Chapter 6

The iconographic evidence

1. Introduction

The iconographic evidence—particularly vase-painting—forms the subject of the present chapter. For the period from about the tenth to the early fifth century, I have collected more than five hundred items. More than two-thirds consist of vase-paintings, namely over 150 Protogeometric, Geometric, Protoattic, Korinthian, and other vases, more than 130 Attic black-figure, and nearly 80 Attic red-figure pots. All of these items are listed with descriptions in the appendix (starting at page 243, below); numbers in parentheses in the present chapter refer to the inventory numbers in this catalogue. The total number of pots available for the period 1000 to 500 numbers in the tens of thousands, although scenes with human figures are relatively uncommon before around 600; the bulk of the sixth-century material consists of Attic pottery.

Suitable evidence includes depictions of weapons and armour, warriors, and battle, as well as warships, warhorses, and related martial subjects, such as hunting scenes. The emphasis is also placed on scenes that are not obviously wholly mythological, but appear to be inspired by everyday reality. This does include depictions of epic heroes in contemporary attire, but excludes, for example, scenes of a club-wielding Herakles fighting the monster Ketos, or depictions of Kentaurs firing bows. As a rough estimation, I believe my sample represents perhaps as much as around ten percent of the total available material. I have tried to make a representative selection of the Attic evidence (which is substantial), and have attempted to be as inclusive as possible with regards to the far less copious material from most other regions. The examples that I discuss serve only to demonstrate what I believe are common and often recurring trends.

The evidence discussed in this chapter has been culled from a large number of syntheses. Apart from inventories that are part of excavation reports, these include Gudrun Ahlberg’s Fighting on Land and Sea in Greek Geometric Art (1971) and Peter Greenhalgh’s Early Greek Warfare: Horsemen and Chariots in the Homeric and Archaic Ages (1973). Also helpful in collecting depictions of warlike subjects were studies that focus on pottery produced in particular places, such as Darrell Amyx’s Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period (1991) and Conrad Stibbe’s Lakonische Vasenmalerei des sechsten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. (1972); invaluable were also the monographs by the late John Beazley and John Boardman. More generally useful were the various
volumes of the huge Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum.

In this book’s introductory chapter, I pointed out that current notions regarding ancient Greek warfare are clearly Athenocentric and often idealised, which in turn leads to Hellenocentric viewpoints. The purpose of this book is to re-evaluate these notions and, where possible, provide an alternative interpretation that is hopefully more accurate than has hitherto been the case. The main aims set out in the introduction to this book serve as a guide for examining the iconographic material. In other words, the objectives for this chapter are to: (1) examine different kinds of fighters; (2) point out regional diversity; (3) examine diachronic developments; (4) look into aspects regarding ‘martiality’, viz. the role of weapons and armour outside of the context of war and battle, and finally; (5) discuss original Greek terminology, whenever possible.

2. Looking at Greek art

The focus of this chapter is on vase-paintings, which forms by far the largest body of iconographic evidence. It should be pointed out that not all regions in the Aegean produced figurative art, let alone martial art. In particular, there is a strong Attic bias in the material, with particularly copious amounts of painted pottery produced there from the latter half of the sixth century onwards. Other regions that produced (useful) figurative art include Euboia, the Argolid, Lakonia, Korinthia, some Aegean islands, and parts of Asia Minor.

Greek figurative pottery was probably used by a relatively wealthy segment of society. Some of it was made for a specific purpose, such as funerary vases that served as grave markers in some high-ranking burial plots in Geometric Athens, or miniature vessels that were deposited at temples. Figured decorations are usually found on hard-baked, wheel-made vessels used for serving food and drink, rather than merely storing it (but note the later discussions on relief pithoi). The fact that these objects were used either for specific or everyday purposes no doubt inspired the subject matter of the figured scenes, such as scenes of processions to burial grounds on the Geometric Attic funerary vases already referred to.  

How should we interpret the iconographic material? Much has been written on how to look at Greek vases, but on the whole it is safe to say that there is a general reluctance to take the pictures themselves more or less at face value. In a recent book, Hans van Wees briefly discusses Archaic Greek representations of warriors and concludes that the painters were ‘highly selective’. He is not alone, as many authors have claimed that the figurative evidence is in some way unreliable, as we shall see.

Some dismiss certain elements as ‘archaising’ features, if not solely the product of an artist’s fancy. Such arguments frequently read like the iconographic equivalent of hunting for interpolations in Homer. The so-called Dipylon-shield, a round or elliptical shield with scallops cut from
the sides, is often dismissed as an archaising or heroising element, despite its persistent appearance in scenes that seem to be drawn after life, rather than myth. Similarly, chariots are often regarded as elements deliberately introduced to hark back to olden days; some regard them as distorted memories of Bronze-Age (Mykenaian) chariots. The basic assumption is that Archaic Greeks had no idea regarding the 'proper' use of chariots and were familiar only with racing vehicles. Peter Greenhalgh has even suggested that whenever chariots are depicted or described, the poet or painter actually intended these to be warriors on horseback—anachronistically termed 'knights'—accompanied by mounted 'squires'.

Others insist that the vase-paintings are simply not what they appear to be, i.e. they cannot be taken literally. Andrew Clark nevertheless remains optimistic. He acknowledges that much of Greek society is absent from the vase-paintings, but nevertheless concludes that 'what the vase-painters chose to portray shows us so much of their world in lively, intimately detailed, and often remarkably beautiful pictures: vase-paintings enable us to experience ancient Greece with our own eyes.' Mary Beard is much more sceptical. She has argued that the act of creating a scene 'necessarily converts the reality of everyday life into something very different: an image, a representation, an intellectual construct. We cannot read a scene of the domestic world [...] as if it were a photographic replica of life in the Athenian home.' In fact, painted scenes make 'a heavily loaded, ideological point.' In other words, the iconology of vase-paintings is important: there is a deeper meaning beneath the schematised surface.

Perhaps the persistent claims concerning the unreliability of the figurative evidence explains why Gudrun Ahlberg, in her important study on representations of fighting on Geometric pottery, is hesitant about writing anything definitive on the subject of tactics. The problem, as she sees it, is in 'judging the relationship between iconographic rendering and reality', emphasising that the Geometric scenes 'do not serve, a priori, as the main source of information for our understanding of the real warfare from these times as is recently argued.' This begs the question, what exactly are the main sources of information? Or to put it more poignantly, why is the figurative evidence itself apparently not a main source of information? Ahlberg's reticence is all the more remarkable in light of her statement that similarities between Homeric descriptions of battle and the vase-paintings 'depend on the common milieus in which these two categories of art worked.' In other words, both the descriptions and the depictions were

393 Greenhalgh 1973, 1–2 and 7–12.
395 Beard 1991, 20 (original emphasis).
396 On iconographic and iconological approaches to ancient Greek vase-painting, see Sparkes 1996, 134–136.
397 Ahlberg 1971b, 54 (citing Courbin 1968).
398 Ahlberg 1971a, 53.
based on a common ideology and perhaps reflect contemporary practices. I shall briefly return to this discussion regarding the connection between ideology and reality in this book's conclusion.

It is true that the vase-paintings are stylised to some degree. But the question that should be asked, is whether or not the painted scenes are nevertheless *representative* of contemporary reality? I find it curious that despite persistent claims that vase-paintings offer detailed glimpses into the daily lives of the ancient Greeks, there are only few serious studies that actually take the figurative evidence itself as their starting point for studying ancient warfare or other aspects of everyday life.\(^{399}\) Most scholars remain neutral and follow John Beazley's pioneering work by examining developments in style.\(^{400}\) Others look at vase-paintings in an attempt to recognise scenes of myth, particularly those based on the Homeric poems, which is strictly speaking a text-based approach to the material.\(^{401}\)

For the purposes of this chapter, I regard the iconographic material as a primary source of information on warfare in the Archaic period, though obviously painted pots or sculptural reliefs do not offer 'photographs' of the past. For example, lowly servants or slaves that may have carried a warrior's provisions are never shown. Nevertheless, my basic assumption for now is that there is no *a priori* reason to assume that the figurative evidence is any more or less reliable or stylised than either the archaeological or textual evidence. After all, we can observe changes through time with regards to weapons, tactics, and modes of combat, so it is not too far-fetched to suggest that these changes somehow reflect developments in 'real life'. In this chapter, I therefore intend to let the iconographic evidence tell its own story and see whether a more or less coherent narrative emerges in which regional variation and diachronic developments have their place. The results can then more easily be compared with those gleaned from the other types of evidence in this book's final chapter.

### 3. A regional survey of the evidence

The evidence in the present section is grouped according to the original place or region of manufacture, rather than the findspot. The ultimate purpose of the following subsections is to determine regional diversity and chronological developments; a very small number of important artefacts provide valuable information regarding contemporary Greek terminology. The regions have been selected on the basis of historical and cultural interconnections between the areas and sites they contain; hence, Euboia is considered as part of the same cultural zone as the islands in the Central

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399 Aside from Ahlberg 1971a and Greenhalgh 1973, see, e.g., Pedley 1987; also discussion on particular aspects, such as chariots and ships, based on vase-paintings (Crouwel 1981, Weede 1999, and so on).

400 This is not to say that the subject matter of the scenes is not taken into consideration when examining style, but this is still a far cry from analysing, in some detail, the actual content of a scene, *i.e.* the items represented in the painting; *cf.* Sparks 1996, 114–116.

Aegan. Of course, not all regions are equally well represented in the iconographic record.

a. Southern mainland Greece

Southern mainland Greece consists of Attika, the Isthmus, and the Peloponnese. We have considerable numbers of figurative pottery from eighth-century Athens and late eighth- and seventh-century Korinth; Athens dominates from the sixth century onwards. Seventh-century Korinthian pottery and sixth-century Attic pottery were widely exported, with considerable numbers unearthed in Italy, especially in Etruscan graves. The other material is very diverse, from pottery to figurines and even sculpture.

i. Attika I: the eighth and early seventh centuries

I have divided the Attic figurative evidence into two groups. The first group to be discussed here dates to the eighth and (early) seventh centuries, and consists mostly of Attic Geometric and Protoattic painted pottery. I have included some seventy specimens in my database, over fifty of which are Geometric vase-paintings. Many of these Geometric scenes are found on funerary vases, particularly the large examples from the Dipylon and Kerameikos cemeteries that also functioned as grave markers. The number of Protoattic vase-paintings is very small, and much belongs to the first half of the seventh century rather than the second. But what we do have in the way of Protoattic vase-paintings suggest interesting changes as well as some continuity when compared to the Geometric evidence, so that the material belonging to these two styles can be usefully discussed together.

Warriors and their wargear

In Geometric scenes, figures are painted as silhouettes. This makes it difficult to say anything about their clothes or lack thereof. However, roughly contemporary figurines of warriors found at Olympia and discussed in more detail below suggests that men fought in the nude, possibly wearing nothing other than a belt around their waist. These warriors nevertheless often wear helmets, which can be easily recognised by their drooping plumes. These helmets were probably close-fitting caps made of leather rather than bronze. The plumes are similar to those found on Late Helladic IIIC sherds, possibly an example of continuity?

In addition, some warriors are also equipped with shields. In Attic Geometric art, we can distinguish between three types of shields, all fitted with a central, single grip, namely a rectangular shield, a round shield, and the so-called Dipylon-shield (round with scallops cut from the side). A fragment of a Late Geometric pot from Athens shows three warriors, each equipped with helmet, a set of twin spears, and a different type of shield (plate 3.1). As briefly mentioned earlier, a number of scholars have

402 E.g., Athens 806: Ahlberg 1971a, 61–62 fig. 53.
403 Athens 1141: Guida 1973, pl. 33.4; Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, pl. XI.8.
404 Greenhalgh 1973, 65 fig. 38.
claimed that the Dipylon-shield is a wholly fictitious item.\textsuperscript{405} However, this viewpoint is unwarranted, as several other authors have demonstrated.\textsuperscript{406}

In Athens, a small terracotta model of an oblong Dipylon-type shield was discovered (447); it is contemporary with the figured scenes on Attic Geometric pots (plate 3.2).\textsuperscript{407} The amount of detail present on this model suggests that it was based on an actual shield. The model is convex, with a clearly denoted rim; the outer surface has been decorated with a cross-hatched pattern that suggests the real thing was made of wicker. Furthermore, the inside of the model features cross-staves; no handle is indicated, but perhaps the shield was gripped by the point where the cross-staves overlapped. Shield-types similar to the Dipylon are known from the Persian Empire; they were also used among some African tribes in the recent past.\textsuperscript{408}

In fact, I would suggest that the Dipylon shield has two subtypes: one is circular and relatively flat, while the other—like the model, above—is oblong and convex. They represent two stages in the development of this shield type, of which the circular and flat one is probably the oldest. Both types are known from bronze figurines (to be discussed below). In addition, the flat and circular subtype disappears at the end of the eighth century, while the oblong and convex type continued in use and was eventually given a double-grip, borrowed from the round Argive-type shield. The oblong subtype with double-grip is generally called ‘Boiotian’, as it later served as the emblem of that region on coins.\textsuperscript{409} These changes further argue in favour of the reality of Dipylon-type shields.

There is some diversity with regard to the weapons used by warriors in Late Geometric scenes. Archers are relatively rare. When they appear, they are nearly always shown singly, often kneeling, operating like a modern-day sniper (164; plate 3.3).\textsuperscript{410} Other warriors fight with one or more relatively short spears or use swords; combinations of spear and sword also occur. Hans van Wees has argued that most spears in the Late Geometric scenes were intended for throwing.\textsuperscript{411} However, there is no conclusive evidence for this: depictions of spears in flight are next to nonexistent and swords—a close-ranged weapon—are very common. It seems likely that the relatively short spears were suited for both thrusting and throwing, rather than especially one or the other.

Toward the very end of the Late Geometric style, round shields were clearly meant to represent Argive shields; they sometimes feature abstract

\textsuperscript{405} See note 391, above.

\textsuperscript{406} Van Wees 2004, 50-52. We need not concern ourselves with the notion that the Dipylon shield is in any way a descendant of the Bronze-Age figure-of-eight-type shield, as that idea was debunked long ago by Lorimer 1950, 160; see also Ahlberg 1971a, 59-60.


\textsuperscript{408} For a brief discussion, see Sekunda 2008, 71.

\textsuperscript{409} See, for example, Carradice & Price 1988, 38 and pl. 9.127.

\textsuperscript{410} Eleusis 741: Ahlberg 1971a, 34-37 figs. 42-43 and 96 fig. 105; Boardman 1998, 33 figs. 41.1-2; Höckmann 1980, 303 fig. 78.b.

\textsuperscript{411} Van Wees 1994, 145.
The introduction of Argive shields did not go hand-in-hand with any other apparent changes, such as the adoption of new types of weapons. However, Protoattic warriors are nearly always equipped with Argive shields and also wear Korinthian helmets and bronze; shield blazons, when visible, still tend to be abstract (105; plate 4.2).413 Protoattic warriors sometimes carry heavier and longer spears. One pot depicts a group of warriors whose bodies are covered by their shields (162); they have their swords drawn and at the ready and are about to attack warriors who are naked and brandish their spears overhead; most of their opponents carry a pair of spears each (plate 5.1).414 Bell-shaped cuirasses are to the best of my knowledge not attested in seventh-century Athenian representations.

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Geometric warriors with shields, particularly those of the Dipylon variety, are frequently associated with chariots, which they apparently used as a mode of conveyance (124; plate 6.1).417 These chariots were at least sometimes used to transport a warrior to or even on the battlefield, as demonstrated by the famous image that depicts Aktorione-Molione in the heat of battle (141; plate 6.2).418 Chariots are sometimes depicted in processions (135).419 Chariots are also depicted on Protoattic vases, although usually in processions and never within the context of an actual battle (157; plate 6.3).420

The evidence for horse-riding is slight. One example is a warrior with helmet on a rearing horse (138; plate 7.1); another is a rider with a pair of spears and possibly a helmet with drooping plume (147; plate 7.2).422 It cannot be said for certain whether they fought from horseback or usually dismounted prior to combat; evidence from other regions, to be discussed a little further on, suggests the latter. A very Early Protoattic pot from the

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415 It cannot be said for certain whether they fought from horseback or usually dismounted prior to combat; evidence from other regions, to be discussed a little further on, suggests the latter. A very Early Protoattic pot from the
beginning of the seventh century depicts a warrior on horseback, complete with round, presumably Argive shield, and possibly equipped with a Korinthian helmet (159; plate 7.3).\(^{423}\) Warriors of this type may be referred to as *hippobatai*, based on Korinthian evidence (see below).

**Warships and naval combat**

The earliest representations of ships in Attic art date to the Middle Geometric I period, *i.e.* the late ninth century (a bronze *fibula* from Kerameikos grave 41) and Middle Geometric II (*e.g.* an *oinochoe* found in Agioi Theodori in Kromyon, Korinthia).\(^{424}\) Ships are a common feature in Attic Geometric painted scenes and are often shown within the context of battle (see the next section on scenes of combat). We have already discussed Michael Wedde's two main types of warships in our discussion of the Postpalatial evidence (page 33, above). These two types, one with a straight prow and the other with a forefoot, are also shown on Geometric Attic pottery. Wedde has convincingly argued that the warships with a straight prow were used for battles at sea (and thus served as fighting platforms), while the vessels with a forefoot allowed them to be beached at speed and were thus made specifically for surprise attacks.

We are fortunate to have a fair number of models of such ships, including a terracotta model from Amphiareion (Oropos area) of unknown date.\(^{425}\) These models are not to scale, but do provide a good idea of what some of these vessels looked like. Artists typically exaggerated particular elements of a specific type of ship, especially the forefoot, high forecastle, and curved stern. The forefoot of Wedde's second type of warship ultimately developed into the rams familiar from later Classical historians. The introduction of the ram is often dated to around 700, but in an article published in 1982, F.H. Van Doorninck points to an earlier representation of a ram-bearing ship on a 'Boeotian' *fibula* from Kerameikos grave 41, which is dated to ca. 850 BC.\(^{426}\)

An Early Protoattic votive plaque from Sounion (Attika), attributed to the 'Analatos Painter', shows the rear half of a warship; the front part is now lost (160; plate 8.1).\(^{427}\) Five warriors are depicted sitting at the oars, although they are facing front. We should perhaps imagine them listening to a rousing speech by their commander or making preparations to jump ashore while the ship coasts toward the beach. Each of these warriors carries two spears and wears a presumably Korinthian helmet with stilted crest; their bodies are obscured by the large round, no doubt Argive shields. A single figure in the stern is manning the steering oars; he has neither armour nor shield and appears to wear some kind of tunic that may mark him a special, perhaps a specific figure from myth (Phrontis?).\(^{428}\)

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423 Pergamon museum 31006 (Berlin); Greenhalgh 1973, 50 fig. 35.
424 For further details, refer to Tzahou-Alexandri 1987.
425 Crielaard 2006, 279 fig. 14.2a.
426 Van Doorninck 1982, 253–256 (with fig. 7); see also Basch 1987, 150–151, 201; Crielaard 2008, 124; Crielaard, in press (equipment); Johnston 1985, 32–33 BA 25.
427 Athens 14935: Boardman 1998, 100 fig. 192; Boardman 1985 [1964], 43 fig. 38.
Scenes of combat

There are two main types of battle-scenes on Attic Geometric vases, namely: single combat and mass combat. Single combat usually involves men armed with swords (111; plate 8.2). These scenes suggest that warriors in the eighth century engaged in duels, perhaps on the field of battle, or maybe as a dangerous sort of game. However, it is also possible that these scenes of single combat are intended as a kind of ‘short-hand’, especially on small pots. In such instances, a scene of combat between two men might actually be a stylised or symbolic representation of battle between opposing armies.

The second type of battle-scenes are those that depict mass combat, i.e. an armed conflict between groups of fighters. These fall into two categories, one type associated with fighting on and around ships (142; plate 9.1), probably on beaches, the other on land (121; plate 9.2), with no ships present. Of these, the battles associated with ships appear to be most common. Ahlberg rightly suggests that the battles depicted in the Geometric vase-paintings were fought between combatants organised into ‘mobile units, not yet in compact larger units.’ Combatants use spears and swords, and some battles include archers; however, the commonly held notion that battle in Geometric art is mostly a long-range affair does not, in my opinion, bear close scrutiny.

In Protoattic vase-painting, the figures are generally larger and drawn in more detail than on Geometric pots. The scenes themselves are often less dynamic than before: warriors sitting aboard a ship, a line of men with swords drawn, and so forth. These warriors now also clearly wear bronze pieces of armour (helmets and greaves) and are generally equipped with long thrusting spears. Their large Argive shields are always carried before them, never slung around the back. The lack of scenes depicting actual combat are rare, however, and the Protoattic material itself is rather limited, so that it is difficult to say anything specific about the style of warfare that these men may have engaged in.

The aftermath of battle

The so-called Lambros oinochoe provides a unique picture of how prisoners of war may have been treated (129). A number of Dipylon warriors are shown; they lack spears, but each does have a sword and a dagger at their waist. Their arms are not shown and Ahlberg suggests, rightly I believe, that their hands were probably bound. They are confronted by ‘nude’ figures,

429 Ontario 957X245: Ahlberg 1971, 49–51 fig. 47.
430 My thanks to Jan Paul Criel aard for pointing this out to me.
431 Copenhagen 1628: Ahlberg 1971a, 29–31 figs. 31–33; Boardman 1998, 41 fig. 60; Davison 196, fig. 133; Osborne 1998, fig. 17.
432 Louvre A519: Ahlberg 1971a, 16 figs. 5 and 6, 88 fig. 87 (detail); Boardman 1998, 38 fig. 50 (detail); Rystedt 2006b, 244 fig. 6.a; Snodgrass 1999, fig. 5.
433 Ahlberg 1971a, 108.
434 Contra, for example, Ahlberg 1971a, 49–54.
435 Louvre CA2509: Ahlberg 1971a, 21–24 figs. 19–24; Rystedt 2006b, 244 fig. 6.b; Snodgrass 1999, 21 figs. 7–8.
most of whom are also equipped with a sword and a dagger. One of them touches the hilt of a dipylon-warrior’s sword; perhaps he is in the process of disarming his opponent. It likely depicts dipylon-warriors that are being taken prisoner by the other men. One figure appears wholly nude and holds his sword (and possibly the dagger, or else the scabbard of his sword) in one hand, while being confronted by another figure who brandishes a sword and may be threatening him. Two corpses are also depicted. All figures, including the corpses, wear helmets.436

Weapons and martial activities in times of peace

Weapons emerge as an important part of male identity in Attic Geometric vase-painting. Two main types of scenes in Geometric art, which are both funerary in character, are the prothesis (the lying-in-state of the deceased) and ekphora (the funerary procession to the cemetery). Usually, at least some of the men in these ostensibly peaceful gatherings are equipped with swords; in processions, the shielded warriors are equipped with helmets and weapons (130; plate 10.1).437 Protoattic vases of the seventh century sometimes feature processions—or possibly some kind of dances or ritual—that depict men in omate dress holding spears (79; plate 10.2).438

From at least the late eighth century onwards, high-ranking Greeks engaged in sports. Some of these competitions had a distinctly martial connotation. Evidence for such ‘martial sports’ can be found in Attic Geometric pottery. A Late Geometric amphora depicts a procession of chariots, with warriors alternatively facing forwards and backwards (78). Anthony Snodgrass suggests that this represents a martial feat whereby the warrior would make a 360 degree turn.439 Similarly, some of the scenes of single combat, mentioned above, might represent a dangerous game of some sort (cf. Hom. II. 23.798–825). In addition, wrestling and boxing were important activities; it is interesting that in some fighting scenes, a man can grab the plume of his opponent’s helmet like a boxer grabbing the forelocks of his rival (111).440 Such martial sports no doubt served as both entertainment, as a way for men to prove their quality, and as training for battle.

Summary of the Attic Geometric and Protoattic material

To sum up, it is clear that different kinds of warriors are represented in the Late Geometric Attic evidence. None appear to wear any body-armour, though helmets are common. Some men fight with spears, others with swords; combinations also occur. Some warriors are furthermore equipped with shields, either round or rectangular in shape, or of Dipylon type. These warriors are frequently associated with chariots. Archers are relatively rare. By contrast, the Protoattic evidence, limited though it is, is far more

436 Ahlberg 1971a, 21–25.
437 Louvre A517: Rystedt 2006b, 241 fig. 3.
438 Berlin A42: Snodgrass 1980, 102 fig. 40.
440 E.g., Royal Ontario Museum 957X245: Ahlberg 1971a, 49–51 fig. 47.
uniform, featuring warriors with bronze Korinthian helmets, bronze greaves, single thrusting spears and swords, and Argive shields. From the end of the eighth century, some warriors travel to the battlefield on horseback.

Both the Late Geometric and Protoattic evidence suggests that warfare was conducted on a relatively small scale. For the eighth and seventh centuries, the existence of a large and well-organised Attic (Athenian) army is unlikely. Instead, it seems more probable that, as Gudrun Ahlberg has already noted (see above), fighting men operated in small and mobile units, i.e. warriors were grouped into warbands, presumably knit together through ties of blood and friendship. The importance of ships further suggests that these warbands engaged in seaborne raids against other communities, and that a typical warband therefore was perhaps no larger than the crew of a single vessel.

ii. Attika II: the (later) sixth and early fifth centuries
The second group of Attic figurative evidence consists once again mostly of vase-paintings, this time so-called Attic black-figure and red-figure. Attic black-figure first appears in the final decades of the seventh century and continued down to the middle of the fifth. Red figure was invented probably around 530 and persisted until the fourth century. Huge numbers of black- and red-figure vases were made in Attika, with the bulk unearthed in areas elsewhere in the Aegean and beyond, especially in Etruscan cemeteries in Italy. By the end of the sixth century, Attika was virtually the only region left that still made figurative pottery.

John Beazley studied some forty thousand red-figure vases (including fragments), while John Boardman has estimated the total number of known black-figure vases to number around twenty thousand. The bulk of these black-figure pots were made in the period of Attic red-figure. Of course, not all of these pots feature martial scenes. I have included some two hundred specimens in my database, of which around seventy-five are scenes from red-figure pots. Of the one-hundred-and-twenty black-figure pots, a little less than half date to the period before 530 (most gravitate around the middle of the century). I have striven to include representative examples of scenes with a martial connotation. The evidence as a whole is clearly biased toward the period between roughly 530 and 480 and differs remarkably in many respects from the Geometric and Protoattic material.

Warriors and their wargear
Especially during the second half of the sixth century, male nudity in Attic vase-painting is now generally limited to specific contexts. Warriors now

442 Boardman 1991 [1974], 146.
443 Cook 1997 [1960], 262.
446 I shall discuss this aspect more fully in a forthcoming article.
tend to be either wholly nude (especially heroes and other mythical figures), or fully clothed and armoured. As far as body-armour is concerned, the bronze bell-shaped cuirass remains common. However, in the course of the later sixth century, the linen corset with shoulder pieces and pteruges (strips cut into the bottom, below the level of the waist), sometimes reinforced with scales, slowly begins to transplant the bell-shaped cuirass.\textsuperscript{447}

It is interesting that at around the same time, there is also an increase in the amount of bronze armour worn by certain warriors equipped with bell-shaped cuirasses in the representations. Particularly prominent are thigh-guards, especially on black-figure vases. Thigh-guards make it impossible to ride on horseback.\textsuperscript{448} It is certainly no coincidence that some men—if the pictures are correct—apparently began to wear more armour at the same time that horses slowly disappear and some warriors turned to wearing lighter pieces of armour (the linen corset). It suggests that men may now have been required to march to the battlefield, and it is possible that armies were enlarged to include a larger slice of society. Lacking horses, wealthy men may have sought to express their wealth instead by wearing more pieces of armour, to distinguish themselves from warriors that they perceived as being of lower standing, though obviously not poor. In other words, it seems as if in the later sixth century, most Athenian warriors were expected to march and fight on foot, instead of riding into battle.

I take it that this development was related to four other new elements that appeared at roughly the same time. I assume that these new developments were not accidental, but are in fact structurally related to each other. The first of these new elements is the introduction of the trumpet. An Attic black-figure plate attributed to Psiax shows a male figure with helmet, cuirass, and greaves, blowing a trumpet (270; \textbf{plate 11.1}).\textsuperscript{449} Another trumpeter, this time clothed like a Skythian archer, is shown on a bilingual cup signed by the potter Andokides (320; \textbf{plate 11.2}).\textsuperscript{450} Trumpets are not necessary when fighting as part of a warband, as one’s leader is probably never far away. The use of trumpets suggests fighting in relatively large armies, commanded by a leader whose voice may not carry far enough for everyone to hear.

The second element is the modification of existing types of helmets and the appearance of new ones. Trumpets are good for conveying orders above the din of battle, provided that one’s warriors are actually able to hear them. The typical helmet of the period between 700 and 550 is of Korinthian type, which covers most of the head, including the ears, and only leaves slits for the eyes and mouth. Such headgear is perfectly suitable in situations where the enemy are few and one’s compatriots and especially leader is never far away. But helmets of this type are difficult to use when fighting in close

\textsuperscript{447} For an overview, see Jarva 1995, 33–47.

\textsuperscript{448} As Greenhalgh points out, ‘it is the thighs that provide a horseman’s main grip, and they were the only part of the otherwise completely mailed Parthian cataphract to be left unprotected’ (Greenhalgh 1973, 101).

\textsuperscript{449} London B590: Beazley 1956, 294 no. 19; Boardman 1991 [1974], 119 fig. 169.

\textsuperscript{450} Palermo V650: Beazley 1956, 256 no. 21; Boardman 1991 [1974], 115 figs. 160.1–2.
order. In the second half of the sixth century, modifications were made to existing types of helmets, and new types were introduced, that left more of the eyes (face) and ears free. A red-figure cup of a warrior in a loincloth, dated to 520–510, wears a helmet that leaves much of the face exposed, probably of so-called Chalkidian or Attic type (403; plate 12.1).451

The third element is an unusual feature on the inside of Argive shields lends further support that phalanx-fighting was introduced in the latter half of the sixth century. A good example is provided by the full-length ‘portrait’ of Achilles found on a red-figure belly-amphora dated to 525–500 (416; plate 12.2).452 Achilles’ shield features two hand-grips, one on each side, connected to a rope that lines the inner shield. Allen Pittman has come up with an ingenious explanation for the presence of a second hand-grip (and the rope), namely that the ‘extra’ handle was gripped by the man immediately to one’s left in the rank of the phalanx. ‘The overall effect,’ he notes after some experimentation, ‘in shield/wall movement is astonishing. The entire shield wall becomes a unit and one can sense every shift of shield movement on either side. Moreover, the entire wall can be articulated — shields lifted or shifted horizontally — through this linkage.’453

The fourth and last element is a new type of sword. It appears that this may also have been invented for use in a more closely-packed environment. Vase-paintings before the last quarter of the sixth century nearly always feature just one type of sword, the so-called Naue II. However, toward the end of the sixth century, this type of sword seems to disappear almost overnight, replaced instead by a sword that has a leaf-shaped blade and straight cross-guard; it appears to be shorter than the Naue II sword. Shorter blades are more useful in tight formations than long ones. Examples of this new Greek sword abound in Attic red-figure, for example Troilos’ sword on one Attic pot (373; plate 13.1),454 the swords depicted on a red-figure cup that includes Herakles (364),455 and the sword of the warrior slaying a Kentaur on a red-figure cup from Vulci (429; plate 13.2).456 Attic black-figure appears to be somewhat more conservative, though examples of these new types of swords are found on a number of vases, some as early as circa 540 (352).457

To sum up, I believe that the changes noted here can be related to the introduction of phalanx warfare, specifically the emergence of centrally-organised armies of men who fought solely on foot and who replaced the earlier aristocratic warbands. The evidence that supports this notion are the introduction of trumpets, the use of helmets that left more of the ears and sometimes also eyes exposed, the introduction of secondary handles on the insides of Argive shields, and the use of a shorter type of sword.

451 Louvre G25: Ducrey 1985, 120 pl. 84; Van Wees 2000b, 129 fig. 4.b.
452 London E258: Beazley 1963, 54 no. 4; Boardman 1975, 64 fig. 57.2.
453 Pittman 2007, 70.
454 Louvre G18: Beazley 1963, 61 no. 68; Carpenter 1991, 33 fig. 34.
455 London E8: Beazley 1963, 63 no. 88; Boardman 1975, 67 fig. 65.
456 Munich 2640: Beazley 1963, 402 no. 22; Boardman 1975, 161 fig. 268.
457 E.g., London B197: Carpenter 1991, 58 fig. 65.
Chariots and horses

As we shall see a little further on, warriors accompanied by mounted youths are a familiar theme—popularly if incorrectly known as ‘knights and squires’—from especially the seventh century onwards. The motif appears in Attic vase-painting especially during the sixth century. Dated to 560 is an amphora depicting a mounted warrior and youth riding side by side (239; plate 14.1);458 slightly later is the battle-scene involving warriors and mounted youths on a Siana cup (313; plate 14.2).459 Finally, we have a depiction of a warrior dismounting while a mounted youth holds his horse, dated to between 550 and 525 (256; plate 15.1).460

Chariots within a clearly martial context make a reappearance on Attic pottery of the sixth century. Dated to between 560 and 530 is a band cup signed by Hermogenes that depicts a warrior stepping onto a waiting chariot (347; plate 15.2).461 On the basis of my sample, it seems that chariots and horsemen remain features in Attic black-figure scenes, at least until the last quarter of the sixth century. By contrast, they become comparatively rare in Attic red-figure (437; plate 15.3).462 Often, chariots are associated with scenes of myth, although in some cases, such as on a cup from Vulci (328; discussed a little further below, on p. 105), the artist’s inspiration seems to have come more from observing a real-life battle.

Warships and naval combat

Ships are somewhat more rare in Attic black- and red-figure scenes. One of the earliest is a galley shown on the famous François krater, dated to around 570–560 (319).463 From at least the second half of the sixth century onwards, we encounter combinations of armed warriors and unarmed rowers forming crews aboard warships. A platter from the Akropolis, dated to around 530, depicts a galley with a single tier of rowers: we see the oars, but not the men themselves (264; plate 16.1).464 Also present are two tall warriors, who may be plausibly identified as epibatai or ‘marines’.465 An encounter at sea is the subject of a black-figure scene dated to between 525 and 500. A round-bottomed merchantman with no oars is apparently attacked by a straight-keeled warship (271).466

The sixth century in particular also witnesses the development of new types of ships. Additional tiers of oarsmen are added to warships, which makes them shorter (more manoeuvrable) and faster; these ships were used as weapons in themselves, equipped with rams. The earliest innovation is

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458 Naples 81292: Greenhalgh 1973, 119 fig. 61.
459 Laon 37.1015: Beazley 1956, 681 no. 50 bis; CVA France 20, pls. 892.1 and 892.3-4.
460 London B191: Brouwers 2007a, 311 fig. 7; Greenhalgh 1973, 120 fig. 62.
462 Villa Giulia 27250: Beazley 1963, 124 no. 8; Boardman 1975, 77 fig. 94.
463 Florence 4209: Beazley 1956, 76 no. 1; Boardman 1991 [1974], 42–44 figs. 46.1–7; Carpenter 1991, figs. 1–2 and 75; Shear 2000, 102 fig. 141.
464 Athens 2414: Fields 2007, 16 (fig.).
465 E.g., Hdt. 7.96.
the so-called bireme, a two-tiered warship (343; plate 16.2). The three-tiered ship, trireme, is a later innovation, made famous in the Persian Wars and not attested in Greek art until the later sixth century; Phoenician depictions suggest that multi-tiered ships were invented in the Levant back in the seventh century.

Scenes of combat

A vivid scene of mass combat appears on a black-figure cup from Vulci and dated to around 550 (328; plate 17.1). It features chariots, spearmen, charioteers with Boiotian shields strapped to their backs, fallen warriors, Skythian archers (more on those momentarily), and even hippostrophoi. The warriors themselves often wear bell-shaped cuirasses, some with tunics others without; at least one warrior is naked. Many of the men wear Korinthian helmets, while others sport open-faced helmets, with regular or raised crests. Some men bunch together while others fight singly or flee; one of the chariot horses has fallen. The scene is chaotic; its high level of detail strongly suggests a familiarity on the artist’s part with this kind of warfare in the middle of the sixth century.

Heavily-armed warriors with shields and spears fought out in the open field and also served as epibatai on warships. However, they were also used in assaulting fortified towns. An Attic red-figure cup, dated to around 500, depicts a section of crenulated wall or tower (379). Two spearmen, equipped with Korinthian helmets, composite corslets (linen corslets that are partially covered by scales), spears, and shields defend the wall and strike at two spearmen directly beneath them, who are similarly equipped except that one wears a flowing garment instead of armour and the other is equipped with a linen corslet. Spearmen or ‘hoplites’ not only fought out in the open or on ships, but they also served as watchmen on walls: a black-figure hydria of about 520–500 shows Achilles killing Troilos beneath the crenellated walls of Troy (341; plate 17.2).

The use of allied or mercenary troops

So-called ‘Skythian’ archers appear on Attic pottery in the sixth century. They typically wear tunics with long sleeves and trousers, often enlivened by decorative patterns. The definitive study on Skythian archers is Maria Vos’s book, *Skythian Archers in Archaic Attic Vase-Painting* (1963). She notes that Skythians first appear, although infrequently, on Attic vases of the first half of the sixth century, and become more common in the period 540–490; inconsistencies and inaccuracies in the depiction of Skythian archers after 490 suggest, according to Vos, that the archers themselves were no longer available for the vase-painters to imitate.
Skythian archers appear frequently in departure scenes, as for example on a black-figure amphora dated to between 530–510 (267; plate 18.1).\footnote{Brussels R291: Boazky 1956, 270 no. 52; Boardman 1991 [1974], 126 fig. 187.} A black-figure scene of the late sixth century, in which Skythian archers fire from behind the shields of hoplites, suggests how they were used on the battlefield (307; plate 18.2).\footnote{Berlin F1865: Snodgrass 1999 [1967], pl. 38; Vos 1963, pl. 6.b.} It is possible that Athenians hired Skythians as a kind of mercenary troops in combat, as the tyrant Peisistratos supposedly had,\footnote{See Vos 1963, 68.} or that they were simply part of the following of an aristocratic patron.

However, Askold Ivantchik has recently argued that the Skythian archers depicted on vases dated 530–490 are not really Skythians at all. Instead, he suggests that the clothes worn by the archers were a convention that identified them as secondary characters that accompanied a hero, who was always depicted as a hoplite. As such, Skythian dress was indicative of the character’s iconographic function, rather than his ethnical origin.\footnote{Ivantchik 2006, 198–243 \textit{passim}.} I do not believe that Skythian dress was used to denote ‘secondary characters’. However, Ivantchik does make a good point in pointing out that the Skythian costume may simply represent ‘foreigners’ of undisclosed origin; furthermore, he makes a valid point by warning us not to overestimate the number of ‘barbarian’ troops in Athens.\footnote{Ivantchik 2006, 244.}

In addition to ‘Skythian’ archers, the Athenians also used peltasts. Peltasts were supposedly the typical Thrakian warrior and named after the \textit{pelte}, a crescent-shaped (wicker) shield. They have been studied extensively by J.P.G. Best. The earliest examples are found on Attic black-figure vases of slightly later than the middle of the sixth century, while the earliest occurrence of Thrakian peltasts in literature is found in Thukydidides.\footnote{Best 1969, esp. pp. 1a–c; Boardman 1991 [1974], 89 figs. 121.1–2.} Most modern authors consider peltasts to be javelineers, a notion founded mostly on Xenophon’s use of the word (\textit{e.g.}, Xen. Anab. 1.10.7). However, especially during the Archaic period, peltasts could be equipped with virtually any kind of weapon (246),\footnote{Contra Best 1969, esp. pp. 12 and accompanying n. 68.} and from at least the early fifth century onwards, some peltasts might simply have been Greeks dressed up in ‘Thrakian’ garb, who served as light troops or mercenaries.\footnote{Golden 1998, 26–27.}

A footrace-in-arms, the \textit{hoplitodromos}, was introduced in Olympia probably around 520.\footnote{Golden 1998, 26–27.} Shortly thereafter, naked runners equipped with shields and helmets are depicted on Attic wares, especially in red-figure style (365; plate 19.1). In addition, some Athenian warriors engaged in war dances, the so-called ‘Pyrrhic’ or ‘Pyrrhic dance’. Perhaps the earliest example is a
picture of a warrior on an Attic black-figure Siana cup from about 570 (354; plate 19.2).483 The figure wears a tunic and animal skin, and is furthermore equipped with a Boiotian shield, spear (with thong), greaves, and helmet with stilted crest. The position of his legs and his stooped appearance suggest that he is dancing. Of course, there can be no doubt that the Pyrrhic is intended in scenes which include not only the armed dancer, but also a flute-player. Examples include an Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Poseidon Painter and dated to the end of the sixth century (376),484 as well as a kylix by the Eucharides Painter and dated to around 490 (384; plate 20.1).485

Finally, some aristocratic men were actively associated with war in the monuments that marked their graves. As noted before, many of the Geometric vases were originally intended for funerary use, with some of the larger examples used as grave markers in high-ranking burial plots in Athens. From the sixth century onwards, graves also began to be marked by stelai.486 One of the earliest of these has been unearthed in the Kerameikos cemetery in Athens (448; plate 20.2).487 It has been dated to around 560 and depicts a standing naked young man equipped with a sword and holding a spear in front of him. Similar in pose is the well-known stele of Aristion, dated to around 510 (451).488 Unlike the earlier figure, Aristion is fully clothed, wearing a tunic with linen corslet, as well as greaves; his head presumably once sported a helmet, pushed up. He lacks a sword, but like the earlier figure holds a spear in front of him. These stelai served to immortalise the dead men they commemorated as warriors, as men who fought and possibly died on the field of battle; they were both the leaders and the protectors of their communities.

Summary of the sixth-century Attic material

The Attic iconographic evidence of the sixth century differs from the earlier material in many respects and demonstrates a move toward larger-scale warfare. Whereas nudity was apparently common in the eighth and seventh centuries, there is a much more systematic approach to clothing in sixth-century Attic art. Warriors now tend to be both fully clothed and armoured, and there is even an increase in the amount of armour worn by some warriors. In addition, the linen corslet slowly replaces the bell-shaped cuirass in the final decades of the sixth century.

Some warriors are mounted, while others use chariots to travel to and on the battlefield. Among other things, the introduction of trumpets and of more open helmet types suggests that by the final decades of the sixth century, warbands had been transformed into a larger army. Personal ties

483 London B30: Van Wees 2000b, 135 fig. 8a; Warry 1980, 13 (fig.).
484 Once Luzern market: Beazley 1963, 136 no. 10; Boardman 1975, 87 fig. 127
485 Louvre G136: Sekunda 2000, 7 (fig.).
486 However, the earliest of such stelai, not counting Mykenian examples, date from the late seventh century and have been found at Primias, Krete (Heraklion 399 and 402, see Boardman 1991 [1978], figs. 252.3 and 252.5, respectively).
may still have remained important to some degree, as depictions of Skythian archers in particular suggest a close tie between an Attic warrior and his ‘foreign’ following that is not governed by a central authority.

iii. Korinthia

Relative large numbers of figurative painted pottery were made in Korinth from the late eighth century down to around the middle of the sixth, with production peetering out altogether in the second half of the sixth century. Michael Shanks estimates that the total number of extant Protokorinthian pots with figured decoration, even allowing for fragments, numbers around five hundred in all. Of these five hundred pots, dated to between 720 and 625, most were decorated with animals rather than humans. Fortunately for our purposes, whenever humans do appear in Korinthian scenes they tend to be warriors. I have included a little over fifty specimens in my database, including a number of representative examples of later Ripe Korinthian pots (c. 625 to 550 and a little beyond). The catalogue thus contains a sizeable amount of the total available material.

Warriors and their wargear

The north-east Peloponnese, including Korinth, may have been at the forefront of military developments in the late eighth century. We have virtually no Geometric-style scenes from Korinth. Instead, Protokorinthian-style vase-painting, an early form of black-figure, is introduced at the end of the eighth century. One of the earliest examples of Protokorinthian pottery is a small aryballos from the cemetery at Lechaion (208; plate 21.1). The pot features a battle between warriors equipped in a manner familiar from Attic Geometric scenes: they are naked and equipped with oblong Dipylon shields and two spears or a sword; the scene also features a naked, kneeling archer who is stabbed from behind. Unlike Attic Geometric scenes, the warriors are all equipped with Korinthian helmets. In addition, one warrior differs substantially from the others: he is placed in the centre of the action and is not only equipped with a Korinthian helmet, but he is also clothed and equipped with the new Argive shield: his arm has even been unnaturally extended so that we can clearly see the latest innovation on the inside of the shield, the double grip.

As in other art of the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries, archers are relatively rare in Korinthian vase-painting. Whenever they do appear, they are consistently portrayed as kneeling and acting like modern-day snipers, apparently picking specific targets rather than bunching up with their peers and firing volleys of arrows high into the sky. Some archers could be at least partially armoured. A Middle Ripe Korinthian fragment of a pyxis, found at Perachora, shows an archer with helmet, tunic, and greaves, kneeling behind a compatriot and taking aim at an unseen enemy (212; plate 21.2).

489 Shanks 1999, 48.
490 Korinth CP:2096: Amyx 1988, 25 pls. 6:1a–e; Boardman 1998, 92 figs. 171.1–2; Shanks 1999, 141 fig. 3.33.3.
491 Perachora 1842: Dunbabin 1962, pl. 78; Van Wees 2000b, 153 fig. 17.d.
Such depictions suggest, in my opinion, that archers may have had a higher social status than is commonly thought, a point to which I shall return in this book’s conclusion.

Chariots and horses

The earliest Protokorinthian pottery not only introduces the new Korinthian helmet and Argive shield. The Korinthian evidence also features in considerable numbers warriors on horseback. The earliest example is an Early Protokorinthian aryballos attributed to the so-called ‘Evelyn Painter’ (196; plate 21.3).492 It depicts a warrior with shield, sword, spear, and helmet walking behind a youth on horseback. Later scenes usually show the outline of a second horse next to that of the youth’s that must belong to his dismounted master (213; plate 22.1).493 Common in the seventh century are scenes in which two warriors engage in what appears to be single combat while the mounted youths observe from the sidelines (185; plate 22.2).494

The warrior and the youth are usually and anachronistically dubbed ‘knight’ and ‘squire’. However, an Early Ripe Korinthian aryballos provides us with the contemporary Greek—or at least Korinthian—names: the warrior is called a hippobatas (‘he who rides a horse’, literally ‘horse-walker’); the youth, a hippostrophos (201; plate 22.3).495 As Peter Greenhalgh points out, the name of the youth clearly denotes what his function was, viz. to take his master’s horse when he had dismounted to fight on foot and ‘turn’ the animal away from battle to keep it safe.496 Hippobatai and hippostrophoi are a fixture in Korinthian art throughout the seventh and sixth centuries. In addition, a terracotta votive shield found in the Korinthian Potter’s Quarter suggests that at least some warriors still rode to battle in the early fifth century (499; plate 23.1).497 Furthermore, hippobatai and hippostrophoi are found in the iconographic material of other regions, including Athens (already discussed above), Lakonia, the islands of the Aegean, and East Greece.

The appearance of hippobatai, specifically the association of warriors with horses, bronze armour, and the new Argive shield is suggestive. Other authors have noted that the bell-shaped cuirass is ideally suited for horsemen.498 Building on this notion, I have suggested in an article that the Argive shield, too, was made specifically for use by men who spent a good deal of time on horseback. Depictions of men dismounting always show them facing away from the horse, in the direction of the battle itself, as if they simply ride into battle and then launch themselves at the enemy. It would be very difficult to ride around with a single-grip shield strapped to...
the back or suspended from the neck by a *telamôn*, as it would bounce off and chafe the hind end of one’s horse. With the Argive shield, the double-grip and convex shape ensures that it can be comfortably carried (with the rim resting on one’s shoulder), without injuring the horse.499

*Hippobatai* rode to the battlefield and then dismounted to fight on foot. Peter Greenhalgh has suggested that an armoured, but shieldless horseman on a Middle Ripe Korinthian vase of the early sixth century is an example of ‘true’ cavalry, *i.e.* a man who fought from horseback (84; plate 23.2).500 This may well be the case. In addition to this horseman, the scene also includes *hippobatai* and warriors on foot. He may indeed have been a cavalryman. The lack of a shield, and indeed his particular mode of fighting from horseback, may have marked him as a particular—to us unknown—hero or individual. At any rate, fighting from horseback was clearly not unknown. Nevertheless, Robert Gaebel suggests that cavalry may have remained a relatively unimportant force in Attika and the Peloponnes in the Archaic period.501 Obviously, there is nothing that precludes a man from fighting from horseback if he is so inclined, and the evidence certainly suggests that we should not be too strict in our interpretation of the material.

In Korinthian art, horses appear to have been as indispensable to warriors as their spears and helmets; however, chariots are rare. When they do appear, they are usually involved in racing, as on a Middle Protokorinthian II to Late Protokorinthian aryballos found at Syrakousai (228; plate 24.1).502 They appear more often on Late Korinthian pottery, perhaps in emulation of similar scenes on Attic pots. A red-ground, Atticising krater shows the hero Amphiaraoe departing for battle (94).503 Another scene shows Herakles attacking a monster while his aid attends to his chariot (185).504 Dated to around 530 is a fragmented *hydria* showing Achilles fighting Memnon while their charioteers flank the scene (96; plate 24.2).505 In these instances, the presence on Korinthian pots of chariots within the context of (mythical) battlefields do come across as deliberately archaising or mythicising, possibly Atticising.

**Scenes of combat**

As far as depictions of mass combat in the seventh century is concerned, perhaps the most famous vase is the Middle to Late Protokorinthian jug known as the Chigi *olpe* (187; plate 25).506 It prominently features a battle-scene on the upper portion of the belly, showing two groups of warriors (warbands?) right before the moment of impact. Each army

499 For further information and references, refer to Brouwers 2007a.
500 Brunswick 235; Greenhalgh 1973, 101 fig. 53.
502 Amyx 1988, 44; Johansen 1923, pl. 34.1; Shanks 1999, fig. 3.34.
consists of spearmen in bronze armour; some men are naked apart from their cuirass, greaves, and helmet, while others also wear a red tunic.

Perhaps for the first time in Korinthian art, all of the men in the battle-scene wear armour, including bronze greaves and bell-shaped cuirasses. In fact, bell-shaped cuirasses are first depicted, as far as I am aware, only in Middle Protokorinthian vase-painting; the same perhaps holds true for greaves, at least as far as the Korinthian material is concerned. Furthermore, all of the men carry a set of two spears, one of which is shorter and has a throwing-loop; there is no doubt that this shorter spear is intended to be a javelin. It seems likely that the javelin was thrown during the advance, in the manner of the later Roman pilum.

This scene has often been interpreted as a more or less accurate rendering of the Greek phalanx in action. However, if the Chigi olpe shows a phalanx, it is a rather disorganised one, split into distinct groups or lines of men, rather than forming a single block of fighters. Some of the men are still arming themselves at the far left, others hurry to catch up with their comrades. Indeed, ‘one may wonder whether the lines of men in the picture are meant to be strictly single lines at all, rather than schematic depictions of dense clusters of warriors.’ However, I would suggest that the most natural interpretation of the battle-scene is that we are looking at two forces marching towards each other in ‘waves’, with each ‘wave’ consisting of a number of men formed up more or less line abreast. This is a way of advancing across the battlefield known from at least two passages in the Iliad (see page 166, below). Movement in waves has also been remarked upon by Henk Singor.

A similar battle-scene as that on the Chigi vase is depicted on a Middle Protokorinthian aryballos (80; plate 26.1). Here, groups of men advance and fight, while a few of the warriors have fallen to their knees and are about to get slaughtered by their opposite numbers. This scene incorporates the groups of men familiar from the Chigi olpe and then repeats the motif, creating a somewhat disorganised and perhaps realistic feel to the proceedings. The motif of the fallen warriors being killed by their foes is also shown on the famous ‘Macmillan’ aryballos, Middle II to Late Protokorinthian, which also includes men engaged in single combat amidst the general mêlée (180; plate 26.2). It is similar to the Chigi olpe, showing us what may have happened after the two forces met in battle.

None of these vases represent phalanx warfare. Nevertheless, the presence of a flute-player in the battle-scene on the Chigi olpe has been considered as strong evidence for phalanx warfare. In particular, it has

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507 Cf. Jarva 1995, 20–32 (cuirasses) and 84–100 (greaves); Snodgrass 1964b, 84 (with references).
508 E.g., Lorimer 1947, 81.
509 Van Wees 1994, 143.
511 Berlin 3773: Pfuhl 1923, no. 58; Van Wees 2000b, 141 fig. 10.
512 London 1889.4–18.1: Amyx 1988, 31 pls. 11.1a–b; Boardman 1998, 93 figs. 176.1–2; Shanks 1999, fig. 3.24.
elicited comparisons with a passage in Thoukydides, \(^{513}\) namely his description of the Battle of Mantinea (418):

> After this the two armies met, the Argives and their allies advancing with great violence and fury, while the Spartans came on slowly and to the music of many flute-players in their ranks. This custom of theirs has nothing to do with religion; it is designed to make them keep in step and move forward steadily without breaking ranks, as large armies often do when they are just about to join battle. (Thouk. 5.70)

However, the flute-player’s function in the battle-scene on the Chigi olpe need not correspond with those of the Spartan pipers in Classical times. The warriors may have advanced into battle singing war-songs, or perhaps they raised a paian (Thoukydides, after all, emphasises that the Spartans used the flute-players for something other than religious purposes). Furthermore, the description in Thoukydides makes clear that this specific use of the flute was something peculiar to the Spartans of his day; the historian’s audience apparently would assume that the flute had some kind of religious or ritual significance.

A battle depicted on a fragmentary Middle Protokorinthian I–II aryballos from Perachora features a flute-player at the far-left, out of harm’s way and piping to his heart’s content, while the battle is already in full swing (210; \textbf{plate 26.3}).\(^{514}\) This battle-scene includes warriors equipped with both Argive and Boiotian shields, and features a solitary archer, crouching in front of the flute-player. One of the enemy warriors is shown at the point of being hit in the shin by an arrow. It seems likely that the vase-painter depicted two distinct phases, namely the advance and the battle itself, at the same time, a common enough feature in Greek vase-painting.

\textit{Weapons and martial activities in times of peace}

The Chigi olpe not only features a battle-scene: it also includes other activities with a martial—and specifically violent—connotation, especially the hunt. The bottom frieze depicts boys hunting hare while a scene on the belly shows young men attacking a lion. An \textit{aryballos} from Taras (Southern Italy) and dated to Middle Protokorinthian II to Late shows riders accompanied by a dog: presumably a chase (223).\(^{515}\) Hunting on horseback would have provided invaluable riding experience and training. Such activities would also have created and fostered group cohesion.

Jeffery Hurwit has argued persuasively that the decoration on the Chigi olpe forms a consistent whole, and that the figured scenes on the pot can be regarded as a kind of manual for young aristocrats. The broad theme of the pot is the \textit{agon}, defined by Hurwit as ‘competition, struggle, contest’. The friezes demonstrate the various ‘levels’ a young aristocrat passes through on his way to maturity: the bottom frieze has young boys with short hair hunting hares, while the one on the belly shows mounted youths with long

\(^{513}\) \textit{E.g.}, Anderson 1991, 19.

\(^{514}\) Perachora 27: Amyx 1988, 25; Dunbabin 1962, 15–17 pls. 2 and 57; Shanks 1999, fig. 3.23.

\(^{515}\) Taranto 4173: Amyx 1988, 38; Shanks 1999, fig. 3.19.4.
hair, perhaps serving as *hippostrophoi* (to their fathers?),\(^{516}\) as well as youths hunting lion, while the scene on the shoulder depicts adult men in combat. The hunt serves as practice for actual combat: the boys hunt the harmless hare while the youths take on the fearless lion; the adult men hunt the most dangerous prey of all: other men.\(^{517}\) In short, themes of masculinity and violence dominate in the painted scenes on this vase.

**Summary of the Korinthian evidence**

The Argive shield may have been a Korinthian invention, or else it was developed somewhere nearby (perhaps, indeed, in Argos). It appears in the late eighth century and is immediately associated with warriors who generally travel to the battlefield on horseback, accompanied by mounted youths who serve as their attendants. The theme of the *hippobatus* and *hippostrophos* is very common in Korinthian art and also encountered in the iconographic evidence from other regions.

By the time of the Chigi *olpe* (*c.* 640–625), the equipment had become more or less standardised, with warriors fighting in bronze armour (helmet, cuirass, greaves), equipped with Argive shields and one or more spears (sometimes including a javelin). These men must have operated in small groups—warbands—that under certain circumstances perhaps advanced toward the enemy in waves, sometimes to the rhythm of pipe-players. On occasion, such troops were supported by archers, who could also be armoured.

**iv. Lakonia**

The most important town of ancient Lakonia was Sparta, whose inhabitants were known in Classical times for their austere and militaristic way of life. However, the iconographic material is similar to that of other regions, with no indications for the existence of the later Spartan military machine. The material includes lead and bronze figurines from sanctuaries and plaques, as well as pottery. Maria Pipili, in her examination of Lakonian vases, demonstrated that pots made by the five most prolific Lakonian vase-painters have been unearthed at sanctuaries, especially at the Samian Heraion.\(^{518}\)

**Warriors and their wargear**

An early conical helmet adorns the clay head of a warrior from the Amyklaion sanctuary; it dates to around 700 (28; plate 27.1).\(^{519}\) The type of helmet is known from other Geometric vase-paintings, such as a fragment of a Late Geometric pot from Hypsele (102),\(^{520}\) as well as material from Eretria.\(^{521}\) More traditional is the depiction of a warrior with Korinthian

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516 Prof. Van Wees suggests that the older men may have been the *lovers* rather than the *fathers* of the younger men; see e.g. Theognis l. 551 (Kyrnos bridling the horses).


520 Tekvantou 1993, 197 fig. 6.

521 Gisler 1995, 72 (helmet shape).
helmet, Argive shield, and single spear on an early seventh-century ivory seal from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (506; plate 27.2). Some of the more detailed lead figurines unearthed at this sanctuary, referred to in chapter 4, depict warriors with greaves, Argive shield, single spear, and Korinthian helmet, such as one fine example of the seventh century (29). We have already seen combinations of adult warriors and their younger batmen in Attic and Korinthian art; the hippobatai and hippostrophoi form perhaps the best example of this pairing between older warriors and younger attendants. Young men, perhaps the neoi familiar from Archaic fragments of poetry (see chapter 8), may always have acted as servants or assistants to older men. On a cup dated to between 550 and 540, we see beardless young men, equipped with spears and naked apart from their greaves, carrying the dead bodies of older men (218; plate 27.3), perhaps sons carrying their dead father or older brothers, although there are other possibilities.

Horses and chariots

A number of plaques from Sparta depict horsemen. Not all of these are warriors, such as a plaque unearthed at the sanctuary at Artemis Orthia and dated to the first half of the seventh century (512; plate 28.1). However, another plaque from the same sanctuary and dated to the late seventh century shows an hippobatas, equipped with Argive shield and a single, thrusting spear (plate 28.2). Furthermore, at least one hippostrophos observes a battle in a scene on a hydria from perhaps the middle of the sixth century (89; plate 29.1). One side of a roughly contemporary amphora features a battle-scene that includes two naked warriors fighting over the body of a fallen comrade; the duel is flanked by mounted youths armed with spears, holding the reigns of their masters' horses.

The so-called Naukratis Painter of the mid-sixth century produced cups with naked youths riding horseback, often accompanied by a winged figure. Maria Pipili connects these to celebrations in honour of Hera, adding that the Naukratis Painter made his wares for a specific market and cult, i.e. Samian Hera. Pipili then suggests that other painters, such as the Rider Painter, copied the themes from the Naukratis Painter without properly understanding their original meaning or intend. However, this interpretation seems doubtful. Anton Powell points out that the winged figures indicate that the human characters are somehow heroic; both horses and, in a broader sense, (celebrations of) athleticism are typical of Lakonian

522 Dawkins 1929, pl. 145.1.
523 Wace 1929, 263 fig. 122 a.
526 Dawkins 1929, pl. 104.2.
527 Dawkins 1929, pl. 92.3; Greenhalgh 1973, 95 fig. 49.
529 Stibbe 1972, pl. 75.
530 Pipili 1995, 93; see also figs. 8.14–8.15 on the same page.
Furthermore, horsemen were already depicted in Lakonian art in the seventh century, with prodigious amounts of lead horsemen and other warriors unearthed at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (see chapter 4); in addition, the Dioskouroi were worshipped at Sparta and are themselves often shown as riders. Instead, it seems to me that Lakonian painters painted aristocratic themes that also appealed to people in other communities that shared a common ideology; the dedication of Lakonian pottery at Samos comes as no surprise considering the close relationship between Sparta and Samos in the sixth century (see chapter 9).

As in Korinth and Athens, scenes of warriors on chariots appear in the later sixth century. Fragments of a large relief vase have been unearthed at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta, in the so-called heroōn (518; plate 29.2). Eva Simantoni-Bournia has pointed out how these relief vases often feature detailed narrative and mythological scenes. The shoulder of this particular vase depicts a warrior stepping onto a chariot while the driver keeps the horses steady. The driver is equipped with a Korinthian helmet and wears a lion-skin. The warrior carries an Argive shield and wears a Korinthian helmet with raised crest. Greaves are not indicates. He carries what looks like two spears; the pommel of his sword peeps out from behind the rim of his shield. Beneath him, a dog is shown sniffing the ground. The presence of the dog in this case presumably means that the warrior is leaving his house, although it is equally possible that this is a Lakonian example of a war-dog.

A battle-scene is depicted on the neck of the vase. Two men are fighting over the body of a fallen warrior. The fallen warrior is naked apart from his bell-shaped cuirass and Korinthian helmet with raised crest; he furthermore has a Boiotian shield, apparently covering his back and perhaps suspended from a telamōn. The position of the shield suggests he is a charioteer. Both of the combatants are naked apart from their bell-shaped cuirasses and Korinthian helmets; they fight using a single thrusting spear each. The figure on the left carries an Argive shield while the figure on the right is also equipped with Boiotian shield, greaves, and thigh-guards. The scene is flanked by two other figures: to the left, an archer; to the right, a figure wearing an animal-skin (lion, leopard?) and equipped with a Korinthian helmet. This latter warrior also holds a stone in his raised right hand and carries a sword. Apart from the figure with the thigh-guards, none of the warriors are equipped with greaves.

We have earlier discussed scenes with chariots on sixth-century Korinthian vases that were perhaps influenced by Attic pots and therefore deliberately archaising or Atticising (or both). Certain details in this Lakonian scene suggest that chariots were perhaps still used in combat in the later sixth century. If the fallen figure is intended to be a charioteer, it makes sense that the shield was strapped to his back (and the scallops cut

531 See Powell 1998 passim.
532 Dawkins 1929, pls. 15 (photo) and 16 (drawing).
533 Refer to Simantoni-Bournia 2004.
from the sides would have afforded him so elbow room). The thigh guards on one of the figures in the scene suggests that he was the chariot’s passenger; after all, one cannot ride a horse when equipped with thigh guards. The scene can thus be interpreted as a realistic battle over the right figure’s fallen charioteer.

**Warships and naval combat**

A large number of ivory and bone plaques have been unearthed at Sparta, especially at the sanctuary to Artemis Orthia. Among the most impressive is a votive plaque of the late seventh century showing a scene with a warship (513; *plate 30.1*). Round, Argive shields are suspended from the side of the ship; three figures, one with a helmet with raised crest, are at the oars. Three other figures are busy with the sail. One man, located in the forecastle, has just hooked a fish, while another squats on the forefoot to defecate. At the stern, a man bids a woman farewell; she clasps his wrist and shoulder. The woman is clothed, while all of the men whose bodies are visible are naked. This is clearly a departure scene (possibly the abduction of Helen by Paris?), and the use of a warship loaded with warriors—who also served as rowers, apparently—suggests that these men are about to go on an expedition for plunder.

Somewhat earlier is an engraved fibula from Sparta that depicts the start of a battle at sea (505; *plate 30.2*). The left-hand vessel has a straight keel and forefoot. The right-hand vessel has a rounded bottom. Both contain a set of three warriors wearing plumed helmets, and equipped with Dipylon-shields and long pikes (the *naumachia xusta* familiar from Homer and used since at least Late Helladic IIIC). Small heads indicate the presence of oarsmen on both vessels. This is a rare type of scene and demonstrates that raiders on warships did not limit their attacks to coastal towns, but also attacked other vessels. While attacks on merchant vessels are perhaps to be expected, the large number of oarsmen and the presence of warriors suggests that these are, in fact, two rival warships engaged in a battle on open sea.

**Summary of the Lakonian evidence**

The Lakonian evidence is more similar to the Korinthian material than the Attic, suggesting Peloponnesian regional characteristics. The panoply familiar from the Korinthian artefacts is quickly adopted in Lakonia, consisting of bronze Korinthian helmet, bronze bell-shaped cuirass, bronze greaves, Argive shield, and one or more spears (single spears are by far the most common, however). We also encounter seventh-century Lakonian examples of the *hippobatas* and *hippostrophos*. In addition, some evidence attests to the continued importance of naval activities, including possible seaborne raids and warfare at sea. Along with the use of well-arrayed, mounted troops this suggests that in Lakonia, too, armies consisted of small warbands.

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v. The Argolid

Two important aristocratic themes are attested in the Argive Geometric material, namely horses and ships. A Late Geometric II fragment of locally-made pottery found at Argos combines the two elements by showing a ship with two rowers and a horse that appears to stand at the bow. A restored Late Geometric amphora from the Heraion near Argos shows a diminutive rider on horseback (103; plate 31.1). Particularly common in the Argolid are pots decorated with the motif of the ‘horse-leader’, a male figure leading two horses (a chariot team?) by the reins (107). The horse-leader also appears on a globular oinochoe from Argos, dated to Middle Geometric II to start of Late Geometric I, where he is positioned between the tail-ends of two confronting galleys (106).

In tomb T45, a well-known Late Geometric grave from Argos, excavators unearthed two iron firedogs in the shape of galleys, complete with ‘horn’, ‘scorpion’s tail’, and forefoot. In our discussion on this grave in the earlier chapter on burials with arms, we have noted that the deceased was both a warrior and a ship-owner, and that the firedogs themselves link him to feasting. Perhaps the warrior buried in T45 organised feasts whenever he wanted to mount a new naval expedition, in a manner familiar from the Odyssey (refer to the chapter on the Homeric epics).

Distinctly Argive are two fragmentary votive shields from Tiryns that are dated to the Late Geometric period, but are vaguely Orientalising in style. One set depicts a figure equipped with some sort of body protection, perhaps leather padding (445; plate 31.2). His scabbard is visible, with the sword drawn and brandished in the left hand; similar scabbards are known from elsewhere, for example a fragment from a relief vase from Naxos of the second quarter of the seventh century. His right hand grips a small single-grip shield and two spears. The second set of fragments depicts a battle between four figures, the central two possibly representing Achilles and the Amazon queen Penthesilea (446; plate 31.3). These central figures do not use shields, whereas the figures on the flanks wield smallish hollow shields. The figure on the left and Penthesilea are using spears whereas Achilles brandishes a sword (his scabbard, suspended from a band around the neck and shoulder, is clearly indicated). Interestingly, the helmets shown on these votive shields are perhaps Kegelhelmen, the same type that was also unearthed in the roughly contemporary tomb T45 at Argos.

Other figurative art in the Argolid reveals developments very similar to those in Korinth and other regions in the Peloponnese. From Kameiros on
Rhodes we have to so-called ‘Euphorbos Plate’, probably Argive to judge by its inscription,\textsuperscript{544} and dated to the end of the seventh century (\textit{222, plate 32.1}).\textsuperscript{545} The figures are all labelled: Hektor and Menelaos fight over the corpse of Euphorbos. Hektor is equipped with a Korinthian helmet, greaves, and bell-shaped cuirass; his Argive shield features a blazon in the shape of a bird. Menelaos and Euphorbos have similar equipment, except that their helmets are darker and feature stilted crests. Such scenes suggest the power of single combat as a symbol, perhaps as the truest test of a man’s warrior prowess.

vi. Elis

A large number of bronze figurines have been unearthed at the Panhellenic sanctuary of Olympia,\textsuperscript{546} as well as Delphoi;\textsuperscript{547} far fewer have been discovered at other sites.\textsuperscript{548} Most of these figurines were probably made elsewhere, but the Olympian examples will be discussed here, as the original place of manufacture is often difficult to trace. The warrior-figurines of the tenth to eighth centuries have been studied extensively by Michael Byrne. Byrne observes that male figurines are more common than female.\textsuperscript{549} Most of the warrior figurines discussed by him are in a so-called ‘smiting’ position, right arm raised and poised to strike with a spear; they are naked and frequently equipped with a single-grip shield.

Byrne interprets the warrior-figurines as gods, adding that the god in question at Olympia was Zeus, while different gods are supposedly represented by the figurines in Delphoi. The fact that these ‘gods’ are often equipped with helmets and shield, and also use spears rather than their more usual attributes, such as the lightning bolt (Zeus) or trident (Poseidon), are explained away by Byrne, who cites Pindaros to support the idea of Zeus being represented by what looks to me like a mortal spearman.\textsuperscript{550} The idea that these warrior figurines all represent gods seems to me unconvincing. They nevertheless do seem to offer a glimpse into what a contemporary warrior may have looked like: naked apart from a belt, and usually equipped with helmet, shield, and spear.

A large number of bronze relief panels have been unearthed in Olympia that once decorated the inside of Argive shields. Most of these date to the second half of the sixth and first half of the fifth centuries.\textsuperscript{551} One of the earliest examples, dated to the end of the seventh century, is a damaged

\textsuperscript{544} Boardman 1998, 143.
\textsuperscript{545} London 1860.4-4.1: Boardman 1998, 154 fig. 290; Carpenter 1991, 221 fig. 311; Snodgrass 1998, 105 fig. 42.
\textsuperscript{546} Furtwangler 1967; Heilmeyer 1942.
\textsuperscript{547} Perdrizet 1908; Rolley 1969.
\textsuperscript{548} General studies and catalogues include the following: Charbonneaux 1958; Comstock & Vermeule 1971; De Ridder 1896; Lamb 1969; Laumonier 1956; Muller 1929; Nicholls 1970; Sarian 1969.
\textsuperscript{549} Byrne 1991, 48–49. He does not distinguish between the different characters of the votive offerings in Delphi and Olympia, cf. Morgan 1990, 139–141.
\textsuperscript{550} Byrne 1991, 55–56 and summary on p. 205.
\textsuperscript{551} Kunze 1950, 231 and 242–243.
panel featuring a departure scene (469). A warrior, perhaps Hektor, says goodbye to a woman with a child on her shoulders, probably Andromache and Astyanax. The warriors wears a tunic and is furthermore equipped with a bell-shaped cuirass, Korinthian helmet, and greaves; he also brandishes a sword. His driver is also equipped with a bell-shaped cuirass.

Depictions of chariots otherwise appear to be rare on the shield-band panels. Most instead focus on a particular action, often with a violent connotation, between two or more participants. One panel from about 580 shows Aias grabbing Kassandra by the arm while she tries to seek refuge at the feet of a statue representing the goddess Athena (472). Aias is naked apart from his cuirass and helmet; he is equipped with a sword. A battle scene is found on another panel that depicts Achilles fighting Penthesileia, dated to around 550 (477). While Penthesileia is clothed, Achilles is nude apart from his cuirass, greaves, and helmet. These male figures all recall the semi-nude fighters from the Korinthian Chigi olpe. Of particular interest is a panel depicting two Achaian warriors finding the body of Aias after he has committed suicide (474; plate 32.2). Aias is face-down on the ground, his body run through by his own sword. Like Aias, the two warriors are naked: the only piece of equipment that they carry around is their sword. This suggests that while clothing was perhaps optional in Archaic Greece, one’s sword was not!

In fact, of all the weapons depicted in the shield-band panels, swords appear to be the most common. Even in situations where a warrior attacks with another weapon, the sword is often clearly present at his side. A good example is a panel depicting Orestes attacking Aigisthos, dated around 575 (471). Aigisthos, an older, clothed man, is shown sitting on the throne of Mykenai and in the process of drawing his own sword, while Orestes, young and naked, rushes toward with a spear, his sword still in its scabbard at his side.

vii. Discussion of the Southern mainland Greek material

The evidence shows that there was a considerable amount of diversity with regards to warriors in Late Geometric art: we have men with and without shields, fighting with spears or swords, or indeed bow and arrow, rarely riding horseback and more commonly associated with chariots, fighting on land or indeed on or around ships. The battles appear to be mostly close-ranged affairs fought between small and mobile groups of men; archers are rare and usually act in a supporting role, like modern-day snipers.

With the introduction of the double-grip Argive shield, possibly first in Korinth, warriors slowly become more uniform. The first half of the seventh century is clearly a period of transition, demonstrated by Korinthian figured

553 Olympia B1802a: Carpenter 1991, 232 fig. 337
555 Olympia B1636x: Carpenter 1991, 229 fig. 331.
556 Olympia B1802: Carpenter 1991, 246 fig. 353.
scenes and Boiotian *fibulae* that combine bronze armour and Argive shields with Dipylon shields and nudity. The oblong and convex version of the Dipylon shield is preserved as a double-grip variant, the Boiotian shield, which continued in use down to perhaps the fifth century. Both clothing and cuirass appear to be optional for much of the seventh century; the Chigi *olpe* is the first in which all of the warriors wear a cuirass, but even so, only some of the men also wear tunics. Nevertheless, warriors on foot almost invariably use Argive shields and spears (sometimes a set of two, which occasionally consists clearly of a long lance and a shorter javelin). Depictions of naked men make it clear that swords, even though seldom shown in all-out battle-scenes, are the most personal weapon that an eighth- and seventh-century man has.

In Geometric art, chariots are used as vehicles to transport warriors, especially of the Dipylon variety, to and on the battlefield. Chariots virtually disappear altogether from battle-contexts in the seventh century, having been replaced by the *hippobata* and *hippostrophos* pair so common in Korinthian art from the late eighth century and soon encountered elsewhere. In fact, *hippobatai* are common in the art of Korinth, the islands, and some other regions that we can safely say that the horse is much a part of certain seventh-century warriors’ panoplies as are their shields, greaves, and helmets!

Warriors appear to have operated in small bands throughout the seventh century; horses would have made surprise attacks, ambushes, and overland raids relatively easy. In some cases, as on the Chigi *olpe*, the men may have banded together and marched more or less in a single line, advancing toward the enemy in waves. One could regard this as a natural first step toward something like the Classical phalanx, for which the Attic evidence provides some circumstantial support from the late sixth century onwards. By then, Athens at least appears to have had a larger, more centrally-organised army, in which trumpet signals were used to convey a commander’s orders (voice alone was apparently no longer sufficient). Unfortunately, there is no iconographic evidence for the rest of the southern mainland in the late sixth century to give an idea about how widespread this development may have been.

*b. Central Greece*

Figurative art from Central Greece that provides insights into aspects of warfare has been found in Boiotia, Phokis, Thessaly, and Epeiros. The evidence is diverse, including pottery, engravings on *fibulae* (brooches), bronze figurines, and even the remains of a wall-painting from the sanctuary at Kalapodi.

*i. Boiotia*

Boiotian Geometric vases tend to be very similar to Attic ones. An important Boiotian artefact is a Late Geometric *kantharos* that depicts a helmeted
Dipylon warrior equipped with a bow (166; plate 33.1). The object was found at Vougliameni in Attika. The fact that this warrior is equipped with a Dipylon shield, which is commonly associated with chariots, suggests that he is of relatively high status. If this interpretation is correct, this would lend further support to the earlier suggestion that at least some of the archers in the period preceding the Persian Wars were culled from the upper echelons of society.

A battle-scene is depicted on a Boiotian Subgeometric vase of the early seventh century (170; plate 33.2). A warrior with round shield engages in single combat with a warrior carrying an oblong Dipylon shield with pronounced rim, while a third warrior with a square shield and a spear held overhand is carried off on a chariot. Scenes like these, in which chariots are shown within the context of a battle, are rare, but they clearly demonstrate that these vehicles were used as a means of transportation for warriors with shields. It also demonstrates that chariot-borne warriors could be equipped with any type of shield.

An important source of information are engraved fibulae of the seventh century that have been unearthed in Boiotia. A few of these fibulae clearly depict mythical scenes. One shows a Wooden Horse (horse on wheels) on one side, and a number of warriors and a chariot on the other (461; plate 33.3). Another, of Boiotian make but found in Crete, shows Siamese twins, presumably Aktorione-Molione engaged in single combat (459). The reverse shows a warship with an archer at either end, perhaps engaged in a kind of ‘archery duel’, although it may simply—as suggested earlier—be a stylised rendering of a long-ranged engagement.

Other scenes are not clearly based on myth and may reflect contemporary events. One such fibula depicts chariots on one side and a warship with warriors; an unnamed lookout is depicted in the crow’s nest (462; plate 34.1). Interestingly, it also features a ship transporting a horse; the horse may have been taken along by a warrior for use in combat (as hippobatas?), or it may have been part of the spoils of war obtained during a seaborne raid. A similar scene with a horse aboard a ship is also known from Argive pottery. Another specimen depicts an (unarmed?) horseman riding down a foe while the reverse shows two warriors engaged in single combat: one of these figures wields both sword and spear (460; plate 34.2).

Some of these Boiotian scenes feature warriors with relatively ‘modern’ Argive shields, although their helmets are of the plumed variety familiar from Geometric painted scenes. The last example discussed above shows men whose bodies are covered by a scale pattern (no doubt an abstraction rather than a representation of full-body scale or mail corslets), apart from their lower legs (greaves?); they also wear Korinthian helmets, yet the figure

557 Heidelberg G60: CVA Germany 27, pl. 1313.8.
558 Greenhalgh 1973, 13 fig. 4.
559 Hampe 1936, pl. 2–3.
560 Boardman 1985 [1964], 29 fig. 19; Hampe 1936, pl. 14; Snodgrass 1998, 32 fig. 12 (detail of twin).
561 Berlin Antiquarium 31013a: Hampe 1936, pl. 4.
562 Athens 12341: Hampe 1936, pl. 15.
fighting with both sword and spear recalls similar individuals from Attic Geometric vase-painting. The ships, too, with their warriors and even, in one instance, a horse are suggestive of seaborne raids.

There are also a few detailed Boiotian figurines and figure groups. One example is a terracotta group of a four-horse chariot from Boiotia, dated to the fifth century (4; plate 34.3).\textsuperscript{563} The warrior wears a crested helmet, possibly of Korinthian type, and carries an Argive shield on his left arm. His driver carries a Boiotian, or possibly Dipylon-shield, slung around the back. The cut-out scallops in the sides of the shield leave plenty of ‘elbow-room’ (literally) for the charioteer to manoeuvre the reins. This group neatly corresponds with similar depictions on vases that show charioteers with their shields strapped behind their backs.

ii. Phokis

Recently discovered wall-fragments from a temple at Kalapodi in Phokis depict a number of warriors, apparently equipped and arrayed in a manner very similar to that found in the Chigi olpe’s battle-scene (74; plate 35.1).\textsuperscript{564} The scene is roughly contemporary and demonstrates that both the equipment used and the style of fighting were clearly not peculiar to Korinth in the second half of the seventh century, but also practiced elsewhere in the Aegean (see also my remarks on a Lydian silver alabastron, further below).

iii. Thessaly

Famous is the warrior figurine from Karditsa (Thessaly),\textsuperscript{565} dated to around 700 (45; plate 35.2). It gives a vivid idea of what contemporary warriors may have looked like, and it helps us interpret Geometric vase-paintings. The male figure is nude apart from a thick belt at his waist. He wears a cap with a raised part (plume?) at its centre. A dipylon-type shield, more or less round with the characteristic scallops cut from the side, is slung around his back and suspended from a thin \textit{telamôn}. He once held a spear overhead in his right hand, but the weapon has since been lost. This figurine provides clear evidence of what warriors looked like in the flesh at the very end of the eighth century.

iv. Epeiros

At the important sanctuary at Dodona (Epeiros) a number of well-made sixth-century figurines have been found. One of them is a warrior in a walking pose; his (raised) crest, shield, and spear have been lost, but his tunic, helmet, and bell-shaped cuirass are well preserved (19; plate 35.3).\textsuperscript{566} Especially detailed is the figurine of a warrior in fighting pose, dated to

\textsuperscript{563} Athens 4082: Crouwel 1992, pl. 5.2; Greenhalgh 1973, 29 fig. 20; Van Wees 2004, pl. 22.
\textsuperscript{564} Whitley et al. 2007, 42 fig. 50.
\textsuperscript{565} Athens Br. 12831: Boardman 1991 [1978], 29 fig. 7; Buchholz & Wiesner 1977, pls. 13.a–b; Snodgrass 1999 [1967], pl. 16; Thomas 1992, 52 fig. 35.
\textsuperscript{566} Ioannina museum: Sekunda 1998, 58 (figs.).
around 500 (21). The stance of the warrior ought to be familiar from the vase-paintings discussed in the previous chapter. Hans van Wees has convincingly argued that this was the typical pose adopted during combat, a sideways-on stance, 'like fencers', in which a man's entire body was essentially protected by his shield. The warrior is clothed and equipped with Boiotian shield, crested Korinthian helmet, greaves, and once held a spear (now missing) in his raised right hand.

v. Discussion of the Central Greek material

The material from Central Greece for the most part contributes to what we have already gleaned. The figurine from Karditsa gives a good idea of what the silhouettes in Geometric art, including the early seventh-century Boiotian fibula-engravings, are supposed to look like. The wall-painting from Kalapodi shows that the mode of fighting and equipment depicted on the Chigi olpe was not limited to Korinth, but also in use further north and at around the same time. As pointed out by Hans van Wees, the figurine from Dodona, combined with the two-dimensional evidence that we have surveyed, gives a good idea of the stance in which warriors with Argive shields stood when fighting. I would add that this particular stance allows for quick movements and, in my opinion, precludes the use of static formations. This battle stance, which seems to me to require considerable space, suggests that these men fought in small and mobile groups of men (warbands).

c. Euboia and the islands of the Central Aegean

There was a considerable degree of mobility between the islands of the Central Aegean, including both the Cyclades and the large island of Euboia, so that they may be usefully considered part of the same relatively closely-knit cultural region.

i. Euboia

The Late Geometric iconographic evidence from Euboia consists mostly of vase-painting, in which three themes are particularly important, namely horses, fighting, and ships. All three themes, as in the material from other regions, underscore the martial prowess and status of those who used and procured these objects. The material can also be fruitfully compared with the Late Helladic IIIC evidence discussed in chapter 2, which features similar themes, especially regarding ships and fighting.

One of the earliest depictions of warriors after the twelfth century is a scene on the shoulder of a Middle Protogeometric hydria (190). The scene is faint, but they appear to be engaged in some sort of duel, perhaps again a stylised representation of some sort of long-ranged battle. The head of at least one figure is surrounded by dots, perhaps indicating a helmet. We

567 Berlin: Thomas 1992, 72 fig. 57; Van Wees 2000b, 130 fig. 6 and 135 fig. 8c.
569 Boardman 1998, 20 fig. 15 (detail of shoulder).
know that Eretrian warriors are sometimes depicted with conical helmets, which are also known from other regions, including Lakonia and other islands. As regards close-ranged fighters, a unique set of Late Geometric fragments from Lefkandi depicts what look like an armoured *hippobatas* and *hippostrophos*. This is a very rare and early representation of a *hippobatas* if correctly interpreted.

The Late Protogeometric ‘Dirmil’ krater features a ship with a vaguely rounded keel (75; plate 36.1), probably Wedde’s straight-keeled variety of warship. Somewhat later is the Subprotogeometric piece of krater wall from Lefkandi that shows the front section of a warship (192). It has the acutely vertical prow and relatively short forefoot characteristic of Bronze-Age galleys, but the ‘horn’ above the short forecastle is somewhat swept back and more typical of later Iron-Age galleys. A similar rendition of such a galley is found on a *pyxis* unearthed in the Tombre cemetery at Lefkandi, dated to Early Subprotogeometric III (191; plate 36.2). This ship contains a number of tall spears, propped up against the stern’s ‘tail’ and presumably to be equated with the *naumacha xusta* known from Homer (Il. 15.387 and 677).

Depictions of horses include many scenes in which these animals are depicted in peaceful surroundings (e.g. at the manger, grazing, and so forth). These representations probably show the good care that was taken by their aristocratic owners, known from later written sources as the *hippeis* (‘riders’) and *hippobotai* (‘horse-rearers’). These men may have engaged in raids on horseback, but the scenes with ships also suggest seaborne raids, possibly (amphibious) surprise attacks and battles at sea. Furthermore, these men honed their skills by taking part in martial sports. A Geometric *amphora* from Eretria depicts men jumping on or off chariots, a dangerous form of entertainment later known as *apobatai* (188).

**ii. Skyros**

From Skyros, we have a *fibulae* discovered in a Late Geometric grave at Themis (526; plate 36.3). One side shows a horse, as well as a human figure equipped with Dipylon-shield and spear. The position of the figure and the indication of reins leave little doubt that the warrior is actually riding the horse, making this the only depiction—as far as I am aware—of a warrior with a Dipylon-shield on horseback. Further elements suggest that he is near the battle, as indicated by the spear set upright in front of the horse and a small arrow inscribed beneath the animal. The reverse shows

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570 Refer to Gisler 1995; see p. 60 fig. 11 for an example.
571 Popham, Sackett, & Themelis 1980, pl. 54 no. 259.
572 Doorninck 1982, 278–279 figs. 2–3; Criel aard 1996, fig. 32.a.
573 See also Criel aard 1996, 318–319.
574 Criel aard 1996, fig. 32.c; Criel aard 2006, 279 fig. 14.2f; Popham-et-al 1979-80, pl. 284.11.
575 Criel aard 1996, fig. 32.b; Criel aard 2006, 279 fig. 14.2g; Popham 1987, 357 fig. 4.
576 E.g., the Late Geometric ovoid krater depicted in Coldstream 1991, 41 fig. 14.
577 Crouwel 2006b, 167 fig. 6.
578 Sapouna-Sakellaraki 2002, 145 fig. 16.
part of a warship with a Dipylon-warrior, who is apparently about to get struck in the back of the head by not one, but two arrows.

Warriors are also depicted on Late Geometric gold sheet. A gold band from Skyros that is Eretrian in type depicts warriors with Dipylon shields, helmets, and spears. The same matrix was also used for hammering out other items in gold (such as sheet decoration for chests), as well as another band made of electrum.\(^{579}\) The use of warriors as a decorative element in expensive ornaments and jewellery—a fibula, gold sheet used for bands, chests, and so forth—testify to the importance of warfare as a symbol, as an important aspect in the creation of identities of certain high-ranking groups of people in Late Geometric Skyros.

iii. Paros

In Paroikia, the capital of the island of Paros, a cemetery has been excavated that has yielded some remarkable material. The cemetery is located near the harbour of the ancient city. Two big cist graves were unearthed that contained about 160 vases filled with the burnt remains of men; these men were probably killed in battle. Among them were found two neck amphorae decorated with figured scenes in a Late Geometric style. Both of these amphorae depict scenes of battle involving different kinds of warriors. One vase is dated stylistically to the end of the eighth century; the other may well be older by a generation or more.\(^{580}\)

On the older pot,\(^{581}\) we have a very dynamic representation of a battle in full swing (218; plate 37.1). Placed centrally is a warrior standing in a chariot. Approaching from the right is a warrior with round shield. He seems to grab one of the chariot’s horses by the reins; his other arm is raised, aiming either a spear or slingshot at the warrior in the chariot. Behind the chariot are two corpses, as well as a grazing stag, which perhaps indicates the setting of the scene or suggests that the battle takes place somewhere inland (i.e. not on a beach, or perhaps not even on the island). Further to the left is a warrior with Dipylon shield, who is ready to cut down with his giant sword an unarmed foe to his right. Still more to the left is a second chariot, --to judge from the position of the helmetless charioteer-- driving in full speed in the same direction as the first chariot. Two horse riders seem to follow in pursuit; one is beating the hind end of his horse with a baton, the other --round shield on the body-- raises his spear. Turned to the other side and facing the first chariot is a group of three helmeted horsemen; all three horses are rearing. Most warriors wear helmets with raised crests. The three warriors that are equipped with a shield, carry it on their bodies, leaving their hands free. All in all, this amphora depicts a very vivid and perhaps specific scene of combat. It shows a combination of warriors on foot, chariots, slingers, and horsemen.

On the younger pot (219),\(^{582}\) we see a violent engagement in which again

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579 Treister and Hargrave 2001, 12 (with references) and 403 fig. 3.
580 Zaphiropoulou 2006, 276.
581 Zaphiropoulou 2002, pl. 76A; Zaphiropoulou 2006, 272 figs. 1–4 and 275 fig. 11.
582 Zaphiropoulou 2002, pls. 76B–D; Zaphiropoulou 2006, 273 figs. 5–8 and 274 fig. 9.
a variety of different types of fighters is involved. The central position in this scene is taken by a fallen, naked warrior. To the left appear two archers, six horsemen and three warriors on foot carrying round shields; one of the horsemen is protected by a round shield suspended from a telamón (plate 37.2). The archers fire arrows over the corpse of the fallen warrior toward a group of three men equipped with slings; behind them are two warriors with round shields (a cross-hatched pattern suggests they are made of wicker). Zaphiropoulou plausibly suggests that the battle-scene depicts the violent and noble death of the warrior; however, the shoulder does not show the fight over his corpse (this is already shown on the belly), but rather warriors carrying him off the battlefield. The neck does depict his prothesis or lying in state, 'before the final act of cremation.' The burnt remains of the warrior were placed in this pot, which commemorated his moment of glory, and then buried.

Complex scenes of this type are very rare on Geometric pottery. The manufacture of the two amphorae is separated in time by perhaps one generation, but both seem to depict specific (historical?) events, and maybe even specific people. The younger pot clearly renders a single event in three successive scenes. Other indications that we are not dealing with scenes of a generic character are the variety of atypical warriors on both amphorae, as well as unique elements, such as the mourning figure touching the head of the fallen warrior with an arrow in the prothesis scene on the younger pot. If this conclusion is warranted, these pots present important testimony of fighting in this part of the world during the eighth century. Quite unusual is the appearance of chariots within a battle context, although they are not engaged in actual combat, but seemingly fleeing from the action. The horsemen actually fight on horse back, some with spears and at least one with a sword. Although apparently not yet of Argive type, their shields show that the round form offered the proper protection for warriors fighting on horseback. The scene on the belly of the younger amphora also gives us an impression of how warbands operating on the islands looked like: a mixed lot that might include bowmen or slingers, as well as warrior on foot and on horseback.

iv. Andros

From Zagora, we have some Late Geometric pottery depicting warriors of familiar type. A krater with three friezes depicts a procession, consisting of chariots with drivers, warriors with round shields on foot and equipped with two spears each; the lower register depicts riders with round shields and whips. The shields may have been made of wicker, although the striped pattern may also indicate wood or some other material. These riders with shields are probably not hippobatai, but men who may have fought from horseback, after the Eastern fashion. A fragment depicts a warrior with round shield, set of twin spears, and equipped with a conical helmet with

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583 Zaphiropoulou 2006, 275.
584 Cambitoglou 1988, pl. 199.
plume.\textsuperscript{585} Material from Hypsele,\textsuperscript{586} as well as Eretria, is similar, with warriors equipped with conical helmets.

v. Melos

One side of the neck of a wide-mouthed vessel from the island of Melos depicts single combat between two warriors (\textit{221; plate 38.1}).\textsuperscript{587} The vase has been dated to the last quarter of the seventh century. The warriors are equipped with greaves and Argive shields. One wears an open-faced helmet with stilted crest and bellshaped cuirass, sword at waist. The other is equipped with a Korinthian—or possibly Ionian?—helmet. Both men fight using single spears, held overhead. The duel is flanked by women. On the ground in between the combatants is the prize that they are apparently fighting for: a bell-shaped cuirass flanked by greaves and topped by a Korinthian helmet. The scene clearly depicts some sort of formal or ritualised martial conflict, not a duel between rival warriors on the field of battle.\textsuperscript{588}

vi. Mykonos

A large, fragmentary \textit{pithos} has been discovered at Mykonos, dated to the late seventh century (\textit{520; plate 38.2});\textsuperscript{589} it is part of the so-called Tenian-Boiotian group of relief \textit{pithoi}. The scene on the neck gives a vivid impression of the Wooden Horse, filled with armed Achaians, some of whom have left the safety of their ‘hollow ambush’. They are equipped with helmets and Argive shields. The body of the \textit{pithos} has various panels showing the death and destruction wrought on the Trojan inhabitants once the Achaians have flooded through the Trojan gates.

In her study of this vase, Susanne Ebbinghaus makes a strong case for interpreting it as a statement regarding the military obligations of the rich. Important within the context of the vase’s scenes is a fallen warrior, whom she plausibly regards as the Trojan hero Hektor. Ebbinghaus concludes, ‘The interconnection of a man’s prowess in battle, his standing in the community and his wealth, which we find expressed in early Greek poetry, explains why a pithos was felt to be the appropriate place to advertise the importance of leadership by illustrating the suffering of a city that had lost its protector.’\textsuperscript{590}

vii. Thasos

The island of Thasos was conquered by settlers from Paros, so that it may be considered connected to the Cyclades in a cultural sense. Fragments of a

\textsuperscript{585} Cambitoglou 1988, pl. 151.d.
\textsuperscript{586} Tekvantou 1993, 197 fig. 6.
\textsuperscript{587} Athens 911: Boardman 1985 [1964], 47 fig. 42; Boardman 1998, 128–129 figs. 250.1–2; Osborne 1998, 62 fig. 27.
\textsuperscript{588} The latter contra Osborne 1998, 62–63.
\textsuperscript{589} Mykonos museum: Boardman 1985 [1964], 50 fig. 46 (detail); Osborne 1998, 54 fig. 25; Snodgrass 1999 [1967], pl. 33.
\textsuperscript{590} Ebbinghaus 2005, 68–69.
plate found at Thasos and dated to the late seventh century depicts a bearded man, clad in a tunic and riding a horse; a second horse is also indicated and it seems, to judge from the raised left hand, that the rider is holding the reigns of this second horse (229; plate 38.3). The fragments do not reveal whether the figure is accompanied by a dismounted warrior, but the scene is similar enough to Korinthian examples to identify it as another instance of the *hippobatus* and *hippostrophos* theme, or indeed a variation thereof (since the *hippostrophos*—if we may call him that—is clearly not a naked a beardless youth).

viii. Discussion of the material from the islands

Oddly enough, considering space is limited on the islands (with the obvious exception of Euboia), chariots, horses, and horse-riding, are just as common in the iconographic material from the Central Aegean as they are in the Peloponnese. Horse-riding, feasting, fighting, and ships appear to have been just as important on the islands as elsewhere in the Aegean, at least as far as the material evidence goes for the eighth, seventh, and early sixth centuries. Equipment used is similar, too, although the dynamic Geometric scenes from Paros also add slingers to the different types of fighters and conical helmets were used in Zagora, Hypsele, and Eretria.

d. East Greece (Western Asia Minor and off-shore islands)

The present subsection discusses material from Western Asia Minor, as well as the islands lying off its coast (Chios, Samos), often referred to collectively as ‘East Greece’. This region segues into Asia and it is generally useless to set any hard and fast boundaries, especially as many of the ostensibly Greek towns in Asia Minor usually had ethnically diverse populations. More will be said on the difficulty of distinguishing ‘Greek’ from ‘Asian’—and the futility of trying to do so—a little later on in this chapter.

i. Lemnos

The so-called Lemnos stele (493; plate 39.1), discovered in the nineteenth century embedded within the wall of a local church, once served as a grave marker in the sixth century. The inscription itself is written in Lemnian, using letters that are related to the Phrygian alphabet (similar to Greek); the language itself now thought to be closely related to Etruscan. It features the upper part of a warrior, equipped with shield and a single, thrusting spear. The basic equipment of shield and spear is thus clearly not limited to regions that were linguistically or culturally Greek, a point that I shall return to in our discussion of evidence from Lydia and other Asian regions, toward the end of this chapter.

ii. Klazomenai

In the period from 530 down to the 470s, the people of Klazomenai, a Greek

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591 Boardman 1998, 131 fig. 255.
592 Boardman 1999 [1964], 85–86.
city on the west coast of Asia Minor, buried their dead in painted sarcophagi. Some of these feature warriors and battle-scenes. One example shows two warriors walking from either end of a panel toward a winged female figure in the centre (492).\(^{593}\) possibly the goddess Athena. The two warriors wear tunics, linen corslets, and greaves; they are also equipped with Korinthian helmets and swords. Each warrior leads a horse by the reins and is accompanied by a dog. The iconography, incorporating high-status motifs such as horses, dogs, and well-equipped warriors, makes clear that the deceased was undoubtedly a member of the aristocracy.

A fragment from another sarcophagus shows us part of an actual battle, where at least one warrior is accompanied by a *hippostrophos* as well as a dog (485; plate 39.2).\(^{594}\) The two warriors are equipped with Argive shields, single spears (although their left hands cannot be seen), and tunics (no body-armour); one warrior has greaves and a Korinthian helmet with regular crest, while the other lacks greaves and wears an Ionian helmet with stilted crest. There was thus ample room for variation in the kit that warriors used.

A sarcophagus dated to the early fifth century shows a clash between Greek warriors and Persian horsemen; again, the horses are accompanied by dogs (491).\(^{595}\) The evidence of the sarcophagi suggest that in Asia Minor, dogs were used in actual combat, a point made by Cook.\(^{596}\) In other regions in the Aegean basin, dogs are frequently associated with warriors and horses,\(^{597}\) but they never actually appear to take part in any of the fighting.\(^{598}\) War-dogs thus emerge as a feature peculiar to East Greece.

### iii. Smyrna

Fragments from a krater depict a battle-scene that includes warriors and a possible chariot, dated to 640–630.\(^{599}\) Of the latter, only the two heads and reigns are visible, so they might also be a combination of *hippostrophos* and *hippopobatas*, or a youth holding the reigns of his master’s horse. The warriors are equipped with Argive shields, greaves, and single thrusting spears (held overhand). Their helmets are difficult to interpret, they could be either some sort of caps or possibly early examples of Ionian helmets.

These fragments have been discovered in the temple of Athena. At the same site, a number of fragments of votive Argive shields have also been unearthed that date to the end of the seventh century.\(^{600}\) These all appear to feature abstract blazons. A better preserved votive shield, also from the temple is dated to 575–550.\(^{601}\) It features a very large central handle on the inside and is decorated with two goats on the outside. Fragments of similar

\(^{593}\) Berlin 4824: Boardman 1998, 174 fig. 354.
\(^{595}\) London: Greenhalgh 1973, 144 fig. 77.
\(^{596}\) *E.g.*, London 96.6-15.1: Cook 1981, pls. 39–46 (G1); Greenhalgh 1973, 144 fig. 77.
\(^{597}\) *E.g.*, New York 41.85: Beazley 1956, 283 no. 13; Boardman 1991 [1974], 130 fig. 196.
\(^{598}\) See also Forster 1941.
\(^{599}\) Akurgal 1983, pl. 109.a.
\(^{600}\) Akurgal 1983, pls. 109.b–d.
\(^{601}\) Akurgal 1983, pls. 111.a–b.
shields, including one decorated with a predator, have also been excavated.602

iv. Chios

The island of Chios produced a wealth of pottery, much of which was distributed to places as far-flung as Naukratis. This material includes pottery fragments featuring warriors. Anna Lemos has catalogued the finds and I here refer to her catalogue numbers. Most of the pottery that depicts human figures, including warriors, belongs to the so-called ‘Grand’ style, a polychrome technique possibly related to free painting,603 which dates mostly to the first half of the sixth century, and the ‘Chalice’ style, which covers the sixth century down to around 530.604

Common are depictions of horses (nos. 713, 739, 790, 807), as well as riders (nos. 706, 709, and 799). Warriors with round, Argive shields are depicted in a number of fragments (724, 732, 736, 740, 761, 933). The shield in fragment 724 features an abstract blazon and the warrior himself does not appear to be wearing a helmet. The lack of pieces of armour is perhaps not uncommon on Chios: fragment 732 shows the lower half of a warrior with Argive shield (again featuring an abstract blazon), whose legs are not protected by greaves. Fragments from pot no. 799 shows a naked warrior with shield and spear overhead; an apparently clothed rider is depicted on one of the other fragments, possibly also brandishing a spear. As elsewhere, archers are relatively rare (nos. 708 and 804).

A subject drawn from myth is the ambush of Troilos by Achilleus (no. 800). Depictions of this particular episode from the Trojan Cycle are very common in Archaic art and suggest that there was nothing cowardly about ambushes. The Argive (‘hoplite’) shield, helmet, and spear were clearly all purpose equipment. Perhaps also based on myth is a particularly gruesome fragment depicting a decapitated male head lifted up by its hair by a female figure (no. 733).

Excavations at Emporio have unearthed a broken ivory horseman, dated to the middle of the seventh century (5).605 As with virtually all Aegean riders, the figure rides bareback; the horse itself is of the familiar Aegean type, an elegant pony. Most of the rider is missing; he may be either a recreational rider or possibly a hippostrophos. It is very similar to a bronze rider from Samos. The horse itself is missing and the object dates to around 520 (24).606 Just like the rider from Chios, the figure is a beardless and naked youth. Such finds demonstrate the importance of horses and riding in East Greece.

v. Samos

The second Hekatompoden at Samos dates to the middle of the seventh

602 Akurgal 1983, pls. 110.a–c.
604 A.A. Lemos 1991, esp. p. 188 fig. 102; see also Cook 1998, 71–73.
605 Boardman 1967, 242 pl. 96.
606 Walter 1990, 176 fig. 188.
century and was constructed at least partially of stone and had a roof covered with tiles. A stone block has been unearthed that was possibly once part of the frieze that adorned this temple. It features engraved heads of warriors and the upper parts of their spears. The excavators believe that the temple was also used for banquets, as raised areas along the inside of the walls were probably used for reclining couches.\textsuperscript{607} This building was probably used by a group of high-ranking men who ate together and—based on the warrior frieze—presumably also fought together.

In addition, the temple was sacred to Hera, who—as discussed in chapter 4—is frequently associated with aristocratic activities, including horse-riding and seafaring. The latter is demonstrated by finds of model ships (for the associated \textit{Schiffsfundament}, see page 65, above). Exceptionally well preserved is a large wooden boat model, about 57 cm in length and dated to the middle of the seventh century, that has a slightly upward curved bow,\textsuperscript{608} perhaps to make it easier to slide or drag onto a beach.\textsuperscript{609} Dedications of horse-trappings attest to the significance of horses, at least as chariot-teams. The items in question date from the ninth to seventh centuries, but were dedicated at a later date. One of these horse-trappings is a bronze breastplate with relief decoration of around 600 (\textit{467; plate 40.1}). It depicts Herakles stealing the cattle of Geryoneus. The monster himself is equipped with Ionian helmets, Argive shields and greaves.\textsuperscript{610}

On Samos, the torso and head of a stone warrior have been unearthed that date to between 530 and 520 (\textit{56; plate 40.2}).\textsuperscript{611} The warrior is equipped with a bell-shaped cuirass, decorated with finely chiselled anatomical features. He also wears an Ionian helmet with moveable cheek-pieces; the forehead is smooth (early Ionian helmet usually have a raised spur at the forehead).\textsuperscript{612} Ionian helmets are as typical of Western Asia Minor and the islands off its coast as Korinthian helmets are for mainland Greece. The moveable cheekpieces suggest a concern with making the helmet as comfortable as possible to wear, which perhaps fits with developments noted in Attika at roughly the same period. The warrior’s long hair falls in tresses from behind his helmet down to the hollow of his back. The helmet’s crest, if there ever was one, may have been made of horsehair and stuck to the helmet using some kind of adhesive (resin, collagen from animal skin, possibly even some kind of glue ground from animal teeth and bones),\textsuperscript{613} although we know from vase-paintings that not all helmets were adorned with crests.

\textsuperscript{608} Johnston 1985, 56–57 (Arch. 10).
\textsuperscript{609} As pointed out to me by Jan Paul Crielaard.
\textsuperscript{610} Carpenter 1991, 146 fig. 201; Walter 1990 106–107 figs. 120–121.
\textsuperscript{611} Staatliche Museen, Berlin: Boardman 1991 [1978], fig. 146 fig. 170; Walter 1990, 169 and 170 figs. 181 and 182.
\textsuperscript{612} E.g., the warrior’s head on a Samian ringvase of around 600, see Walter 1990, 94 fig. 106.
\textsuperscript{613} http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1200/is_n18_v152/ai_19978574/ http://dsc.discovery.com/news/2007/12/14/romans-glue-helmet.html
vi. Discussion of the East Greek material

The material from East Greece is again mostly consistent with the material examined so far, although the Ionian helmet emerges as just as popular a type of headgear as the Korinthian. In addition, some evidence from Klazomenai attest to the more widespread use of war-dogs. Representations of ships are rare (but note the ship models from the Heraion), although we know that ships and seafaring were important in East Greece. Other than that, fighting and feasting, as well as horse-ownership, appear once again as central activities among the East Greek elite, perhaps best exemplified by the engraved stone block and associated finds from the Samian Heraion.

4. Should we speak of a ‘Greek’ way of war?

The ancient Greeks themselves had no qualms of admitting particular items in common use were actually ‘Asian’ inventions. Herodotos wrote that blazons, for example, were a Karian invention (Hdt. 1.171; see also chapter 8 for further details). Thus, it seems safer to say that the Aegean basin and Anatolia are characterised by a certain cultural koinē; we may also add Italy and other regions to the mix, although these are beyond the scope of the present inquiry. A few examples pertinent to the subject of this book will be discussed in the following paragraphs to make this point more clear.

It is generally useless to try to distinguish ‘Greek’ from ‘Lydian’ warfare. From modern Ikiztepe in Turkey comes a small aryballos in the shape of a warrior’s head of so-called Rhodian type, complete with Ionian helmet (523). This may have been an import, but then it must still have had significance to the owner. From the same site also comes a Lydian silver alabastron that features a battle-scene of heavily-armoured men, equipped with Korinthian—rather than the perhaps more expected Ionian—helmets, cuirasses, tunics, greaves, single thrusting spears, and Argive shields (524; plate 41.1). Another interesting element is the fact that something appears to be suspended from the bottom part of some of the shields; perhaps hide with a paw or some kind of tissue with a suspension, perhaps intended for protection of the upper legs. Similar ‘curtains’ are known from red-figure vases of especially the fifth century (383).

These warriors, both as far as their equipment is concerned and the way they are depicted, elicit comparison with the battle-scene on, for example, the Chigi olpe and Macmillan aryballos; note that not all warriors are engaged in a single confrontation: there is also a ‘duel’ between two fighters depicted. Clearly, this was a way of fighting that would have been familiar throughout much of the ancient Aegean. Furthermore, we must not assume that warriors with Argive shields and bronze body-armour always fought with spears or straight swords: there is some variety in the evidence. A Lydian wall-painting in the Tartarlı tumulus, near Dinar (province of Afyon), depicts a battle-scene between warriors with Argive shields, bronze

614 Özgen-Öztürk 1996, 135 (fig.).
615 Özgen-Öztürk 1996, 125 fig. 154.
616 E.g., Cambridge GR18.1937: Beazley 1963, 231; Boardman 1975, 116 fig. 167.
helmets, and greaves fighting each other with curved or ‘sickle’ swords (73; plate 41.2).\textsuperscript{617} From the Lydian capital of Sardis we have a number of fragments of a vase depicting riders that are indistinguishable from similar unarmed riders on Greek Geometric and Early Orientalising pottery.\textsuperscript{618}

During the Archaic period, there were frequent contacts between Greeks and Phrygians. Evidence from Gordian suggests that the Phrygians were familiar with ‘true cavalry’ (men who fought from horseback, rather than \textit{hippodatai}) by the ninth century. Within the remains of Megaron 3, possibly the central structure of the citadel,\textsuperscript{619} excavators found the remains of various items, including some ivory inlays.\textsuperscript{620} The area to which this building belonged was destroyed around 800.\textsuperscript{621} A square piece of ivory inlay depicts a rider with round shield (possibly made of wicker?), helmet with cheek-pieces and of a type that appears similar to the so-called ‘Phrygian cap’, and long spear (specifically made for a man who fought from horseback?). Similar horsemen are shown in a battle-scene on large pieces of a rectangular piece of ivory inlay: a horse is depicted at the far left (probably a horseman), while an archer at the far right takes aim; there are four horsemen with shields, helmets, and spears, one of which is holding the spear with both hands in an underarm position. The enemy is unfortunately lost.\textsuperscript{622} Interestingly, the richly furnished room in which these inlays were found seems to have been used for drinking and eating,\textsuperscript{623} so that among the Phrygian elite we find the same pattern as for the later Greek date, namely the association of horses, feasting, and fighting.

Phrygia eventually became part of the Lydian Empire. A clay relief revetment of the sixth century from Pazarli, Phrygia, depicts warriors that are very similar in appearance to those found on Greek and Lydian artefacts (525): men in tunics with some sort of greaves, wearing helmets with stilted crests and equipped with round, possibly Argive shields and single thrusting spears, held in an overhand position.\textsuperscript{624} From nearby Lykia, we have Late Archaic wall-paintings in tombs at modern Elmali-Kızılbel. These include a scene of warriors arming, and another two-horse chariot, as well as a scene depicting a procession of warriors and chariots. Another wal-painting depicts a warrior with Ionian crested helmet, tunic, corslet, greaves, and spear, mounting a chariot drawn by two horses; his charioteer is similarly equipped.\textsuperscript{625} Once again, it is clear that equipment and modes of fighting were part of an Aegean-Anatolian \textit{koinë}, rather than being distinctly ‘Greek’ or ‘Lydian’, and so on.

Furthermore, depictions of warriors with Argive shields, bronze helmets, and spears are not limited to the Aegean and Anatolia, but are also found on

\textsuperscript{617} Özgen-Öztürk 1996, 45 fig. 84.
\textsuperscript{618} Illustrations and discussion in Hanfmann 1945.
\textsuperscript{619} Kealhofer 2005, 15.
\textsuperscript{620} De Vries 1980, 34.
\textsuperscript{621} Kealhofer 2005, 27 and 69–70; but note Summerer 2008.
\textsuperscript{622} De Vries 1980, 47 figs. 7 (horseman) and 8 (battle-scene).
\textsuperscript{623} De Vries 1980, 35–36.
\textsuperscript{624} Boardman 1999 [1964], 92 fig. 103.
\textsuperscript{625} Boardman 1999 [1964], 106 fig. 122.
artefacts unearthed further afield. One particularly good example is the so-called Amathus bowl (463). This is a silver bowl of Phoenician make found at Amathus on Cyprus and dated to the seventh century. It depicts a siege, with additional activities out in the field, such as the cutting down of trees (as punishment or to facilitate manoeuvres). It includes a mounted archer, archers on foot, mounted spearmen, a chariot and war-dog, as well as warriors with round shields, spears, and helmets; similar warriors and an archer are also defending the town from the towers, and small figures have propped ladders up against the walls. The supposedly ‘Greek-style’ warriors are perhaps mercenaries or other allies of the attackers, perhaps Greeks, Lydians, or Karians, or a combination thereof. If these warriors are supposed to make a difference, they must scale the walls. When seen with ‘Greek eyes’, the group might represent a phalanx or a group of men forming a kind of ‘shield wall’ (see chapter 7), but taking the scene in its entirety suggests that they are storming the city, probably one walking behind the other.

Many scholars have commented on the supposedly strange habit of the Greeks to fight in bronze armour beneath the scorching Mediterranean sun. However, bronze plate armour is not a Greek invention, but was also used by certain Near-Eastern people, who fought in similar—and sometimes even hotter!—climates. In fact, the idea for making bronze helmets may have been (re)introduced in Greece from Assyria (as noted earlier), and we know that the Assyrians also used other pieces of metal armour and shields.

I have already mentioned in the discussion of the Chigi olpe and elsewhere that various attempts have been made to regard certain depictions as representing men fighting in phalanx-formation, i.e. in a rectangle with the men organised in ranks and files. The phalanx is usually regarded as a typically Greek invention, but this seems nonsensical in the light of much clearer artistic evidence from the Near East and Egypt. One scene on the Sumerian ‘Stela of the Vultures’, which predates the Chigi olpe by nearly two thousand years, depicts warriors with spears and axes in a tight formation; another scene depicts multiple ranks of warriors with spears and shields forming what can only be described as a phalanx. A well-known wooden model from an 11th-dynasty tomb in Egypt (c. 2000) depicts spearmen with shields marching in a rectangular formation, four men wide and ten men deep.

Of course, phalanx-like tactics need not have been adopted by Greeks from Egyptians or other Near-Eastern peoples. Instead, it seems to me that a formation of some sort must by necessity be used by very large armies (such as those used by the ancient Sumerians, Egyptians, and so forth), and the phalanx formation seems like a natural way to organise a large body of men equipped with close- or at least short-range weapons. It may therefore be a

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626 London: Myres 1933, 26 fig. 1 and pls. 1–3.
627 E.g., Ferrill 1985, 73–77.
628 Tallis 2007, 46 (warriors) and 52 (phalanx).
629 Shaw and Boatright 2007, 28; cf. also the picture in Ferrill 1985, 49.
cultural analogue to the biological concept of parallel evolution: a dolphin (mammal) resembles a shark (fish) because they both evolved in similar environments, adapting to similar conditions. In sum, there does not seem to be anything especially Greek about the phalanx, and we have no proof that tactics alone were responsible for the popularity of Greek mercenaries in Near-Eastern empires from the seventh century onwards.

5. Conclusions

The recurring theme in each of the chapters so far is that the evidence is patchy and characterised by certain regional biases. This certainly also holds true for the iconographic evidence. The Attic material far outweighs the rest in sheer bulk, and again we may note that certain regions produced no figurative art at all. In addition, we can not be certain that the evidence we do have features the full range as far as diversity in warrior types or styles of fighting are concerned. Nevertheless, the material does point toward certain trends and developments, especially when seen from a diachronic perspective. We can be reasonably confident that part of the real-life dynamics with regard to warfare, martiality, and related themes have been captured in the figurative art of the period between eighth and early fifth centuries.

In the eighth century, Late Geometric scenes from the mainland and the islands feature a range of different types of warriors. Some men use spears, others use swords; a few fight as archers. Some of these men are equipped with shields, including rectangular, circular, and Dipylon-type shields, and they may use chariots to transport themselves to the battlefield. The use of conical helmets and a fondness for (riding) horses are characteristic in the eighth century for Euboia and Andros. They appear to have operated in small and mobile warbands and are frequently associated with battles on and around ships. We have galleys propelled by large numbers of rowers; these galleys are used in amphibious operations (beaching at speed) or in engagements at sea (mobile fighting platforms for a few warriors fighting from the central gangway or deck and forecastle). During engagements at sea, it is possible that ships also engaging in ramming tactics. Furthermore, warriors fighting from ship decks seem to employ weapons of choice (longer or shorter spears, bow, shields optional).

The period between c. 725 and 650 emerges as a period of transition as far as equipment is concerned, although the small-scale nature of the fighting appear to have remained the same. After 700, the equipment tends to become more uniform. The double-grip Argive shield is introduced, which slowly leads to abandonment of single-grip shields; bronze armour, especially the Korinthian helmet and greaves, also become a fixture. At the same time, mounted warriors—hippobatai—become more common, to the point that the horse appears to have been a common part of a warrior’s accoutrement. Such mounted warriors appear in Southern and Central Greece, in East Greece, and even on the islands, where space would be assumed to be at a premium. These troops must have been small in number. However, there is no iconographic evidence for the existence of a mass of
poorly-equipped rabble, so that we have to assume—at least for now—that armies continued to consist of smallish warbands of high-ranking, well-equipped men.

The century between roughly 650 and 550 is fairly consistent as regards equipment, use of horses (*hippobatai* in particular are widespread and common), and modes of warfare throughout the Aegean. Evidence for this period includes material from Korinth, Lakonia, the islands, and East Greece. The Dipylon shield has gone out of use and only survives as a derivative with double grip, the so-called Boiotian shield. Bronze armour also appears to be more common, with the bell-shaped cuirass—though still clearly optional—now worn by an apparently larger proportion of warriors. However, variety in equipment is limited, with most warriors fighting with Argive shields and spears, sometimes a set of two, which may include a javelin. Archers are even more rare than before, but continue to operate as snipers.

It must be stressed that the so-called 'hoplite' panoply developed in the course of the seventh century was in fact an all-purpose military outfit that could be used on horseback, on ship, on foot in duels, mass fighting, ambushing, and scaling walls. Throughout the period between roughly 650 and 550, armies probably still consisted of small warbands in this period, who may have engaged in raids just as easily as in larger invasions, sieges, and so forth. However, ships are more rare, with artists now clearly demonstrate a preference for scenes depicting battles on land. Most warriors were presumably still culled from the aristocratic classes and used horses to transport themselves swiftly to where the action was. It seems quite natural to assume that these mounted warriors engaged in quick raids and border skirmishes against neighbouring communities; a mounted strike force would also be ideally suited to undertake quick retaliatory strikes or brief reconnaissance forays into enemy territory.

The later seventh-century Korinthian material provides some evidence for the use of early formations. The Chigi *olpe* features armed and armoured men advancing in ‘waves’. It seems likely that in the seventh century armies were somewhat larger than during the Geometric era, numbering perhaps a few hundred to a side (a point I shall discuss further, with references, in this book’s conclusion). If that was the case, it seems likely that commanders made use of the greater number of men by deploying them in some kind of (simple) formation, if only to make co-operation between the men easier. However, neither the equipment nor the use of formations can be considered uniquely Greek; Lydian and Phrygian warriors and horsemen clearly demonstrate the former and an early Sumarian phalanx and Egyptian soldiers demonstrate the latter.

By the final decades of the sixth century, Athenian pottery at least shows some signs of having developed a fairly large and apparently well-organised army. There is now a far more consistent approach to clothing and armour. Whereas before, both clothing and cuirasses were optional, men in later sixth-century Attic scenes are either wholly clothed and armoured or nude. In addition, there is an increase in the amount of armour worn by some men (thigh guards being especially common), and
chariots also seem to be more popular than before, although *hippobatai* remain a feature. The widespread adoption of the linen corslet and the introduction of a shorter sword with straight crossguard hint at further developments. However, it would be wrong to consider these developments solely in the light of the later, Classical phalanx.

This larger and apparently centrally-organised army could include specialists, such as the *epibatai* (marines) that appear in some sixth-century Attic scenes with warships. Out on the battlefield, the introduction of trumpeters and the creation of more open helmets suggests that communication became important. This suggests that armies were now larger and that a commander’s voice could no longer be heard by everyone; the adoption of a phalanx-formation, which seems a natural way to organise a large body of men, seems likely at around this time.