sollicitude pour les antiquités de la Grèce, voulût la [= the Lion Gate] déblayer. La société l'a fait, et voici les informations que nous pouvons donner à son sujet. Sa largeur est de 9' angl. Sa hauteur n'est que 11'3'' angl. ….Enfin sur le seuil on voit de petites rigoles parallèles à la direction de la porte, pratiquées soit par suite de quelque manière particulière d'ouvrir et de fermer les battans, soit pour laisser écouler les eaux quand les portes étaient fermées» (Rangavis 1841: 139). Moreover, the aim of the work was "de le rendre d'un accès facile aux voyageurs qui voudraient l'observer et le mesurer avec plus d'exactitude" (Rangavis 1841: 139)[26].

Unfortunately, no other details were provided although we know there was no money nor tools for excavation (D. Vasilikou, pers. com.). A French traveller, Raoul de Malherbe, travelled through Greece in 1843 and visited the Acropolis, accompanied by Pittakis, who he calls "directeur des Musées royaux, et le plus savant antiquaire de la Grèce" (Malherbe 1846: 41). He enjoyed this visit so much that he concluded that "Nous devons à M. Pittakis une des heures les plus délicieuses de notre vie" (*ib*.: 52)[27].

We will come back to Pittakis but comparing pre-and post-1841 illustrations of the gate, however, and then especially the drawings by Thomas Hope, Ittar, Skene and Théodore du Moncel (Buscemi 2010; Blakolmer 2010a: figs 1 & 3 respectively; Moore *et al.* 2014: fig. 27), it seems indeed that Pittakis cleared the gate down to the threshold. This must have been a considerable task[28]. He also took away a meter or so of earth inside, where an earth

24 The wikipedia article on Pittakis is very complete.

25 Kavvadias 1900: 22: "εκαθάρισεν απο των καλυπτόντων αυτήν χωμάτων τήν πύλην των λεόντων".

26 Accessible at https://www.archetai.gr/images/pdfs/praktika/Publ_PRAKTIKA_1837-1848.pdf. The drawing of the Lion Gate in Smith & Felton 1855 shows these so-called 'wheel ruts' or 'drainage channels', not in the threshold but in the area in front of it. This then seems more likely to have been based on a written description rather than on autopsy.

27 Philippe Le Bas (1844: 43) who was also in Athens in 1843 was somewhat more critical: "M. Pittakis est un homme plein de zèle, animé du plus ardent amour pour les antiquités de sa patrie, et ayant constamment, même dans les temps les plus difficiles, veillé à leur conservation avec une activité digne des plus grands éloges ; mais M. Pittakis n'est pas ce qu'on peut appeler un savant ; ses connaissances historiques ont peu d'étendue ; il a plus d'instinct que de science réelle".

28 None of the later visitors mentions earth dumps that could have resulted from this work. Since only a gap of about 1 m was left before 1841 and the gate opening is 3.10 m high and 2.95 m wide and he also cleared at least 10 meters in front of the gate, the volume of earth removed was hence at least 60 m³ or 1000 wheelbarrows (Nicolas Kress pers. com). At Troy, for example, Schliemann employed on average 125 men who used 88 wheelbarrows and 6 horse-driven carts besides 10 wagons on rails to remove soil (Dörpfeld 1902).

scarp persisted, which blocked further passage. The alley leading to the gate, however, remained largely cluttered with debris, especially large blocks fallen from the side walls. But a path leading between these blocks to the gate seems to have been cleared, as shown in the painting by Théodore du Moncel of 1843, now in the Benaki Museum[29], in a drawing by Dominique Papety in the Louvre, dated 1846[30] (**Fig. 5a**), and, perhaps most clearly, in an anonymous watercolour in the Royal Danish Library, published much later (Langl 1883: 14). It shows the inside of the gate still very much encumbered by earth and blocks on both sides of the access ramp (**Fig. 5b**). It clearly dates to the pre-Schliemann period[31].

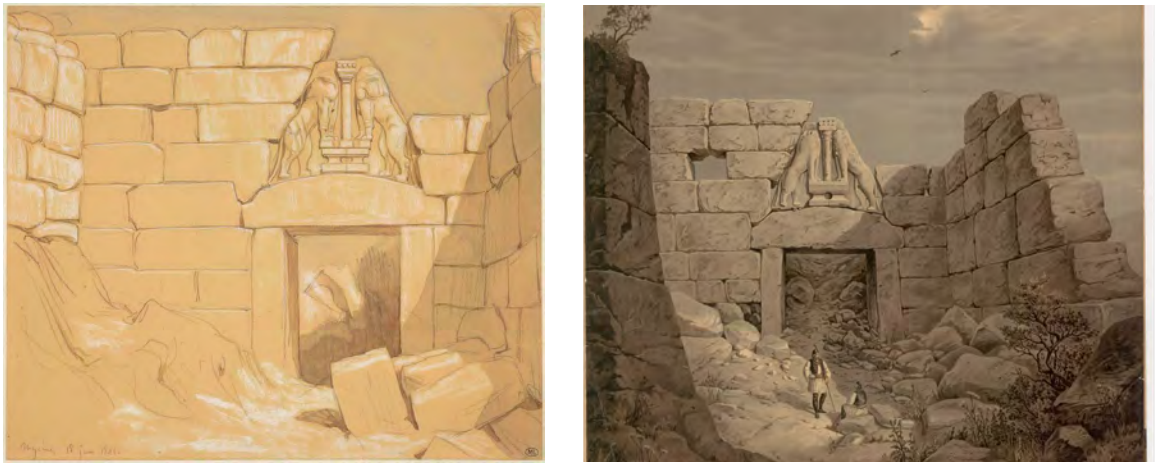


FIG. 5 A. 1846 DRAWING BY DOMINIQUE PAPETY IN THE LOUVRE SHOWING A PATH LEADING TO THE CLEARED GATE (RF 1773 46, RECTO)[32]. B. POST-1841 SITUATION OF THE LION GATE. ANONYMOUS AUTHOR (AFTER LANGL 1883) (DET KGL. BIBLIOTEK)

Braun (1858: 47) also mentions that the gate "ist von innen verschüttet und nicht zu durchschreiten" and Thomas Chase (1863: 41) states that during his trip in 1853 "It was impossible to pass through this gate into the citadel, for the passage beyond was nearly filled with earth. The interior of the gate itself, however, had been excavated, and we stood under its massive portal, whence the King of Men sallied with his troops when he set out for the Trojan war".

In John Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Greece* (1854: 260-262) mention is made how this excavation revealed the entire height of the gate as well as the ruts in its paving[33]. The same is mentioned in the 1859 German guide by Moritz Busch: "Ein breiter Weg, der Spuren von Wagenrädern erkennen last" (Busch 1859: 109, with an engraving of the Lion Gate). John Murray also provides detailed measurements. No specific source for his information is given unfortunately but his bibliography includes a book by Ernst Curtius (1852: 404-406) who had provided a detailed description of the gate, with measurements, so he may have been the source. But Curtius and others (*e.g.* Gailhabaud 1852: 87; Braun 1858: 47) still deplore that the passage behind the gate remained blocked with debris. This is clearly indicated in the drawing of the Lion Gate by Louis Boitte (1830-1906), dated to 1863, in the *Musée d'Orsay* (**Fig. 6**)[34].

29 https://www.benaki.org/index.php?option=com_collectionitems&view=collectionitem&Itemid=162&id=108906&lang=el

30 The Louvre has several unpublished illustrations of the Lion Gate by Dominique Papety (1815-1849), Ernest Hébert (1817-1908) and Léon Belly (1827-1877). On Papéty, see Charitonidou 2021. Papety especially used Greek themes and landscapes in his paintings, but he caught cholera in Greece and died young; he taught water colours to Hébert and it is not known if the latter ever travelled to Greece; Belly was in Greece probably in 1845 (and not 1851 as often indicated), accompanying the Orientalist and archaeologist L.F. Caignart de Saulcy. Belly is famous for his oriental themes and a painting of Ulysses and the Sirens. See also Blakholmer (2011) for several other illustrations, including one by Jorgen Hansen Koch of 1820. The Victoria and Albert Museum also has a sketch of the Lion Gate made in 1842-1843 by Richard Dadd (https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O921541/middle-eastern-sketchbook-drawing-dadd-richard/).

31 See http://www5.kb.dk/images/billed/2010/okt/billeder/object1656891/en/. We thank Yannis Galanakis for bringing this to our attention.

32 https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl020503800

33 Later interpreted as drainage channels (Mylonas 1983). On Victorian travels in Greece, see especially Harlan 2009 and Eisner 1991: 126, who mentions that John Murray's first guide to Greece was published in 1840 and that already in 1833, the first package cruise to Greece was offered with the *Francesco Primo* also stopping at Nafplion.

34 On Boitte, see Charitonidou 2021.



FIG. 6 DRAWING OF THE LION GATE BY LOUIS BOITTE, 1863, MUSÉE D'ORSAY (HTTPS://WWW.MUSEE-ORSAY.FR/FR/OEUVRES/MYCENES-LA-PORTE-DES-LIONNES-87239)

One of the earliest proper photographs of the gate after Pittakis' clearing is by Dimitrios Konstantinou, a well-known Greek photographer, made around 1865 (**Fig. 7**). This shows that a thick earth fill remained in place behind the gate and that vegetation had grown in front of it. The scarp behind seems to have eroded, however, and started to form a slope, no doubt because of multiple passages[35]. One of Konstantinou's other photographs in the Guimet Museum in Paris, made between 1870 and 1880, also shows this in detail[36].



FIG. 7 PHOTO BY D. KONSTANTINOU[37]

35 On Konstantinou, see https://guimet-photo-grece.fr/presentation/biographies.php.
36 https://guimet-photo-grece.fr/notices/notice.php?tout=1&pos=35&id=37
37 Lot n° 240 in https://www.gazette-drouot.com/telechargement/catalogue?venteId=81325

An even better photograph of the individual stones that eroded down and of the now sloping earth scarp behind is by Pascal Sébah, the Constantinople-born photographer, who spent time in Greece between 1872 and 1874 (Grossman 2015). The photo is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum (and as a glass lantern slide in the BSA archives[38]) (**Fig. 8**).



FIG. 8 PHOTO BY PASCAL SÉBAH IN THE CLASSICAL ART RESEARCH CENTRE, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD (1868-1876)[39]

Pascal Sébah's photograph is similar to one made a few years earlier, in 1869, by Baron Paul des Granges[40] (**Fig. 9**) and to an engraving (made after a photograph) by Schliemann made in the same year 1869[41].



FIG. 9 PHOTO BY DES GRANGES[42] (COLLECTIONS PATRIMONIALES NUMÉRISÉES DES BIBLIOTHÈQUES DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE STRASBOURG, DOMAINE PUBLIC)

38 https://digital.bsa.ac.uk/results.php?keywords=Mycenae+Lion+Gate&department=Archive&collection=BSA+SPHS+Image+Collection&order=numasc&irn=143210

39 https://www.carc.ox.ac.uk/XDB/ASP/recordDetailsLarge.asp?recordCount=1&id={4844FC5E-F6EC-4511-AFCF-194F27AF4465}&imageSize=4&fileName=51%2D100%2F72%2F&returnPage=

40 https://docnum.unistra.fr/digital/collection/coll4/id/680/rec/1

41 https://essentiels.bnf.fr/fr/image/7a1b9e46-1415-425b-bb61-dfe3b6447c1a-porte-lionnes-mycenes

42 The photo is very similar to one in the Getty dated to *ca*. 1859 (Papadopoulos 2005: 107) where it is not attributed. Another copy of the same photo is at the DAI Rome (D-DAI-ROM-2693, nr. 38).

But the gate remained a popular topic for all artists, especially following Schliemann's discoveries in 1876-1877, as shown by the engraving published in the *Illustrated London News* of February 1877, showing their own artist sketching the gate, and before Schliemann had cleared the ramp behind (**Fig. 10**). This is William Simpson (1823-1899), who had already illustrated Schliemann's work at Troy and made many drawings for the *Illustrated News* of the work at Troy and Mycenae, as well as some watercolours, including a view of the acropolis of Mycenae, now in the British Museum.



Fig. 10 William Simpson, Artist of the London Illustrated News, sketching the Lion Gate (©private collection; modern coloration?)

Schliemann at Mycenae[43]

"For Schliemann, Mycenae was, above all, the backdrop to Homer" (Gere 2006: 9)



FIG. 11 HEINRICH SCHLIEMANN (©UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK HEIDELBERG, CC BY-SA 4.0)

Schliemann was certainly not the first one to excavate at Mycenae and, before him, at least Vlassopoulos (1802, for Elgin), Veli Pasha (1810), Charles R. Cockerell (1811), Pittakis (1841), and Johann Strack (1862) had made small tests, mainly, but not only, near the Treasury of Atreus and the Tomb of Klytaimnestra (Lavery & French 2003: 2; Moore *et a*l. 2014; Karadimas 2020; see below). Veli Pasha, the Albanian/Ottoman governor in charge of the Morea, was the most 'active', plundering tombs (including the Treasury of Atreus and the Tomb of Klytaimnestra) and selling antiquities to foreigners (Schliemann 1878: 49; Finn 2002; Neumeier 2017). François Lenormant (1880: 2) also claims he had asked for a permit around 1860, to dig Klytaimnestra's tomb and to reveal the entirety of the Lion Gate – "mon projet était aussi de déblayer la Porte elle-même et l'esplanade située en arrière" (Lenormant 1880: 2, n. 1)[44]. Moreover, Panagiotis Stamatakis had – in vain – tried to restore the Lion Gate in 1873 (Vasilikou 2011: 83, n. 193; Karadimas 2021: 342).

43 The literature on Schliemann is abundant as is the controversy around his potential falsifications, see *e.g*. Easton 1984; 1990, and Dickinson 2012 and Korres 2012 for more detailed accounts.

44 François' father, Charles Lenormant (1802-1859), first experienced Greece as a member of the scientific expedition to the Morea in 1829 before becoming curator at the Royal Library and later of the *Cabinet de médailles*; much later he took the chair of archaeology at the *Collège de France*. He died from fever in Athens while travelling with his son François (1837-1883), who he had instructed in all things Greek from a young age onwards although he made especially a name for himself in Mesopotamian and cuneiform studies. François often visited Greece and supervised excavations at Eleusis and on Santorini in the 1860s, bringing back prehistoric vases to Paris. He was wounded in the Siege of Paris and later appointed professor of archaeology at the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*; he also founded the *Gazette archéologique* with his friend, the Belgian baron Jean de Witte (1808-1889). Lenormant (1880: 2) also indicates that some of the members of the *Expédition de Morée* thought the Lion Gate to be medieval because of its heraldic appearance. Lenormant (1880: 2): "Je me crois donc en mesure d'en parler, d'autant plus qu'antérieurement j'avais fait une étude particulière des ruines de Mycènes, que je rêvais de fouiller, il y a de cela tout à l'heure vingt ans: j'en avais même demandé l'autorisation au gouvernement grec, mais sans arrive à l'obtenir".

Before he struck his first trenches at Mycenae in 1874, Schliemann (1822-1890) (**Fig. 11**) had already visited the site at least once, on August 31, 1868 (Turner 2007: 358-359; Vasilikou 2011: 19). He had set out on a voyage from Italy to Greece and, after visiting Ithaka, he explored the remains of the famous city using Pausanias as his guide. He provides detailed measurements and descriptions, some based on John Murray's guide, and a lithograph of the Lion Gate accompanies his report (Schliemann 1869: 92, plate opp. p. 91; also Demakopoulou 1990: 88)[45].

Whether Schliemann was intrigued by the site because of Edward Dodwell's statement: "there is no place in Greece where a regular and extensive plan of excavation might be prosecuted with more probably advantage, or where remains of greater interest and a higher antiquity might be brought to light" (Dodwell 1819: 237), we don't know but he was serious about his efforts to dig at Mycenae and he failed on at least two occasions to obtain a permit in 1870. He did manage to get it eventually (Vasilikou 2011: 20-21), but that same year his attention was taken up by excavations at Troy. Although Mycenae remained one of his major interests (Vasilikou 2011: 26-28), it was only when he ran into troubles with Turkish authorities, that he returned to Mycenae. By then, however, his 1870 permit was no longer valid. Still, he conducted a five-day exploration in late February 1874 at Mycenae, opening 34 trenches (without permission) on the acropolis – "on the 1st terrace, which runs nearly horizontally with the lions' gate" (Schliemann to Max Müller in Oxford, March 12th, 1874) – and in the cemetery before being stopped by the police[46] (Meyer 1953: 258). In a letter written in 1875 to the British prime minister, Gladstone, he is more detailed (Meyer 1958: 34-35), mentioning "I have sunk 6 shafts and reached the virgin rock, close to the Lionsgate, in 20 feet, in the following shaft in 181/4, then in 161/2, 14 and 13 feet. Thus it is proved that this terrace, which is at the gate quite horizontal, rises gradually by 7 feet. ….The oldest fragment of a vase represents the rectiline horse of the most ancient vases of Attica, to which 1400 B.C., is generally attributed, and this must be the age of Μυκηναι's Cyclopian walls and the Lionsgate, *for no gate and fortresse-or citywall can be older than the oldest potsherds of the site it surrounds*" (his italics).

When he returned in late July 1876, this time with an official permit, 63 workmen (later 125) and with ephor Panagiotis Stamatakis as representative of the Archaeological Society, he soon attempted to clear the entrance to the citadel which was necessary to evacuate the earth from the excavations inside, around Grave Circle A (Schliemann 1878: 62; Vasilikou 2011: 80ff; Konstantinidi-Syvridi & Paschalidis 2019). In a letter to *The Times* of September 9, 1876, he says: "I have also been busy with 12 labourers for two weeks in opening the passage from the Lions' Gate into the Acropolis, but have had very hard work there, owing to the huge blocks by which it was obstructed, and which seem to have been hurled at the assailants when the Acropolis was captured by the Argians in 468 B.C."[47] (Meyer 1958: 53-54). He also found a small chamber within the gate, on the left. Clearing the gate area became problematic, however, and on several occasions, he (Schliemann 1878: 87, 121) complained that he was only allowed to work in a small area in August and September 1876, leaving debris in place near the Lion Gate. Panagiotis Stamatakis told him it risked destabilising the lions and that the latter needed to be fixed with cramp-irons so an engineer from the Archaeological Society was asked for (Schliemann 1878: 121; Vasilikou 2011: 82-83; Trail 2012: 80-81).

"To my very greatest annoyance and displeasure, but by the most urgent demand of the Greek Archaeological Society in Athens, I have been forced to leave in the Acropolis, on either side of the Lions' Gate, a large block of *debris* untouched *in situ*, because this Institution has not yet sent, as it intended to do, an engineer to consolidate the sculpture of the two lions with cramp-irons, and to repair the Cyclopean walls to the right and left of it" (Schliemann 1878: 144 – October 30th, 1876).

Schliemann also complained that he was prevented of removing the earth dump which had piled up on both sides of the ramp leading to the gate, especially to its right: "Ich bemerke dies, da jeder Besucher natürlich die Zurücklassung jener beiden Schuttmassen meiner Nachlässigkeit zuschreiben wird" (Schliemann 1878a: 167; Vasilikou 2011: 54).

45 The first small Greek impression of a visit to Mycenae seems to be Vardouniotis 1869.

46 See also his letter to Max Müller dated March 12th, 1874 (Meyer 1962: 86). A second letter, dated May 16th, 1874, mentions he had the permit to dig at Mycenae then (also Vasilikou 2011: 43-44); Schliemann (1878: 61) refers briefly to the 1874 soundings.

47 We may, of course, wonder whether these blocks were not pushed down by Vandeyk's team in 1700, searching for building materials. In any case, these blocks are not visible in Fauvel's painting or in Talbot's photograph so they may have been hidden and had become stratified at an earlier moment.

In other letters to *The Times*, dated November 7th and 28th, he says he was allowed to "resume excavations at the Lion's Gate" and "entirely cleared out the passage south of the Lion's Gate" (Meyer 1958: 58, 63), finding the huge threshold at this stage even if the passage remained partly blocked. John Mahaffy, visiting in the Spring of 1877, mentions that Schliemann had removed the earth from inside, discovering a small porter's lodge (Schliemann 1878: 122-123; Moore *et al.* 2014: 125). An engineer finally came over on September 15, in the person of Charilaos Souïdas to check the relief of the Lion Gate (Vasilikou 2011: 107-109). He could not find a technician to consolidate the relief, however, but soon after the gate area was cleared. Souïdas also suggested that the architect Ziller should be invited to do work on the gate. Schliemann still complained the absence of an engineer, however, on September 30 and October 30, and the fallen stones that blocked an easy access to the gate (Vasilikou 2011: 11). It is not clear whether Stamatakis, once Schliemann left Mycenae after December 4th, 1876, continued work in front of the gate since he was busy 'cleaning up' after Schliemann (Vasilikou 2022: 170 ff; Konstantinidi-Syvridi & Paschalidis 2019: 115). Panagiotis Stamatakis apparently returned to Mycenae to give his opinion on the consolidation of the Lion Gate in 1883 (Vasilikou 2011: 186) but only in 1897, the Archaeological Society did restauration works at Mycenae regarding the Treasury of Atreus and the Tomb of Klytaimnestra but there is no mention of works on the gate, as mentioned by Kavvadias (1900: 99)[48]. The best post-Schliemann state photograph is by Fred Boissonnas (kept in Geneva) (**Fig. 12**[49]).



FIG. 12 PHOTO BY FRED BOISSONNAS (©MAH, MUSÉE D'ART ET D'HISTOIRE, VILLE DE GÉNÈVE)

The Fred Boissonnas photo is approximately dated to 1908 and the ascending ramp, cleared by Schliemann, behind the gate is clearly visible. Oddly enough, there is no trace of an iron gate which, however, is already visible

48 A letter to Schliemann from Prof. E. Kastorchis/Castorches, dated 21st of August/2nd September 1876, states "ἐὰν ὑπάρχῃ εἰς Ναύπλιον καλὸς μηχανικός, ἀλλὰ δυστυχῶς ἐμάθομεν ὅτι δὲν ὑπάρχει" and "Ο διὰ τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τῆς Πύλης Μυκηνῶν πρωτοτέκτων οὐχὶ μηχανικός, θέλει ἔλθει περὶ τὰ τέλη τοῦ μηνὸς αὐγούστου" (Vasilikou 2011: 96). The same Kastorchis later told Schliemann to get in touch with an engineer called Petros Likoudis for the works at the gate (Vasilikou 2011: 100). Schliemann (1878: 352) only mentioned Panagiotis Stamatakis once by name in his book, calling him "a government clerk", because Stamatakis found another tomb after he had left. Elsewhere he simply ignores him and once he mentions "the delegate of the Greek Government" (Schliemann 1878: 139).

49 MAH Musée d'art et d'histoire, Ville de Genève, n° inventaire: E82-0238. https://www.mahmah.ch/collection/oeuvres/la-porte-des-lionnes-mycenes/e-82-0238.

on photos and postcards of 1904, 1908, 1923, 1930 and 1950[50] and on an engraving made after a photo published in 1900 (Woermann 1900: 182). Boissonnas only arrived in Greece in 1903 so we cannot explain the absence of the iron gate. Perhaps he had it removed since we know that Boissonnas sometimes went to great lengths to produce the best image. Similar doubts surround the fine painting of the Lion Gate in the National Gallery of Greece in Athens by Vicenzo Lanza/Vikentios Lantzas, dated to 1882[51], which shows the gate still encumbered by earth, which by then had long been cleared by Schliemann. Large stone blocks still lined both sides of the access ramp to the Gate.

These were only removed or replaced in 1950 as shown by photos in the Cambridge Mycenae archives when the restoration of the top right wall above the gate happened (**Fig. 13**). The blocks have been put in place thanks to the construction of wooden scaffolding. The iron gate is still there (French 2002: 22, 53, 56)[52] but, by the time Robert McCabe passed in 1955, it was gone.



Fig. 13 Repairing the Gate in 1950 (courtesy University of the Faculty of Classics Archives, University of Cambridge MCNE-3-2-02-26)

There has been some discussion on the material of which the bas relief of the Lion Gate was made. Edward Dodwell (1819: 239) thought it was green marble, similar to the columns of the Treasury of Atreus, while Wordsworth calls it green basalt; Mott assumed it was imported Egyptian basalt and Clark (1858: 68) and in John Murray's *Handbook* it is called grey limestone (cited resp. in Moore *et al.* 2014: 72, 101, 142, 156) while Schliemann (1878: 32) identifies the stone of the relief as 'beautiful hard breccia'. Still others have called it basalt (Diehl 1893: 10) or a grey limestone imported from Messenia (Isambert 1873: 251), while Carl Schuchhardt (1891: 141) asserts chemical analysis showed it was anhydrite limestone. Since Tsountas and Manatt (1897: 30) it has been identified as native limestone. N. Blackwell (2014: 452, 466, and notes 96 & 97) settled for a hard, local, gray cristalline limestone.

50 See the University of Cambridge Digital Library sv Lion Gate Mycenae SPHS 01/3326.C0603, 3327.C0604, 3378.C0636, 3379.C0637, (1920-1923).

51 https://www.nationalgallery.gr/artwork/i-pyli-ton-leonton-prin-apo-tis-anaskafes/. Nektarios Karadimas (pers. com.) believes this painting to be a copy of that by von Heideck (above, **Fig. 3**), only the goat and dog are missing.

52 MCNE-3-2-02-22 (https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PH-CLASSICS-MCNE-00003-00002-00002/22) and MCNE-3-2-02-23, -24. A gap in the wall was erroneously interpreted for "zur Ausspähung der Feinde" by Horner (1832), but this was already refuted by Schliemann (although he first also called it a 'window', Schliemann 1878: 35). The same Horner also printed the gate in mirror image. See Gere 2006: 156 for Lisa French's eye-witness account of the restoration.

The date of the relief has, at times, also been debated – with even the 8th c. BCE being suggested[53] – although it was mostly accepted as being older than Greek remains encountered elsewhere and of a similar epoch as the ruins at Tiryns. Schliemann (1878: 85) stated that he had "not the slightest objection to admit that the sepulchral slabs may be of nearly the same epoch as the lions over the gate". William Stillman had expressed serious doubt about the age of Schliemann's antiquities but did accept an early date for the site and its gate (Dyson 2014: 183) and others too had suggested that the objects in the Grave Circle found by Schliemann were loot of the Heruli invaders in 267 AD or Celtic (references in Perry 1881: 26-27). Most commentators accepted a date before 1000 BCE for the citadel at Mycenae and some explicitly blamed academic rivalry against Schliemann for downdating the citadel and its finds (Emerson 1906: 68, with references): "It was left for an Egyptologist, Flinders Petrie, to apply sensible, comparative criteria to the contents of Mykenian graves….Petrie ascribes our sculptured lions to the XIV century with the aid of a wooden lion found in a dated Egyptian tomb of that period" (Emerson 1906: 69; see also Phillips 2006). Alfred Emerson was referring to Petrie's (1891) *Journal of Hellenic Studies* paper *Notes on the Antiquities of Mykenae,* which settled the discussion, even if Cecil Torr in 1896 still argued for a contemporaneity with Phoenician cities (Torr 1896)[54]. Petrie had visited Mycenae on April 29, 1891, as well as its finds and wrote his paper while still in Athens (Phillips 2006: 153). But even Gardner (1880) had already convincingly argued that the Mycenaean treasures were prehistoric. Wace (1964: 50, 52) dated the Lion Gate to Late Helladic IIIA "in the third quarter of the fourteenth century" but N. Blackwell (2014: 467) presents good arguments on the basis of the tools used to propose a mid to late 13th c. date, the date already proposed by Mylonas (1983: 83) on the basis of pottery found beneath the threshold. N. Blackwell (2014: 466) also presents a detailed account of the different dates proposed before this time. This said, there has been a suggestion that the (limestone) Lion Gate relief was older, potentially the 15th c. BCE, than the (conglomerate) 13th c. BCE construction it adorns (Ferri 1953; Nojorkam 1968; Younger 1984; 1987; *cf*. Blackwell 2014: 466). Apart from the material, arguments include the absence of chipped stone, suggesting the relief was made elsewhere, the fact that the framing blocks "do not fit snugly against the relief" (Younger 1987: 64) and stylistic features that connect the relief with seal stone art of the 15th c. BCE. N. Blackwell (2014: 466-467), however, has conclusively shown that the stoneworking technique attested on the relief is better at home in the 13th c. BCE.

With Pausanias, the felines have usually been identified as lions although they also have been called lionesses or panthers by *e.g.* William Gell, Edward Daniel Clarke, Valentine Mott and William Wilde, as tigers by Edward Daniel Clarke (1818: 509) and Michaud (1831: 116), as wolves by William Mure, as leopards by Thomas Trant, as "panthers or dogs, anything with paws" by William Clark (1858: 69) although Eyre Evans Crowe (1853: 124) saw "a two-winged and beaked lion" (see also Aström & Blome 1964: 177-178 for the different interpretations; Blakolmer 2010a: 52, 54; Moore *et al.* 2014: *passim*). The lions, however, are quite naturally represented, suggesting direct knowledge (Shapland 2010: 277). An identification of the felines as sphinxes is not without merit since these usually have bodies of lions and human heads, usually female, but, unlike Egyptian art, later Greek representations always show sphinxes with wings, the main difference with griffons being the eagle's head of the latter[55].

As is well known, seals and ivories showing two sphinxes on either side of a column or lions with their front feet on altars form interesting parallels for the relief (**Fig. 14**)[56]. Mylonas (1983: 79, figs 148, 151, 162) discussed these different identifications, excluding griffons and sphinxes. Two drawings of the relief reconstructed as griffons were proposed by Protonotariou-Deilaki (1965: 8, fig. 2, 10, fig. 3), a paper that presents the fullest arguments for a (unlikely) reconstruction as griffons while Kardara (1970) thought they were rather sphinxes (Blackwell 2014: 473).

Alfred Emerson (1906: 59-70) already played with the possibility that the relief served as the heraldic emblem of Mycenae's royal houses, the more that the presence of heraldic lions or griffins is very present in the sealstones found at the site, showing a semantic relationship with the relief (Blakolmer 2019: 67)[57].

53 Discussed by Blakolmer 2010: 57.

54 Even if Petrie (1891: 204) misdated Grave Circle A to the 12th BCE.

55 See Blakolmer (2015) on the various origins of the relief according to travellers of the early 19th c.

56 As already illustrated by Hiller (1973: 23-26), griffons and sphinxes with a central column occur occasionally on seals, sealings and ivories in what he calls the "antithetisches Kompositionsschema". In both cases, one would assume that the wings had been painted on the side blocks of the relief rather than sculpted, which is unlikely.

57 The Ivory box found at Pella in Jordan showing two ramping lions with their front pawns on two entangled snakes was inspired by

If the original heads that we may restore above the lion's bodies faced forward, toward the viewer, as Schliemann (1878: 33) and Younger (1978: 297) suggested, this would surely have inspired awe[58] but this is now no longer accepted, and Blackwell (2014: 274-275, fig. 23) has convincingly argued that they would have looked backwards (*i.e.* similar to CMS XI 047, II,3, 306 *etc*. in **Fig. 14** and to an ivory plaque from Ialysos on Rhodes, dated to the 13th c. BCE, now in the Louvre (https://www.meer.com/musee-du-louvre/artworks/57162). This would, however, barely have diminished the relief's fascination, even now (*e.g*. Gere 2006: 16). Paul Aström and Borje Blomé (1964), Kardara (1970) as well as Maria Shaw (1986) have dealt in detail with the iconography of the bas relief and there is a good discussion in D. Preziosi & L. Hitchcock (1999: 188-190). One may wonder, since the central column is clearly a petrified version of a wooden prototype, if the entire image could also have had wooden antecedents (*cf*. Conze & Michaelis 1861: 18). The heraldic position of the sphinxes above the gate to the Amphipolis-Kasta tomb makes one wonder if its creator was inspired by the Mycenae gate.



Fig. 14 Sealstones showing heraldic Lions and Griffins (Images courtesy of the CMS Heidelberg): From left to right Top: 'Greece', Ialysos?, Chandras, Mycenae; Middle: Mycenae, 'Greece', Mycenae, 'Greece'; Bottom: Thebes, Elounda, Mycenae, 'Greece'

the Mycenaean example is also a possibility although it is dated to the Middle Bronze Age. We owe this suggestion to Robert Koehl. Egyptian lions usually face opposite directions rather than confronting each other like the Mycenaean and Mesopotamian examples. Confronting lions are evidently very common in European heraldry.

58 Blackwell 2014: 470, mentions that the (lion) heads were attached with a single long dowel.

Casting the Gate[59]

Although Reverend Philip Hunt, in Elgin's service, had considered removing the Mycenae lions in 1801 "the block on which they are sculptured is too gigantic, and too distance from the sea to give any hopes of being able to obtain so renowed a monument of the Fabulous ages" (cited in Smith 1916: 200; Aström & Blomé 1964: n. 2; Moore *et al.* 2014: 55, 142).

If not the original, a cast was the best solution[60].

Making casts of sculptures and monuments had been very popular in antiquity (*e.g*. Frederiksen 2010) and the practice was resuscitated in the Renaissance (Marchand 2010). It became very popular in the 19th century when the different western countries developed major museums that were meant to advertise national identity. Within these, casts were also used as examples for artists or within the framework of university education (*e.g*. already Perry 1878; Collignon 1881 but see also Haskell & Penny 1981; Morinière 2013; Schreiter 2014: n.1; Anderson 2015; Payne 2019a). Already early in the 20th c., criticisms against cast collections were ousted, first at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (see Whitehall 1970: 172), but progressively also elsewhere, which resulted in the dismantling and even destruction of many collections, or, in the best case, them being stored in basements (Born 2002; Nicholls 2006; Lending 2018).

While cast makers or *formatori* were already very active in Italy during the Renaissance and especially late in the 18th c., including the famous Thorvaldsen (Zahle 2020), it became extremely common practice to produce casts in the 19th and 20th c. (Frederick 1927). There is, however, only limited evidence that in Greece casts were made before 1800. Count de Choiseul-Gouffier may have been one of the first to do so in the 1780s (Dubois 1818: ii; Pinatel 2022: 409). Around 1801, Lord Elgin also used two Italian *formatori*, Bernardino Ledus and Vincenzo Rosati, to make moulds and casts of Athenian sculptures (Payne 2019b; 2022: 203)[61]. Approximately at the same time and instructed by Choiseul-Gouffier, Louis Fauvel also taught himself to make plaster casts, going to great lengths to obtain these, such as constructing scaffolding, again especially in Athens (Tregaskis 1979: 12-20; Zambon 2010: 140). Some casts were in his house when du Tyrac visited him in 1820 (Tyrac 1854: 478). Many of Fauvel and Choiseul-Gouffier's casts ended up either in London or in Paris where cast makers were more active. It is not known if either Elgin or Fauvel ever moulded the Lion Gate, but this seems unlikely[62] as a detailed inventory of Louis Fauvel's house in Athens – sometimes described as it first museum – is preserved (Beschi & Travlos 2001).

Unfortunately, thus far we have failed to provide a definite answer as to whom made the first mould of the lion relief, nor were we able to be absolutely certain as to when and how many moulds were actually made on the original relief. In what follows, we explore some of the possibilities.

59 To the best of our knowledge, N. Blackwell (2014: 465, n. 73) is the only one mentioning different plaster casts of the Lion Gate relief, including those of the Carnegie, the Allard Pierson, the Ashmolean Museum and the *Berliner Gipsformerei*.

60 There is no mention of the Lion Gate in other cast maker catalogues such as those by Brucciani-London (1884), Caproni-Boston (1911), Castelvecchi-New York (*1857), Alexandre de Sachy-Paris (1881), the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts (1864), the Liverpool Society of Fine Arts, the Florentine Art Plaster Company in Philadelphia, the Museum of Classical Archaeology of the Fitzwilliam in Cambridge (Waldstein 1889) or the University of Lyon (Lechat 1903) and Anderson (2014: 52-53) provides a full list of firms and institutions that provided casts, especially in the 19th century. Besides the copy in the *Winckelmann-Institut*, the *Freie Universität*, founded in 1948, has a plaster cast collection but it does not seem to include a cast of the Lion Gate nor do Berkeley, Austin, Columbia-Missouri, the Spurlock Museum at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, all of which have large collections.

61 Also Smith 1916: 171, 173 on the employment of cast makers by Elgin under the direction of Lusieri. Details on their work in Athens are also given. They do not seem to have worked at Mycenae, however, which was only visited by Philip Hunt and Ittar. When Elgin visited himself in 1802, he was not accompanied by *formatori*. A full list of sculptures moulded is provided (Smith 1916: 236).

62 The collection of Count de Choiseul-Gouffier was sold after his death and included several objects acquired from Louis Fauvel as well as plaster casts, but no Lion Gate cast (Dubois 1818).

An Athenian mould?

Thanks to contributions of different kinds between 1846 and 1848, the Archaeological Society of Athens was able to create a cast museum in 1848 (*Μουσείον εκμαγείων*)[63]. This was originally located in the Tower of the Winds of the Roman Agora and the attached Turkish baths (Kavvadias 1900: 27; Jenkins 1990: 107; Petrakos 2013: 115-117; Paschalidis & Pliatsika in press). While the Archaeological Society eventually may have had its own technicians, mostly Italian, to produce plasters, there is also good evidence that casts of Greek antiquities held in Britain, including the frieze of the Niké temple, of the Parthenon as well as those of Bassae and a Caryatid in the British Museum, were already acquired by Greece in the late 1840s and placed in this cast museum (*cf*. Jenkins 1990: 106-107; Petrakos 2013: 115-117).

Between 1839 and 1841, there was talk in Athens of engaging an Italian to make casts (Jenkins 1990: 91) and soon after, we hear of a certain 'Giovanni' producing casts in Athens for the *Ecole Royale des Beaux-Arts de Paris* and for the British Museum. It is very likely that this Italian was Giovanni Andreoli and Ian Jenkins (1990: 92-93) mentions he had been working for the Greek government till 1845 but also that other governments (Prussia, Austria, Denmark) were getting casts at that very moment for their own museums. We will come back to Andreoli since, apart from being involved in restoring a koré (F) of the Erechtheion (Jenkins 1990: n. 149)[64], he also produced many casts for the **Brussels** Museum between 1846 and 1849. Philippe Le Bas' team was also busy in 1842-1844 drawing monuments, making plasters and copying inscriptions (Petrakos 2013: 148; Le Bas 1844). Le Bas brought along a 'mouleur' called Antonini from Paris of whom the casts "décorent aujourd'hui les salles grecques du palais de l'école des beaux-arts"[65] and the architect Eugène Landron (Le Bas 1853: 8; 1898: 242, 247, 290). They at least moulded the balustrade of the Temple of Niké and five bas-reliefs.

All casts of the Athenian collection were transferred in 1858-59 to the main building of the Archaeological Society in *Panepistimiou* Street and, in 1865, to the *Varvakeion* (Kavvadias 1900: 83). No detailed inventory list of the casts here survives and Milchhöfer's 1881 guide to the museums in Athens does not include casts. In 1891, the casts were again transferred to the National Archaeological Museum of which the construction was achieved in 1889. Panagis Kavvadias' 1894 guide does not mention a cast in the exhibition nor does Valerios Stais, although the latter does mention that both the Mycenaean Hall and the hall next door were decorated with Mycenaean motifs (Stais 1909: 1; Caillot 2009: 140)[66]. Others mention there were also casts (Gazi 2008: 70) and even one of the Lion Gate, as observed by Malteso (1935: 55): "Ueber dem Eingang dieses Saale ist eine Kopie des Löwentores von Mykenae angebracht" (*cf*. Frangoulopoulou 2018: 143)[67]. We were not able to find an image of this, however.

Before already, and certainly by 1885, a state plaster workshop existed, as discussed by Alexandra Alexandri (2017: 148, 152). In 1892, this workshop was very much occupied producing more than a 100 casts for the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. To produce these casts, technicians were sent all over Greece to mould monuments. A Lion Gate cast was indeed sent to the Chicago Fair and this copy ended up in Beloit College in Wisconsin (see below, Cat. n° 21). It seems, however, that this cast was not made from a freshly

63 In Rangavis' 1847 report to the Society, the gift of plasters from the British Museum is described in great detail. No mention is made, however, of the Lion Gate. His 1848 report mentions the Bassae plasters coming from Britain and others from France. He also complains about the fact that all plasters had to be piled up in the building near the Tower of the Winds.

64 Koré F was found in fragments in 1837 and restored in 1846.

65 The 1881 catalogue of casts by Alexandre de Sachy unfortunately does not provide details of provenance (https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6387385f/f11.item.texteImage) but de Saulcy (1845: 272-273) refers to the "moulages de toutes ces ravissantes sculptures, grâce au zèle infatigable et au bon goût de mon confrère et de mon ami, M. Ph. Lebas; je le dis ici avec autant de joie que je l'ai appris en Grèce, ce savant n'a pas laissé une seule scultpture précieuse, pas une seule inscription découverte avant son depart pour la France, sans emporter de la sculpture un excellent moulage…".

66 A good illustration can be found in the paper by Kostas Nikolentzos in *Schliemanns Welten 2022*: 187, abb. 3 and in Frangoulopoulou (2018: 585). This shows the north part of the hall – it includes the typical Mycenaean half-rosette frieze. Nikolentzos mentions this decoration drew too much attention away from the exhibited finds and was modified in 1957. Frangoulopoulou (2018: 586, fig. 18) also shows tribute bearers in Hall B, copies made by Emile Gilliéron. None of the images shows the Lion Gate relief unfortunately.

67 Frangoulopoulou 2018: 144: "Στην αίθουσα Β είχε τοποθετηθεί το γύψινο ομοίωμα της πύλης των Λεόντων" (with source, which we were unable to trace).

produced mould but probably was formed from a mould from the workshop of Napoleone Martinelli. A letter in the archives of the Directorate for the Management of the National Archive of Monuments in Athens, dated July 20, 1890, reads (in translation):

To Mr. N. Syndikon, lawyer[68]

Athens, 20 July 1890

Because we need to have for the National Archaeological Museum a copy of the cast of the Lion Gate from Mycenae and because we know that Napoleon Martinelli has such a mould, we kindly ask you, as the temporary beneficiary/administrator of the deceased Martinelli's property, to allow the technician we have sent to do so.

General Ephorate

P.K.

Panagis Kavvadias

This clearly shows the presence of a mould in the workshop of Martinelli before 1890 (see below), and also explains how the Athens National Archaeological Museum obtained its own cast, as a copy made from the Martinelli mould. And once a cast is obtained, a new mould can be made. This evidently does not exclude that an original cast of the relief had deteriorated by this time and a new one was needed. Greece also participated in the 1911 International Exhibition of Art in Rome, sending 149 casts (Petrakos 2013: 253) to be exhibited in the Greek hall of the Baths of Diocletian, and this also included a cast of the Lion Gate (*Espozione 1911*: 112; Kavvadias 1911).

From 1893 onwards, as discussed by Constantinos Paschalidis and Vasiliki Pliatsika (in press; Caillot 2009: 134 & n. 347), Panagis Kavvadias managed to pass a Royal Decree (ΦΕΚ 30Α 15/2/1893, repeated in 1911), which stipulated that the Greek state had the monopoly on producing casts of Greek sculpture and that this could only happen in the workshop of the National Museum[69]. Hence, from at least 1892/1893 onwards, when the head of the Collection of Casts at the Museum was Panagiotis Kaloudis, casts, including that of the Lion Gate relief, could be acquired from the museum's workshop (Moraitou 2016: 255[70]). In the late 1890s, its price was 500 gold francs (A. Alexandri, pers. com.), the most expensive piece in the catalogue. In 1903, its price dropped to 350 gold francs[71]. In 1914, the relief could be bought for 300 gold francs[72] (also Wolters 1915: 95, n. 2), and in 1937 a '*Relief des Lions de la porte de Mycènes'* was for sale for 2500 drachmes (Philadelpheus 1937: 28)[73]. We have not been able to find traces of individual sales, however. Still, the Beloit cast in Wisconsin, that at the NKUA in Athens and that in La Sapienza and the Baths of Diocletian exhibition in Rome should all be related since they go back to the Martinelli workshop.

The history of the Athenian cast collection still needs to be written but around 1975-1980, a large number of old moulds and casts were transferred from the National Archaeological Museum to the Makrygianni building basement where a new workshop was installed below the offices of the archaeological service. Around 1987, because of space pressure, casts were sent to the NKUA Philosophical School for their cast museum, with more shipments around 1993/1995 and 2002/2004, and to the tactual museum (pers. com. Antonis Mpaimpas). The Lion Gate copy at the National Kapodistrian University of Athens (henceforth NKUA; see below, Cat. n° 33) was amongst these.

68 Έχοντες ανάγκην να λάβωμεν δια το Εθνικόν Μουσείον αντίτυπον γυψίνου εκμαγείου εκ της μήτρας της πύλης των λεόντων των Μυκηνών γνωρίζοντες δε ότι τοιαύτην μήτραν κατείχεν ο Ναπολέων Μαρτινέλης, παρακαλούμεν Υμάς ως προσωρινόν κηδεμώνα της σχολαζούσης περιουσίας του [μησθέντος] Μαρτινέλην και λοιπών να επιτρέψετε τούτο εις τον υφ΄ ημών αποσταλησόμενον τεχνίτην. Γεν. Έφορος.

69 Apparently, the only exception was a special presidential permission to Emile Gilliéron *fils* in 1930 to produce replicas of Bronze Age antiquities (Paschalidis & Pliatsika in press). Whether father and son Gilliéron ever produced plasters of the Lion Gate is not known but unlikely.

70 Moraitou (2016: 255) mentions that Kaloudis had been an apprentice in the Martinelli firm before working for the Museum; Ian Jenkins (1990: 112) found his name on casts made in 1872, probably when he was still working for Martinelli.

71 *Archäologische Anzeiger* 1903: 125.

72 We thank Vasiliki Pliatsika and Constantinos Paschalidis for sending us their unpublished paper.

73 Charalambos Gkoumas (°1950) still has an important workshop of terracotta casts in Athens.

A German mould

Because Greece's royal family was of Bavarian descend, close scientific contacts existed in the 19th c. between Greek and German scholars[74]. Hence, in 1862, a large Prussian expedition was sent by king (later emperor) Wilhelm I, to study and excavate in Greece. This included a.o. Ernst Curtius (1814-1896), Friedrich Adler (1827-1908), Carl Bötticher (1806-1889), Wilhelm Vischer-Bilfinger (1808-1874), Johann Strack (1805-1880), Henri Junod[75] and perhaps several others such as major von Strantz and M. Turckmann (Schaub 1863: 229; Hittorff 1862: 107: Blakolmer 2010a; Bohotis 2017; Fountoulakis 2020: 323, 325).

Johann Heinrich Strack (**Fig. 15**), nephew of the painter Johann Friedrich Tischbein, was a German architect of the *Schinkelschule* and Professor at the Prussian Academy (1839) and later the *Bauakademie* (1854), eventually becoming Architect to Emperor Wilhelm I. He was the author of a book on ancient Greek theatres (1843) and in 1862, together with Ernst Curtius and Karl Bötticher (1806-1889), excavated the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens helped by the Archaeological Society (Fountoulakis 2020: 323, 325).



FIG. 15 JOHANN HEINRICH STRACK (AFTER *ZENTRALBLATT DER BAUVERWALTUNG* 1905: 321)

The same year, at the end of April or early May 1862, Johann Strack together with Wilhelm Vischer[76] and the architect Georg Theodor Schirrmacher[77] went to Mycenae where they stayed several days and made some small excavations, as mentioned in letters sent on May 3rd to a certain Stüler[78] and to Friedrich Adler on May 10th, published in the *Archäologische Zeitung* of 1862 (on Adler, see *Archäologenbildnisse 1988*: 53-54). The excavations apparently concentrated on the Treasury of Atreus but also on a casemate wall within the citadel, discovered by Major von Strantz (also Hittorff 1862: 115)[79]. It is on this occasion that Strack (1862) redrew

74 See Marchand 1996 for Greek-German relations although this particular period receives little attention in her book.

75 This was possibly Henri Junod (1825-1883), a Swiss pastor whose son, Henri-Alexandre, was a missionary and explorer.

76 This is Wilhelm Vischer (or Vischer-Bilfinger) (1808-1874) who became professor of Greek language in Basel in 1836 and travelled to Greece both in 1853/1854 and in 1862 and conducted excavations in Switzerland. He wrote down his first Greek travels, with his visit to Mycenae (Vischer 1857: 314).

77 Georg Theodor Schirrmacher (1833-1864) was an architect and painter, and his drawing of part of the Parthenon is kept in the *Nationalgalerie* in Berlin.

78 Probably Friedrich August Stüler (1800-1865), student of Karl Friedrich Schinkel and architect of the *Neues Museum* in Berlin. He and Johann Strack travelled together to Russia in 1831.

79 Major Hans Friedrich Bogislav von Strantz (1820-1895), part of the Prussian Bureau of Staff and member of a large noble family that produced quite a few generals. He was responsible for drawing maps of Athens and Piraeus (1862), part of the project *Karten*

the relief and, using a ladder, carefully measured it. He noticed that earlier drawings had wrongly rendered the central column which did not become narrower at its base[80]. It was also then that a mould was made: "Das Relief am Löwenthor wird in diesem Augenblick geformt" (Strack 1862: 329)[81].

On May 17th of the same year, the Swiss traveller Charles Schaub passed Mycenae and, in his travelogue, mentions the presence at the site of his compatriot Wilhelm Vischer. He explicitly refers to the fact that "quelques-uns des archéologues allemands dont j'ai parlé avaient obtenu la permission de prendre l'empreinte de la porte du monument"[82]. The 'German archaeologists mentioned earlier' in Charles Schaub's report were those of the Prussian expedition.

On the return of the expedition to Prussia, Friedrich Adler (1865: 1-13) refers to Johann Strack's *Abguss* of 1862 but connects him with Ernst Curtius and Carl Bötticher and not with Wilhelm Vischer and Georg Theodor Schirrmacher. Bötticher (1871: 28, n.*) later stated that "der erste Abguss dieses Monumentes durch Bötticher im Auftrage des Gen. Directors d. Königl. Museen Herrn v. Olfers[83], auf Kosten des Museums im Jahre 1862 erwirkt ist". For Bötticher, the 1862 visit was his first to Greece but he entertained several conflictual relations with his colleagues, and he eventually resigned from his museum position in Berlin where he had become director of the sculpture gallery in 1868. The tone of the note seems to hide some unknown discussion about who really was responsible for the original mould and took credit. Carl Bötticher and Johann Strack were of similar age while Curtius was younger (1814-1896) but had a much longer experience in Greece, having travelled there before 1840 and already holding a professorship at Göttingen at the time of the 1862 visit. His was also a well-known study on the Peloponnese (Curtius 1852).

In any case, a mould was made and brought to Germany where it became part of the *Berliner Gipsformerei*, part of the *Königliche* and now *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin* (Schröder & Winkler-Horaček 2012; Tocha 2019). The Lion Gate cast is catalogue n° 1298 and has been on sale officially at least since 1871. But we will see below that already earlier, several casts were ordered and sold. In 1883, a copy could be acquired for 300 mark (Tocha 2022: 106). A partial inventory of the *Gipsformerei* between 1902 and 1950 shows the sale of five casts: in 1905, 1906, 1910, 1913 and 1916, and these dates correspond with several extant casts as discussed below (Cat. n° 26, 27, 28, 29). A cast can still be acquired for 17.900€[84]. The mould now present in the *Gipsformerei* consists of several larger pieces and according to Dr. Veronika Tocha it is unlikely that it is the original rather than a secondary mould made from an early cast. It should still be close to the original and was used many times[85]. The 1871 mould produced casts of 332 x 313 cm[86].

A Malpieri (?) and Martinelli mould

Around the 1850s, the British Museum and other interested parties used Alessandro Malpieri to obtain casts of Greek monuments. The Malpieri firm was already making casts in Rome in the 18th c. Vincenzo Malpieri, for example, worked with Canova as a *formatore* early in the 19th c., and in 1843, Giovanni, Giuseppe and Leopoldo were active in Rome. In 1864, several family members worked in the Via del Corso where Mauro and Alessandro lived at n° 51 and Leopoldo at n° 54; in 1869, Filipo and Alessandro were at n° 51 and Leopoldo at n° 54 (Dunajko 2020; Malone 2016; Zahle 2020: 59, with fig. 34, an engraving of an early workshop of cast-makers). Alessandro and Leopoldo were responsible for making a cast of the column of Trajan in 1863 – with examples in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (1861) and in Bucharest – and Alessandro was also

von Attika by Ernst Curtius and Kaupert (1862-1897), but we did not find sources on his presence at Mycenae.

80 This was again refuted partly by Friedrich Adler (1865: 3), who noted that it was difficult to see but that there was a slight difference of 10 1/8 at the bottom and 11 ½ at the top. He also criticises Blouet's 1833 rendering as unprecise.

81 Their visit to Greece was also mentioned in Αιών 12.3.1862:4 *cf.* http://digital.lib.auth.gr/record/82097. The same source also mentions the presence of John Stuart Mill, the economist/philosopher/politician, known for his philhellenism.

82 Schaub (1863: 29, 30) mentions the official Prussian committee and their excavation of the theatre of Dionysus. Charles Schaub made several trips to Greece but the one in 1862 was specifically focused on seeing 'les restes de cette generation héroïque' (ib. 1) (See also Bouvier 1997). Schaub (1808-1900) became professor of Neo-Hellenic Literature at Genève.

83 Ignaz von Olfers was director of the Royal Museums in Berlin between 1839 and 1869.

84 https://www.gipsformerei-katalog.de/sammlungsgebiete/antike/1682/loewentor-in-mykene

85 We thank Mrs Tocha for additional information.

86 R. Grössinger, pers. com.

responsible for Pope Pius IX's funerary mask and hand. Since Pius IX died in 1878, Alessandro's career may have been quite long although it cannot be excluded that two members of the family carried the same name. The firm survived into the 20th c. and maintained many contacts, especially with the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. Ian Jenkins (1991: 95) mentions that Malpieri was approached by the French and Prussians to produce a cast of the lions at Mycenae in the early 1850s but thus far we have been unable to find evidence if Malpieri ever succeeded in doing this. It does, however, betray a clear interest in the Lion Gate at an early moment. But when the British Museum later acquired new casts from Athens thanks to their consul in Athens, C. Merlin, they used Napoleone Martinelli (Jenkins 1990: 111; see below).

Napoleone Felice Martinelli was a cast producing firm in Athens during the second half of the 19th century and Kader (2004: 249)[87] mentions that his firm had exclusive rights between 1860 and 1891 to mould sculptures *in situ* for distribution worldwide (also Barbanera 1995: 7). In the 1870s, he was employed by the German excavations at Olympia to make casts (Payne 2019). He is also known to have provided Cambridge, Budapest, the British Museum (1872) and Dresden (in 1882 and 1887) with casts. It is also known that Martinelli had scaffolding placed against the Parthenon in 1872, to take a direct cast of the West frieze (Jenkins 1990: 111). Martinelli also prepared a series of casts in 1873 for the Vienna World Expo[88] and many of these casts were subsequently bought by the Hungarian National Museum (see below)[89]. According to Mallouchou-Tufano (1994: 76), he may have been a member of the Archaeological Society. The Louvre also acquired 34 casts from Athens around this time, but it is not clear if Martinelli was involved (Dumont 1875: 419). Martinelli would have been in charge of the destruction of the Frankish Tower on the Acropolis, paid by Schliemann, in 1874 (Meyer 1953: 268). He also communicated and collaborated with Schliemann on other occasions (Vasilikou 2011: 62, 63; Fitton 1991: 14-18)[90], as also mentioned in one of his letters of September 1873 to Schliemann (n° 288)[91] in relation to casts from the Helios metopes of Troy acquired by the British Museum. Dora Vasilikou (2011: 62) calls him "γυψοποιό, εκμαγέα, συντηρητή και εργολάβο της Γενικής Εφορείας και της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας" [Plaster-maker, cast-maker, contractor of the General Ephorate and of the Archaeological Society]. In the archives of the Directorate for the Management of the National Archive of Monuments in Athens, there are also several letters to Martinelli[92].

All this makes it possible that Martinelli also produced a mould *in situ* of the Lion Gate, perhaps soon after Schliemann's first work at Mycenae in 1874 or earlier[93]. By 1875, a cast of the Lion Gate could be acquired from the Martinelli firm (n° 208)[94] and we know that Rome acquired one for the *Museo di Gessi* (Barbanera 1995: 5, 7-8). The Martinelli 1875 catalogue proposes a cast for 1600 francs, the most expensive item in his collection (Martinelli 1875)[95]. The 1881 English Martinelli catalogue (with n° 304) gives its price as 800 francs and the title of the publication 'taken direct from the masterpieces of Greek sculpture' would also imply he had made a mould himself. It is likely that the Greek royal decree of 1893 which stipulated that only the Greek state could make copies through the National Archaeological Museum's workshop heralded the end of the firm's activities

87 «Ebenso wie Louis Emile Gilliéron das Replikenmonopol für die frühgriechischen Funde, hielt die Gipsformerei des Italieners Napoleone Felice Martinelli in Athene ab etwa 1860 bis 1891 das Abform-Monopol für Skulpturen, die in Griechenland ausgegraben wurden. Die etwa 400 Stückformen aus Gips, die Martinelli während dieser Jahre hergestellt hatte, wurden 1891 nach seinem Tod nach Italien verkauft» (Kader 2004: 249).

88 A photograph of the Greek section at this Expo includes mostly relatively modern sculpture, as included in the inventory (accessible at https://sachsen.digital/werkansicht/17094/195?tx_dlf_navigation%5Bcontroller%5D=Navigation&cHash=e55bc81675fc36c52ff4d6be31464a5e p. 195-196) but it is also said that "Griechenland legte eine große Collection von Gipsabgüssen antiker Skulpturen aus, daneben Bruchstücke von solchen Originalen und eine größere Partie farbiger Amphoren" (Lind 1874: 62). See also Moraitou 2016: 255 for more details on Martinelli.

89 Budapest also acquired from Berlin, Brucciani & Co in London, Baumann & Beckmann, *etc*.

90 We owe this reference to Michaela Zavadil.

91 We thank Natalia Vogeikoff-Brogan for this information.

92 One dates to 1878 and is by a certain Francesco Rossi, who claims he never received the plaster cast he asked for and hence refuses to pay; another is a list of numbers of casts in Martinelli's collection but without explanation.

93 Schliemann himself does not seem to have made casts although the remains of an almost mummified body from Shaft Grave V at Mycenae were transported in a plaster cast to Athens. There is no mention of making a cast of the Lion Gate in his personal correspondence either nor in this letters to Efstratiades, Ephor General, and the Society (D. Vasilikou, pers. com.).

94 Korres 2012 for a description of Schliemann's 1874 diary. There is no mention of the production of a cast, however.

95 Although it is not impossible that this price was a mistake since the '1' in the 1875 catalogue was crossed out by pencil. In comparison with the 1881 catalogue, this seems more reasonable but would also imply that the price in six years had risen considerably.

and forced him (and his daughter after his death in 1890) to sell the stock. And, as we have seen, the Athens National Archaeological Museum used his mould to cast a copy, which they may then have used to produce a new mould. In 1875, he sold a Lion Gate cast to Rome and much later, his widow would sell as many as 270 of his casts that also ended up in Rome at *La Sapienza*, bought by the Italian government, and this seems also to have included a mould of the Lion Gate (see below) (Barbanera 1995: 8).

Other moulds?

Once a cast is acquired, it can evidently be used to produce a new mould, which several institutions, including the *Berliner Gipsformerei*, the museum in Chicago and the British Museum practiced when the original mould deteriorated. Usually, casts produced with secondary moulds are smaller. At present, the only mould of the Lion Gate of which we have knowledge that still exists is in Berlin; it is not clear whether the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, the *Cinquantenaire* in Brussels, the Valle Giulia or other institutions still possess a mould.



Casts of the Lion Gate – existing or no longer so

The original aims of this study were quite moderate: tracing as many casts of the Lion Gate as possible. This quickly developed in a long-lasting quest, revealing a number of unexpected details. In what follows, we discuss existing and no longer preserved casts of the Lion Gate relief. Thus far, we have been able to locate 33 copies. For the moment, we have failed to define the precise dates of Catalogue numbers n° 31 to 33. We were able to trace 25 casts produced between 1845 and 1913, and 23 of these were already made before 1900. Since 11 casts were already acquired before Schliemann started his main excavations at Mycenae in 1876, this suggests that the Lion Gate was already popular before the main discoveries were made. We discuss the casts in their possible chronological sequence of production.

Cat. 1

In **Brussels** (Belgium), a *Musée des plâtres* was created in 1849 in the *Musée royal de Peinture et de Sculpture* of the palace of Charles de Lorraine. This included about a hundred casts that had been shown since 1839 in the Gothic Chapel of the Sculpture Museum. To these were added 184 casts sent from Athens (Montens 2008; 2016; Van Den Driessche 2008; Müller *et al*. 2023), thanks to the intervention of the Belgian consul in Greece, Octave Mét(h)ivier[96]. From the different letters and responses preserved in the archives of the Royal Museums of Fine Arts in Brussels, it seems that Méthivier prepared four shipments of crates altogether with plaster copies, taken from monuments in and around Athens.

A first letter, dated November 20, 1845, shows he had collected 18 crates for the Belgian government of sculptures, which, in Athens, were kept in various places.

His list 'Enumération des objets d'antiquité moulus en plâtre & contenus dans 18 caisses GB 1 à 18, achetés pour compte du Gouvernement' has the following subheadings:

Objets du Parthénon - with objects numbered by Méthivier as 1-22.

Objets du Temple d'Erechtée - with objects numbered by Méthivier as 23-40.

Temple de la Victoire – with objects numbered by Méthivier as 41-53.

Objets deposes dans les Propilées avec les numéros originaux dans l'inventaire archéologique – with 26 objects with numbers that should correspond to an Athenian archaeological inventory – they are not in numerical order and include a variety of objects.

Objets deposes provisoirement dans le temple de Thésée – with 14 objects that should come from an archaeological inventory; again not in numerical order. Included is *e.g*. a 'Bas relief avec un roi de Sparte'.

Du Monument de Lisistrate (*sic*) - with objects numbered by Méthivier as 54 to 79.

There were altogether 119 casts and Méthivier stipulates which cast was in which crate. Méthivier himself (or someone in Brussels afterwards) added inventory numbers in red on his letters and these run additional numbers from 742 up to 860. These numbers remain problematic since they do not correspond with preserved inventories. It is likely that lower numbers (pre-742) were assigned to plasters from the *Ecole de Gravure*[97]. Before the creation of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, objects were kept in various reserves such as on the Acropolis, in the *Theseion etc*., many of which came from the earlier museum on Aegina (Caillot 2009: 108)[98]. The objects

96 Thanks go to Theo Dirix who provided us with Méthivier's name (but see already Van Den Driessche 2008). See also https://200years.mfa.gr/en/diplomatic-consular-relations-en/belgium/ for a letter of 7 September 1840 in which King Otho of Greece recognises Octave Méthivier as Belgian consul. Méthivier was named Chevalier in the Order of Leopold on September 20, 1848, and the same year Rangavis mentions 'a Belgian' as an Athens-based member of the Archaeological Society. In 1847, a Belgian section at the French School at Athens was installed but the positions were only filled-in in 1900.

97 The 104 casts, especially of Roman sculptures, were bought in Paris in 1839 and kept in the *Ecole royale de Gravure*. They were ceded to the Museum in 1849 (Van Den Driessche 2008: 343). These were given the numbers 1 to 104, written in red in an annexe of a letter dated April 4, 1849. Other (unnumbered) casts were acquired later, in 1852 from France. From Alexandre de Sachy in Paris in 1865 were acquired casts with numbers ranging between 1420 and 1701 and others with numbers ranging between 1693 and 1791. In later letters, numbers 2286 to 2338 are mentioned. None of these correspond with the Lion Gate relief.

98 Also Jenkins (1991: 94) on the places where Pittakis had stored original sculpture in Athens. See Caillot 2009: 95, on the *Theseion* as the first Central Archaeological Museum of Athens (1834-1874) and discusses its collection in detail. Pittakis was responsible for the collection between 1833 and 1863.

in the *Theseion* were given numbers which corresponded with a local inventory prepared by Pittakis himself, who planned but never managed to publish an inventory (Caillot 2009: 96-102)[99], which is, however, preserved in the National Archaeological Museum and has been discussed by Chrysanthi Tsouli (2020b: 263)[100]. Pittakis was overseeing museums in Athens at the time and that of the *Theseion* was called the Central Museum (Tsouli 2020a: 268)[101].

The collection in the *Theseion* attracted the attention of several travellers including Eduard Gerhard (1837) (*Archäologenbildnisse 1988*: 20-22), whose report is quite detailed and discusses statues, reliefs and other antiquities in the *Theseion* but does not include a reference to a Lion Gate cast. As mentioned, around that time, a plaster cast collection already existed in the Tower of the Winds so it would be odd to have a cast in the *Theseion*. This said, Ioanna Ninou (*per litteras*) informed us that in the archives there is also a reference to plaster casts of the Bassae temple in the *Theseion* and these came from the British Museum.

The French travellers de Saulcy (1845) provide a series of numbers, which were written on the monuments "et qui se rapport sans doute à un catalogue manuscript, rédigé par M. Pittakis et pour lui-même" (de Saulcy 1845: 263, n.1)[102]. Kekulé (1869) also provided a detailed account, but his numbers differ from those by de Saulcy. There is no mention of a Lion Gate cast and later inventories of Athenian museums, as those by Ludwig von Sybel (1881) and Arthur Milchhöfer (1891), likewise do not include relevant references. Ludwig von Sybel did note which statues could also be acquired as casts from Berlin and from Martinelli, however. Philippe Le Bas in 1842 and Malherbe in 1843 also visited the collection, the latter with Pittakis himself but they provide few details (Le Bas 1888: 77[103]; Malherbe 1846: 77-78), as did the comtesse de Gasparin in 1848 (Boissier 1848: 109). Ernest Breton visited in 1859 and left more details, including some good sketches of the antiquities within the *Theseion* (Breton 1860: 203). Charles Newton also saw the collection in 1852 but only describes certain antiquities in detail (Newton 1865: 19-26). Pascal Sébah also took a photograph inside (Papadopoulos 2005: 142, fig. 24).

Another letter from Méthivier, dated May 30, 1846, discusses 16 crates, again stating which cast was in which crate, and again someone has added numbers in red afterwards, with numbers running from 861 to 884. Méthivier also instructed the Museum personnel to be careful when unpacking, which is acknowledged in a letter from the Museum to the Minister of Interior of the 1st of October 1846. A letter from Méthivier dated August 25, 1846, again cites a new batch of crates with casts that were ready to be sent[104]. This time the crate numbers run from 35 to 53, with numbers 885 to 920 added in red, and these 19 crates comprised about 25 different casts, several of which consisted of separate pieces. Another letter from the Minister to the Museum, dated September 19, 1846, states that Méthivier had informed him on August 22 that 55 crates were ready to be shipped to Antwerp, but this was corrected to 53 crates in another letter, and this agrees with the number of crates mentioned by Méthivier. Another shipment is accompanied by a letter dated December 6, 1847, and this discusses three other casts and these have red numbers 921 to 923. The letter is in Italian and is signed by Giovanni Andreoli 'il formatore'. A letter of November 12, 1848, to the Minister finally mentions that 56 to 58 crates were on their way on the Prussian ship

99 See Reinach 1930: 467-478: *§ La Formation des musées d'Athènes* (originally published in 1896); Salomon Reinach is very negative about Pittakis calling him "un brouillon vaniteux" (ib. 470), in which he seems to have relied on Adolf Michaelis who had complained that Pittakis had forced Ludwig Ross away. Salomon Reinach also accused Pittakis of having committed 'nombreuses frauds archéologiques', basing himself on Wachsmuth and Koehler.

100 For a long time, we assumed that a '*Fronton avec Deux Sphinx*' – numbered 43 and shipped in crate 9, which was given the additional number 834 in red at Brussels – could have been the cast of the Lion Gate relief but C. Tsouli (pers. com.) informed us that this was a funerary stele of ΗΔΥΛΙΝΗ with two opposing, small sphinxes in the far corners of the pediment (now n° 2053 in the NAM).

101 Tsouli 2020 : 268 on the number of antiquities stored here, probably 615.

102 The following numbers are discussed in the paper by de Saulcy (1845): 33, 52, 55, 61, 63, 79, **81**, 255, 271, 272, 286, 303, 306, 307, 319, 323, 331, 346, 349, 362, 369, 477, 486, **487**, 488, 537, 545 (*Aristion*), 547, 548, 552, 558, 559, 560, 604, 615. As de Saulcy (1845: 268) states «c'est par centaines que les morceaux antiques se comptent au temple de Thésée; aussi n'ai-je pas le moins du monde la prétention d'avoir vu, et encore moins d'acoir tout bien apprécié». Only those of the *Theseion* were given numbers, however, which agrees with Méthivier's account. In de Saulcy's list, those in bold are numbers also identified by Méthivier as being in the *Theseion*. de Saulcy (1845: 261) is much more positive about Pittakis than other travellers.

103 Philippe Le Bas was sent to complete drawings of the *Expédition de Morée*; his work was only published much later by Salomon Reinach. Le Bas presents many beautiful illustrations of the antiquities kept in the 'Musée central d'Athènes' (the Central Archaeological Museum). He visited Mycenae on August 23, 1843.

104 The inventories by Méthivier are surprisingly similar to those shipped on the 'Moor of Venice' in 1846 from Athens to London (Jenkins 1990: 110).

called Emma & Mina, with its captain Brandt, with casts numbered 924 to 926. Whether Andreoli was responsible for all casts is not known but is perhaps likely since he was active in Athens from at least 1841 onwards. Ludwig Ross mentions Andreoli as 'Hülfsarbeiter' of the Swiss sculptor Heinrich Max Imhof[105] who did some restauration in Athens, including one of the Caryatides of the Erechtheion around 1837 (also mentioned in Malherbe 1846: 52 during his 1843 visit with Pittakis). Since Imhof left Athens in 1838, Andreoli may have become independent afterwards.

On their arrival in Brussels, the crates with 184 casts were accompanied by a small paper 'Avviso. Si prega a chi leva i presenti oggetti di scassare con molta attenzione, essendo delicatisimi'[106]. A letter of the Minister dated January 19, 1849, mentions the arrival of altogether 58 crates 'renfermant les plâtres d'après l'antique achetés à Athènes par le gouvernement Belge et destines au musée Royal de Peinture et de Sculpture', asking the museum to receive them and to report afterwards. A document, dated June 6, 1849, details those plasters received from Athens that had been damaged in transport with the local numbers on them – the same that were added in red to Méthivier's list, but number 834 – the 'fronton avec deux sphinx' – is not amongst these. There is also a list numbering those that had been restored and, in the letter dated July 18, 1849, it is said that this was done by the *formatore* of the Museum. Montens (2016: 3) states that, because of the damage to the casts received from Athens, a workshop was specifically created capable of repairing and creating moulds and casts, and this workshop is still active in the *Cinquantenaire* Museum.

Why such a long discussion of Méthivier? Well, in the later, undated, handwritten catalogue of the plaster collection of the *Cinquantenaire* Royal Museums of Art and History a 'tympan de lions' is said to be a gift from the government since the 'foundation of the collection'. If this is correct, then we would assume that, in some way, the cast came out with the original casts sent from Athens, which would make the Brussels Lion Gate cast the earliest of which we have a trace, even earlier than the German mould of 1862. We could hypothesize then that Méthivier had Andreoli or Malpieri mould it around the time when Pittakis cleared the gate at Mycenae in 1841. In fact, before clearing the gate, it would have been much easier to have a mould made of the bas relief since, as shown *e.g.* in **Figures 1 & 2**, or in the drawings by Ittar, Carl Rottmann[107] and others, the relief was much closer to the modern surface than it would be after 1841. Could a mould or cast made at this time have been kept in the *Theseion* or elsewhere in Athens? While this remains largely hypothetical, an additional reason to argue for an early date of the Lion Gate cast in Brussels is that its inventory number in the catalogue of the plaster collection of the Brussels Museum is nr. 150 (with mould nr. 16[108]) and, as we have seen, in 1849, their collection counted approximately 300 pieces. Both suggest an early acquisition. Unfortunately, there is as yet no other corroboration for this hypothesis. But as we will see below, there is good evidence that the Brussels cast was not made from the Berlin mould.

In 1863, the Brussels plaster collection was moved to the duke's palace (the later palace of the Academies) but there is no record of the Gate there, and in 1889[109], to the *Cinquantenaire* Museum (Montens 2008; 2016) where the Lion relief was exhibited in the first room upstairs of the Great Hall, also called the Bordiau Hall. The relief can just be made out on the upper floor to the right on an early photograph (**Fig. 16**). The main force behind the plaster collection then was Henri Rousseau, active between 1893 and 1928. Rousseau (1904: 274) explicitly refers to the Lion Gate and its mould, n° 16, but only illustrated it with a photo of the real monument, not the cast. He also mentions the relief in later catalogues (Rousseau 1913: 24: 150; 1926: 20) and it is also described in the plaster

105 This is Heinrich Max Imhof (1795-1869), a sculptor of the Classical Style who was invited in 1835 by King Otto I to direct the new Art Academy in Athens, where he conducted the restoration of several antiquities. He left for Rome in 1838.

106 https://historicalarchives.fine-arts-museum.be/uploads/r/archives-des-mrbab/e/b/6/eb64fa570de8935f50a9b38384da9e1d9b7b650c9448583679d5a707e09ec0e2/BE_A4004_FM_II_0083.pdf

107 Carl Rottmann was sent by King Ludwig I to make a cycle of Greek landscapes; his view of the Lion Gate at Mycenae of 1834 is unfortunately a wide angle view that doesn't allow the recognition of details. Originally placed in Hall VI of the Munich Museum, the 1858 guide aptly describes it as "Die Atridenburg von Mykene, mit dem Löwenthor, durch welches vor mehr als 3000 Jahren Agamemnon ein- und ausgegangen" (Förster 1858: 233). Rottman's painting of the ruins of Tiryns hangs nearby.

108 All moulds with lower numbers refer to objects from Assyria (1-15) while the next number, n° 17, is the stele of *Aristion*, found at Velanideza near Marathon, which was also preserved in the *Theseion* in Athens, where it was drawn by Sir George Scharf in 1840 (*cf.* https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_2011-5012-56). It is not clear if this stele forms part of Méthivier's 1845 list, however, although grave steles are mentioned without further detail.

109 See also https://historicalarchives.fine-arts-museum.be/index.php/be-a4004-fm-ii-2989 where this transfer is detailed; there are only numbers given but all are higher than 800….

cast inventory of 1921. In 1930, the collection was transferred to the actual hall but also partly dismantled and it is at this moment that we lose track of it. It is likely that it was the exhibited cast of the early photograph of 1899 that was sold in April 1985 for 44.500 Belgian Francs to a restaurant owner in Leuven where it still is on display and was used to reinforce the name of the restaurant 'Mykene'[110]. At this moment, it is not clear whether a mould still exists in the museum, but copies could be acquired at least till the 1920s. There is, however, no tangible proof that copies were ever sold even if the Leuven University cast, catalogued below as n° 32, could conceivably come from this workshop.



FIG. 16 THE BRUSSELS LION GATE CAN JUST BE MADE OUT IN THE TOP RIGHT OF THE IMAGE ABOVE THE NIKE OF SAMOTHRACE[111] (CC BY 4.0 KIK-IRPA, BRUSSELS (BELGIUM), CLICHÉ A002616)

110 We are grateful to Mrs Sylvie Paesen and Mrs Nele Strobbe for their kind advice. The restaurant owner, Mr. J. Hermans, kindly informed us that he went to Brussels where the cast comprised three pieces which were later reassembled in his restaurant and painted over twice over the years.

111 https://balat.kikirpa.be/photo.php?objnr=20064984#relatedphoto.



FIG. 17 THE LEUVEN 'MYKENE' LION GATE AS EXHIBITED IN THE RESTAURANT WITH, FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: C.F. MACDONALD & J. DRIESSEN, J. MARAN, F. GAIGNEROT-DRIESSEN & J. BRETSCHNEIDER, D. NAKASSIS & J. BENNET, V. ADRIMI-SISMANI (PHOTOS BY J. DRIESSEN & F. GAIGNEROT-DRIESSEN, WITH THE KIND PERMISSION OF THE DIFFERENT COLLEAGUES)

Cat. 2

The 1862 mould of the Lion Gate made by Johann Strack seems, soon after its arrival, to have been casted and exhibited in the ***Neues Museum in Berlin***, a museum largely created by Ignaz von Olfers between 1843 and 1855 by order of King Frederick Wilhelm IV. The Lion Gate relief cast is already commented upon in the March 1864 session of the *Archäologische Gesellschaft zu Berlin* by Friedrich Adler, Carl Bötticher and Adolf Michaelis (*Dioskuren 1864*: 115). Friedrich Adler (1865: 1) also mentions the "unlängst erfolgte Aufstellung des Hauptstücks dieser erlesenen Sammlung – des Reliefs vom Hauptthore zu Mykenae" in the January issue of the *Archäologische*

Zeitung of 1865[112]. Adler provides the first detailed drawing of the relief made on the cast and a section (**Fig. 18a**)[113] and in the same year, another drawing was published by Wilhelm Lübke (1865: 98, fig. 62)[114] (**Fig. 18b**). Both drawings differ only slightly. In 1895, Anton Springer (1895: fig. 92) used a drawing of the real gate made by Josef Durm, a German architect who visited Greece in 1860/61 (**Fig. 18c**).



Fig. 18 a-b. Drawings by Adler and Lübke, both based on the Berlin Cast. c-d. Drawing of the Lion Gate and photo of the cast by Durm

Arthur Evans[115] (1901: fig. 35) may well have been the first to illustrate the cast with a photograph in his study on *Tree and Pillar Cult* and Josef Durm himself published an illustration of the Berlin cast as well as the original relief somewhat later (Durm 1907: 55, fig. 15a and 15b) (**Fig. 18d**). Earlier unillustrated descriptions of the cast collection and the Lion Gate as those by Karl Friederichs (1868: 1-3, with references), Bötticher (1871: 28-31), Friederichs & Wolters (1885: 1-3) and Carl Schuchhardt (1891: 142) mention it standing in the First Gallery on the upper floor of the museum ('Im Griechischen Hof' according to Friederichs 1885: n. *). Besides Durm's photograph, we were unable to find a photograph of its original exhibition in the gallery.

112 It is also mentioned especially in *Die Dioskuren : deutsche Kunstzeitung von 15. Mai 1870* : «Die Sammlung von Gipsabgüssen wurde durch Werte der ältesten griechischen Kunst, under andern durch das Löwenthor von Mykenä, vermehrt ».

113 https://archive.org/details/archaologischez23deut/page/n7/mode/2up.

114 Kugler (1872 : fig. 38) published yet another drawing that differs from both that by Friedrich Adler and Wilhelm Lübke. Another of Durm's drawings was used as the cover for the monograph of the survey of Mycenae (Lavery & French 2003).

115 Evans first visited Mycenae in 1883 with his wife Margaret (Yannis Galanakis pers. com.) (see J. Evans 1943: 263).

In 1916, the Lion Gate relief and other casts were transferred to the Humboldt University (the successor of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität) where the size of the newly constructed hall allowed its reconstruction in full, including the surrounding walls of the gate, even if the latter were imitations based on photographs and hence not real casts (Stürmer 2012: 173)[116]. A photograph of its presence in 1920/21 decorating the north entrance leading to the Minoan-Mycenaean Hall is preserved (**Fig. 19a**) (*cf.* Stürmer 2012: 173, fig. 2). This part, however, was bombed in 1944 and the cast was destroyed (Stürmer 2012: 178).



FIG. 19 A. ARCHAIC HALL IN NEUES MUSEUM, WITH THE LION GATE RELIEF AGAINST THE BACKWALL (COURTESY WINCKELMANN-INSTITUT DER HUMBOLDT-UNIVERSITÄT ZU BERLIN). B. THE LION GATE RELIEF AS RECONSTRUCTED IN THE WINCKELMANN-*INSTITUT* BERLIN (PHOTO COURTESY THOMAS BAETJER)

Around 2010, the late Veit Stürmer acquired a new cast from the *Berliner Gipsformerei* and the gate was reconstructed in the *Winckelmann-Institut* including the surrounding stones which, this time, were specifically moulded on a 3D-scan made at Mycenae itself in 2016, installed with the help of Thomas Baetjer (**Fig. 19b**)[117].

Cat. 3

Already in 1864, the same year the first cast was exhibited in Berlin, the University at **Halle** acquired the middle piece of the gate from the *Berliner Gipsformerei*. This was largely thanks to Alexander Conze (1831-1914), associate professor at Halle University and later director of the Berlin *Antikensammlung*. In 1871, Richard Schöne, his successor at Halle, who had excavated at Pompeii, was able to add the lions. Only in 1891, however, Carl Robert succeeded in exhibiting the entire relief[118] on a platform in a side stairway ('Nebentreppe'), amid Egyptian

116 Information from Thomas Baetjer for which we are grateful.
117 We thank Thomas Baetjer for additional information as well as Dr. Anna Simandiraki-Grimshaw.
118 We thank Dr. Henryk Löhr for the information.

pharaohs, but next to an entrance leading to the Archaic Hall (Robert 1903: 5, 6, 13; catalogue n° 3). It was not illustrated in the catalogue in which only a plan of the museum is given, later called the *Robertinum* in his honour. Apparently, it was slightly damaged and taken apart already in the 1920s (**Fig. 20a-c**) and put in the reserves where it remains despite attempts to reinstall it in 2000.



FIG. 20 A-C. HALLE: FRAGMENTS OF THE LION GATE (COURTESY HENRYK LÖHR)

Cat. 4

An early cast, also purchased in 1864, arrived in **Basel** (Switzerland) where it was placed in the *Skulpturhalle*, part of a museum created in 1849. The *Archäologische Zeitung* of 1864 (Gerhard 1865: 9-10) mentions the presence of the relief at Basel where it was discussed in the presence of Professor Wilhelm Vischer, who, it may be recalled, was in the group with Strack when he had the mould made at Mycenae in 1862. Vischer may have been instrumental in facilitating the acquisition, therefore. Moreover, Basel was also the town where Johann Bachofen was professor, who published his famous *Das Mutterrecht* in 1861 (Isler 1999) and, as we have seen, had visited Mycenae in 1851.

It seems the cast (inv. SH 8/1864) has not been on display for at least a century and remains in fragments (**Fig. 21a-c**)[119], comprising nine individual pieces that were moulded separately (Lochman 2020). Plans exist for its reinstallation in the *Skulpturhalle*, however. No historical photographs of its early exhibition were found.



FIG. 21 A-C. BASEL LION GATE (COURTESY THOMAS LOCHMAN)

119 We sincerely thank Dr. Tomas Lochman for information.

Cat. 5

The foundation of the **Jena** (Germany) collection dates back to 1846 and was largely the work of Carl Willhelm Göttling, its director between 1846 and 1869, who had travelled in Greece in 1861. The collection started in the *Stadtschloss* and, according to the inventory, the Lion Gate was acquired in 1865 by Göttling[120]. Göttling's (1846) earlier catalogue only refers to a painting of the Lion Gate (n° 31) presented by Georg Bergmann (1821-1870), known for his historical topics, but this painting is not preserved. After 1904, the collection ended up in the University. In 1902, the museum received a series of replicas of the finds made by Schliemann at the time Ferdinand Noack was active in Jena and director between 1899 and 1904. The historical photograph shows the Lion Gate against the back wall as it was exhibited between 1907 and 1962 (**Fig. 22a**).

The collection was largely dismantled in 1962 and many casts returned to the *Staatlichen Museen* of Berlin in 1983. In more recent years, many have returned to Jena. The Lion Gate was restored for the exhibition 'Schliemann's Worlds' in Berlin (**Fig. 22b**) and afterwards returned to Jena where it is now in the Study collection of the Friedrich-Schiller University but taken apart and put in crates[121].





FIG. 22 A. THE JENA LION GATE (COURTESY DENNIS GRAEN). B. THE JENA LION GATE AS PRESENTED IN THE EXHIBITION 'SCHLIEMANNS WELTEN 2022'

120 We thank Dr. Dennis Graen for this information.
121 We sincerely thank Dr. Benjamin Wehry and Dr. Dennis Graen for the information.

Cat. 6

Dresden has one of the earliest cast collections in Germany, created in 1794 and refurbished in 1857. Sometimes called the "Florence on the Elbe" (Adam 2014: 104), it was considered a cultural capital in the 19th c. Already in 1863, Hermann Hettner, director of the cast collection at Dresden University, expressed the wish to acquire the gate from the *Berliner Gipsformerei* as soon as they were able to provide it. Hettner had visited Mycenae in the early 1850s and had been very impressed. In his book, *Griechische Reiseskizzen*, he had commented "Darüber ein wunderlich geheimnisvolles Relief mit zwei gewaltigen Löwenkörpern, von denen das Thor seinen heutigen Namen führt" (Hettner 1853: 209), describing the relief in detail, affording attention to the stone, the identification as lionesses, the central column, and its mythical importance. Hence, it must have arrived in Dresden between 1864 and 1871 since the 1872 catalogue of the Museum mentions the presence of the Lion Gate in the A section of the First Hall (Hettner 1872: 13-14, cat. n° 25) of the *Albertinum*. It was not illustrated then[122] but a photograph by Hermann Krone in 1891 shows its position (**Fig. 23a**), probably taken at the time of the restoration of the building the same year. The collection was seriously damaged during World War II and much of it, including the Lion Gate, are now in storage and assembled but are not part of the permanent exhibition in the *Sempergalerie* (**Fig. 23b**).



FIG. 23 A. ROOM OF THE LION GATE OF MYCENAE ON THE 3RD FLOOR IN THE ALBERTINUM, 1891 (CREDITS: ©SKULPTURENSAMMLUNG, STAATLICHE KUNSTSAMMLUNGEN DRESDEN, PHOTO: HERMANN KRONE, COURTESY CHRISTIAN KLOSE). B THE DRESDEN LION GATE (©SKULPTURENSAMMLUNG, STAATLICHE KUNSTSAMMLUNGEN DRESDEN, PHOTO BY JÜRGEN LANGE, COURTESY C. KLOSE)

122 We sincerely thank Dr. Christian Klose for details.

Cat. 7

Another early cast ended up in **Tartu** (then often called Dorpat, Estonia), but it is not clear when exactly (**Fig. 24**). The cast (KMM S 99) was acquired by Ludwig Schwabe (1835-1908)[123] who became director of the Museum in Tartu in 1863 and remained till 1872. The cast must therefore have been acquired from Berlin between 1864 and 1871 but the exact year of acquisition is not clear (Schwabe 1915: 36). It is still exhibited in the University of Tartu Museum (Anderson 2015: 139, n. 341, 248). Its overland arrival in Tartu from Berlin – a distance of more than 1.400 km – did not happen without problems as the ice of Lake Peipus broke beneath the sleigh on which the cast was transported during winter. It required great efforts to be saved and yellow stains remained[124].



FIG. 24 THE TARTU MUSEUM LION GATE[125] (COURTESY J. ANDERSON)

Cat. 8

The *Akademisches Kunstmuseum* in **Bonn** was the initiative in 1819 of Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker and later directed by Professor Reinhard Kekulé (1870-1889) who was able to obtain the old anatomy building to house the collection. Reinhard Kekulé von Stardonitz is called the founder of modern iconology (see *Archäologenbildnisse 1988*: 73-74). He travelled to Greece in 1867 and visited Mycenae (Schrader 1913: 13) and afterwards published studies on the *Theseion*, the temple of Athena Niké, and Greek sculpture. It was he who acquired a cast of the Lion Gate (inv. 474) in 1868. It is the first work to be discussed in Kekulé's (1872: 1-2) presentation of the Museum in 1872 but was not illustrated. In more recent years, it was properly exhibited but is now in storage during the refurbishment of the museum (**Fig. 25**). Kekulé went on to become director of the *Antiquarium* of the Berlin Museum in 1889.

123 Schwabe would only much later, in 1883, travel in Greece when he was already professor in Tübingen. In Tübingen, he was also instrumental in creating an important cast collection, which, it appears, did not comprise a Lion Gate relief cast. The adventurous arrival of the cast in Tartu may perhaps have frightened him off (Krmnicek 2017).

124 Lake Peipus, however, is east of Tartu and not located on the road to Berlin so we fail to understand why this road was taken. If the cast was shipped from Berlin to Tallin first, this would also not have passed by the lake, however.

125 We thank Dr. Jaanika Anderson for the information and the photograph.



FIG. 25 THE BONN LION GATE (*AKADEMISCHES KUNSTMUSEUM* BONN, PHOTO: JUTTA SCHUBERT; COURTESY K. KRESSIRER)

Cat. 9

The year after, the *Akademie der Bildenden Künste* in **Vienna** (Austria) only acquired the two lions and this on July 6th 1869[126]. This was probably Carl von Lützow's doing, who came to Vienna in 1863 and became librarian at the Academy in 1866. At the time, Alexander Conze had become professor of Classical archaeology at Vienna University and also here, as at Halle, he was instrumental in developing the cast collection (Schörner 2016: 169), in part acquired from Martinelli. Although von Lützow travelled to Italy, there is no proof of him going to Greece and the Academy never seem to have attempted to obtain the rest of the relief. The lions were probably first exposed in the *St-Anna-Gebäude* but after 1877 they were placed in the Academy where they were exhibited in the First Hall (Lützow 1880, cat. nr. 180) (**Fig. 26**).

126 We thank Andrea Domanig for this information.



FIG. 26 FIG. 26 THE VIENNA LIONS (COURTESY PLASTER CAST COLLECTION, ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS VIENNA)

Cat. 10

The **Boston Museum of Fine Arts**[127] seems to be the first museum in the US to have acquired a Lion Gate cast in 1875 (inventory 75.16) from Berlin, even before the museum officially opened its doors to the public in 1876. Originally located in Copley Square, the Museum moved to a new location in 1906. The first curator and then director of the Museum was a retired major general, Charles Greely Loring Jr[128]. He had travelled extensively in the Mediterranean, including Greece, but no details are preserved. Apparently, a certain H. Mozel served as an intermediary in obtaining the cast, but we failed to find information on him. The cast was first on display in the Copley Museum (also called the Old Museum) (**Fig. 27a-b**) where it would have been standing in the first Greek Room, as described in the catalogue of 1887 by Edward Robinson (1887: 27, n° 24), Loring's successor. It is not clear whether it was moved to the new museum, constructed in 1909, but at some unknown date it was deaccessioned and its whereabouts are unknown. Edward Robinson (1858-1931) spent 15 months in Greece and three semesters in Berlin before becoming curator of Classical Antiquities of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (1895-1902), its director (1902-1905) and then assistant director (1906-1910) and director (1910-1931) of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. He has been called the "best classical archaeologist in an American Museum" (Dyson 1998: 133; 2006: 150).

127 We thank Dr. Daniel Cashman for the details of the cast. For American cast collections, see Dyson 2010, and for an early appraisal Dinsmoor 1943.

128 Grandfather of William Caleb Loring after whom Loring Hall of the American School in Athens is called.

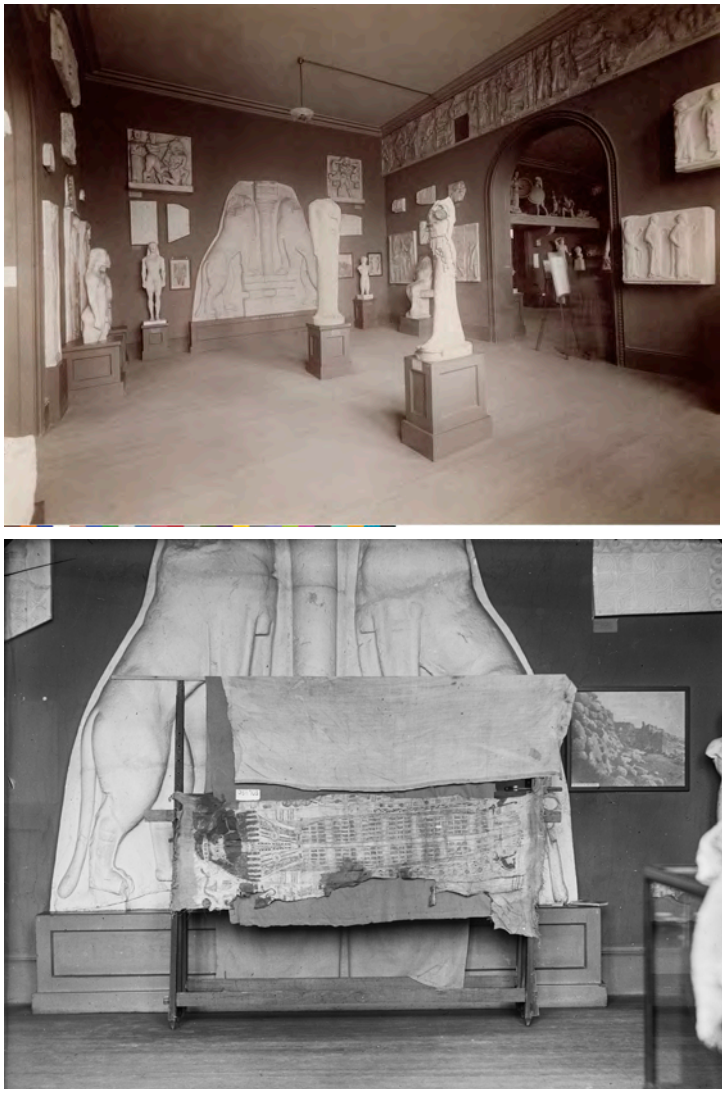


FIG. 27 A-B. BOSTON LION GATE IN THE OLD MUSEUM (BEFORE 1909) (COURTESY DANIEL CASHMAN)

Cat. 11

In 1874, the Italian minister Ruggero Bonghi (one time professor of Greek at Pavia) urged Edoardo Brizio to prioritise the purchase of Archaic Greek works such as "I Leoni di Micene, la stele d'Aristion" (Barbanera 1995: 5) and apparently these arrived in **Rome** already in 1875, bought from Martinelli. Brizio (1843-1907) had been a student of Giuseppe Fiorelli and, as an archaeologist, he had worked at Pompeii and in Rome. In 1874, he was in Greece and later he became professor in Bologna. It seems Brizio was advised by Wolfgang Helbig, who, as we will see, was also involved in the acquisition of the Copenhagen casts, to buy especialy these works. Brizio and Helbig later were at odds, however, regarding the origin of the Etruscans.

A catalogue entry of March 27, 1890, of the *Museo d'Istruzione* where the cast was originally kept, reads "15 statue pertinenti ai frontoni di Egina e il bassorilievo colossale dei leoni" (Barbanera 1995: n. 45). The Roman cast of the Lion Gate should hence date to 1874/1875 and must have been amongst the very first products sold by Martinelli. This may well be the cast that ended up in the Accademia di Belle Arti, in the via di Ripetta in Rome, where it is still kept[129].

129 Mentioned in an online newspaper of 2012: https://www.controluce.it/laccademia-di-roma-1/



Fig. 28 Cast of the Lion Gate in the Accademia di Belle Arti (photo courtesy Cecilia Casorati)

Cat. 12

Wroclaw (ex-Breslau) in Poland, then Germany, also had one of the earlier casts, probably acquired from Berlin. The Wroclaw collection was primarily the work of Johann Gustav Gottlieb Büsching (1783-1829), Eduard Schaubert (1804-1860) and August Rossbach (1823-1898) (Kubala 2019; 2021). Especially Schaubert, a student of Schinkel, had spent 20 years in Greece where he developed the urban plans for Athens and Piraeus in 1831 and was involved in the restoration of the Niké temple in 1836, directed by Ludwig Ross (Kubala 2015). Schaubert also excavated near Olympia with Anton Prokesch von Osten (Fountoulakis 2020: 67-137; Modl 2019: 69)[130]. He returned to Wroclaw in 1850, bringing antiquities with him. Rossbach himself was a Greek philologist and a musicologist but it is not known if he ever travelled to Greece, although it must have been him who acquired the cast of the Lion Gate relief. The cast is not mentioned in the 1861 catalogue (Rossbach 1861: 16) but does appear in that of 1877 during his directorship (Rossbach 1877; Kubala 2021: 135). The cast was destroyed with many others during the bombing of the city in Spring 1945[131] and no picture unfortunately survives.

Cat. 13

Leipzig[132] too acquired a cast. The Leipzig catalogues date to 1859 and 1881 and since it is mentioned only in the 1881 catalogue by Ebers & Overbeck (1881: 14, nr. 64; "Die mykenaeischen Löwen"), it must have been acquired between 1864 and 1880. The collection, including the gate, was destroyed in December 1943. No historical photograph seems to be preserved. Johannes Overbeck (1826-1895) did not like travelling but wrote a book on the history of Greek sculpture (1857) and on the archaeological collection of Leipzig (1859). Georg Ebers (1837-1898) was an Egyptologist who did travel to Egypt and published both scientific books and novels. His novel, *Homo Sum*, was about an Egyptian physician of the time of Akhenaten who travels to Greece and falls in love with a Greek woman called Theone.

130 He had also acquired a Corinthian helmet at Mycenae (Kubala 2019: 260).
131 We thank Dr. Agata Kubala for this information.
132 We thank Dr. Joern Lang for this information.

Cat. 14

The *Museum für Abgüsse Klassischer Bildwerke* in **Munich**, Germany, also acquired a cast in 1882. It came from Berlin and cost 450 marks. It was number 439 in the old inventory[133] and was placed in the *Vorhalle* and is the first to be described in the guide (*Kurze Beschreibung 1909*: 1: "Zwei Löwen zu den Seiten einer Säule. Kalksteinrelief über dem Burgtore von Mykenai"). The cast collection was founded at the University by Heinrich Brunn, professor of Greek archaeology, in 1869 and Brunn was its director til 1894 so he was most likely responsible for its acquisition. The collection was extended by the later directors Adolf Furtwängler, Paul Wolters and Ernst Buschor. The collection, including the Lion Gate cast, was heavily damaged in 1945 during World War II but has been reconstructed afterwards, without a Lion Gate cast, however. Many casts are on permanent loan from the Metropolitan Museum in New York. No historical photograph was found.

Cat. 15

The Greek Court installed in Crystal Palace at Sydenham near **London** (Great Britain) in 1854 did not include a Lion Gate[134] (Jones & Scharf 1854; Schreiter 2014) but by 1890 a Lion Gate cast existed at the Victoria and Albert Museum, as mentioned by Carl Schuchhardt (1891: 142): "There is a fine cast at the South Kensington Museum". The initial cast collection at the later called Victoria and Albert Museum was created by Henry Cole (1808-1882), its first director who, incidentally, also established a formal procedure for the exchange of casts in 1867 (Anderson 2014: 50). Many of the later Victoria and Albert casts were collected by Walter Copland Perry by 1884[135] and he may also have been responsible for acquiring the Lion Gate cast, which is n° 2 in his 1884 guide (Perry 1884: 1-2; see also Bilbey & Trusted 2010 for a detailed discussion). Perhaps the organisation of a Troy exhibition by Schliemann from November 1878 onwards in the museum had aroused the interest for all things Mycenaean (Baker 2019 for a detailed account). Perry (1814-1911) was a classicist, a historian and a novelist, who had spent time in Göttingen and Bonn. In 1877, he had given a paper 'On the formation of a Gallery of Casts from the Antique in London' after which a committee was formed to implement this in South Kensington. In the published pamphlet, Perry (1878) argued that, despite the fact that German students and universities were poor, they all had marvellous cast collections, which the British universities did not have, despite being frequented by the "jeunesse dorée of the land" (Perry 1878: 4). The pamphlet lists all the casts to be acquired but it does not include the Lion Gate relief. He also published a fully illustrated book on the history of Greek and Roman sculpture (1881), however, in which Mycenae received plenty of attention (Perry 1881: 20-27, figs 6-7). In the later 1896-1897 guide to the collection, the cast is said to be placed over the door of the Science Library (*Guide*: 18) which, according to the 1880-1900 ground plan would have been next to the antique casts gallery. In 1907, many pieces were transferred to the British Museum (Payne 2022) and the Lion Gate may have been amongst these. The relief cast was apparently kept in a temporary shed and is mentioned in the 1913 catalogue (Smith 1913: 9). The British Museum cast collection was closed in the 1920s and it is unclear what precisely happened to the Lion Gate cast. Through Professor Bernard Ashmole, 150 casts were transferred to University College London in 1934 but those that survived returned in 1997 (Payne 2022: 212). The Lion Gate was probably not amongst these and seem neither to be among the surviving casts of the British Museum[136]. Although the Museum had a special cast collection for sale, there is no indication that they had a mould (made) of their Lion Gate or sold any. No historical photograph was found.

Cat. 16

The *Gipsotheke* of the University of **Strasbourg** (then Germany, now France) acquired a cast from the *Berliner Gipsformere*i in July 1885 (inv. n° 866) thanks to its creator, Prof. Adolf Michaelis, who, we have seen, was closely involved in the early discussions of the relief at Berlin in 1864. Michaelis (1835-1910), a student of Ernst Curtius, Eduard Gerhard, and Johannes Overbeck at Leipzig, spent time in Greece in the 1850s, first accompanying Alexander Conze (*Archäologenbildnisse 1988*: 61-62). He later made several more trips to Greece (Steuben 2004).

133 Information kindly provided by Dr. Andrea Schmölder-Veit.
134 These were mainly acquired from the *Atelier de Moulage* in Paris and the *Berliner Gipsformerei* (Schreiter 2014: 37, 39).
135 We thank Dr. Thomas Kiely for information.
136 We thank Dr. Thomas Kiely for this information.

He was professor at Tübingen (1865-1872) and later at Strasbourg (Schäfer 2017). Initially, the cast was exhibited in the east corridor (n° 199) of the north wing of the University Palace, then called the *Assyrischer Gang*, above the door to the Greek hall[137]. Michaelis (1835-1910) mentions it in the 1887 guide (Michaelis 1887: 7) (n° 50, with reference to Friederichs & Wolters 1885) and again in that of 1897 (7: n° 45)[138]. The relief became damaged, however, and was disassembled with its pieces now stored beneath the stairway of the University Palace (**Fig. 29a-d**). Although the original cast was photographed by Adolf Michaelis (as n° 45), the photo is missing, and we have been unable to find a historical illustration. The museum now carries his name.



FIG. 29 A-D. FRAGMENTS OF THE LION GATE RELIEF IN STRASBOURG (©MUSÉE ADOLF MICHAELIS, COURTESY P. MURY & C. VOISIN)

Cat. 17

Built in 1754, the *Herzogliche Museum* (today the *Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum*) in **Braunschweig** is one of the earliest public museums in Germany. Already in 1883, the director of the *Fridericianum* museum in Kassel, Eduard Pinder, wrote to Herman Riegel, director of the *Herzogliche Museum*, that the plaster cast of the Lion Gate of Mycenae was available in Berlin as their catalogue n° 1298[139] but the museum only acquired a cast on the 22nd of

137 We thank Dr. Soline Morinière and Corentin Voisin for this information.

138 It is not included in a somewhat later presentation of the collection (Michaelis 1901), but this is not a full catalogue either.

139 "Das Löwenthor von Mykenae ist doch käuflich. Es steht unter No. 1298 des Berliner Catalogs der verkäuflichen Güsse. Warum ich es übersah[,] ist mir nicht erklärlich. Vielleicht nur weil es seinerzeit wegen des hohen Preises von 450 Mark und wegen seiner Grösse selbst nicht kaufte, und dadurch nach und nach in die falsche Vorstellung kam, es sei eines der nicht mehr Käuflichen" (handwritten note by Pinder to Riegel on June 11, 1883 (kindly provided by Dr. Hansjörg Pötzsch). Kassel itself never seems to have

October, 1888 from the *Berliner Gipsformerei*[140] (Riegel 1889: 11; Grein *et al*. 2019: 363, inv. n° 24). After having taught at Leipzig, Herman Riegel (1834-1900), linguist and art historian, became director of the *Braunschweig Museum* in 1871 and at the same time professor of history of architecture. He was largely responsible for adding new halls to the museum that opened in 1887. The *Braunschweiger Anzeiger* of June 18, 1889, describes a visit to the collection and mentions that a painting of the gate was exhibited next to the cast[141]. Apart from Riegel's 1889 description, the cast is also mentioned in Meyer (1902: 11). Braunschweig was heavily bombed in World War II, but it is not known whether this is the reason the cast was lost since the museum's buildings were apparently not much affected.

Cat. 18

At **Montpellier** (France), a *Musée des Moulages* was created between 1888 and 1890, first housed in the University's main building. It was mainly the work of Ferdinand Castets (1838-1911), professor of languages and literature at the University of Montpellier, and a politician. In the first catalogue of 1890 by Ferdinand Castets, a cast of the Lion Gate is mentioned, so it probably arrived in 1889. The relief is also referred to in the 1904 catalogue by André Joubin (1868-1944), a previous member of the French School at Athens (Joubin 1904: 5, cat. n. A77), who, it may be remembered, had been trying to acquire the site of Knossos for the French (Driessen 2001). The museum was moved to a new location in 1938 and then again in 1965 to the University campus (Plana-Mallart & Mallet 2011). Already in 1926, however, the cast was missing and its whereabouts remain unknown, and no historical photograph was found[142].

Cat. 19

When exactly the **Elbridge G. Hall Collection** in the Art Institute of **Chicago** acquired a Lion Gate relief is not entirely clear but the 1891 catalogue (*Art Institute of Chicago 1891*: 18-19) already mentions it as n° 40, which implies that it must have arrived before that date. It also indicates that "a fuller and more authoritative catalogue was in the course of preparation" by its curator Alfred Emerson (1859-1943), hence it is very likely that Emerson was already fully involved in the acquisition of casts at this early stage (*ib*. p. 8). The museum moved in 1893 to its permanent home on Michigan Avenue where the original relief is again discussed in great detail by Alfred Emerson, later assistant director of the Art Institute (Emerson 1906: 59-70). The cast itself is not illustrated but he provides a fine photo of the original as well as a sketch of the post-Schliemannian state of the gate and of a sealstone from Mycenae showing heraldic ibexes. Emerson discusses the sculptural details of the relief: "Even our plastercast, taken from a dullish mould as it is, reveals many drill-marks outlining the curvilinear forms of the carving" (Emerson 1906: 63)[143]. He also contemplates the possibility that it was originally painted[144] and that it served as the heraldic emblem of Mycenae's royal houses. Alfred Emerson had spent time in Greece, including at the excavations of Corinth, and was professor at the American School of Classical Studies, between 1898-1900 (Dyson 1998: 32). He had visited Mycenae in the company of Wilhem Dörpfeld in 1887 (Emerson 1889: 26) and it may be this visit, which convinced him to acquire the cast for Chicago. He also was Associate Professor of Classical Archaeology at Cornell University (1891-1898) and adviser of the Museum of Anthropology (the later Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology) in Berkeley before settling again in Chicago in 1905.

The Emerson archive in Berkely contains a letter of June 11, 1905, from Emerson to A.L. Kroeber, later professor of Anthropology at Berkeley, where he discusses his upcoming move to Chicago and expresses the wish to construct a model of the Lion Gate 'with local Belgian *formatore'* (*Alfred Emerson Collection 2017*: 27). When at Berkeley, Alfred Emerson seems to have bought several antiquities from the Léon de Somzée collection and the antiques market in Brussels, which were shipped in 1901 from Antwerp to San Francisco, hence he seems to have

acquired a cast of the Lion Gate (information kindly provided by Prof. Rüdiger Splitter).

140 Information kindly provided by Dr. Andrea Schmölder-Veit with more details kindly provided by Dr. Hansjörg Pötzsch.

141 Information kindly provided by Dr. Hansjörg Pötzsch.

142 We thank Prof. Rosa Plana-Mallart for this information and especially Dr. Soline Morinière.

143 Emerson (1906: 65) also remarks: "The Marquis of Sligo made the surprising discovery, on his Irish estate, last year (1905), of a complete and elaborately carved stone shaft of this form [meaning the column of the Lion Gate], which once adorned the famous Treasury of Atreus at Mykenai".

144 Already suggested by Friederichs 1868: 2: "Gewiss war das ganze Relief nach dem Brauch der ältesten Kunst bemalt".

had contacts in Brussels, and between 1902 and 1906, several more shipments arrived from Antwerp and these often included plaster casts. Many of the latter came from the Louvre workshop, Dresden and Munich, but he also mentions a letter from Henri Rousseau, curator of the Brussels cast collection (March 14, 1904). Could this imply that the original cast was acquired from the Brussels Museum? This is not impossible but cannot be corroborated. Chicago also had a workshop from which copies could be acquired and the 1907 sales catalogue has the Lion Gate as number 68 in the collection when it could be acquired for $158. It was mentioned but no longer on display in 1920 (*Art Institute 1920*: 27). The catalogue notes (handwritten) 'Destroyed November, 1953'. We were unable to trace a photograph of the exhibited cast, unfortunately.

Cat. 20

The Lion Gate cast of the **Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York** must have been acquired around 1891, only a few years after the creation of the collection in 1883 (Adam 2014). The relief is mentioned in the 1891 inventory (*Tentative List* 1891: 9, with the Berlin price of 450 mark and the Berlin n° 1298), clearly stating that the cast was already owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It is n° 341 in the 1910 catalogue of casts (Robinson 1910: 32). Edward Robinson, then curator of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (see above), who had also formed the collection in the Slater Memorial Museum at Norwich, had also been responsible for the 1891 inventory. The cast is shown in a photograph of the Bronze Age gallery in 1933 (**Fig. 30**). It used to be displayed afterwards in the Prehistoric gallery[145] but it is no longer and there is no information as to when it left the collection. After WW II, some of the New York casts went to the universities of Freiburg and München but the Lion Gate was not amongst these[146]. Others were auctioned off and the final sale of 177 casts took place in 2006 at Sotheby's but the Lion Gate seems not to have been included (Schloetzer 2007: n. 5; Nichols 2006).



Fig. 30 The Metropolitan Lion Gate (after Mertens & Conte 2019: fig. 4)

145 We thank Dr. Alexis Belis for this information.

146 We thank Dr. Ellen Rehm for this information. Dr. N. Blackwell also informed us that the MET had financial difficulties in the 1930s and he was wondering whether the copy was sold then.

Cat. 21

The Greek Government participated in the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 (see above) and their pavilion included a Lion Gate (*Columbian Exposition* 1893, n° 1) (**Fig. 31a-b**). Afterwards, the collection (112 pieces) was acquired by **Beloit College in Wisconsin** in 1894 (**Fig. 31c**), funded by Lucius Fisher Jr., through the intervention of Professor Joseph Emerson and with the help of the Greek consul in Chicago and the director of the Chicago Art Institute. The photograph shows the workers busy setting up the cast. Joseph Emerson was a theologian who became professor of Ancient Languages in Beloit College (where he was known as 'Zeus' by his students). J. Emerson had travelled to Greece in 1870/1871 and 1888/1891 and may very well have seen the real Lion Gate. The photograph of the Columbian exhibition shows the Gate in the lefthand corner and there is a separate picture of the Lion Gate, probably when it was at Beloit (*Proceedings* 1894). The cast itself was produced by the National Museum in Athens, under the supervision of Panagiotis Kaloudis, head of the Cast Collection of the museum[147]. The cast, together with others, was destroyed during a flooding of the town in the 1970s[148].



FIG. 31 A-C. THE BELOIT LION GATE. THE LEFT SIDE PICTURES ARE FROM A DIGITISED BOOK; THE RIGHTHAND PHOTO IS FROM THE HERBERT GAYTES COLLECTION, BELOIT COLLEGE (USED BY PERMISSION)

Cat. 22

The same year, 1894, Percy Gardner acquired a cast for the **Ashmolean Museum** in Oxford (United Kingdom) from the *Berliner Gipsformerei* (n° 1298)[149] (CG.A001A; inv. 779220). Percy Gardner (1846-1937) was first assistant curator at the British Museum before becoming Disney Professor of Archaeology at Cambridge (1879-1887) and then Lincoln Professor of Classical Archaeology and Art at Oxford (1887-1925). Gardner had been to Mycenae several times, first with the archaeologist and discoverer of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, Sir Charles Newton[150] in 1877 (Gardner 1933: 31-34), to evaluate the importance of Schliemann's discoveries, and, from an

147 We owe this information to Dr. Vasiliki Pliatsika.

148 We thank Dr. Joy Beckman, Director of the Wright Museum of Art of Beloit College, for this information.

149 We thank Dr. Andrew Shapland for the information. See the online catalogue https://www.carc.ox.ac.uk/CGPrograms/Cast/ASP/Cast.asp?CastNo=A001a

150 Newton himself had already visited Mycenae in 1852 and was by this time a respected scholar who saw the resemblance between the vases found at Mycenae and those by Biliotti on Rhodes (Fitton 1995).

early moment on, had become involved in the discussions on the date of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae (Gardner 1880) and Homeric palaces (Gardner 1882). He called himself "one of the prophets of Schliemann" (Gardner 1933: 59; Holt 2003: 47). In Oxford, the Lion Gate cast was placed in the first Archaic room, amid Egyptian casts where also other casts from Mycenae and Knossos were displayed (Gardner 1914: 7)[151] (**Fig. 32**). It was not illustrated, however. When the museum was reorganised in 1961, it was not taken to the new Cast Gallery but placed nearby, on the wall of the lift loading bay and can now only be seen on request (also Smith & Frederiksen 2013).

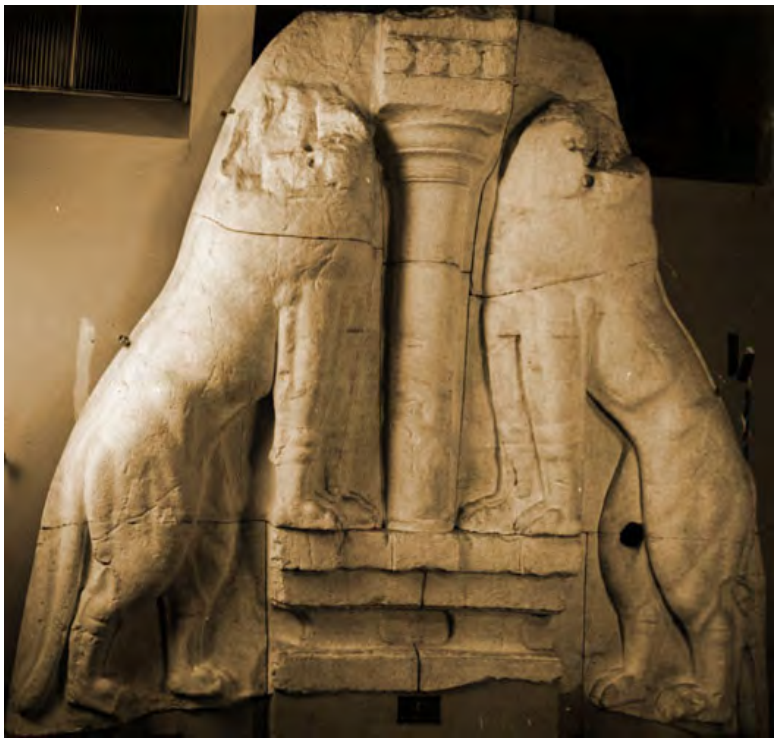


FIG. 32 THE ASHMOLEAN LION GATE (COURTESY ASHMOLEAN PICTURE LIBRARY)

Cat. 23

The Royal Cast Collection in **Copenhagen** (Denmark), now part of the *Statens Museum for Kunst*, started off as the private collection of Carl (hence Carlsberg, the brewery) Jacobsen (1842-1914), a collector and patron of the arts – he financed the Litte Mermaid by Edvard Eriksen in Copenhagen (Moltesen 2019). A first collection opened to the public in 1882 and, from 1887 onwards, Carl Jacobsen was helped by the archaeologist Wolfgang Helbig, a German classical scholar who had travelled extensively and had been secretary of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome until 1887. Helbig became something like a free-lance expert and art dealer who spent much time in Rome. Helbig had published a book *Das homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert* in 1884, in which he developed early Greek art, making ample references to Schliemann's discoveries, and he had certainly travelled in Greece at least once. But Carl Jacobsen himself had also been to Mycenae on his first visit to Greece in 1887, in a tour he had arranged with a group of Danish scholars (Glamann 1996: 33). He was also invited to dinner by Schliemann and his wife (Mett Moltesen, pers. com.)[152]. Jacobsen again visited Greece in 1895 and 1905[153]. A cast

151 We thank Dr. Milena Melfi for this additional information. The cast is also mentioned in J. Beazley's inventory in the archives. Gardner 1914: 7 calls it "11. Oldest of sculptures found on Greek soil is the celebrated lion-gate from Mycenae. This is a work of the prehistoric rulers of Mycenae, and has no likeness to works of true Greek art".

152 M. Moltesen (pers. com.) also informed us that Schliemann thanked Jacobsen for the beer he had sent him and for using the swastika as his trademark (see also Glamann 1996: 27-41 and Christiansen 2000: 62). Danish scholars such as P.O. Brøndsted and G. Koës had been active in Greece early in the 19th c. while in the 1840s J.C. Ussing toured Greece. Jacobsen also hunted for antiquities in Athens.

153 M. Moltesen (pers. com.).

of the Lion Gate was acquired in 1897 (cat. nr. KAS151)[154], the same year the *Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek* opened in the centre of Copenhagen. In 1966, the plaster casts were stored in a barn and only in 1984 taken to their present location, the West India Warehouse (*Vestindisk Pakhus*), where the Lion Gate cast is on display (**Fig. 33**).



FIG. 33 COPENHAGEN LION GATE (COURTESY BRIAN MCMORROW)

Cat. 24

The cast collection at **Cornell** University (USA) was primarily the work of Andrew D. White (1832-1918), a politician and historian who cofounded Cornell University and was its first president in 1865 (Hume 2022). White had studied and travelled in Europe before becoming professor of history at the University of Michigan till 1863. He made more trips after 1885, and was in Greece at least once, with Willard Fiske, Cornell's University librarian, in 1889, although the photograph collection of Cornell University also includes photographs of Athenian monuments taken in 1895.

White collected many casts for the new university, and these were placed in the McGraw Hall in 1871 and remained there till the completion of Goldwin Smith Hall in 1906. In his guide to the collection, Alfred Emerson, who, we have seen, was also involved in the plaster collections of Chicago mentions that "The huge bulk of the plastercast copy of the slab of the Gate of Lions has prevented its assignment to a suitable place in the Cornell University Museum of Classical Archaeology" (Emerson 1900: 7). This seems to suggest they did have a copy but could not exhibit it in the McGraw building. The Goldwin Smith Hall had much larger spaces but there is no evidence that the Lion Gate was ever exhibited. Two casts of architectural sculpture from the Treasury of Atreus are preserved, however. The plaster cast collection was largely dismantled in more recent years and thus far no trace of the Lion Gate cast has been retrieved.[155]

154 Information provided by Dr. Henrik Holm.
155 We thank Dr. Annetta Alexandridis for confirming this and Mrs Hannah Hume for additional details.

Cat. 25

Nancy (France). The collection was essentially formed by Paul Perdrizet after 1901, with the museum opening in 1904 (Provost 2014; Gallo & Provost 2018 for details). Perdrizet had been a student of Maxime Collignon (see below) and was a member of the French School in Athens between 1893 and 1897. He excavated especially in Delphi between 1892-1901 where he was much interested in the prehistoric levels, revealing several Mycenaean tombs and a Mycenaean road (Perdrizet 1908). He became professor at Nancy in 1899 but returned also to Greece in 1900. He later became professor at Strasbourg.

A cast of the Lion Gate relief, produced by the *Berliner Gipsformerei*, was acquired for 500 francs between 1904 and 1905 (inv. n° 1719) and is mentioned in documents of the *Institut d'archéologie classique*. It can just be seen on an early photograph (**Fig. 34a**) (Provost 2014: 359). The plaster museum of the university was largely destroyed in 1918 during WW I (Morinière 2022: 438, fig. 1) but the Lion Gate relief survived and was transferred to the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts de Nancy* (now called the *Ecole nationale supérieure d'art et de design*) where it was photographed by Prof. Samuel Provost (**Fig. 34a-c**). Since then, it was disassembled and stored in the reserves[156].

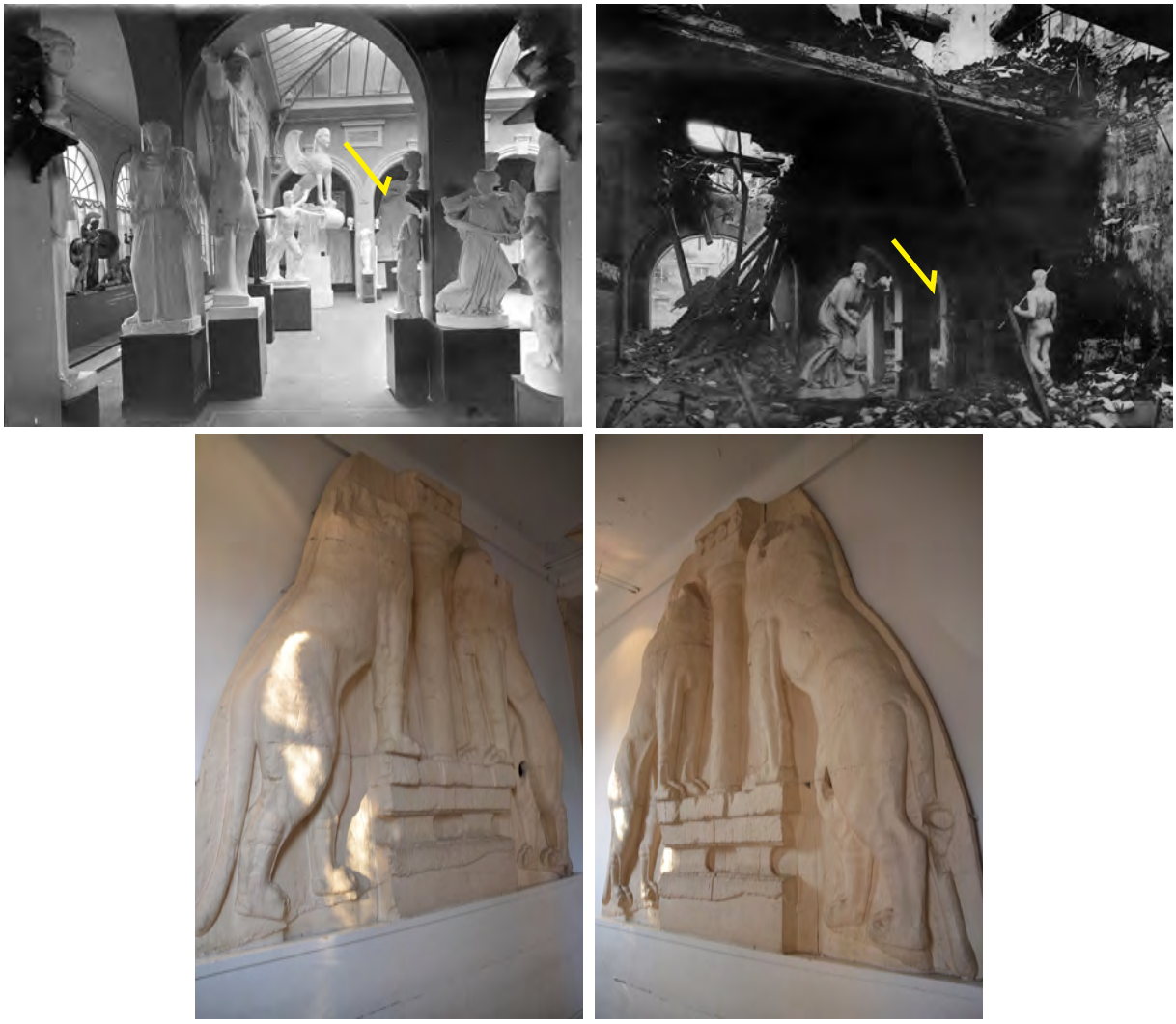


FIG. 34 A. PRE-WAR EXHIBITION OF PLASTER CASTS AT NANCY – THE LION GATE CAN BE IDENTIFIED AGAINST THE BACK WALL (ARCHIVES DE L'INSTITUT D'ARCHÉOLOGIE CLASSIQUE, UNIVERSITÉ DE LORRAINE [NANCY]). B. THE MUSEUM OF PLASTER CASTS AFTER THE BOMBING. THE LION GATE MIRACULOUSLY SURVIVED AGAINST THE BACK WALL (ARCHIVES DE L'INSTITUT D'ARCHÉOLOGIE CLASSIQUE, UNIVERSITÉ DE LORRAINE [NANCY]. C-D. TWO VIEWS (2013) OF THE NANCY LION GATE (COURTESY SAMUEL PROVOST)

156 We thank Dr. Soline Morinière, Professor Elisabetta Interdonato and especially Professor Samuel Provost for information.

Cat. 26

The collection at the **Carnegie Library in Pittsburgh** (USA) started to be assembled from 1895 onwards by Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919), an industrialist and philanthropist, partly after he had seen the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 (on which see above) and other collections such as the Slater in Norwich (Schloetzer 2007: 42-43; especially Lending 2018). The Caproni firm in Boston helped to set up the major collection in the Hall of Architecture and Hall of Sculpture and, for the selection of art, Carnegie was assisted by Henry Watson Kent (1866-1948), librarian and curator at the Slater in Norwich who also, with Robinson, helped in the creation of the cast collection at the Metropolitan. The Slater, however, never had a Lion Gate cast[157]. John W. Beatty (1851-1924), an artist and from 1896 director of the Department of Fine Arts at the Carnegie Institute, also helped. Beatty had studied in Munich and Paris and had been an advisor to the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, where, as we have seen, a cast of the relief of the Lion Gate was exhibited.

A Lion Gate cast (catalogue n° 18) was ordered by the Carnegie Library for $100 on May 2nd, 1905, from the *Formerei der Kgl. Museen*, Berlin. It arrived on June 1st, 1906[158] and was placed above the door to the library where it remains, somehow imitating the situation in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. The 1912 catalogue mentions its position "over the gateway, called 'Gate of the Lions'" (**Fig. 35a-c**). It is still there.

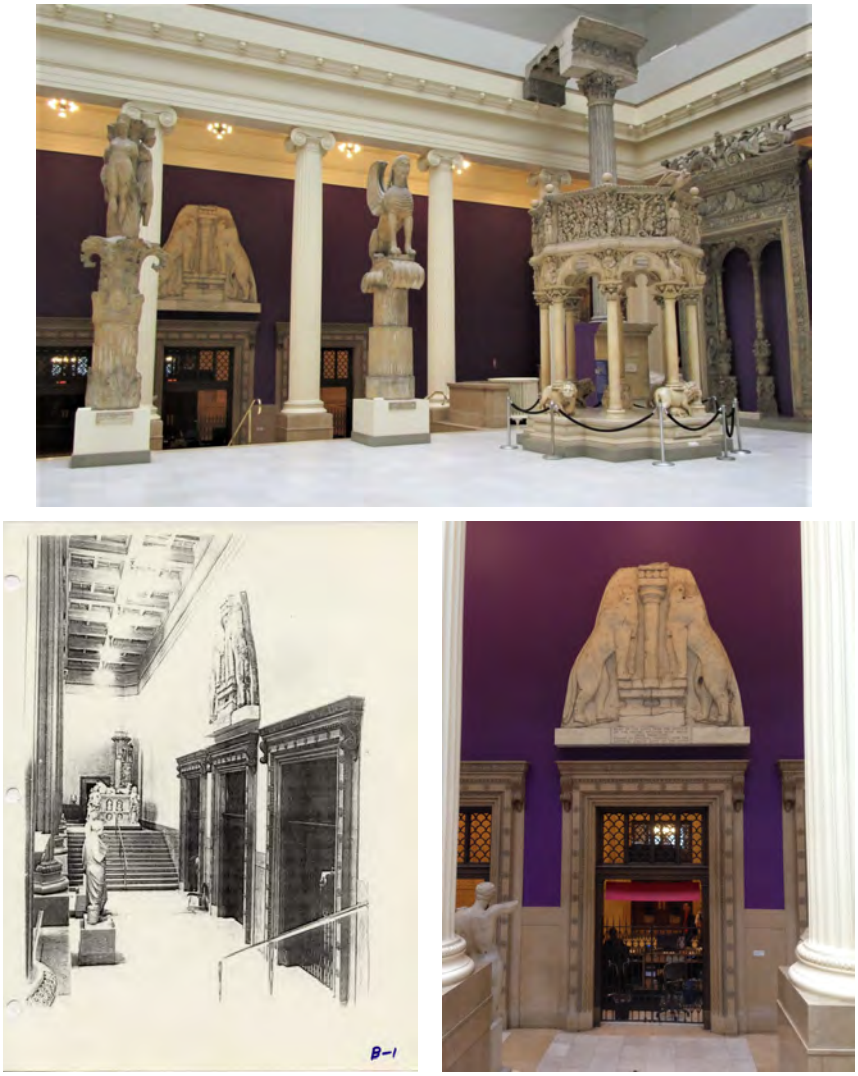


FIG. 35 A-C. THE PITTSBURGH CARNEGIE LION GATE (COURTESY M. SCHATTEN, Y. GALANAKIS)

157 See https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.fl4m8t&seq=9 for the 1889 guide to the Slater collection prepared by Robinson and Kent.

158 We thank Madeline Schatten for details.

Cat. 27

The Lion Gate of the **Budapest Museum of Fine Arts** (Hungary) was acquired from the *Berliner Gipsformerei* in 1905 for 400 marks[159] (**Fig. 36**). It is n° Ag 486 in the Budapest catalogue[160] and is now exhibited in the entrance hall of the Star Fortress at Komárom. It is first mentioned in the 1919 catalogue of the museum (Hekler 1923: n° 1). Who acquired it, is not clear. The cast collection was started after 1869 by Ferenc Pulszky, director of the Hungarian National Museum, who acquired several casts of the Vienna World Expo of 1873, made by Martinelli (Nagy 2005; Andó 2021). It was later continued by his son Károly Pulszky and then moved in 1904 to the Museum of Fine Arts by József Reichenberger (Andó 2021: 101). Anton or Antal Hekler (1882-1940), a well known Hungarian classical archaeologist and an expert of Greek and Roman portrait sculpture, was a student of Adolf Furtwängler in Munich in 1904-1905, before working at the Budapest Museum and becoming professor at the University. Perhaps he played a role in the purchase. In any case, he was instrumental afterwards in the purchase in 1908 of 136 authentic antiquities from the Paul Arndt collection in München.



FIG. 36 THE BUDAPEST LION GATE (©MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BUDAPEST; PHOTO: GÉLLERT ÁMERT)

Cat. 28

At the **University of Zurich** (Switzerland), a cast collection was started in 1854 and soon several hundreds of casts were acquired. In 1895, the collection moved to its present location. Hugo Blümner (1844-1919) had studied in Breslau, Berlin and Bonn and eventually became professor in Zurich in 1877 (Isler 1999). He published extensively on Pausanias, Greek art and daily life, as well as the first guide to the plaster collection when it was still in the Polytechnic building (1881). Blümner had travelled to Greece in 1886. It must have been Blümner then who would have been responsible for buying a Lion Gate cast in 1913, together with several other sculptures from the *Berliner Gipsformerei*, for 450 Marks – the bill exists in the *Gipsformerei*[161]. At Zurich, it is inventory n° G338. The cast, within a reconstructed gate, was on display in the *Westhalle* of the University of Zurich in 1914 (Blümner 1916) but was moved in 1956 to the basement floor of the Archaeological Institute (Rämisstrasse 73) where only the Lion relief itself is now exhibited[162] (Zindel 1998: 27, n. 338) (**Fig. 37a-b**).

159 We thank curator Boglárka Fábián for this information.
160 https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/relief-of-the-lion-gate/
161 See now https://archaeologische-sammlung-uzh.zetcom.net/de/collection/item/171/
162 We thank Samuele Cambianica for providing us details and photographs of the Zurich piece.



FIG. 37 A-B. THE ZURICH LION GATE (BEFORE 1956; COURTESY SAMUELE CAMBIANICA) AND NOW (@ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTION, UNIVERSITY OF ZURICH, INV. G338; PHOTO: FRANK TOMIO)

Cat. 29

The **Pushkin Museum** in Moscow. The Alexander III Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow goes back to the early 20th c. (1911/1912). It was the initiative of Ivan Tsvetaev (1847-1913), professor in Art History at Moscow University and an expert in ancient art who also became its first director (Burg 2010). Tsvetaev had intended the museum to focus on Classical arts only but gradually it expanded its scope. Already as a student Tsvetaev had started to collect casts in Rome and he had visited the German cast collections such as that in Dresden, which he admired a lot (Savoy & Skott 2014). Burg (2010) and Savoy & Skott (2014) discuss in detail the connections between Tsvetaev and Dresden's director Georg Treu. It was probably also Tsvetaev (and his immediate successors Vladimir Malmberg [1860-1921] and Nikolay Scherbako [1884-1933]) who was responsible for acquiring a large plaster cast collection of ancient monuments[163], including that of the Lion Gate. It was originally exhibited in the Archaic Hall (**Fig. 38a**) and, after the 1974 reorganization of the Museum, in the main hall, called the Greek courtyard. It is unfortunately somewhat hidden by one of the Bull capitals of the palace of Darius in Susa to the left of the Parthenon fronton (**Fig. 38b**)[164]. The 1912 guide by Tsvetaev (1912: 58, n° 4: Львиныя Ворота) already mentions its presence so it probably was acquired immediately before the opening of the museum. The cast was probably acquired from Berlin and delivered in 1910. A stamp is preserved, and the Prussian eagle can be recognised (**Fig. 38c**) of a type in use up to 1918[165]. The museum was renamed the Pushkin Museum in 1937. There is also a fine plaster collection at Russian State University for the Humanities, where it was rebaptised the Ivan Tsvetaev Educational Art Museum in 1997. This also has a large collection of casts, and it is not impossible that another cast exists but we were unable to acquire information.

163 The 1912 guide also mentions certain galvanoplastic copies of Knossos and Mycenae, and a cast of the Orchomenos tholos ceiling (n° 5),

164 We thank Nicolas Kress for drawing our attention to this cast and spotting it in a small corner of the main cast hall and Dr. Tatyana Ilyina, curator of the archaeological collection at the Pushkin Museum, for her kind information.

165 We thank Dr. Veronika Tocha for confirming this.



FIG. 38 A-C. THE LION GATE IN THE PUSHKIN MUSEUM, BEFORE 1974 AND NOW, AS WELL AS THE BERLIN *GIPSFORMEREI* STAMP (COURTESY TATYANA ILYINA)

Cat. 30

Il museo dei gessi at **La Sapienza** University in Rome (Italy)[166] has a fine cast of the Lion Gate but there is some discussion on when and how it was acquired. When Emanuele Löwy became professor at La Sapienza and director of its *Museo di Gessi*, he acquired 273 plasters from Napoleone Martinelli or, more likely, from his wife or daughter Maria in 1903 (Picozzi 2013: 81, n. 130). Löwy (1857-1938) was an Austrian classical archaeologist who was first professor of archaeology in Rome (1891-1915) before taking up the post in Vienna (*Archäologenbildnisse 1988*: 120-121; Picozzi 2013). He was an expert in Greek sculpture. Fritz Blakolmer (1998) has shown to what extent he included Minoan and Mycenaean art within his teachings. We do not know if the 1903 acquisition included a Lion Gate cast since, as, as mentioned, the Greek state sent many casts from Athens to the International Exhibition of Art in Rome in 1911, held in the Baths of Diocletian, and this also included a Lion Gate cast (*Esposizione 1911*: 112, n° 1 "Calco del Famoso bassorilieveo della porta dei leoni a Micene"). Panagis Kavvadias (1911) had made a guide to this exhibition, which includes a photograph of a cast of the Lion Gate (**Fig. 39a**). The difference between the actual cast in La Sapienza and that illustrated by Kavvadias is immediately clear since the cast in La Sapienza has a complete basis whereas the Kavvadias illustration shows the damaged base as on the real relief. It is likely that Kavvadias simply used a photograph of the Berlin cast, published earlier by Arthur Evans and Josef Durm since both the Kavvadias and the Durm casts have a small label glued on the base in identical position. Kavvadias no doubt sent a cast that was moulded after the Martinelli prototype.

166 https://web.uniroma1.it/polomuseale/sites/default/files/allegati/Storia%20Gipspteca.pdf

As to the exhibition of 1911, Strong (1911: 44) commented upon visiting it in the Baths of Diocletian: "It is good news, however, that these Greek casts are destined, when the exhibition closes, to supplement Professor Loewy's admirable Museo dei Gessi". At the same time, he complains: "It seems doubtful whether it was wise so to enlarge the original scope of the exhibition as to admit casts illustrative of the whole history of Greek art or reproductions of Cretan, Mycenaean (cat. p. 109) and other prehistoric objects (cat. p. 117) (Picozzi 2013: 86). The exhibition has thus lost unity" (Strong 1911: 44). Afterwards, 70 more casts arrived in 1913 in Löwy's museum, donated by the Greek State (Picozzi 2013: 86) and it is very likely that this included the Lion Gate cast. There are no photographs of it being exposed in the previous consecutive halls (*Testaccio-via Luca dell Robbia*; *Istituto di S. Michele*) before ending up in the fine *Museo dell'Arte Classica* of La Sapienza in 1935 where it still is exhibited (**Fig. 39b**; illustrated by Barbanera 1995: 77). Hence, Barbanera (1995: 76) is probably erroneous – the first 1875-Martinelli cast ended up in the *Accademia delle Belle Arti*, the second, that of 1911, in *La Sapienza*. Since the Athenian cast in the *Accademia* went back to the Martinelli mould, it must have been quasi identical to the one preserved in *La Sapienza* but the overpainting prevents more detailed analysis.



FIG. 39 A. THE ILLUSTRATION PUBLISHED BY KAVVADIAS (1911) FOR THE EXHIBITION IN THE BATHS OF DIOCLETIAN; B. THE LION GATE AT LA SAPIENZA (PHOTO J. DRIESSEN)

Moreover, Barbanera (1995: 76) mentions the presence of a mould ('matrici') of the gate in Rome: "Forme in gesso di monumenti greci che si conservano a Villa Giulia. Casse di gessi provenienti da Atene: forme, nn. 19607 Leoni di Micene". This mould would have arrived with the other Martinelli casts in 1903. This seems to imply that, when Panagis Kavvadias had sent artisans in 1896 to make a cast at the Martinelli workshop (see above), they left the original mould in Martinelli's workshop, which later ended up in Rome. Its present whereabouts are unknown nor is there evidence that other casts were made from this particular Roman mould.

For some other Lion Gate reliefs, we have thus far failed to find more specific dates of acquisition:

Cat. 31

The **Allard Pierson (Museum**) of the University of Amsterdam (Netherlands) has a fine copy but details about when it was acquired are not available. A collection of plasters was already started in Amsterdam, then ruled by king Louis Bonaparte, early in the 19th c., especially through the work of Carl Gerard Hultman and Johan Meerman, who received 218 casts from the Louvre in 1808, with others soon to follow (Godin 2009). These were kept in a learned society *Felix Meritis* and another collection existed in the municipal drawing academy of

Amsterdam. They were later transferred to Leyden but in 1889 several returned to the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Amsterdam. Whereas some casts remain, many were destroyed or ended up in minor collections, including the Allard Pierson. Several early inventories exist (Godin 2009) but none includes a cast of the Lion Gate.

Allard Pierson (1831-1896), first professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Amsterdam, also bought and collected casts between 1877 and 1895. His successor in 1896, Jan Six (1857-1926) had travelled in Greece in 1886/1887 and written an important study on the Olympia sculptures[167]. He had also bought antiquities which ended up in the museum. He is also known to have been instrumental in acquiring plaster casts which were first placed in his own house and later bequeathed to the Allard Pierson (van Hoorn 1927: 141). Six was also corresponding member of the German and Austrian archaeological institutes and was decorated in 1908 by the German emperor. In 1901, he gave a lecture on the Chronology of Mycenaean art, in which he also argued that a memory of the Santorini eruption remained in the legend of the island of the Phlegreans, destroyed by Poseidon. This was later published in French (Six 1903).

We have mentioned that the Berlin *Gipsformerei* sold a cast of the Lion Gate in 1916, during WW I. Since the Netherlands were not involved in the conflict, Six could potentially have acquired the relief then but this is unlikely, as we will see below, since the type of cast rather suggests a link with the Martinelli workshop and not with Berlin.

In The Hague, a plaster collection and production firm connected to the Royal Academy (*Koninklijke Academie van Beeldende Kunsten*) was started in 1918 by banker Constant Willem Lunsingh Scheurleer. It was housed in a neoclassicist building on the Prinsessegracht. Byvanck (1920) does not mention the Lion Gate in his first brief presentation of the The Hague collection, which eventually counted 10.000 sculptures. The collection of The Hague was destroyed partly, partly kept and partly moved to the Allard Pierson in the 1960s and it seems that "Half of the more than two-hundred pieces [in the Allard Pierson] originate from the former plaster Museum in The Hague" (Godin 2009: n. 793). The collection in Amsterdam was first in a building of the Sarphatistraat but moved to the Oude Turfmarkt in 1976[168]. Apparently, the cast of the Lion Gate was found in the attic of the Sarphatistraat where it was in parts and was only assembled later in the present museum, which makes it possible that it was already acquired before the 1960s. The cast (APM16287) was exhibited at the 2018 exhibition on Mycenae in Karlsruhe and in the accompanying catalogue it is said that it was made before World War I, but we did not find corroboration for this[169] (**Fig. 40a-b**).



Fig. 40 a. The Amsterdam Lion Gate in the 1980-90s (courtesy Allard Pierson, Universiteit van Amsterdam). b. The Lion Gate in the Allard Pierson, Amsterdam (courtesy Allard Pierson, Universiteit van Amsterdam)

167 For this, the sculptor Bart Van Hove had made him a reduced plaster model. Van Hove himself had a good collection of plasters in his Amsterdam workshop (Burgers 2005).
168 We thank René van Beek for this information.
169 *Mykene 2018*: 270, cat. 18 (a notice by Viktoria Färber, who we have failed to reach).

Cat. 32

Whereas a collection of Medieval, Renaissance and Neogothic religious casts already existed at **Leuven University** (Belgium) around 1864 (Danckers & Van Den Driessche 2022: 12), a Museum of Classical Archaeology developed thanks to Fernand Mayence, who became professor of Archaeology in 1907 and had been member of the French School in Athens (1904-1905) for which he had excavated at Delos. He mainly acquired casts of Classical sculpture, some from the Brussels cast production unit at the *Cinquantenaire* and some from elsewhere but a detailed list is not preserved so it is unknown whether a cast of the Lion Gate already existed before WW I in Leuven. The city and university buildings suffered heavily in August 1914 during World War I (Grüssinger 2014: n. 42) and the German occupier apparently threw some casts out of the window. Some also survived but it is not clear which ones (Danckers & Van Den Driessche 2022: 25). Soon after the war, Mayence developed plans to make a real cast museum and, in 1920 already, thanks to his good relations, the Greek government decided to help Leuven University by liberating 30.000 drachmes to have plaster casts made in the National Archaeological Museum workshop. A total of 228 casts, including 61 copies of Knossos objects made by Gilliéron, arrived in Leuven in 1921 thanks to the intervention of Ioannis Svoronos, the famous numismatist. A detailed list has not yet been found unfortunately. Moreover, the reparation plans in the Treaty of Versailles also included the sending of plaster casts by German institutions and for this, Mayence discussed which casts to send from Berlin and elsewhere with his German colleagues Gerhard Bersu, Ferdinand Noack and Theodor Wiegand. Eventually almost 500 casts arrived from Germany in several batches between 1921 and 1927 (Grüssinger 2014: 188). While the inventory of the 1924 delivery is missing, the lists of the second and third deliveries do not include the Lion Gate cast[170]. Moreover, a batch of 60 casts was bought from the Brussels Museum (see above) (Van Den Driessche 2016; Danckers & Van Den Driessche 2022). This list is preserved but it does not include the Lion Gate; other, as yet unknown, casts were acquired later from Brussels. This means that we are still ignorant as to how the Lion Gate cast arrived in Leuven.

In any case, the collection in the main University building was officially inaugurated in 1930 and the gate received a place of honour on the back wall of the ground floor (**Fig. 41a**). Despite WW II damage and allied bombing which destroyed part of the collection, the Lion Gate survived (**Fig. 41b**) and stayed in the main building, perhaps even after 1960 when the smaller casts were transferred to the Archaeology Institute in the Vlamingenstraat. In 1979, the entire collection was divided into two parts, between the KULeuven and the UCLouvain, with the Lion Gate ending up in the basement of the new Faculty of Arts in Leuven, facing the entrance of the collection (**Fig. 41c**).

170 We thank Dr. R. Grüssinger for this information.



FIG. 41 A. THE LEUVEN LION GATE AS EXHIBITED BEFORE WORLD WAR II (UCLOUVAIN, COURTESY BERNARD VAN DEN DRIESSCHE). B. THE LEUVEN LION GATE AT THE TIME OF THE 1944 BOMBING OF THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM (©UNIVERSITEITSARCHIEF KU LEUVEN. ARCHIEF RECTOR VAN WAEYENBERGH, 2908. PHOTO BY RECTOR VAN WAEYENBERGH). C. LION GATE IN THE BASEMENT OF THE FACULTY OF ARTS, KULEUVEN (J. DRIESSEN)

Cat. 33

A Lion Gate cast is also in the collection of the **National Kapodistrian University of Athens (NKUA)** (Greece). No details of its procurement are preserved apart that it was acquired from the Acropolis Ephoreia in 1988 through Prof. Vasilis Lambrinoudakis[171]. It can be assumed that it was produced by the plaster workshop of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, but details could not be found (**Fig. 42a-b**). Can it be assumed that this is the cast originally displayed in the second Mycenaean Hall as discussed above (Frangoulopoulou 2018: 144)? If so, it should date to the late 19th century.

171 We also thank Prof. O. Palagia for additional information.





Fig. 42 a-b. The NKUA Lion Gate undergoing restauration (courtesy T. Kalantzopoulou) and restored (courtesy M. Roggenbrucke)

Technical Aspects

This research is unfinished, and we are left with some frustrating questions: did Brussels really acquire the very first cast of the Lion Gate and if so, who had it made? Andreoli or Malpieri? If so, how did this arrive in Brussels? And did Brussels produce other casts or is the 'Mykene' copy the one which was exhibited in the Bordiau Hall before 1900? When and from where were the Allard Pierson and Leuven University pieces acquired? When did Martinelli produce a mould and was there a connection with Schliemann? How many copies did the *Berliner Gipsformerei* sell? What happened to some of the American casts? Is the cast of the NKUA an early product of the National Museum plaster workshop and was this the one exhibited in the Mycenaean Hall early in the 20th century? Did Cornell really have a cast? Was there another cast in Moscow besides the one in the Pushkin Museum? How many moulds survive? These and other questions can, for the moment, not be answered.

Of the 33 Lion Gate casts, at least 22 were definitely produced by the *Berliner Gipsformerei* and these should all, in one way or another, go back to Johann Strack's 1862 mould. At least four – that of Beloit College, the one of La Sapienza, that of the Accademia di Belle Arti and that of the NKUA, should go back to the Martinelli mould, perhaps recasted and following different trajectories. The fact that the cast was on sale in at least four catalogues – Athens, Berlin, Brussels, and Chicago – where moulds existed and that a mould also existed in Rome, clearly shows that there was a potentially interested clientele, which may very well imply that more casts were produced than those that we have been able to trace thus far.

Of the at least 33 casts identified with some certainty[172] (**Tables 1 & 2**), 11 are no longer preserved, either because they were destroyed by war or natural catastrophe, or because they were decommissioned within the larger tendency of getting rid of casts (see Alexandridis & Winkler-Horacek 2022). Of the 22 remaining casts, 15 are still properly exhibited while the others were mostly disassembled and stored in the reserves of their respective institutions.

From a partial *Berliner Gipsformerei* inventory, we know that five casts were sold in the beginning of the 20th c. and the dates – April 4th 1905, May 11th 1906, October 1st 1910, April 9th 1913, and September 7th 1916 – can be seen to correspond to the purchases of respectively Nancy for 1905, Pittsburgh and/or Budapest for 1906[173] and Zurich for 1913. The Pushkin Museum cast may have been the one acquired in 1910. Only the 1916 sale of a cast remains unresolved. Moreover, this happened during World War I, hence the possibilities seem limited. The origin of the Amsterdam, Leuven University, London, Montpellier, and Cornell casts remain unknown and, in the case of the latter three, we have no photographs to help. For the Amsterdam and Leuven University pieces, there may, however, be some indication provided by the physical aspects of the casts, suggesting they did not come from Berlin.

The Lion Gate relief is too large to be moulded in a single piece, hence, its constituting parts were moulded and casted separately with piece-moulds, using gypsum, otherwise known as plaster of Paris because of extensive sources near the city (see Risdonne *et al*. 2022). In several cases, the now preserved casts were entirely overpainted to imitate the original colour of the relief. In this case, the fissures showing the lines of the composing piece-moulds can usually no longer be identified. If this repainting did not happen, however, the lines of the moulds used to cast the separate pieces of the relief remain visible. Some caution is necessary, however, and since a closer examination of the casts is not always possible, it cannot be excluded that the fissures indicate cuttings done at a later moment since several casts were cut or disassembled again during their moving from one place of exhibition to another. We have seen that this happened frequently, for example, at Nancy, Leuven, Jena, London and elsewhere.

As visible in **Figure 43a** for the Basel piece, the composite parts were provided with mortises that allowed reassembly by clicking the pieces together. As shown in **Table 2** and **Figure 44**, two different moulds can relatively easy be identified. The most common cast seems to be composed of nine separate pieces, forming three successive courses of three blocks each. This is also obvious from a photograph taken during the installation of the Budapest cast in which the composing pieces can clearly be seen (**Fig. 43b**).

172 As mentioned, the possibility remains that there were two casts in Moscow.
173 Both were purchased from Berlin but the *Berliner Gipsformerei* only has the sale of a single cast in 1906.

The nine-piece mould can be identified in the original and the Berlin 2012 casts but also in those of Tartu, Pittsburgh, Dresden, Halle, New York, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Leipzig, Nancy, Copenhagen, the Pushkin Museum, Strasbourg, Budapest and Oxford[174]. The Vienna lions also seem to have been made using four of the nine moulds. A six-piece cast, however, seems identifiable in the copies of Leuven University, NKUA-Athens University, Amsterdam, and La Sapienza. It cannot, of course, not be excluded that, when a new mould was made at Berlin, the composing pieces were different but there is another detail that allows the recognition of at least two moulds.

Cat. n°	Place	Date of acquisition	from	Price	Berlin sale
1	Brussels/Leuven	1845/1849?	Athens, Andreoli?		
2	Berlin	1862/1864	Berlin		
3	Halle	1864	Berlin		
4	Basel	1864	Berlin		
5	Jena	1865	Berlin		
6	Dresden	>1871	Berlin		
7	Tartu	>1871	Berlin		
8	Bonn	1868	Berlin		
9	Vienna	1869	Berlin		
10	Boston	1875	Berlin		
11	Rome Accademia	1875	Athens, Martinelli		
12	Breslau/Wroclaw	>1877	Berlin		
13	Leipzig	>1881	Berlin		
14	Munich	>1882	Berlin	450 m	
15	London	>1884	?		
16	Strasbourg	1885	Berlin		
17	Braunschweig	1888	Berlin		
18	Montpellier	1889	?		
19	Chicago	>1891	? Brussels		
20	New York	>1891	Berlin	450 m	
21	Wisconsin	1893	Athens Martinelli/NAM		
22	Oxford	1894	Berlin		
23	Copenhagen	1897	Berlin		
24	Cornell	>1900	?		
25	Nancy	>1905	Berlin	500 fr	1905
26	Pittsburgh	>1906	Berlin	100 $	1906
27	Budapest	1906	Berlin	400 m	1906
28	Zurich	1913	Berlin	450 m	1913
29	Moscow	>1910	Berlin		
30	Rome Sapienza	>1911	Athens Martinelli/NAM		
31	Amsterdam	>1920	See below		
32	Leuven Univ.	>1927	See below		
33	Athens	>1988	Athens Martinelli/NAM		

TABLE 1 SUMMARY OF ACQUISITION DATES AND PRICES OF LION GATE CASTS (> MEANS AT LEAST SINCE)

174 We owe this observation to the keen eye of Nicolas Kress.

Cat. n°	Place	Date of acquisition	Width (cm)	Height (cm)	N° pieces
1	Brussels/Leuven	1845/1849?	332	313	?
2	Berlin	1862/1864	337	316	9
	Berlin	1871	332	313	9
	Berlin	2012	350	?	9
3	Halle	1864	330 (est.)	320 (est.)	9
4	Basel	1864	314	307	9
5	Jena	1865	N/A		9
6	Dresden	>1871	334	315	9
7	Tartu	>1871	325	309	9
8	Bonn	1868	341	311,5	9
9	Vienna	1869	incomplete		
10	Boston	1875			9
11	Rome Accademia	1875	N/A		6?
12	Breslau/Wroclaw	>1877			
13	Leipzig	>1881			9
14	Munich	>1882			9?
15	London	>1884			
16	Strasbourg	1885	N/A		9
17	Braunschweig	1888			9?
18	Montpellier	1889			
19	Chicago	>1891			
20	New York	>1891			9
21	Wisconsin	1893			6
22	Oxford	1894	336	306 (est.)	9
23	Copenhagen	1897	336	306	9
24	Cornell	>1900			
25	Nancy	>1905	N/A		9
26	Pittsburgh	>1906	N/A		9
27	Budapest	1906	338	316	9
28	Zurich	1913	332	313	9
29	Pushkin	>1912	N/A		
30	Rome Sapienza	>1911	353	?	6
31	Amsterdam	>1920	310	295	6
32	Leuven	>1927	353	308	6
33	Athens NKUA	>1988	332	307	6

TABLE 2 MEASUREMENTS OF LION GATE CASTS; IN GREY, NOW DISSEMBLED CASTS, IN RED NO LONGER PRESERVED CASTS; THE NUMBER OF COMPOSITE PIECES THAT CAN BE IDENTIFIED IS INDICATED IN THE LAST COLUMN

Note on Cat. n°1: Information kindly provided by J. Hermans. The relief was slightly cut at the top to fit within the room; Cat. n°2 (2012): Information kindly provided by Thomas Baetjer; Cat. n°4: Information kindly provided by Thomas Lochman, calculated from the now disassembled parts. The assembled whole may have been slightly bigger; Cat. n°6: Information kindly provided by Christian Klose and S. Kansteiner; Cat. n°7: Information kindly provided by Jaanika Anderson; Cat. n°8: Information kindly provided by K. Kressirer; 22: Information kindly provided by Milena Melfi (Frederiksen & Smith 2011:11); Cat. n°23: Information kindly provided by H. Holm; Cat. n°27: Information kindly provided by Boglárka Fábián; Cat. n°28: Information kindly provided by Samuele Cambianica (https://archaeologische-sammlung-uzh.zetcom.net/de/collection/item/171/); Cat. n°30: Information kindly provided by Alessandro Greco; Cat. n°31: Information kindly provided by René van Beek; Cat. n°33: Information kindly provided by Michel Roggenbucke.



Fig. 43 a. Column of the Lion Gate relief, Basel cast (courtesy Thomas Lochman). b. Setting up of the Lion Gate cast in Budapest (©Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest; photo: Géllert Ámert)

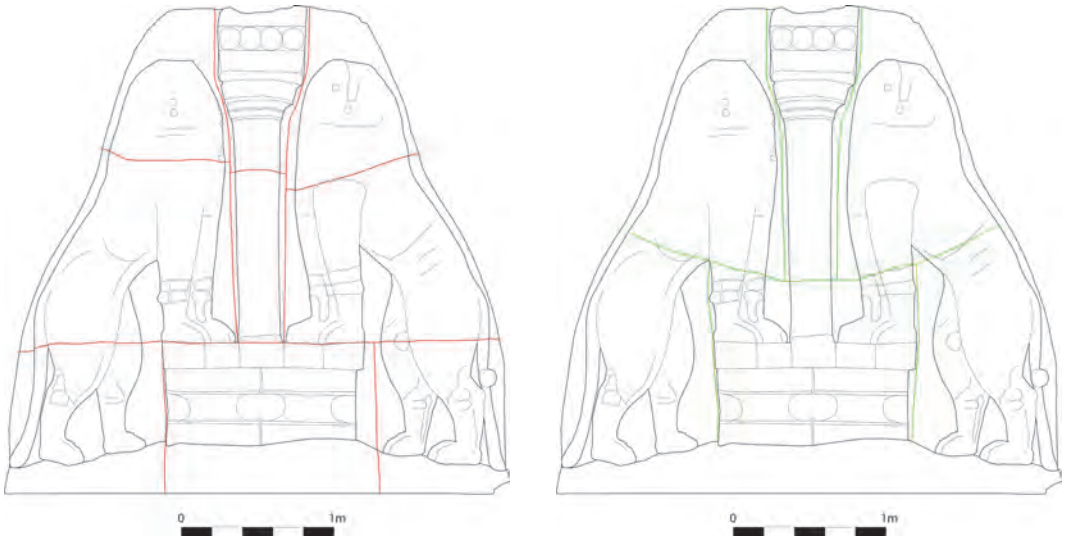


Fig. 44 Schematic representation of the nine and six-piece moulds potentially used for the Lion Gate casts (N. Kress)

The first Berlin cast, as shown in the photograph published *e.g.* by Arthur Evans in 1901 or by Josef Durm in 1907 (see **Fig. 18c-d**), shows that the lower right side of the righthand incurved altar on which the right lion's paws rest, was incomplete because this is where the original relief is damaged and the lower righthand part is lacking (**Fig. 45**)[175]. This damage is repeated in all nine-piece casts that exist or for which we have photographs. The four-

175 It may be observed that this is also an error that can be detected in some of the early, supposedly accurate drawings. Hence, Gell (1810) shows an intact righthand base as do Haygarth (in 1814), Clarke (in 1814), Horner (in 1823), Blouet (in 1833) and Dominique Papety (in 1846), for example, but also A. Löffer (in 1870) despite the note "nach der Natur gezeichnet". More correct are the representations by Louis Fauvel (in 1787), Edward Dodwell (in 1812), Théodore du Moncel (in 1843), Ferdinand Aldenhoven in 1841 (https://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=51447; https://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=51442).

piece casts, however, at La Sapienza, the Accademia, Amsterdam, the NKUA, the Mykene restaurant and Leuven University have a complete righthand base, no doubt because it was reconstructed on the first cast made. And the same can be observed on the Beloit College cast, which, as we know, came from Athens. Hence, Martinelli may originally have been responsible for 'completing' the base in the original mould. Again this clearly suggests that at least two different moulds existed. It also suggests that neither the Leuven University cast nor the Amsterdam mould were acquired from Berlin. The small size of the Amsterdam cast also speaks against this. Moreover, the Leuven 'Mykene' cast also has such an intact right hand incurved altar, which also argues against it originating from Berlin. Since this last piece comes from the Brussels workshop, it makes it possible that both the Amsterdam and Leuven University pieces come from this workshop or from an Athens workshop and go at least back to the 1875 Martinelli mould.



FIG. 45 COMPARING THE BASE OF THE SIX AND THE NINE-PIECE MOULDS (N. KRESS)

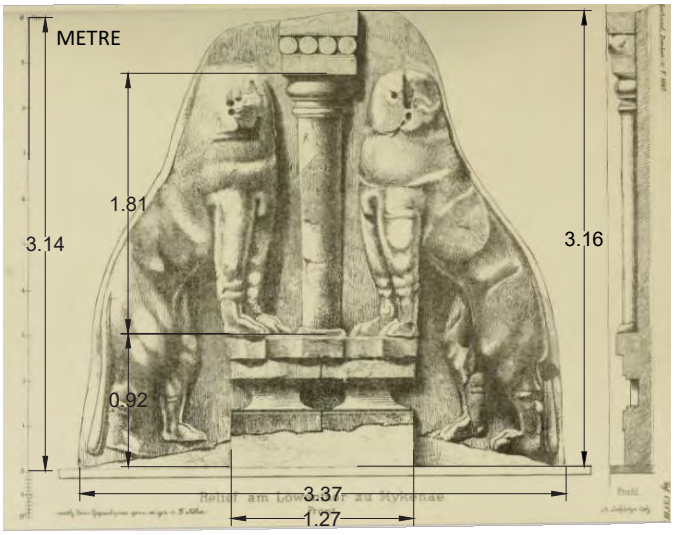


FIG. 46 DIMENSIONS OF THE BERLIN CAST (N. KRESS)

As noticed by N. Blackwell (2014: 452, n. 14), the Lion Gate relief is notoriously difficult to measure, and he estimated its actual width at the base at around 350 cm and its height at around 310 cm which agrees with Edward Daniel Clarke (1818: 511) who gave "eleven feet nine inches" for the height and "eleven feet nine inches" for the base, but differs from Edward Dodwell (1819: 239) who mentions "The stone, on which are sculptured lions, is eleven feet broad at the base, and nine in height", which, at the time would have meant 335 cm by 274 cm, while Rangavis (1841) gives 9 feet for its width and 11'3 feet for its height, perhaps mixing width and height[176]. Friedrich

176 Others who measured it were *e.g.* Ferdinand Aldenhoven (1841: 390) stating it was 3.20 m wide, 2.90 m high; Ernest Breton

Adler (1865) also provides dimensions in feet for the cast in Berlin and, assuming he probably used the Prussian foot of 314 mm at the time, this means that the very first cast as published had a width of 337 cm and a height of 316 cm. Mylonas (1977: 15) gave a width of 3.90 m and a height of 3.30 m. The *Berliner Gipsformerei* probably created a new mould less than 10 years later using the first casted relief since the Berlin mould of 1871 is said to produce a cast of 332 x 313 cm, a minor loss that is normal during the recasting process. Hence the Zurich cast (332 x 312 cm) closely agrees with the Berlin 1871 mould whereas earlier casts, like those from Dresden, and Copenhagen, could come from the pre-1871 mould since they are slightly wider. We were not able to check the dimensions of all extant casts (**Table 2**), but it is also clear that three casts have widths that are 350 cm or more (La Sapienza, Leuven University and Berlin 2012). In the case of the Roman cast by Martinelli, this could effectively indicate that it was originally produced by a separate mould. It is also considerably larger than the NKUA cast, which is also likely to have the Martinelli mould as its ancestor. This should then also suggest that a new mould was made in Athens, resulting in a considerably smaller cast with which the NKUA cast was made. The width of the Brussels/Leuven 'Mykene' cast with 332 cm suggests that the Brussels mould responsible for its creation had precisely the same dimensions as the Berlin 1871 cast but, as we have seen, the Leuven 'Mykene' cast shows a complete rather than a damaged righthand curved altar base on which the right lion's paws are resting and is hence closer to the Martinelli casts.



(1860: 156; 1862: 356) who also states it was "large de 3m,20 à la base, haute de 2m,90" but in Gailhabaud (1852: 105-106) who also refers to Breton it was "3.30 Metres (10 rhl. Fuss) breit, 2.90 m (9 F.) hoch". Schliemann (1869: 92) provides somewhat exaggerated dimensions: "ein dreieckiger, 4 Meter langer, 3 Meter 34 Centimeter hoher und 67 Centimeter tiefer Stein, auf welchem sich zwei Löwen in Bas-relief befinden".

The Lion Gate 'recast': Taking Home Agamemnon

Non-Reception of the cast

As we have seen, many Western European capital cities and universities acquired a Lion Gate relief, but others did not[177]. There are some evident gaps such as Poland (apart from Wroclaw), Romania, the ex-Yugoslav countries, Spain, and the Nordic countries. Why some museums decided to acquire the cast of the relief and others did not, can no longer be decided. The absence of the cast from the Nordic countries, apart from Denmark (Funder *et al*. 2019), should probably be seen as following a general tendency by which the other Scandinavian countries were more focussed on their own national past, less affected by Classical studies. As such, the purely archaeological approach as instigated by the Danish archaeologists J.C. Thomsen and J.J.A. Worsaae may have had more impact on the other Scandinavian nations with regard to the appreciation of the Greco-Roman world (Rowley-Conwy 2007). Only a rare Scandinavian traveller made it to Greece and only quite late, such as the Norwegian scholar Ingvald Undset, who had been in touch with Schliemann (Amadou 2020)[178]. This said, Uppsala University in Sweden created a plaster cast collection of classical sculptures in the mid-19th c. (the *Gustavianum*) and similar, limited collections exist(ed) at the University of Helsinki in Finland (the *Arppeanum*)[179], and within the National Museum in Oslo, Norway.

Spain also seems to have been less interested in acquiring the Lion Gate although a fine collection of plasters of antique sculpture existed in the *Museo de Reproducciones artísticas* in Madrid, which also comprised galvanoplastic copies of the Gilliéron objects, such as the Vapheio cups and several cups from Mycenae (esp. *Catálogo 1915*: 133-142). Likewise, the *Museo Nacional de Escultura* in Valladolid and the *Museo de Reproducciones artísticas* in Bilbao never seem to have possessed a cast of the Lion Gate. Since most of their copies were acquired from the Paris workshops, which did not have a mould for the Lion Gate, this may largely explain the absence.

The only real odd absentee then is Paris. Leaving aside Strasbourg, only Nancy and Montpellier seem to have acquired Lion Gate casts. Why Paris did not follow remains problematic[180]. Although the French-Prussian War of 1870 may have played a role initially, relations normalised relatively soon afterwards and already in 1882, Maxime Collignon had published an important paper in which he stressed the popularity of Classical Archaeology in Germany as opposed to France and the extent to which German museums included plaster collections in their teaching (Collignon 1882)[181]. The argument is quite like that by Walter Copland Perry (1878) and later by Edward Robinson (1889), all stressing the benefits of creating plaster cast collections. Maxime Collignon, then professor at Bordeaux, was instrumental in creating a cast museum in this town and later at the Sorbonne in Paris. Still, neither Bordeaux nor Paris seem to have considered acquiring a Lion Gate relief cast and this despite the detailed attention given to it in the *magnus opus* by Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez of which an English translation of the Mycenaean Age volume appeared at the same time in 1894 (Perrot & Chipiez 1894: fig. 99). Moreover, in 1900 a World Exposition was held in Paris, and, apart from the galvanoplastic copies by Emile Gilliéron (now in the Museum at Saint-Germain-en-Laye), there was also a reconstruction of a Mycenaean tholos – a reduced model

177 See the acknowledgments at the beginning of this book for the museums and university officials who replied negatively to our enquiry whether they possessed or ever had a Lion Gate cast.

178 https://www.sia.gr/en/articles.php?tid=167 and an exhibition in 2019 held in Athens on Nordic travellers in Greece "Γενναίοι και έξυπνοι άνθρωποι. Περιηγητές από Βόρειες Χώρες αφηγούνται"; only the Danish officer Frederik von Scholten seems to have visited Mycenae in 1824-1825 but others travelled in the Peloponnese and may have done so. It is also likely that the Danish traveller P.O. Brøndsted visited Mycenae early in the 19th c. but there is no published evidence. Others followed later in the century.

179 See https://www.vam.ac.uk/blog/projects/david-and-helsinki.

180 See Martinez 2016 for the Parisian plaster collections.

181 Collignon (1882: 269) also provides a list of what he thought a good plaster cast museum should include and although he includes a 'Salle des primitifs', the Lion Gate is not mentioned. Four years later, however, Bordeaux saw the creation of its own museum (see also Lagrange & Miane 2011) while Maxime Collignon would also be instrumental in the creation of a plaster cast collection at the Sorbonne. Elly Niki (1933) gives a general introduction of the cast collection at the Sorbonne, and this also included Minoan and Mycenaean copies but not the Lion Gate, nor can it be identified in the photographs provided (see also Martinez 2016: figs. 6-7). The Louvre also possessed a plaster cast collection (*cf*. Dumont 1875) between 1898 and 1927 but this does not seem to have included a Lion Gate either (Martinez 1016: figs. 11 & 12, see also Pinatel 1999). It did include other elements from Mycenae, however (*e.g*. https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010270635).

of the Treasury of Atreus with the bodies of the Atreides covered with the objects of the Shaftgraves – in the Greek pavilion, but, as far as we know, no Lion Gate (Polychronopoulou 2016: 46, fig. 3). Several million people visited this exhibition. Den Boer (2007: 179) claims: "The French never venerated Homer as much as the British did", arguing that their own Gallo-Roman past was more important in the 1850s and 1860s with Homer being considered as belonging to a past aristocratic society. This, however, seems somewhat exaggerated and in France also Homer was admired (*cf*. Farnoux 2019). Likewise, in Britain, Germany as well as in the Low Countries, the appraisal of Homer was general, and this up to World War I. In France, however, some *mishellénisme* was born, instigated by Gaston Deschamps's travel to Greece from which he returned disappointed (Grivaud 2001). It remained a limited phenomenon, however, and the absence of a Lion Gate cast can thus far not really be explained.

Appreciating the Lion Gate

Since Schliemann only started his official excavations at Mycenae in 1876, the casts of the Lion Gate acquired before this date – especially in Germany but also probably in Brussels, Tartu, Vienna, Rome and Boston – clearly shows that a general interest in the prehistoric period of Greece was already budding before his discoveries and that the relief was really considered as being the beginning of the major artistic development that would follow (see especially Fotiadis 2016: 112-113). Schliemann was of course instrumental in discovering the civilization that would later be dubbed 'Mycenaean' or 'Mykenisch' (Karadimas & Momigliano 2004: n. 35; Karadimas 2021) and soon after the term would become common use, not, however, without some hesitation (*e.g*. Furtwängler & Loeschcke 1879). Earlier mentions of 'Mycenaean', as by Stuart and Revett or Dodwell, referred to the site of Mycenae explicitly and although a conference by Eduard Gerhard presented at the 10th *Winckelmannsfest* in Berlin of 1850 was entitled *Mykenische Alterthümer*, it also only dealt with Mycenae with the time period being called 'Pelasgian' as did most writers at the time[182]. Perry (1881: 15) still called the period before 700 BCE 'Mythical Art' while Adolf Michaelis (1906: 199) in his discussion of terminology expressed some doubt about the label 'mykenisch'; he would have preferred 'achäisch' (*ib*.: 195) while Charles Newton had opted for 'prae-Daedalic, (Fitton 1995: 77). Alfred Emerson (1906: 25) accepted the term 'Mykenian' "for lack of a better" term.

Some romanticising link with Homer and the Trojan War has always been present and we are also guilty in this, giving our book the title 'Taking home Agamemnon'. Even Edward Dodwell (1819: 229) stated that he "approached the Cyclopian city of Perseus with a greater degree of veneration than any other place in Greece had inspired". In this he was following Clarke (1818: 491) who had written: "It is not merely the circumstance of seeing the architecture and the sculpture of the *heroic* ages, which renders a view of Mycenae one of the highest gratifications a literary traveller can experience: the consideration of its remaining, at this time, exactly as Pausanias saw it in the second century, and in such a state of preservation that an *alto*-relievo described by him yet exists in the identical position he has assigned for it, adds greatly to the interest excited by these remarkable Ruins".

During the late 19th c., the controversy around Troy and later Mycenae was extremely alive, leading to heated discussions (*cf. e.g.* Easton 1984; 1998; Traill 2012), and, incidentally revived in the early 21st century (Wagenknecht 2012). Hence, all aspects related to 'Homeric archaeology' – including the Lion Gate cast – fitted well within this general discourse. 'Homermania', a term used by Alexandre Farnoux (2019: 302) to describe Homer's impact at various periods in various domains and especially during the 19th c., certainly played a role within this acquisition process.

But the real bas relief of the lions certainly impressed many[183] and it was by times called "the most ancient piece of sculpture existing perhaps in the world" (Thomas Hughes, 1812, cited in Moore *et al.* 2014: 85), "perhaps the most ancient bas-relief in existence" (Joseph Woods, 1827, cited in Moore *et al.* 2004: 93), "the oldest sculptured stone in Europe" (Nathaniel Willis, 1832, cited in Moore *et al.* 2014: 138) or "the most ancient monument of sculpture in Greece" (Christopher Wordsworth, 1832, cited in Moore *et al.* 2014: 100, also William Wilde, 1837, ib. p. 107) and even "the first bud of the flower that blossomed in the Parthenon" "the glory of Hellenic art" (Thomas Chase, 1853, cited in Moore *et al.* 2014: 148). J.L. Stephens (1839: 104) commented: "I never felt a greater degree of reverence than when I approached the lonely ruins of Mycenae…I moved on to the Gate of the

182 Partly influenced by the work of Isaac Newton, *The Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms amended* of 1728.
183 For other appreciations, see Moore *et al*. 2014. We have tried to add references to non-Anglo-Saxon travellers as well.

Lions, and stood before it a long time without entering…Under this very gate Agamemnon led out his forces for the siege of Troy", almost copying Edward Dodwell's words (1819: 230). Hermann Hettner, director of Dresden Museum, was one of the persons who acquired a cast and had also seen the real thing on his visit early in the 1850s. He was extremely pleased with this visit: "Kein anderes Denkmal des Altertums hat auf mich diesen tief ergreifenden Eindruck gemacht, wie diese Mauern und dies Thor von Mykene, durch das einst Perseus, Atreus und Thyestes, Agamemnon, Iphigenia, Aegist und Klytämnestra, Elektra und Orest aus-und eingingen" (Hetner 1853: 2010-2011). Schliemann (1869: 93) himself also remarked "da sie die einzigen Überreste der plastischen Kunst des heroischen Zeitalters in Griechenland sind, so haben sie für die Archäologie ein unermesslich hohes Interesse". This claim to originality seems to have been a major feature in the purchase of the cast.

At the inauguration of the Fisher collection in Beloit College in 1894, Joseph Emerson (no relation to Alfred) became poetic and proclaimed: "Stand now in this shaded light (in the Fisher gallery), which so reproduces for us the 'saffron dawn,' and look at those 'Lions of Mycenae.' See how the conventionalism of the northern oriental art of the Assyrians and Hittites is already feeling the Greek life. Mark the bones and the muscles and the pose. There is life in them" (*Proceedings 1894*: 47).

Perhaps the most poignant remark made was by Reinhard Kekulé, father of iconology, onetime director of the Bonn and Berlin Museums. Kekulé had visited Mycenae in 1867 and only a year later, he acquired a cast for the Bonn Museum. He was also the author of a scholarly introduction to Greek art in the Baedeker' guide to Greece where he declared:

"The lions which keep watch and ward above the acropolis-gate of Mycenae have long been regarded also as the sentinels at the entrance to the history of Greek art. They may keep their post of honour, although they are really monuments of a foreign epoch, long past and forgotten ere the dawn of any truly Greek art" (Kekulé 1894: LXVIII).

Kekulé also claimed that "the sculptured Gate of Lions of Mykenai [was] the portal under which all who would enter the precincts of the history of Greek sculpture must necessarily pass" (cited in Emerson 1906: 38). Alan Wace, the later excavator of Mycenae, was no less laudatory: "This is the earliest piece of monumental sculpture in hard stone on Greek soil, and is in no way an unworthy forerunner of the triumphs that were to come" (Wace 1923: 16). And even Mylonas, the other excavator, proclaimed: "The vigorous modeling of the animals and the sense of structure and proportion give the relief life and an air of dignity seldom surpassed in prehistoric art. Its successful adaptation to the triangle above the lintel makes it one of the most successful architectural reliefs of all times" (Mylonas 1977: 16).

"[W]e stood under its massive portal, whence the King of Men sallied with his troops when he set out for the Trojan war", Thomas Chase (1863: 41) romantically claimed and indeed, perceiving the Lion Gate remains a special experience for whoever approaches the citadel at Mycenae (*e.g*. Fitton 1996: 74). In 1834 already, the Rev. Richard Burgess had written: "We passed over the extremity of a shallow glen and stood before the Gate of the Lions. The site of a city that was built 1300 years before the Christian era, and destroyed (except those genuine remains) near 2300 years ago, could not surely be contemplated without emotion. It is almost impossible to bring one's mind to believe that Homer sung of those very walls; and yet there are few antiquities so well authenticated, and none that I have hitherto seen so imposing…I could hardly advance my footsteps from the awful gate through which one might fancy 'the King of men' had yet to pass on his way to the Trojan plains" (Burgess 1835: 180-181, 182). Likewise, Mylonas, excavator of Mycenae, insisted: "The relief over the gate, then, is the coat of arms of the house of Agamemnon. Whether we accept this view or not (and I do hold it) the fact remains that the relief was standing in its position when Agamemnon marshalled his troops through the gate to lead them to Troy" (Mylonas 1977: 16). The gate-like set-up that is retained in the Allard Pierson, in the *Winckelmann-Institut*, the Carnegie and originally in Zürich, Strasbourg and the Victoria and Albert Museum betrays this feeling best. Charles Newton, with British flair, simply commented "We had just time, before leaving Athens, to pay a hurried visit to Mycenae, where I had the satisfaction of gazing on those famous lions which still guard the gateway of the city of the Atridae" (Newton 1865: 34).

Others, like John Galt (1810, cited in Moore *et al.* 2014: 80) were less impressed and only saw "two rudely-sculptured lions" or "a curious and rude piece of sculpture, probably the oldest in existence" (William Linton, cited in Moore *et al*. 2014: 118). The German scholar Ernst Curtius too (1852: 405) was more sceptical: "Das Kunstwerk

selbst aber, das älteste Denkmal europäischer Skulptur, ist seinem Stile nach so fremdartig, dass nichts an ihm griechisch genannt werden kann"[184]. Jerningham (1873: 71) stated "On looking at these rude expressions of an age that was the forerunner of the best times of Greece, I could not help smiling on remembering About's exclamation at the sight of them, – 'L'enfance de l'art ressemble fort à l'art de l'enfance'"[185].

The Lion Gate might have been judged as "the first bud of the flower that blossomed in the Parthenon", "the glory of Hellenic art" (Thomas Chase, 1853, cited in Moore *et al*. 2014: 148), "the dawn of any truly Greek art" (Kekulé 1894: LXVIII), or "two rudely-sculptured lions" and "a curious and rude piece of sculpture, probably the oldest in existence" (William Linton, cited in Moore *et al*. 2014: 118), but these early judgments may not do justice either way. All the above did not have the time to assess the relief's Late Bronze Age cultural context and unavoidably used parallels of the Iron Age to incorporate it in an evolutionary narrative. Nevertheless, current approaches to ancient art challenge convincingly this evolutionary perspective by emphasizing the cultural context, diverse trajectories, and individual or community agency in artistic creation (Insoll 2007: 9-22, 77-94). We may argue that artistic styles and techniques are rather shaped by cultural choices, highlighting the complexity of creative traditions across different groups and time-periods. The evidence, such as those coming from the remarkable craftsmanship of palaeolithic cave paintings or the elaborate pottery of ancient cultural groups like the Maya and the Minoans, defies simplistic evolutionary narratives of linear development from primitive to complex and sophisticated (Graeber & Wengrow 2021). By recognizing the multiplicity of influences on ancient art, such as religious beliefs, economics systems, environmental factors, and technological innovations, and through comparative studies, the role of culture in shaping stylistic choices may provide a more nuanced understanding of artistic creations, such the architectural relief of the Lion Gate.

But many scholars even doubted that the relief was Hellenic. Edward Dodwell (1819: 232) found that "All the remains at Mycenae, even the sculptured ornaments which are scattered about the ruins, have an Egyptian character. The gate of the lions also may owe its origin to the same people", although Quinet – member of the *Expédition scientifique du Morée* – did not agree: "Le dessin n'en est point non plus purement égyptien. Les forms ont déjà un commencement de vie" and for him it was a sign that Greek art tried to get rid of Asian conventions (Quinet 1830: 247). Charles Newton (1865: 35) suggested "the art of Mycenae may have been derived from Lydia" and Walter Copland Perry (1881: 26) concludes his discussion of the relief: "On the whole, we are compelled to regard the Lions of Mycenae, though found on Greek soil, as altogether unconnected with the history and development of Greek art" and Alfred Emerson (1889: 19) also found it "of strongly marked Asiatic character, a tomb bearing a relief of precisely similar design having been found in Asia Minor". Opinions on the 'ethnicity' of the relief have continued to differ considerably (see especially Maran & Stavrianopoulou 2007; Blakolmer 2015).

In any case, these different quotes should suffice to describe the art-historical context in the late 19th c. and the 20th where the core of this study is located: the desire of western universities and museums to bring home a copy of the famous gate.

Recasting the cast

We leave it to others to interpret cast acquisitions in general within some general tendency of 'Western Hellenism' and the extent to which scholars outside Greece saw themselves as the inheritors (or not) of the Greek past (Hamilakis 2007; Alexandri 2017). The Lion Gate is, however, within art history, something of an oddity. It certainly cannot claim to have attracted Winckelmannian interest as an example of Classical idealism.

Although we lack specific references of appreciation of the casts of the relief beyond the texts in the guides to the cast collections written by specialists and touched upon above, it may be assumed that the Lion Gate cast, as other plaster copies of Classical statues, was used for various purposes: by art students to develop their drawing skills

184 See Blackwell 2014 for potential Hittite influences in its creation and Blakolmer 2015 for a full discussion of the opinions on the nature of early Greek art. Several authors, including Lenormant (1880: 21) already suggested a foreign origin of the relief: "C'est bien positivement, sur place, à Mycènes même, qu'a été sculpté le bas-relief colossal qui surmonte la Porte des Lions, par des mains étrangères….".

185 About (1854: 27): "On voit encore ses deux portes, en pierre monstrueuse, taillée par quelque rude ciseau. La plus grande, la porte d'honneur, est surmontée de deux lions sculptés peut-être par Dédale, et qui ressemblent fort à ceux que je dessinais jadis sur mon cahier de brouillons. L'enfance de l'art a beaucoup de rapport avec l'art de l'enfance".

and by academics to illustrate the history of artistic development. But the cast also allowed the less fortunate to admire monuments that he or she would never be able to see in real life, and this, for example, was clearly Andrew Carnegie's intention. In some cases, as, for example the Parthenon frieze, the original plaster casts can also be used to detect deterioration by erosion of the originals since (Payne 2019b). This is an aspect we have not considered with regard to the Lion Gate, partly because a high-resolution close-up photograph of the relief is not available (*cf.* Blackwell 2014)[186]. Frederick's book 'Plaster casts and how they are made' (Frederick 1927, originally printed in 1899) also details the many advantages of making casts.

Erosion or other events probably took their toll and unfortunately travellers were not always innocent. Louis Martin du Tyrac, Vicomte de Marcellus (1854: 509), already states around 1820 "enfin les lions en relief qui veillaient aux portes de la ville; j'inscrivais mon nom sur leur criniere, à la suite de mille autres voyageurs" – which clearly shows the manes of the lions were not difficult to reach. Burgess (1835: 181) also remarked "Underneath the lintel, there is space enough between it and the accumulated earth to admit of a person creeping up behind the gate, and then the back part of the marble is discovered scratched all over with the names of travellers"[187]. Moreover, during WW II, some damage seems to have done by German soldiers using the relief for shooting practice and also scratching their names in some of the blocks (Tsiabasis 2014: 341) – but, by and large, the relief is preserved in its early 19th c. state.

The cast also served as a perfect setting to illustrate archaeological progress. Because of its connection to the earliest civilisations in Greece, the input of field archaeologists in the acquisition of the cast is not surprising and, in the US, people like Edward Robinson and Alfred Emerson may have been influential due to the fact they were involved in different museums, to push for the acquisition of the cast to present a complete development of Hellenic art and society. Since the real relief of the Lion Gate was – fortunately – not removable, and remains a unique example of Prehellenic art, acquiring a cast was the closest one could get to the authentic, three-dimensional life-size original, as a surrogate for its prototype. The casts themselves are evidently now also historical documents and we have tried to highlight the story of each copy and of each of the individuals responsible for their acquisition.

The Lion Gate evidently also found its way in other artistic creations. There was, for example, a well-made copy somewhere between a cast and a modern re-imagining in Brno (Czech Republic), a modern replica (**Fig. 47**) made at scale 1:2 based on photographs, exhibited several years ago[188].



FIG. 47 THE BRNO LION GATE (COURTESY P. PAVÙK)

186 Nick Blackwell (pers. com.) noticed drill holes on the 'ankle' area of the leading front leg of the left lion in the Carnegie cast that are no longer preserved on the real relief (*cf.* Blackwell 2014: fig. 3).

187 We do not know whether these names can still be detected. They are not mentioned in Blackwell 2014.

188 We owe this information to Dr. Peter Pavùk and Dr. Petr Kostrhun, director of the Archaeology Department at the Moravian Museum.

The Brno example opens the discussion to a much wider topic, which is the use of the Lion Gate as an emblem and an artistic creation. The Lion Gate rapidly became part of a wider tendency of modern re-imaginings of all things Homeric in different media – the visual and performing arts, probably enough to write another book. A full reception study awaits to be done but some examples may suffice[189].

Apart from the many paintings and drawings, some of which were mentioned or illustrated in the introduction to this book, there is also a fine fresco by Jozef Hoffmann in the *Naturhistorisches* Museum of Vienna (**Fig. 48**). Hoffmann is one of the few to show a wide angle and to depict the fortress from a somewhat higher position. We know he travelled in Greece in 1857 but since the gate is still largely encumbered by blocks but Grave Circle A is also visible, his inspiration must come from an engraving or photo taken after Schliemann's work in 1876.



FIG. 48 MYCENAE BY JOZEF HOFFMANN IN THE *NATURHISTORISCHES MUSEUM* OF VIENNA (PHOTO J. DRIESSEN)



FIG. 49 FIG. 48 LION GATE OF ADAMS BUILDING (PHOTO WIKIMEDIA COMMONS)

189 We could refer to a gate showing two striding lions facing a Minoan column above the entrance to a private house in Saint Petersburg, Russia, and to a life-size copy of the gate area of the fortress of Mycenae in the amusement park *Terra Mitica* in Benidorm where it forms the entrance to the Greek part.

There is also a small relief made in the Adams Building on Capitol Hill at Washington, probably made by Lee Lawrie, in the 1930s (**Fig. 49**). The same Lawrie depicted Minos the lawgiver on a relief in the Capitol Building of Nebraska, completed in 1932, on top of a platform that also has rampant lions similar to those of the Lion Gate (Zabel 1981: 348, Plate 44).

The Lion Gate also features prominently on the medal of the Royal Society of Architects in London (RIBA) (**Fig. 50a-c**). Accompanied by the motto *usui civium, decori urbium*, the original design is attributed to Thomas Leverton Donaldson, secretary of the society until 1839. The medal has been redesigned several times since, but the two rampant lions are maintained. Donaldson (1795-1885) had travelled to Greece with two other architects, John Lewis Wolfe and W.W. Jenkins, in 1821. As part of the supplement volume to the *Antiquities of Athens* by Stuart and Revett, Donaldson was responsible for illustrating the temple at Bassae and other antiquities in the Peloponnese, including the Treasury of Atreus, which he restored with a fronton with two rampant lions[190]. It is this illustration (**Fig. 51**), published in 1830, which probably lies at the origin of the design of the medal (Cockerell *et al.* 1830: plate 5).



FIG. 50 A-C. PHOTO OF THE 1834, 1930 AND 1950 RIBA MEDALS, THE LAST ONE BY ROSS, CC BY-SA 2.0, HTTPS://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/W/INDEX.PHP?CURID=14306522

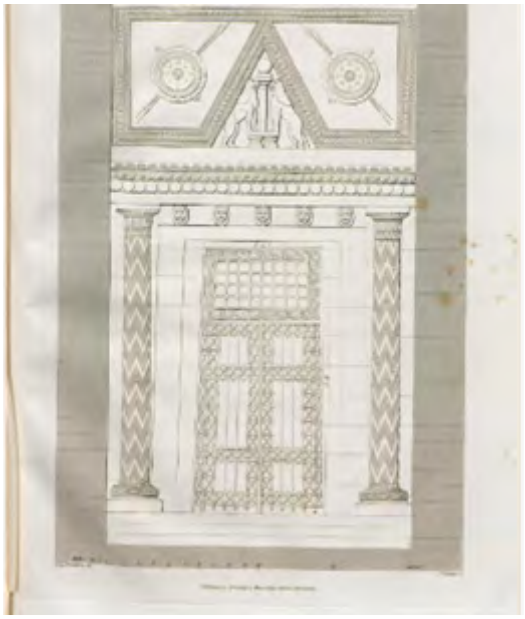


FIG. 51 RECONSTRUCTED ENTRANCE TO THE ATREUS TOMB BY DONALDSON (AFTER COCKERELL *ET AL*. 1830)

190 As noted above, n. 16, Blouet (1833) also proposed a similar reconstruction, and one may wonder how these relate to each other. Schliemann (1878: 99) explicitly refers to Thomas Leverton Donaldson' reconstruction.

The painter Frederic Leighton depicted the Lion Gate twice in his Homeric inspired tableaux. A Lion Gate can be recognised behind Klytaimnestra, watching for the beacon fires which are to announce the return of Agamemnon, on the battlements of Argos, a painting of about 1874. Another can be recognised on his well-known 1869 painting 'Elektra at the Tomb of Agamemnon'. Both have a miniature Lion Gate to locate the settings, even if connected to Argos in the first painting (see Gere 2006: 128). A similarly called painting by William Blake Richmond of 1874 also locates the setting with a miniature Lion Gate (Bakogianni 2011: 130-140). In a painting labelled the Murder of Agamemnon by Klytaimnestra by Nicolò Monti (1780-1864), part of a lion on a base can also be detected. Leon Bakst also included the Lion Gate in his 1908 painting of *Terror Antiquus* following a visit to Greece in 1907 and two on the set of *Hélène de Sparte* of 1912[191]. The lion gate was also used to locate the plot of Aeschylus' Agamemnon and the Oresteia in the Cambridge 1900, 1933 and 1953 performances (**Fig. 52**)[192] and at Syracuse in Sicily in 1914 (Di Martino 2019). A Lion Gate also set the scene for the 1893 performance of Antigone of Sophocles (illustrated in Michelakis 2016: 121, fig. 1).



Fig. 52 Historical photographs of the Aeschylus play 'Agamemnon', performed at Cambridge in 1900 (top), 1933 and 1953 (bottom), with the Lion Gate as setting for Mycenae (see https://www.cambridgegreekplay.com/plays/)

Greece also issued 1000 drachmas notes in 1926, originally designed by *père et fils* Emile Gilliéron[193], showing the gate and, in 1990, Germany commemorated Schliemann with a stamp showing the Lion Gate. The relief was

191 We thank Nicoletta Momigliano for this information, as well as for the reference to Franz von Matsch, *The Triumph of Achilles* (c. 1892), in the Achilleion on Corfu, which shows a gate but with a swastika rather than the lions, and for the reference of the 1914 Siracuse performance of the Agamemnon (see already Blakolmer 2010: 59-60).

192 See https://www.cambridgegreekplay.com/plays/1900/agamemnon; The Lion Gate is also used in the 1933 play Oresteia and the 1953 Agamemnon, see https://www.cambridgegreekplay.com/plays/1933/oresteia and https://www.cambridgegreekplay.com/plays/1953/agamemnon.

193 Christina Mitsopoulou (pers. com.)

also depicted in 1935 as n° 1 in the *Famous Buildings* cigarette cards of C.W.S., and in 2004 an Olympic Games Pin also showed the mascot Phivos at the Gate. The Lion Gate was evidently also portrayed in different movies, such as in the 2004 Troy movie by Wolfgang Petersen, where the 'slightly exaggerated' lions form the backdrop of the throne of Agamemnon (**Fig. 53**)[194].

The façade of the Temple of Tanit in Carthage in the 1960 movie Salammbô also shows a column with two ramping lions (Morcillo 2015: 145: fig. 8.1) and Ventura (2015) has collected other examples. The 1954 Italian movie *Ulisse* also includes a doorway flanked by two lions.

The Lion Gate *is* Mycenae[195] and even more than 3200 years later, the message is clear. The Lion Gate relief reflects palatial authority and its religious legitimation. If not that of Agamemnon, the lions denote kingship and the might of the city the emblem of which was advertised prominently and proudly.



FIG. 53 THE LION GATE THRONE IN THE MOVIE TROY BY WOLFGANG PETERSEN (©Warner Bros. films)



194 In the movie Elektra by Cacoyannis, the real Lion Gate is shown (*cf.* Bakogianni 2011: 163-175).

195 There is also a poem by Hermann Lingg in 1868 that refers to Mycenae's Lion Gate. The emblematic power of the Lion Gate can also be deduced from the fact that it forms the cover of many books, *e.g.* Schliemann 1878, Mylonas 1977, Fitton 1996, Elizabeth French 2002, Moore *et al*. 2024, a popular book (*The Lion Gate, a Journey in search of the Mycenaeans*) by Leonard Cottrell, on the selected poems by Titios Patrikios, a book by Ken & Diana Wardle, *etc*.

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This volume

The Lion Gate at Mycenae is an icon, a piece of art more than 3300 years old, representing the glory of Mycenaean Greece. Preserved *in situ*, it has passed through time and circumstance, witnessing its own civilisation fail and many others flourishing since. Often considered as an emblem for the royal house of Mycenae, it is the only surviving piece of large-scale sculpture of the Greek Bronze Age. The quality of its creation, its symbolic force, and its prime position towering above the entrance gate to the site that epitomizes a period that gave rise to enumerable legends may be seen as framing the atmosphere in which this book was written. Already in the 19th c., the relief was moulded and casts were produced to be exhibited in museums and universities. This volume traces 33 casts, some no longer existing, and tells their stories.

The authors

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