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A Given Image: Monsters, Men, and Beasts on Olympia's Votive Bronze

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A Given Image

Monsters, Men, and Beasts on Olympia's Votive Bronze

by

Kelsey Turbeville

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

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of the

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Committee in charge:

Professor Kim Shelton
Professor Andrew Stewart
Professor Christopher Hallett

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ABSTRACT

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In his *Periegesis* (5.21), Pausanias writes about touring the sanctuary of Olympia. Describing the Altis' monuments and dedications, he lingers on their appearance, inscriptions, and dedicators. Millennia later, Olympia and its votive gifts continue to draw interest and provoke curiosity. Contemporary scholarship has examined Olympia and other sanctuaries as spaces conceptually distinct from the polis and therefore important loci for elite competition and interaction—particularly in the Archaic period, during the early development of the Greek city-state. Within this framework, scholars have explored the social politics and visual programs of sanctuary architecture and monumental votive gifts; they have paid relatively little attention, however, to other votives of the Archaic period.

The present study focuses on these "standard" dedications—the types of objects that were dedicated repeatedly—and considers their role in the visual culture of the sanctuary. It addresses three distinct sets of votive gifts, all bronzes dedicated at Olympia during the 8th-5th centuries BCE. First, it discusses protome cauldrons, similar in form to the traditional sanctuary cooking implement, but heavily elaborated with attachments representing the heads and necks of mythological creatures. It then explores miniature tripods and figurines, the earliest and most numerous of the Altis's dedications. Finally, it addresses shields, looted from enemies and set up as victory monuments around the ancient stadium. Although similar votive gifts are found at other sanctuaries, as a group these votives embody traits specific to Olympia: no other sanctuary received either such an extraordinary quantity of bronze, nor nearly as many martial dedications.

In its analysis, this study draws on a variety of disciplines, including cultural anthropology, art history, and psychology, with a view towards reaching a contextually

embedded understanding of the dedications and their visual programs. It highlights points of contact between these very different types of gifts, including geographical allusions and what has been called "defunctionalization." It explores the many ways in which the votives' composition and iconography influenced and commented upon the sanctuary space, and how they themselves interacted with and impacted their viewers.

For my father,
who shared his love of history with me.

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—ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS—

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—ABBREVIATIONS—

The editorial guidelines of the *American Journal of Archaeology* provided abbreviations for ancient authors and texts, standard reference works, and journals.

DAI: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut
EH: Early Helladic
LSAM: *Lois Sacrées de l'Asie Mineure* F. Sokolowski, 1955
LG: Late Geometric
LH: Late Helladic
MG: Middle Geometric
MH: Middle Helladic
MMA: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
NM: National Archaeological Museum, Athens, Greece
OM: Archaeological Museum of Olympia, Greece
PG: Protogeometric

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INTRODUCTION

Olympia: A Sanctuary of Bronze

The phrase "gifts for the gods" evokes something almost unimaginably grand—truly, what can a human give an immortal sustained on ambrosia and nectar? The answer offered by most Greek sanctuaries is quite a lot: giving material offerings, whether personal possessions or objects made expressly for the purpose, to gain a god's favor was a central feature of religious practice.[1] From marble statues to miniature ceramics, *temenoi*—sanctuary grounds—held an abundance of gifts left by pilgrims from throughout the Greek-speaking world. The popularity of the practice is underlined by literary records, which tell us that overcrowding and the politics of dedication-management were significant concerns; many sanctuaries even had written policies on how to dispose of dedications appropriately to prevent excessive clutter.[2] Nor did the act of dedication necessarily represent religious devotion. Wealthier visitors could and did use the practice to advertise their own affluence and compete with one another: many votives were quite impressive, made of precious metals or imported marble. Not coincidentally, city-states attempted to channel the dedicatory practices of their citizens by establishing *thesauroi*, treasure houses built specifically to hold such gifts.[3]

While major sanctuaries saw many similar types of dedications, preferences and patterns soon emerged. By the Archaic period at Olympia, the unifying characteristic of the gifts was their medium: bronze.[4] These ranged in size from tiny figurines that fit in the palm of the hand to hugely oversized tripods that would have taken multiple

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[1] Burkert 1985, 68–70; Parker 2011, 87, 137, 164-5.

[2] Lupu 2005, 31–3. Only under unusual circumstances was dedicated material allowed to be removed from the sanctuary. For policy, see LSAM 74. For general information on the management of Olympia, see Nielsen (2007, 29–54). This issue is explored further in Chapter 2.

[3] Neer (2001; 2004) eloquently makes this case for the role of *thesauroi* at Delphi.

[4] Morgan (2007, 28-9) gives a brief description of Olympia's relative lack of ceramics, which is atypical for sanctuaries.

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people to carry. It is important to note that at the Altis (Pl. 1.1)—at least according to Pausanias—votive dedications were distinguished from athletic statues:

> ἀναμῖξαι δὲ οὐκ ἀρεστὰ ἦν μοι τὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς λόγον. ἐν ἀκροπόλει μὲν γὰρ τῇ Ἀθήνησιν οἵ τε ἀνδριάντες καὶ ὁπόσα ἄλλα, τὰ πάντα ἐστὶν ὁμοίως ἀναθήματα: ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἄλτει τὰ μὲν τιμῇ τῇ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀνάκεινται, οἱ δὲ ἀνδριάντες τῶν νικώντων ἐν ἄθλου λόγῳ σφίσι καὶ οὗτοι δίδονται.

> …but I think that it would be wrong to mix up the accounts of them. For whereas on the Athenian Acropolis statues are votive offerings like everything else, in the Altis [Olympia's *temenos* grounds] some things only are dedicated in honor of the gods, and statues are merely part of the prizes awarded to the victors.[5]

This study focuses not on statues commemorating athletic victory, which have been explored elsewhere, but what Pausanias terms gifts for the gods, "τὰ μὲν τιμῇ τῇ ἐς τὸ θεῖον."[6] It considers three distinct sets of votive gifts: figurines, the smallest and earliest of dedications; protome cauldrons, versions of the traditional sanctuary cooking implement elaborated with attachments representing the heads and necks of various mythological creatures; and shields, central to the culture of martial dedication, but objects whose primary use was on the battlefield rather than as dedications.

From the passage quoted above, Pausanias goes on to describe the appearance, inscriptions, and dedicators of various dedications. His account demonstrates one of their most important qualities: that they were "far-shining monuments," made to be seen by the sanctuary's visitors.[7] All dedications contributed to the Altis' landscape, and all were an important part of the visual culture of the *temenos*. Both the act of dedicating and the act of viewing dedications influenced the pilgrim's experience of the sacred space. Nonetheless, the visuality of non-monumental votives has been largely overlooked. Scholars have been more interested in the economics and origins of the gifts—where they were produced, for instance—than how the most numerous types of dedications themselves operated within the sanctuary. Those who have engaged with the votives' iconography largely have drawn upon them as comparanda for other material, and offer only limited comments on the votives themselves. This study moves beyond these limits to offer new interpretive possibilities for such material. By drawing on a variety of disciplines, including cultural anthropology, art history, and psychology, it reaches towards a contextually embedded understanding of dedications and their visual programs. It examines the ways in which their composition and iconography influenced and commented upon the sanctuary space, and it explores the way dedications themselves interacted with and impacted their viewers.

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[5] Paus.5.21.1 Trans. Loeb.
[6] e.g. Raschke 1988; Nielsen 2007; Smith 2007; Kurke 2015.
[7] "τηλαυγὲς μνῆμα" IG I³ 1330

The literature on Olympia and its archaeology is extensive, to say the very least. The first excavations began nearly two centuries ago with the French Expédition de Morée in 1829.[8] Subsequently, the Greek government granted permission to the German Archaeological Institute to continue research at the site, and the first large-scale excavations began in 1875 under the supervision of Ernst Curtius. The last century and a half has seen numerous publications on Olympia's architecture, landscape, and finds, granting contemporary researchers a wealth of information on the site's history and archaeology.

For many, the central fascination at Olympia is its games—and according to some, often at the expense of other topics.[9] Still, the bibliography on the site is rich and varied, exploring everything from the site's monuments to 3D visualizations.[10] Instrumental to the present study, recent work has reassessed the early development of the sanctuary; the contributions of Catherine Morgan (1990), Birgitta Eder (2001), and Helmut Kyrieleis (2006) on this topic are particularly notable. In addition, Michael Scott (2010), who positions his book as a continuation of Morgan's, attempts a more synthetic understanding of sanctuary in the 7th-4th centuries BCE. While others explored the impact of space on individual buildings and monumental dedications, he draws on theories of space to consider the interaction between architectural development and a broad variety of activities conducted in the *temenos*.[11]

Recent scholarship has also explored the inter-polis and interpersonal politics of dedication at major Greek sanctuaries, and this has allowed a much richer understanding of the social role of votive gifts. Sanctuaries are now discussed as spaces at the "interstices of the polis world," to use Ian Morris' phrase.[12] Whether or not we term them "Panhellenic," sanctuaries like Olympia were important places of interaction

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[8] Swaddling 2015, 13.

[9] Barringer (2008, 3) and Scott (2010, 8-10) both comment on the focus on the games. Recent literature on the games and athletics, include (among many others) Young 2004, Nicholson 2005, Schaus and Wenn 2007, and Patay-Horváth, 2015. For a more extensive bibliography on the topic, see Scott 2010, 8-9 n. 23-28.

[10] On monuments, K. Hermann 1872; Hölscher 1974; Laroche and Jacquemin 1982; H.V. Herrmann 1988; K. Hermann 1988. For 3D visualization, see de Costa et al. 2003; Crowther 2004, 35-50.

[11] For treatments of monumental dedications, see, e.g., H. V. Herrmann 1988; K. Herrmann 1992; Schultz 2007.

[12] Morris 1997, 16.

for visitors throughout the Mediterranean.[13] They allowed elites to make lavish demonstrations of their wealth, create and maintain relationships with one another, and compete in games—broadly speaking, to engage in the "peer-polity" interaction described by Snodgrass.[14] Building upon this foundation, scholars have illuminated the pragmatics of display in these contexts; notably, Richard Neer has addressed the importance of the sanctuary as space for negotiating the relationships between elites and their poleis, and in his analysis of treasuries he has demonstrated the important role of visual culture in this process.[15] The importance of the sanctuary context to choices in visual representation at Olympia has also been addressed by Judith Barringer and Andrew Stewart, who have written on the sculptural programs of the temple of Zeus.[16]

By the end of the sixth century, Olympia would have been a forest of bronze dedications. Nonetheless, the scholarship specifically on the role and meaning of Olympia's votive gifts, particularly those of the pre-Classical period, is quite limited. The most prominent exception is Nassos Papalexandrou, who has written extensively on tripods and cauldrons; this study's chapter on protome cauldrons draws significantly on the groundwork he has laid and the questions his scholarship has raised. The dedicated shields have been treated quite differently: while there is extensive scholarship on the hoplite panoply and its implications for military history, analysis of both the shields' iconography and their role as dedications has been minimal; while shield devices are mentioned frequently, such references are usually brief. Miniatures, rarely studied in earlier generations, have attracted greater interest in recent years. The last two decades have seen multiple dissertations and articles on figurines and miniature ceramics, some specifically in the sanctuary context.[17] Contemporaneously, the theoretical study of miniaturism has expanded significantly

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[13] Scott (2010, 250-273) discusses the origins of the term "Panhellenism" at length, arguing that the concept gained prominence in the Roman period, largely to serve Roman interests. He notes that the so-called "Panhellenic" sanctuaries fostered conflict as well as unity; nor is it clear that Delos, for instance, differed greatly in prominence from Isthmia. Nonetheless, Pindar seems to have considered Olympia Panhellenic (see Eckerman (2008, 37 n.2) on *Ol.*10 for a summary of the relevant bibliography on Panhellenism), and Scott acknowledges (266) that the term does have roots in the early Classical period.

[14] Snodgrass 1986.

[15] Neer 2001; 2004. Neer's work focuses on the Siphnian and Athenian treasuries at Delphi.

[16] See, among others, Stewart 1990; Barringer 2008, 8-58.

[17] Figurines: Merker 2003; Averett 2007; Meskell 2015. Miniature ceramics: Ekroth 2003; Barfoed 2015a; 2015b.

with several major publications.[18] Still, the miniatures at Olympia remain unexplored from a theoretical standpoint.

"LESSER" DEDICATIONS?

Despite such extensive bibliography, standard dedications have received little attention in art historical scholarship: their place in visual culture is rarely investigated. When included in studies of Greek art, figurines are referenced briefly as early examples of bronze-working with little further consideration; protome cauldrons, as instances of a broader Orientalizing aesthetic; and shields as bearers of particular scene types. As this study takes a decidedly different approach, it is worthwhile to comment briefly both on why they have been overlooked and how we ought to understand their significance and status in antiquity.

One reason for this lack of attention is the challenges inherent to sanctuary archaeology. Undeniably, the nature of the votive material and its deposition presents significant methodological issues. There is little good stratigraphy at sanctuaries and establishing dates for the early votive gifts is difficult. Comparative study is of little help, as most analogous material is from sites that present exactly the same stratigraphic and chronological problems. In addition, because the vast majority of the Archaic votives at Olympia are anepigraphic, questions of who dedicated them or why are largely considered unanswerable. Even the loci of production remain open to debate in some cases.

An additional factor is that standard dedications are just that—"standard." Such votive gifts are generally similar to one another—in the case of the miniatures, extremely numerous and near interchangeable on superficial glance. On the importance of "uniqueness" to art historiography, Mimi Hellman (2007) observes,

> The concept of originality has long occupied a powerful place in the Western cultural imagination, and the idea that originality is a defining quality of art—whether defended or contested—has been developed in tandem with the idea that the creation of non-unique, repetitive form is a function of the encroachments of mechanical reproduction in modern, industrialized societies. In a culture that values innovation and singularity, the matched set is the ultimate antithesis of art—not only is it mass-produced, but the very nature of its perfectly coordinated components foregrounds the fact that it is only one of many identical examples.[19]

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[18] Bailey 2005; Hughes 2018. See also the *World Archaeology* 2015 special issue on miniatures.

[19] Hellman 2007, 130-1.

Although she writes on furniture sets in 18th century France, similar issues influence perceptions of votive bronzes. None of the votives discussed in this study is unique, and in this sense, they do not fit neatly into the Western historiographical definition of "art." The figurines are particularly susceptible to this: produced and dedicated in the thousands, they are very clearly examples of the "repetitive form" to which Hellman refers.

Martial dedications are discussed primarily in their utilitarian capacity by military historians, whose interest in their visual program is limited and they, too, were displayed in groups. Their lack of uniqueness, however, added to their value: each captured shield represented a defeated enemy. Scholarship on protome cauldrons, meanwhile, has focused on the origins of their iconography, though with some exceptions as referenced above;[20] this lack of engagement perhaps reflects that cauldrons, as heavily embellished cooking implements, can fall rather easily into the class of "decorative arts" or furniture.

There is no evidence, however, that the ancients classified or ranked their own material culture in such a way.[21] While the Classical literary record is clear that the ancient craftsman was not considered an "artist," at least in the post-Renaissance sense, early literature depicts metalworking as wondrous, with the potential to produce objects worthy of admiration and consideration.[22] Descriptions of metalworking in Homer linger on the powerful impact that expertly wrought metal objects might have on the viewer and the complexity surrounding their composition and manufacture. Homer clearly connects the narrative and artistic agenda of the poet and that of the craftsman. The most famous ekphrasis of early literature on the shield of Achilles joins the iconographic program of the shield to the narrative the poet himself spins (*Il.*18.470-613). Similarly, Hephaistos' autonomous tripods are impressive works, "θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι," a wonder to behold (*Il.*18.377). In both cases, Homer lingers over the process of manufacture, in which the skilled craftsman transforms raw material into something potently expressive and commanding to the viewer. Such descriptions strongly suggest that ancient dedicators and craftsmen were quite cognizant of the visual impact of objects like the votive bronzes discussed here.

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[20] Papalexandrou (2010) does explore the relationship between griffins and their Near Eastern counterparts, but also addresses experiences of seeing and potential rationing of visual culture.

[21] Important factors for assessing the value of manufactured objects in the ancient world included the value of the raw material, genre, and mimetic potential: Stewart 1990, 65-72. On the value and significance of crafted functional objects and their embellishment, see Morris 1992, 3-69.

[22] Aristotle, among others, denigrates the social status of craftsmen: Arist. Pol. 1277a33–b8.

This project draws its dataset primarily from material dedicated at Olympia in the 10th-6th centuries BCE, with its principal focus being material from the latter half of this period. The focus on three votive types for this study—miniatures, cauldrons, and shields—is not and does not attempt to be a comprehensive representation of votive giving in the Altis. Rather, it represents a cross section of pricing, production, and practice. Miniatures are the earliest, most frequent, and least expensive dedications; these likely are the closest to "normal" dedicatory behavior evidenced in the archaeological record. Protome cauldrons, ornate and costly, appear to have evolved specifically for the sanctuary context. While elaborate and carefully crafted, they were not particularly rare: their numbers are estimated to have originally been in the hundreds.[23] Shields are some of the most frequent martial dedications, an important subgroup at Olympia, where arms and armor were frequently dedicated, especially when compared with practices in other sanctuaries.[24] While the production and use history of the shields are quite distinct from those of the other votives addressed here, their display in the Altis suggests similar concerns regarding space and display on the part of their dedicators. Considered together, these three case studies offer insights into points of overlap and divergence in votive dedication.

The chronological range of the material encompasses both the transformation of Olympia from regional center to major sanctuary and the first centuries of practice at the site once it reached Panhellenic prominence. Where relevant, I include material from other sites as comparanda—predominantly sanctuary dedications, but also grave goods and vase painting. In addition, a number of objects currently in museums throughout the world are speculated to have come from Olympia, but were sold on the art market and lack provenance. These I address on a case-by-case basis, and where I have made use of them, justification for their inclusion is given. In addition, this study is greatly indebted to the staff of the Archaeological Museum and Ephoria of Olympia, who were generous with their time and kindly allowed me to examine a significant quantity of unpublished material. Here, I explicitly include only objects that have been previously published, but all general observations are drawn from the entire corpus of this material.

Museum study allowed me to handle, measure, photograph, and inventory the objects for later reference.[25] Appendices cataloguing many of these objects are included and referenced throughout the text. Given the extensive publication of the finds from

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[23] Herrmann 1979, 4-5.

[24] Jackson 1991, 244; Nielsen 2007, 75. An estimated 100,000 helmets alone were dedicated at Olympia in the Archaic period. No other site received such a quantity of arms and armor.

[25] All measurements are in centimeters, with the exception of distances around the site, which are given in meters.

Olympia, they include those objects directly referenced in this study and additional entries where necessary to supply a more representative sample of the material. In addition to material currently at Olympia, I was able to see material in Delphi, Nemea, Isthmia, Samos, Athens, Berlin, New York, and Malibu. In certain cases—such as the best preserved of the protome cauldrons (C1; Pls. 7, 8)—measurements could not safely be taken without dismantling the museum installation, and so I have relied on previously published information; this is noted accordingly. In addition, corrosion and bronze disease present a constant danger to much of Olympia's votive material. Particularly in the case of certain shield bands, the bronze was significantly damaged compared to the time of excavation and the iconography was barely discernable; in such cases, I have relied on published photographs, drawings, and the observations of the original excavators as guides, and I have noted where I was unable to confirm these observations independently.

The miniatures presented a unique challenge. Extremely numerous and never comprehensively published, at the time of this study they were stored somewhat inconsistently according to excavation year along with whatever material was found near them.[26] At present, it is extremely difficult even to say exactly how many figurines have been excavated in total, and no scholar since Heilmeyer has claimed to have surveyed them comprehensively.[27] Recent publications describe museum study of the newly-uncovered miniatures and state that their observations are consistent with Heilmeyer's.[28] These reports focus primarily on the most remarkable examples, although they catalogue a limited range of additional specimens. My observations likewise support the results of previous studies, but I was unable to complete a complete survey of Olympia's figurines.

THE HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE ALTIS

As the history and archaeology of the site impact all of the material in this study, I will address it in general terms here. The practice of leaving votive gifts had a long history at Olympia and long preceded even the traditional date of the first athletic festival, 776 BCE.[29] Even in the early days of the site as a regional cult center, visitors left jewelry, terracotta figurines, and vessels associated with feasting. The practice of dedication flourished along with the site's increasing prominence, with Olympia ultimately receiving nigh-incalculable quantities of bronze. Like other sanctuaries, its use was intermittent, with each festival resulting in the creation and disposal of debris, and dating is therefore challenging: the early votive material was found largely in mixed contexts, generally dumps. Further complicating matters, control over Olympia

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[26] As of 2018, storage at Olympia was being reevaluated.

[27] Heilmeyer 1979.

[28] Kyrieleis 2003, 118–22; 2006, 116-122. The newly-published miniatures are included in my analysis.

[29] Mallwitz 1988; Schilbach 1992; Morgan 2007.

changed with some frequency, and the site was renovated repeatedly in the Archaic period. Indeed, in many respects Olympia ought to be considered an extra-urban sanctuary under Elean (or other) control rather than truly "Panhellenic," and this fact influenced the treatment of dedications.[30] While Elis left its own buildings standing—the polis had a clear interest in emphasizing the longevity of its presence—it did not afford similar consideration to the dedications of others, particularly martial dedications. [31]

The question of when cult activity began at Olympia has long been debated, as has the wider issue of continuity between the Bronze and Iron Ages in Greece. There is evidence of habitation in the area beginning in the Neolithic period through the Late Helladic, including several tumuli, cist and shaft graves, apsidal and rectangular houses, and a range of small finds.[32] In the early twentieth century, Dörpfeld argued for a prehistoric origin of the sanctuary based on his excavations of a tumulus (later identified as Early Helladic) and a group of EH-MH apsidal houses to the north and east of the Pelopion.[33] Hermann similarly attempted to show a Mycenaean origin for cult practice at Olympia.[34] Furtwängler, conversely, doubted the existence of the tumulus completely and argued for the cult to have begun in the Geometric period, a position supported at least partially by Heilmeyer, who saw no continuity of style between Olympia's earliest terracotta figurines and those of the Mycenaean period.[35] Current analysis supports both opinions to a limited extent. Some Mycenaean pottery has been found at Olympia, but in alluvial strata; according to Eder's analysis of recently excavated material, the find spots indicate Mycenaean habitation at or around Kronos hill.[36] Her research suggests that Mycenaean activity continued into LHIIIC Early (approximately the first half of the 12th century BCE), but at present there is no evidence of continuous settlements into the later part of LHIIIC.[37] Nor is there evidence of any unbroken chain of practice between the apsidal houses Dörpfeld uncovered and later cult activity.[38]

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[30] Scott 2010, 29-40.

[31] Scott 2010, 30-35.

[32] Papakonstantinou (1992) offers an overview of the prehistoric material.

[33] Dörpfeld (1935, 73-96) discusses prehistoric settlement remains. He also addresses the prehistoric Pelopion (118-124).

[34] Hermann (1980, 29) discusses some Mycenaean ceramics to which Eder (2001, 202 n. 11) gives a date of LHIIA-IIIB; she additionally argues that a sherd identified as the upper part of a Mycenaean alabastron is more likely an Archaic pyxis produced locally. For the tumulus, see Eder 2001, 201-203; Kyrieleis 2006, 38.

[35] Furtwängler 1890; Heilmeyer 1972, 3-6, 10-12, 20, 89-90.

[36] Eder 2001, 202.

[37] See Eder 2001, 203, 203 n.15 for a summary of the bibliography on Mycenaeans at Olympia.

[38] Eder 2001, 203.

At the heart of Olympia's early post-Mycenaean archaeology—and therefore a great deal of material discussed in this study—is the *schwarze Schicht*, the black layer, so named for its large quantity of dark ash.[39] Approximately in the area of the Pelopion, the layer contained the remains of some of the earliest cult activity at the site (Pl. 1.2). The layer was explored during the earliest excavations at Olympia and found to hold a wide array of material associated with ritual practice: excavators describe finding a large quantity of jewelry, figurines, fragmentary tripod cauldrons and legs, and ceramics.[40] The first notes on the black layer date to the 1877-8 season and describe finding a large quantity of terracotta and bronze figurines. Furtwangler's observations on stratigraphy were limited and, in keeping with practice at the time, the excavation did not keep sherds. It was believed initially to be the gradual buildup of an early ash altar to Zeus, and for many years debate focused on how early the cult may have existed.[41]

From his reexamination of the black layer, Kyrieleis suggests that cult activity began in an open-air area north of the Pelopion and sacred grove during the 11th century BCE.[42] He argues that the especially thick section of the black layer in the northern area indicates an early ash altar. Analysis of the area around the Pelopion and tumulus—explored by the first excavators but not removed—confirmed that the stratum consisted of an accumulation of ash, animal bone, ceramics, figurines, jewelry, and other refuse from ritual activity.[43] In addition, the team investigated the last undisturbed portions of the stratum beneath the stones of the Classical wall of the Pelopion, for which several of its blocks were removed. The ash layer lay directly beneath them and in turn the earth underneath it was sterile, confirming the belief of earlier excavators that the black layer represents the beginnings of cult activity.[44] Recently uncovered and reanalyzed ceramic evidence similarly aids in establishing a likely date for the earliest activity at the site.[45] In particular, the number of SubMycenaean and ProtoGeometric open vessels, including two monumental kylikes, suggests ritual activity by the very early Iron Age.[46] The disproportionate number of

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[39] Furtwängler 1890, 10-34.

[40] Furtwängler 1890, 10-34.

[41] Furtwängler (1890) was highly skeptical about the presence of anything Mycenaean at Olympia. Dörpfeld (1935) argues for the sanctuary dating back to the prehistoric era. Later scholarship fell into one or the other camp, with little additional evidence until the Pelopion was re-excavated. For a thorough discussion of the scholarship on this topic throughout the 20th century see Eder (2001, 201-203).

[42] Kyrieleis 2002; 2006, 39.

[43] Kyrieleis 2006, 41-2.

[44] Eder 2001, 203.

[45] Kyrieleis 2006, 84-5.

[46] Eder 2003.

open shapes parallels assemblages at the Iron Age sanctuaries at Isthmia and Kalapodi.[47]

The votives at the center of this study date to the 8th to 6th centuries BCE, a time of change for both dedicatory practice and the sanctuary itself. During it, Olympia developed from a regional cult center to a sanctuary attracting visitors from much further away. Changes in dedicatory practice followed: the 8th century saw a major expansion of votive offerings and the beginning of an accumulation of bronze in particular.[48] It is around this time that bronze figurines gained prominence over their locally produced terracotta predecessors, protome cauldrons began to be dedicated, and the first monumental buildings were begun.[49] In the 8th century as well, numerous earlier dedications were purposefully broken and buried. Historians connect this with the historically documented Pisan takeover of the sanctuary from Elis.[50] Another phase of destruction and reconstruction occurred in the early sixth century, this one corresponding to the Elean retaking of the sanctuary. The larger buildings—namely the temple of Hera and Pelopion—were the primary beneficiaries of this renovation.[51] It is during this phase, in the second quarter of the 6th century, that the stadium was refurbished and its southern embankment built up.[52] Approximately fifty years later an entirely new stadium was constructed on the same footprint.[53] Numerous martial dedications were disposed of through burial in the embankments of these stadia.

Helmut Kyrieleis' recent excavations reexamined the black layer and have provided a fuller picture of the stratum and its use.[54] His investigation of undisturbed portions of the stratum beneath the classical Pelopion yielded evidence of a mixed context. Kyrieleis (2003; 2006) observed that the layer was comprised of secondary deposits rather than long term *in situ* accumulation from an ash altar as originally imagined. He noted evidence of repeated dumps, with a portion of the stratum ultimately used in the mid 7th century BCE to level the ground prior to the construction

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[47] Eder 2001, 205. Eder compared the shapes found at Olympia to those found at Kalapodi and found that in general terms they are proportionally similar; in contrast, the ceramics associated with settlements—Lefkandi, for instance—are much more often closed vessels rather than open.

[48] Snodgrass 1980, 52-4; Burkert 1985, 93-4; Langdon 1987.

[49] Scott (2010, 148-54) summarizes the changes during this period.

[50] Morgan 2007 52, 56; Mallwitz 1988. For Pisa's takeover: Hdt. 6.127, Strabo 8.30-3; Kyrieleis 2006.

[51] Mallwitz 1966; Drees 1968.

[52] Mallwitz 1966; 1967; 1988: this is Stadium I. Many theorize that a prior stadium (referred to as the "Urstadium" by Mallwitz) preceded it, but no evidence of it remains.

[53] Mallwitz 1966; 1967; 1988; Drees 1968. Stadium II is now believed to have been built in the late 6th century, not after the Persian Wars as Drees once argued.

[54] Kyrieleis 2003; 2003; 2006.

of the Pelopion.[55] Votives found in the layer are therefore believed to have been dumped and buried there as a means of disposal rather than initially deposited there; supporting this conclusion, larger finds, including bronze tripod legs, were purposefully broken.[56] Nonetheless, the homogeneity of the votive debris suggests that the contents of the *schwarze Schicht* represents the detritus from a single cult. The ash and bone suggest repeated animal sacrifice, potentially with the deposition of votive offerings occurring concomitantly. These remains were then removed at intervals and dumped together. While there is evidence for change in practice and votive preferences over time, there is no evidence to suggest a drastic or sudden change in worship from one or more cults to a single, privileged one.[57]

CHAPTER OUTLINE

This study approaches Archaic period dedications from a different angle than previous scholarship. Rather than attempt a comprehensive survey, it chooses several different types of dedications—figurines, cauldrons, and shields—with different social histories and primary uses. The votives discussed here have previously been published and studied within the history of dedicatory practice, but rarely addressed as compositions in their own right. This study explores the interactions between various votive types, the landscape of the Altis, and the visitors to the site with a view to a richer understanding of the votive gifts in the early sanctuary.

Chapter 2 focuses on protome cauldrons, some of the more prestigious and valuable dedications in the ancient sanctuary. It considers the origins of the cauldron type and iconography, its relationship to Assyria and the Near East, and the relationship between the protome cauldron and the earlier Geometric tripod. The chapter discusses the specific significance of such vessels within early Greek culture and addresses them as visual metaphors for the sanctuary, with attention to the use of the cauldron both as dedication and as cooking implement in the sacrifice. Taking into account literary sources on monsters and ancient conceptions of topography, it explores the vessels as representations of geography.

Chapter 3 discusses Olympia's miniatures, with primary attention paid to those produced in bronze. It evaluates questions of production in the sanctuary and possible connections between the bronze miniatures and the earlier, coroplastic figurine tradition. Drawing on contemporary theories of miniaturism, it addresses properties specific to tiny objects and their impact on the votive process; it understands the miniature as a peculiarly anthropocentric creation. While some have dismissed

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[55] Eder 2001, 204.
[56] Maass 1978, 26; Kyrieleis 2006, 27-55.
[57] Kyrieleis 2006, 35-6.

miniatures as gifts given by those who could afford no better, this chapter argues that they foster uniquely intimate relationships between gift and giver.

Chapter 4 considers martial dedications, votives displayed alongside the others mentioned here but very different in origin. It addresses the various phases of the objects' biography with an emphasis on the relationship between visibility, use, and iconography. It focuses on shield band images depicting the violence and disruption of war—the Trojan cycle and the *nostoi*—and addresses such scenes within the broader visual and literary tradition. In addition, it situates such images through the lens of theories of viewing violence, horror, and the uncanny. Finally, it examines the display of arms and armor as *tropaia* within the landscape of the sanctuary.

Amongst these very different types of votive gifts, various points of contact emerge. Fundamental to each is their impact on and interaction with sanctuary visitors and the space of the *temenos*. Protome cauldrons, with griffin heads extending out from all sides, return the viewer's gaze as long as they are within sight. The cauldrons themselves can be understood as a synecdoche for geography; the monsters at their rims mark both the edge of the vessel and the edge of human-occupied world. Figurines are scaled down to privilege handling and the tactile experience, but also miniaturize people, animals, and other votives found throughout the landscape of the Altis and assemble them to be surveyed in a glance. Shields and *tropaia*, erected on the edge of the stadium, contrast the space of athletic (and dedicatory) competition with the battlefield, and in doing so, replicate for the viewer the perspective of the victor.

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PROTOME CAULDRONS

Where to Find Fantastic Beasts

Few objects are as richly enmeshed with the Greek sanctuary as the tripod. The shape evokes competition, gift exchange, and Homeric prizes. It is the seat of the Delphic oracle and the focus of Apollo and Herakles' dispute; by the Archaic period, it becomes a visual metonymy for the sanctuary itself.[58] At Olympia, all evidence suggests that tripods in fact arrived at the site well before the traditional date of the first Olympic festival (776 BCE): tripods are among the very earliest cult objects at the site, and are certainly the earliest monumental bronzes.[59] As the site transformed in the Geometric and Archaic periods, the types of bronze vessel used as dedications also changed. Through the 9th and 8th centuries, the handles become more heavily embellished, the cold working more intricate and plastic attachments more plentiful; for these, horses and men predominate, underlining connections between the vessel as prize, elite gift, and dedication.[60] The votive diverged from its household ancestor: artisans and dedicators experimented with oversized versions, miniatures, and other elaborations of the shape. And, as the Archaic period progressed, a new style of three-legged bronze vessel gained prominence—the protome cauldron. As a vessel, it is fantastical and ostentatious, more a relative than a direct descendant of the Geometric tripod. Drawing on the iconography of the Near East but deployed near-exclusively in the western Mediterranean, it features the heads of griffins and lions at the rim, sirens at the handles, and separable stands, some with clawed feline paws.

The latter group is this chapter's focus. Protome cauldrons are complex objects both in form and function. Their underlying shape is that of a practical cooking implement, but their attachments announce them as anything but; ultimately the vessel's function is to support its embellishment, rendering it hardly "embellishment" at all. With this in mind, I argue for a complex understanding of the protome cauldron

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[58] *LIMC*, s.v. Apollon, 304-8; *LIMC*, s.v. *Herakles*, 133-44.
[59] Heilmeyer et al. 1987, 6-8, 10-16; Morgan 2007, 57.
[60] Papalexandrou 2005.

that is heavily embedded in its use context. If an object, as Alfred Gell writes, "has no 'intrinsic' nature, independent of the relational context," any analysis of that object must consider its relational context;[61] this is particularly true of the griffin cauldron, whose design is intimately linked with the votive process and sanctuary landscape. They are fully legible only within the sanctuary context and operate as intended primarily within the *temenos* space. For this reason, I explore the vessels as elements of the dedicatory process; as objects that relate to and confront their dedicators and viewers; and as features of the sanctuary landscape.

First, I consider the vessel's history in conjunction with the sanctuary and the relationship between the Archaic protome cauldron and the Geometric tripod. I explore, too, the origins of the cauldron and its attachments. I then address the relationship between its iconography and its role as a dedication. Finally, I turn to the relationship between its formal composition and the sanctuary itself.

A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

As alluded to above, the English term "tripod" encompasses two distinct vessel types, both of which are used as dedications at Olympia. The first is the Geometric period vessel that stands on three permanently attached legs. In the 9th-8th centuries at Olympia, the legs are long, roughly rectangular in section, and the handles, circular and flattened, project vertically from the rim (Pl. 2.1). Attachments and embellishment on this type of vessel are generally limited to incision on the legs, and fretwork and figurines on the handles. These will be referred to as tripods throughout. The second group, legless cauldrons, constitutes a distinct genre at the sanctuary. These too were originally tripod cauldrons of a sort, since most or all of them are believed to have originally sat upon three-footed rod stands, but few of these stands survive. In contrast to the tripod cauldrons proper, the legless ones have small ring handles and are frequently embellished with protomes—busts of animals and monsters—projecting outwards from just below the rim (Pl. 2.2). In the interest of clarity, this type will be referred to as protome cauldrons.

BRONZE VESSELS AT THE EARLY SANCTUARY

The earliest evidence of cult activity at Olympia dates to the late 10th century BCE, when deposits of terracotta and bronze figurines first appear.[62] Tripod dedication may have begun similarly early in the form of cooking vessels used and then left at the sanctuary, if not specially made votive gifts.[63] Certainly, however, the practice of dedicating tripods had taken root by the 8th century BCE with the dedication of the first

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[61] Gell 1998, 7.
[62] Heilmeyer et al. 1987, 6-8, 10-16; Morgan 2007, 57.
[63] Maass 1981.

large-scale bronze vessels.[64] The social history of these vessels is difficult to determine, though at least one—a Bronze Age Cypriot tripod—must have had a lengthy life before its arrival at Olympia.[65] Some may have begun as gifts from one member of the elite to another, possibly even over multiple generations, before ultimately being dedicated at the sanctuary; Morgan theorizes that the gift history of an object could add to its value as a votive.[66] Whatever the particulars of its earliest iterations, the shape takes on significance particular to the sanctuary context: by the middle Archaic period, certain tripods were produced to be left as votive gifts without prior use history.[67]

There is little stratigraphic support for establishing chronologies for either the tripod or protome cauldron. Tripod legs appear in the *schwarze Schicht*, the black layer of burnt material associated with the earliest phases of the sanctuary;[68] the context is mixed, however, and so the association confirms only that tripods with cast legs were in use before it was deposited. For these, Maass (1978) created a typological sequence for these early tripods based on their construction technique and style.[69] Those with adornment restricted to the upper part of the cast legs he placed in the Early Geometric period, while those with symmetrically adorned legs, fretwork handles, and figurative attachments he placed somewhat later. Tripods with hammered legs and handles come last in his chronology. Though there is some dispute regarding Maass's tripod sequence, few specific adjustments have been proposed.[70] Alloy analysis performed on tripods at Delphi supports Maass to some extent: a gradual increase in the percentage of tin up until c. 750 BCE allows a fairly reliable relative sequence.[71] Most commentators believe that anthropomorphic figures were frequently added by 800 BCE and that the

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[64] Morgan 2007, 31; 46.

[65] Morgan 2007, 58. The Cypriot tripod is Athens NM 5765. Catling 1964 217-223 argues for Cypriot workshops being active only until the 12th century. Raubitschek 1998 90 argues that, even if the workshops operated later than Catling believes, the tripod fragment from Olympia ought to be considered an heirloom as it significantly predates the finds accompanying it. How it came to be dedicated at Olympia is not clear, as is whether it was truly an "heirloom" or found in a disturbed bronze age tomb, for instance.

[66] Morgan 2007, 59-60. Tripods and cauldrons are referenced repeatedly as guest gifts in the *Odyssey*. Alcinous urges each of the Phaiacian "βουληφόροι" to give Odysseus a great cauldron and tripod (Hom.*Od.*, 13.12-13). Similarly, Menelaos tells Telemachus that if they travel through Argos, whoever they visit will insist on giving them a tripod and cauldron (Hom.*Od.*, 15.80-5).

[67] Maass (1981, 6-7) discusses this transition.

[68] Furtwängler 1890, 72-81; Kyrieleis 2003

[69] Maass 1978; 1981.

[70] Rolley (1977) bases his analysis of Delphi tripods on Maass' but adjusts the chronology significantly, ultimately giving many a lower date.

[71] Rolley 1977; Philippakis et al. 1986

largest tripods appeared in the late eighth through the seventh centuries BCE. In any case, the tripod cauldron undoubtedly predates the protome cauldron.[72]

The typological sequences proposed for protome cauldrons are just as rudimentary as those for tripod ones. Relative to the number of protomes, few fragments of either the cauldrons themselves or their stands survive. The protomes therefore present the most promising option for establishing a chronology. Hermann (1979) proposes a basic sequence for the griffin protomes based on manufacturing process and style.[73] Three distinct production methods are evident among the Olympia protomes: cast, hammered, and hybrid, in which the head was cast but the neck hammered (Pl. 3). Herrmann places the hammered ones earlier than the cast, with the hybrid technique bridging the two. If correct, this would imply that casting was introduced slowly, with workshops experimenting over some period of time. Jantzen, conversely, argues that the hybrid technique was developed to facilitate the production of monumental protomes in the mid-seventh century.[74] It is unclear, however, what structural stability the hybrid technique would offer over the hammered one alone when increasing the size of the protomes. Cast protomes are indeed smaller than their hybrid and hammered predecessors, but, as their state of preservation attests, significantly more robust. In addition, with the advent of the fully cast technique, the griffins' necks become more slender and sinuous, the ears longer and slimmer, and the pegs on top of the heads thinner (Pl. 4).

Embellishment also evolved over time. Certain details, such as the coldworked feathers and curls on either side of the neck, remained consistent regardless of the manufacturing technique (Pls. 5, 6.1). Inlay, however, was used more frequently on later protomes: while the earliest griffin protomes had solid, protruding eyes (G15, e.g.), the eyes of later protomes were inlaid with amber, bone and ivory.[75] Although it is likely that the protomes were also enhanced with precious metals, scientific analysis has produced little evidence of it; chemical analysis of cast griffins, however, shows that multiple alloys were used in each to produce chromatic variation.[76] It is unclear whether this technique was used for earlier protomes.

Hermann's chronology has not yet been disputed, but there is little confirmation for it either. The stands themselves offer little assistance, since once they are broken apart, most are little more than a collection of bronze rods. Their feet, however, provide some evidence. Lions' feet similar to those at Olympia have been found in Etruria and dated stratigraphically to the late seventh century, which confirms that the cauldrons

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[72] Herrmann 1979, 53.
[73] Herrmann 1979, 53-134.
[74] Jantzen 1955, 65-9.
[75] Hemingway and Abramitis 2017, 118.
[76] Hemingway and Abramitis 2017, 118–19.

had reached the western Mediterranean by this time.[77] Tumulus MM at Gordion in Anatolia contains cauldrons that parallel those at Olympia; it is dated anywhere from the mid 8th to the very early 7th centuries. This, in turn, corresponds with the theory that the cauldron began to replace the tripod early in the seventh century.[78]

Terracotta griffin protomes offer another point of comparison. These are more common on Crete than the mainland, with several coming from the Idaean and Dictaean Caves.[79] In the Dictaean Cave, a clay siren attachment—similar to the handle attachments on protome cauldrons—was also found, further suggesting a close relationship between the ceramic and bronze vessels. The precise relationship between these terracottas and the bronze griffins is uncertain, however. Boardman interprets the terracottas as inspired by the bronze versions, and therefore dates them after the 8th century;[80] he suggests that the iconography of the griffin would have traveled to the mainland and then the bronze griffin cauldron would have been adapted into the terracotta dinoi on Crete. The reverse (or, much more likely, a long-term exchange of imagery and forms) could also be true, however: the iconography may have entered the Greek lexicon through Crete, with protome cauldrons drawing on the Dictaean ceramics produced in bronze for use in mainland sanctuaries.

LOCI OF PRODUCTION AND THE ORIGINS OF PROTOME CAULDRONS

There has been some debate as to whether tripods may have been produced near the sanctuary, but the archaeological evidence is thin.[81] The support for on-site manufacture is limited to a single leg mold and small quantities of slag, along with some indications of an earlier foundry beneath Pheidias' workshop.[82] It is very possible that miniature tripods and figurines—both bronze and terracotta—were produced at the sanctuary;[83] these, however, would have required far less infrastructure than their larger counterparts. Nor does the fact that many of the large tripod legs are stylistically similar mean that they must have been produced on site: multiple objects could have been brought to Olympia from a single workshop located well outside the area. While transport would have been challenging, they need not have been moved fully assembled: legs, handles, and plastic additions could have been attached by local

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[77] Herrmann 1979, 208.

[78] Herrmann (1979) on Olympia; Rolley (1983 70-5) on the evidence at Delphi.

[79] Boardman (1961, 60-61) lists nine terracotta griffins from Crete (although the identification of one is in question); four from the islands; and four from the mainland.

[80] Boardman 1961, 150.

[81] Morgan (2007, 35-8) discusses the economics of production in the sanctuary setting.

[82] Maass 1978; Heilmeyer et al. 1987; Morgan 2007 36-37

[83] Heilmeyer 1979. Unlike full scale or monumental tripods, miniature bronzes could—and likely were—made from recycled metal, and no large scale importing of metals would have been necessary for producing them. For further discussion of the production of miniature figurines, see Chapter 3.

artisans after arrival. Morgan further argues that the lack of ceramics at Olympia suggests little in the way of permanent, large scale production facilities.[84] In sum, there is little reason to believe that tripod or protome cauldrons were manufactured at the site in the pre-classical period, even once such vessels were produced specifically for use in the sanctuary.[85]

Conversely, it has long been assumed that the earliest of the protome cauldrons found in Greece were not produced there.[86] In particular, the figurative handle attachments—sirens and bulls—offer a partial means of tracing the path of particular embellishments to their final destinations in the Greek sanctuaries.[87] The attachments are roughly T shaped and attached along the edge of the cauldron rim (Pl. 7). On their exteriors are fittings through which the loop handles can be fed.[88] The tradition is clearly Near Eastern: the use of bulls and birds for handle attachments is well documented.[89] A significant corpus of winged bull attachments specifically is known in Anatolia and the Near East, predominantly Phrygia, Lycia, and Urartu.[90] A similar number of bulls has been found in Greece, however, with twelve coming from Olympia. In a survey of excavations throughout Greece and Anatolia, 88 siren attachments were inventoried by Muscarella, of which 21 were found at Olympia.[91] Notably, however, only nine were actually found east of Greece. Tumulus MM at Gordion contained two intact cauldrons with four siren handle attachments each, while the remaining siren is from Alishar in Iran.

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[84] Morgan 2007, 37.

[85] The consensus holds that vendors traveled to Olympia and other major sanctuaries just prior to festivals and likely established temporary crafting facilities while there. The evidence for casting figurines on site is significantly better than that for casting larger bronzes. For more discussion of the presence of itinerant tradesmen and craftsmen, see Burford 1972, 78; Risberg 1992; Morgan 1993, 23; Dillon 1997, 217-9; Morgan 2007, 37-9.

[86] Muscarella (1992, 16) offers a comprehensive exploration of which tripod attachments were produced in Greece; Hermann 1966, Jantzen 1967, Rolley 1967 and Merhav et al. 1991 also discuss the issue.

[87] Muscarella 1992, 17.

[88] There is some debate regarding the reconstruction of the attachments, as few have been found intact. Kunze 1931, 12; Amandry 1956, 245 n. 17; and Rolley 1984, 283 argue for a siren and a bull placed at each ring. Muscarella 1992, 20 argues against the bull-siren combination reconstruction on the grounds that there are no surviving siren-bull groups. Further, the two sirens from Olympia that were recovered still attached to a cauldron rim did not have bulls.

[89] Goldman 1960, 241.

[90] Muscarella 1992. This corpus is approximately 30; some bulls head attachments have appeared on the art market without provenance, making exact numbers impossible to determine.

[91] Muscarella 1992, 20-1.

The location of the eastern production center of the attachments has not been proven, but to the extent that there is a prevailing opinion, it is that Northern Syria is most likely, with some of the bulls certainly coming from Urartu.[92] The siren iconography is part of a well-established tradition: human-bird hybrids are seen on Akkadian seals in the 3rd-2nd millennia BCE and they also appear frequently in Neo-Assyrian art;[93] still, even if the iconography was inspired by the Near East, few of the handle attachments were imported from there. Likewise, it is extremely difficult to say where exactly the imported siren attachments found in Greece were manufactured.[94] The resulting picture is one of cross-cultural exchange and iconographic syncretism, particularly regarding the bull attachments, but there is no clear indication of origin or export.

Muscarella offers an estimate that about 45% of the handle attachments found in Greece are of Greek manufacture, which is an adjustment but not a radical revision of previous analyses.[95] It is notable that the percentages vary significantly depending on the site: Delphi and Olympia have cauldrons manufactured in both Greece and the Near East, while other sites favor one or the other.[96] This may indicate that cauldrons were dedicated at Delphi and Olympia relatively early and remained popular even after their production began in Greece, while at other sites their use may have been briefer. The process of establishing the location of handle manufacture is questionable enough that it is difficult to derive conclusions with any certainty. One possibility is that cauldrons with winged bulls' head attachments were produced and used in the Near East, with some exported to Greece. These may then have been reinterpreted as sirens to cater to local preferences: distribution suggests that the siren version was significantly more popular among Greek speakers than elsewhere.

The protomes present a different problem: while cast and combination protomes are generally agreed to have been produced in Greece, the origin of hammered protomes is debated. Apart from the bulls, there is very little evidence for a tradition of cauldron attachments anywhere in Mesopotamia.[97] Well over four hundred protomes have found in the western Mediterranean, Cyclades, and Cyprus. Fewer than twenty have been found in the Near East, but none of these predates the Greek examples, nor

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[92] Muscarella 1992, 21; 1962, 321; 1970, 110; 1978, 62; Herrmann 1966, 27, 50, 55; Herrmann 1966b, 118; Wartke 1985. The prevailing theories offer North Syrian, Urartian or combined Syrian-Urartian production. Herrmann, Wartke, and Muscarella agree that there is no evidence indicating any Urartian production whatsoever.
[93] Winkler-Horaček 2015, 187-188.
[94] Curtis 1994, 11.
[95] Muscarella 1992, 21.
[96] Muscarella (1992, 21) estimates that Ptoion, Argos and Delos have only imports, while Athens and Samos have only local cauldrons.
[97] Curtis 1994, 11.

are any believed to be of local manufacture.[98] Jantzen argued for the assembly of even the earliest tripod cauldrons to have occurred in Greece, even if some discrete parts were produced elsewhere, but there is scant archaeological evidence for this position.[99] K.R. Maxwell-Hyslop (1955) argued early on that that the first tripod cauldrons with protomes were eastern imports and that Greek workshops took over subsequently.[100] Although there is wide agreement that Greek workshops began producing similar goods eventually, there is little evidence where cauldrons were produced once local manufacture began.[101] The Greek-produced cauldrons at Olympia are suspected to be from Argos, or at least Peloponnesian in manufacture.[102] Perhaps most notable are the lack of consensus and the apparently seamless changeover from Near Eastern to Greek production, as Winkler-Horaček indicates.[103]

Rolley and his collaborators suggest that the cauldrons may have first been produced by immigrant artisans who took on local apprentices;[104] this would explain the similarity between "oriental" and "Greek" attachments as well as the ease with which manufacture changed from "foreign" to "local." It offers a similarly easy explanation as to why the protomes, although apparently Near Eastern in style, nonetheless have few parallels in the Near East. Both Crete and Samos seem possible as early production centers and both are well positioned as loci of cultural and iconographic exchange; the terracotta protomes found on Crete perhaps may support this. Likewise, the vast majority of the numerous cauldron attachments found on Samos are believed to have been produced locally, and the protome cauldron described by Herodotus was purportedly made in Samos, though in the Argive style.[105] Still, it is not necessary to resolve the question of where exactly the protome cauldrons originated in order to understand their significance: the distribution pattern suggests that even if they originated in the Near East, they had particular significance to Greek speakers in Greek sanctuaries, and they should therefore be understood within that framework.

DEPOSITION IN THE ALTIS

The depositional pattern—or lack thereof—of the cauldrons' protomes offers a clearer image of their disposal than of their dedication. Protomes were found in excavations from the first explorations at Olympia in the 1870s with the largest numbers documented in the mid 20th century; nonetheless, very few cauldrons have been found

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[98] Muscarella 1992, 41-2.
[99] Jantzen 1955, 49-52.
[100] Maxwell-Hyslop 1956.
[101] Winkler-Horaček 2015, 188.
[102] Herrmann 1979, 206.
[103] Winkler-Horaček 2015, 189.
[104] Rolley et al. 1983.
[105] Muscarella 1992; Hdt., 4.152.

there with protomes intact.[106] Like many other votive objects, they were ritually killed—that is, damaged to render them "useless"—prior to disposal by burial.[107] Even the most complete example (C1, Pls. 8, 9) suffered significant damage: only three necks remain attached. Intact protomes—which is to say near-complete heads or heads with necks—are generally individual finds dispersed through the site. The majority were found in fills near the stadium walls, most frequently pits along the south wall.[108] The rest were scattered through the center of the sanctuary, but notably few were found in the area of the treasure houses; if protome cauldrons were kept in the *thesauroi*, they were removed well before their destruction and that of the treasure houses. At least 40 protomes are not associated with any particular architectural feature and the findspots of another dozen are unrecorded. The protomes buried in the stadium must have been disposed of contemporaneously with its relocation in the late 6th century, which suggests that many of the protome cauldrons were on display for several generations. Conversely, the fact that only half of the extant protomes were buried in the old stadium implies that some may have survived the stadium's relocation. It is difficult to say why only some were discarded at the time of the stadium's relocation, though wear from exposure may have played a role. One possibility is that some indeed were stored in treasure houses, which saved them from disposal *en masse* in the stadium.[109] On the whole, there is little evidence that many protome cauldrons survived long past the Archaic period, though mixed contexts make it difficult to be certain. The fact that Pausanias makes no mention of protome cauldrons—which ought to have been a noteworthy curiosity—would suggest that none was in evidence at the time of his visit to Olympia.

Despite the large number of protomes buried at the sanctuary, most were likely melted down and reused. The number of small fragments supports this:[110] if a protome were broken apart before being melted down or removed from a cauldron with a hammer, smaller pieces may have fallen and gotten lost in the process.[111] Cauldrons survive even more rarely; unlike the protomes, cauldrons lent themselves to immediate

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[106] Herrmann 1966; 1979, 4. Four preserved cauldrons show evidence of protomes having been attached: B4224, Br 13540, Br 7497, and one fragment without a number: Herrmann 1966, 4.

[107] Philipp and Born 2004, 27f.; Kyrieleis (2006, 96) discusses the practice at Olympia.

[108] Herrmann 1979, 18-52.

[109] Herrmann 1979. Elis did regularly clear out dedications made by other city states and, presumably, individuals; objects placed inside thesauroi may have been exempt from such treatment.

[110] Over one hundred fragments have been positively identified as coming from cauldron protomes. These are generally the tips of beaks, tongues and ears, though sometimes fragments of the bodies are also identifiable.

[111] Lupu (2005 32-3) discusses laws surrounding the reuse of dedicated materials. While the removal of dedications was restricted, the melting down and reuse of objects was permissible under certain circumstances.

reuse once their attachments had been removed—a fairly straightforward process, given that protomes were joined to the vessel originally by rivets.[112] The small number of cauldrons makes estimating their original total number challenging. Likewise, few protomes from Olympia can be securely associated with one another:[113] there is far too much variation in size and workmanship for many of them believably to be pairs, let alone sets, which confirms that only a small subset of their original number survives.[114] The disposal of bronze sculpture offers an instructive parallel to the treatment of the protome cauldrons: at the time of disposal, the heads were decapitated and buried, while the bodies were presumably melted down.[115] The large variation and lack of duplicates among protomes suggests a similar practice: a single protome may have been kept as a token and buried in the sanctuary, while the "body"—the cauldron and its stand—was deconsecrated and melted down.

In keeping with this, Herrmann estimates that each extant protome represents an original population of six, which he believes was the total number of protomes attached to each vessel in most cases.[116] His estimate is plausible: the best-preserved cauldron rim (C1, Pls. 8, 9) originally had six protomes. As the total number of semi-intact protomes believed to be from Olympia is at present over one hundred, we may estimate that at least that many protome cauldrons were dedicated there over the course of the Archaic period.

THE SEMIOTICS OF TRIPODS AND CAULDRONS

The Greek terms associated with the tripod and cauldron are difficult to distinguish with precision, but a picture emerges of two distinct object types with similar value and significance. τρίπους is believed to refer to the vessel with permanently attached legs, while the term λέβης refers to the cauldron specifically; in theory, λέβης may refer to the bowl of the τρίπους, but generally appears to designate a

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[112] Herrmann 1979, 3-4.

[113] Mattusch (1990) argues persuasively that three griffins, now in Athens, Olympia and New York, most likely originally shared the same cauldron.

[114] In the course of my examination of the protomes, I was not able to find any two that *must* have come from the same mold, though a number may have come from the same workshop.

[115] Regarding the decapitation of bronze statues, see Houser (1988), who notes that two large scale bronze heads from the Acropolis were intentionally cut off. For a 6th century deposit of intentionally decapitated kouroi and korai in Cyrene, see Pedley (1971, 39-46). Keesling (2005, 516) also discusses the practice. For general discussion of the treatment of votive statues on the Acropolis, see Keesling (2003). Faraone (2002) also describes the ritual disfiguring of human statues.

[116] Herrmann 1979, 4-5.

different type of vessel.[117] Herodotus describes an object that is quite clearly a protome cauldron, but uses "κρητῆρ," a term not generally used to denote three legged vessels at all.[118] τρίπους is the more common word and typically refers to prizes or gifts of honor; these are often specified as "unburnt" or unused.[119] λέβης appears less frequently in the literary record. A λέβης can be a prize, but is comparatively more likely to refer to a vessel being used for heating water, including in mythological contexts: Pindar refers to Pelops as being removed from a λέβης in *Olympian* 1, and the term appears in an extended simile comparing anger to boiling water in the *Iliad*.[120] The terms τρίπους and λέβης both appear in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, though with a preference for the λέβης when bathing is discussed:[121] Eurykleia uses a *lebes* to washy Odysseus' feet in the *Odyssey*.[122] During Patroklos' funeral games, Achilles "ἔκφερ᾽ ἄεθλα λέβητάς τε τρίποδάς τε" "brought out as prizes cauldrons and tripods…" among many other riches, which implies that the two vessels are of similar worth but not completely interchangeable, or, potentially, that they refer to the cauldron and its three-footed stand.[123]

There is a somewhat parallel distinction in the visual tradition, in which tripods are depicted much more frequently than cauldrons with removable bases. Because of its role as the Delphic oracular seat, the tripod is the choice for images featuring Apollo or the Pythia;[124] the Delphic tripod, of course, is the subject of the conflict between Herakles and Apollo. When such vessels are used in shield devices, the choice is likewise a shape with long legs and upraised, circular handles. Depictions of cauldrons with separable bases are typically cooking scenes, whether mythological or otherwise;[125] many of the clearest examples show the daughters of Pelias with a ram

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[117] A.Fr.1, for instance, uses "τρίπους λέβης." Tripod is apparently the older term, appearing on Linear B tablets (which refer to ceramic examples). The term lebes is further confused by the lebes gamikos; here, I address only the bronze cauldrons.

[118] Hdt., 4.152.

[119] Maass 1978; *Il*.9.122

[120] Pi.O., 1.26; *Il.* 21.362.

[121] This is particularly pronounced in the *Odyssey*: LSJ⁹, s.v. λέβης A.II.

[122] Hom.*Od.*, 19.386. Vase painters render the vessel as a wide, shallow bowl. See, e.g., a skyphos in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Chiusi 63.564; BAPD 216789.

[123] Hom.*Il.,* 23.259 In addition to tripods and cauldrons, prizes include horses, mules and slave women.

[124] Vatican 16568 by the Berlin Painter, for instance, clearly shows a tripod rather than a cauldron, as do depictions of Apollo and Herakles fighting over the Delphic tripod.

[125] Complicating this, for obvious reasons distinguishing metal from ceramic in vase painting is difficult; Frankfurt B402 shows a youth standing in either a metal cauldron or a krater.

over a fire in a pot.[126] (Pl. 10.1) Depictions of protome cauldrons are much rarer, though there are some examples (Pl. 10.2).[127]

The cauldron's primary role in sanctuary practice, of course, was to boil meat after a sacrifice. Its importance in this regard increased during the Iron Age and Archaic periods. By the 7th century, the *thysia*, the primary type of animal sacrifice, consisted of burning the gods' portion, roasting the *splanchna* (entrails), and boiling the meat.[128] While there is evidence of each of these practices continuing through the Archaic period, preferences changed over time. Roasting appears to peak in the eighth century, the period to which most of the extant spits belong.[129] Later, although the practice of roasting the *splanchna* continued, boiling took precedence over roasting for the preparation of the sacrificial meat.[130] Naturally, the prominence of the cauldron increased in tandem with the evolution of sacrificial procedure; its growing importance as a dedication echoed its increasingly important role in the *thysia*. Indeed, it became so important to sanctuary life that, according to Pausanias, the akroteria on the 5th century temple of Zeus were tripods.[131]

The semiotic associations of these vessels are divergent and contradictory: tripods and cauldrons were at once mundane household objects, potent symbols of elite culture, and prestigious sanctuary dedications. Both τρίπους and λέβης were used for cooking, heating bathwater, and other quotidian activities throughout the Mediterranean beginning at least in the Bronze Age;[132] they were valuable enough to be mentioned in Linear B tablets, though they are placed alongside cooking braziers and other ceramics. At the same time, these vessels—particularly when made of bronze—had powerful associations with inter-polis games, the elite, and aristocratic gift culture.

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[126] British Museum 1843,1103.59. BAPD 5602 (also listed as 9030813), sold on the art market, shows a similar cauldron.

[127] A krateriskos in the Samos museum offers the best example. Benson 1995, 165, pl. 37a; Leventopoulou 1997, 609. There are several other examples, all Proto Corinthian or Geometric. See Hermann 1966, 1-3.

[128] For the ritual's procedure, see Burkert 1983, 1-12; 1985, 55-9; van Straten 1995. For detailed discussion of the preparation of meat, see Ekroth 2007 on the secular-sacred distinction; 2008 for a detailed discussion of burning, roasting, and boiling.

[129] For spits, see Haarer 2000; 2001. Spits appear beginning in the 10th century. For a comparative treatment of spits and feasting practice in Homer, the Mycenaean period, and the Iron Age, see Sherratt 2004, 312-14.

[130] For archaeological evidence regarding cooking methods, see Ekroth 2008, esp. 267-9. Critically, boiling meat is an efficient preparation method for large numbers of people; keeping the fat in the broth tenderizes the meat and boiling the bones allows access to and consumption of the marrow.

[131] Paus., 5.10.4.

[132] Bruns, 1970, 37-38. In addition, cauldrons were used for heating bath water; see Brommer, 1942, 359, 361-2.

As discussed above, they appear as prizes for winning Patroklos' funeral games in the *Iliad* and as gifts in the *Odyssey*, and Hephaistos is crafting tripods in *Iliad* when Thetis asks him to turn his attention to Achilles' armor.[133] In the *Odyssey* too they have a greater significance than that of gifts alone—Papalexandrou argues for the tripods presented to Odysseus by the Phaiakians as having the valence of prizes.[134] He suggests that the *Odyssey's* tripod is a symbol used in the construction of leadership, and indeed a sign exclusive to leadership.[135] This web of meaning can be extrapolated to the cauldron as well; the literary evidence implies that the two vessels share similar prestige, while archaeological context implies similar use. Likewise, the disappearance of the tripod in favor of the protome cauldron suggests that the latter may have acquired the symbolic import of the former along with its position in the sanctuary— that the Greeks themselves perceived the objects as closely related.

The mixed semiotic weight of the three-legged vessel poses a set of problems particular to the sanctuary context. Despite being equated with power, prestige, and leadership in certain contexts, it remained a tool of daily life. Although in the earliest phases of dedication, context may have been the sole differentiating factor, various features could distinguish household implements from those positioned as gifts to the gods. Choice of fabric is the most obvious: bronze in itself communicates expense and power. Later tripods are more likely to have been produced specifically for the sanctuary context than earlier ones, and dedicatory vessels at Olympia become more formally distinct as the Archaic period progresses.[136] This is visible in part through the increased embellishment of the tripods: the increasingly elaborate handles, coldworked legs, and addition of figurative attachments communicate use outside of the household. Further, the selection of male figures with horses for this figural embellishment, as Papalexandrou has shown, directly expresses the connection between the objects and elite culture and power.[137] Increasing embellishment indicates the tripod's expanding role as a prestige dedication within sanctuary.

The language used to discuss bronze vessels parallels their formal changes. They are described as "ἄπυρος" or "unscorched"; this is frequently understood to note their gleaming appearance and translated as "shining," but it also, as Maass argues, has the force of "unused."[138] The adjective directly conveys that the vessels were not placed on a fire, as a household tripod would be. Although the tripod may have become a prominent dedication because of its use as a cooking vessel in the sanctuary, by the late Archaic period the vessel's status as dedicated but ἄπυρος becomes a defining

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[133] Hom.*Il.*, 18.368-381.

[134] Papalexandrou 2005, 15.

[135] Papalexandrou 2005, 13-22.

[136] Though few tripods at Olympia have evidence of burning, the later tripods become more stylized and less use-oriented in their form.

[137] Papalexandrou 2005.

[138] Maass 1981, 6.

characteristic. Their physicality signifies this as well: in the cases of dedications that are monumental or miniature, size marks them as unsuitable for use in other, more mundane contexts.[139]

Similarly, the full-size Geometric tripod's elongated legs hold the basin far above any fire, while its oversized, circular handles operate in a parallel manner: although they purport to be a utilitarian feature, they do not actually add practical functionality to the object. Maneuvering a bronze tripod by its oversized handles must have been very difficult (if not impossible) when one considers the vessels' full size, let alone with the added weight of the water when filled.[140] In addition, though large, the circular handles are only millimeters thick: lifting a full cauldron by such handles would hurt one's hands. Thus, the semiotic system of bronze tripods was well established by the end of the Geometric period; while the tripod alone communicates power, formal changes declared them to be elite-associated objects specially made for dedication. It is against this backdrop that protome cauldrons began to be dedicated, and the fact that they entered the sanctuary at this moment may partially explain their apparently swift rise in popularity. The protome cauldron was able to take on the signification of the tripod but its form expands on and emphasizes its "ἄπυρος" nature.

Protome cauldrons, in contrast, announce themselves as exclusively dedicatory; the protomes, of course, would prohibit any mundane usage. Like the dedicatory tripods, protome cauldrons continue to reference the features of non-dedicated vessels, but with their everyday utility visibly undermined. The undersized ring handles of the protome cauldron occupy the opposite extreme to the Geometric tripod's but communicate the same message, offering only the minimum of additional maneuverability to the object.[141] It is important to note, however, that an object which does not function well in a mundane context is not necessarily a non-functional object; we ought not assume that because the handles would not be useful for a household cauldron, they do not contribute to the function of a dedicatory cauldron. Numerous handle attachments were found at Olympia, which suggests that having handles was important to the composition of the protome cauldron.[142] Evidently, those who produced and commissioned such vessels thought so. Rather, the handles are one element of many that create the dedicatory ensemble. The vessels conjure up an image

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[139] Luce (2011, 55-8) directly discusses miniature and giant tripods as a part of the phenomenon of defunctionalisation (as he terms it) of sanctuary objects.
[140] Late Geometric tripod reconstructions put their full height at about 1.5m, making lifting them by their handles impractical for a person of typical height.
[141] Nothing necessarily precludes looping a rope between the handles in order to move the cauldron more efficiently, but there is no evidence for this either.
[142] Goldman (1961, 240) discusses the lack of practical functionality: the handle loops are very undersized, making maneuvering a cauldron using them difficult and unwieldy—especially if the cauldron were full. For an intact example, see British Museum 1890,0101.17.

of their ancestors and cousins specifically in order to differentiate themselves; the fact that as dedicatory objects they did not operate in the manner that their shapes purport to does not mean that they were *useless*. An ἄπυρος votive was neither unused nor useless, but rather highly functional in a semiotic sense; its function is to communicate with its viewers through its fabric, shape and iconography. It asks the viewer to engage with it primarily as a votive, not a vessel.

In literature, the use of the cauldron, whether or not it involves fire, occasionally takes on mystical elements. Some sources claim that the tripod at Delphi, the seat of the oracle, held the disjointed parts of a great beast, perhaps the Python.[143] This tripod, of course, is not a cooking implement, but it nonetheless retains the cooking implement's semiotic force; it is an appropriate location to deposit a monster's remains once they are butchered. In a more explicitly supernatural tale, Herodotus recounts cauldrons providing an omen to Hippocrates:

> Ἱπποκράτεϊ γὰρ ἐόντι ἰδιώτῃ καὶ θεωρέοντι τὰ Ὀλύμπια τέρας ἐγένετο μέγα: θύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱρὰ οἱ λέβητες ἐπεστεῶτες καὶ κρεῶν τε ἐόντες ἔμπλεοι καὶ ὕδατος ἄνευ πυρὸς ἔζεσαν καὶ ὑπερέβαλον.

> This Hippocrates was but a private man when a great marvel happened to him as he was at Olympia to see the games: when he had offered the sacrifice, the vessels, standing there full of meat and water, boiled without fire till they overflowed.[144]

Here, cauldrons boil meat spontaneously without the aid of fire. That they are already filled with water and meat implies that they are of the ordinary, cooking variety, not made specifically for dedication. In witnessing the τέρας, Hippocrates witnesses their transformation: suddenly, they no longer need fire to perform their function. In this moment, even as they perform the mundane task of boiling meat, they are ἄπυρος, untouched by fire; however temporarily, they take on aspects of the unused, dedicatory cauldron.

THE ATTACHMENTS: LIONS AND GRIFFINS

Griffins are the most common protome type by far to appear on the cauldrons; there are approximately ten times as many griffin protomes as lion protomes.[145] The iconography of the griffin originates in the Near East. Lorenz Winkler-Horaček (2015) estimates that the griffin was probably created in or around Elam in the 4th-3rd millennia BCE, and from there, the iconography spread through Syria and Egypt.[146] By the early

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[143] Serv., 3.360; Eust. ad Dion., 441. See discussion in Burkert 1983, 123.
[144] Hdt., 1.59. Loeb translation.
[145] Herrmann 1979, 16-53.
[146] Winkler-Horaček 2015, 209-12. See also Leventopoulou 1997, 609.

1st millennium, griffins appear on the reliefs from Tel Halaf.[147] They generally are shown with furry, leonine bodies and the feathered wings, heads, and necks of birds.[148] In addition, they are frequently depicted with tendril-like plumes or hair locks extending from the region around or above their faces to the bottom of their necks; the tendrils curl into spirals at the ends. They also often have features at the top of their heads—rounded hats or additional plumes extending from the tops of their heads.[149] The griffins first depicted in Greece, in the Bronze Age, feature versions of these traits. The griffins in the throne room of the palace at Knossos, though wingless, have plumes extending from the tops of their heads along the backs of their necks, and spirals near their shoulders. A gold seal from Pylos Tholos Tomb IV features a griffin with spirals along its neck and an extended plume on its head.

In the western Mediterranean, the griffin fades from the iconographic tradition following the collapse of Mycenaean civilization, but reappears in the 8th century, when Syrian and Phoenician ivory and metal bowls depicting griffins and other hybrid mythological animals begin to be imported.[150] An 8th century bronze relief from Kavousi and a bronze shield from Arkades depict griffins; an Attic gold sheet showing a griffin may be similarly early.[151] The condition of both pieces from Crete is poor but their production style is agreed to be Greek, not Near Eastern.[152] In the first half of the 7th century, the motif appears in Corinth, Athens, Crete, the Cyclades, and Eastern Greece.[153]

The shape of the protome griffins can be traced to Assyria, where the open-beaked version seems to originate.[154] The Iron Age-Archaic griffin clearly draws upon the same vocabulary that the Minoan-Mycenaean griffins use, but with some modifications: by the Archaic period, the spirals seen in the Bronze Age griffins are no longer distinct markings but the curling ends of the tendrils (Pl. 11).[155] Unlike their earlier counterparts, Archaic griffins have tall, pointed ears. They still have protrusions on the tops of their heads, but these are no longer plumes: instead, these finials, generally spheres on top of pegs, are most akin to heavily stylized horns (Pl. 3.2, 3). Clearly, then, the iconography, molded through cross cultural exchange and then forgotten, must have been reintroduced and reinterpreted in the Iron Age. Winkler-

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[147] Winkler-Horaček 2015, 210.
[148] Wings are occasionally omitted, particularly in the Bronze Age.
[149] MMA 64.37.9 and Berlin Pergamon Museum VA 775 offer examples of these traits.
[150] Winkler-Horaček 2015, 210.
[151] Coldstream 2004, 288 discusses the Arkades shield.
[152] Reed 1976, 366.
[153] Winkler-Horaček 2015, 210.
[154] Reed 1976, 365.
[155] The Pylos Tomb griffin and Mycenae griffin both feature spiral motifs around their necks that may or may not be connected to tendrils. Distinct spiral motifs continue along the upper side of the Mycenae griffin's wings.

Horaček observes that there is relatively little variation in the attributes of griffins, despite their distinct regional styles. The long, pointed ears and finials in the center of their heads quickly become standard in addition to their open beaks, tongues that extend and curl outwards, and sinuous necks (Pl. 12).[156] The griffin protomes in particular are increasingly consistent in these characteristics as the iconography develops.

The griffins' hooked beaks clearly mark them raptors—as dangerous beasts of prey. When their species is discussed, they are generally called eagles, though there is little evidence for precise linguistic differentiation between various types of large birds.[157] Notably, the iconography does not particularly resemble the European eagle, and the word γρύψ is not related to eagles, but rather to vultures.[158] The griffin protomes bear a significant resemblance to the bearded vulture or *Lämmergeier*—a connection which may enhance our understanding of their characterization. The modern habitat of the bearded vulture ranges through mountainous areas of southern Europe, Turkey, the Near East, and northeastern Africa, suggesting that familiarity with the bird was quite possible in the Archaic period; they generally inhabit high altitude, mountainous regions. Their facial markings are highly suggestive: they have large black smears running from their beaks to just beyond their eyes, with black feathers reaching directly upright above each eye, and plumes dropping down below their beaks. These markings are notably reminiscent of the upright "ears" and curls over the brows appearing in both near-eastern and Greek iconography (Pl. 13). Their necks curve in a stocky "S" shape akin to that of the necks of the earlier griffin protomes. The plumage on their necks and heads is naturally predominantly white, but it is stained orange; it is believed that this is because of preening with iron-oxidized soil—perhaps akin to the color of polished bronze or a lion.

Even within the realm of creatures that feed on the dead, the bearded vulture is fearsome. With a wingspan of seven to nine feet, it would be easy to imagine it as something between a bird and a lion. Sometimes called a "lamb vulture," it can swallow bones as long as a 30cm; indeed, its diet is comprised almost exclusively of bones, not flesh.[159] If depictions of griffins do in fact draw inspiration from the bearded vulture, it

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[156] Winkler-Horaček distinguishes between those with these griffins and others with the heads of "waterfowl;" the latter have more rounded heads and beaks, but are otherwise similar to their allegedly more aggressive brethren.

[157] Ar.Ra., 929, for instance, mentions "griffin-eagles." Paus., 1.24.6 specifies that they are hybrids between eagles and lions.

[158] γρύψ is later used to mean vulture and is related to the term "γρυπός," hook, and "γρυπή," vulture's nest.

[159] Whatever they cannot swallow whole, they break by dropping from great heights. This behavior may be connected to the stories of Aeschylus' death, for which an eagle is generally held responsible. Pliny categorizes the culprit as a mostly black eagle (Nat

underlines that they too ought to be understood as dangerous and monstrous—beasts that inhabit the far reaches of nature.

The fact that the other choice for a protome is the lion implies that the griffin and lion were semantically equal in the imagination of the ancient manufacturer or purchaser; moreover, it suggests that dangerous beasts were considered the primary—and likely the only—choice for cauldron protomes. The lion protomes found at the sanctuary are produced with the hammered technique and therefore are believed to be among the earlier generation of protomes (Pl. 6).[160] They are similar in size to the hammered griffins, with wide, stocky necks. No cauldrons are believed to have featured only lions; rather, they are reconstructed with either griffins or griffin-lion combinations.[161] Apparently, the lion protomes never really caught on: at Olympia, fewer than ten have been published as opposed to over 100 griffins. This does suggest, however, that in the earliest phases, when the protome cauldron was being developed, the craftsmen conceptualized the cauldrons as objects that ought to incorporate predatory creatures *per se*. Those associated with the boundaries between the known world and the *eschatia* were appropriate to the cauldron, while others were not: there is no evidence that these other types of beasts were ever substituted.

PROTOME CAULDRONS AND THEIR VIEWERS

The protome cauldron was not, of course, ever viewed in isolation: as a votive offering, it was integrated into the landscape of the sanctuary, and that landscape was teeming with other dedications.[162] In Alfred Gell's terms, it has "no 'intrinsic' nature, independent of the relational context."[163] By the mid-late Archaic period, Olympia boasted a wide array of offerings and buildings, and viewing them would have been an integral part of a festival or pilgrimage, just as it was for Pausanias many generations later. The protome cauldron engages directly with this part of the sanctuary experience: its form—monstrous heads sprouting from the cauldron body, raised on a stand, nearly

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Hist 10.3). Valerius Maximus likewise claims that Aeschylus was killed by an eagle, which mistook his bald head for a rock and dropped a tortoise on him
[160] Herrmann 1979, 154.
[161] Herrmann 1979, 16-17.
[162] Lupu (2005, 32-33) discusses laws specifically addressing where dedications could be placed—to avoid overcrowding and keep pathways clear for visitors—as well as the circumstances under which offerings could be destroyed or recycled.
[163] Gell 1998, 7.

at eye level[164]—would surely have been striking to a first time viewer.[165] Within the framework of Gell's theory, as agents the cauldrons confront the viewer directly. He writes:

> The concept of agency implies the overcoming of resistance, difficulty, inertia, etc. Art objects are characteristically 'difficult'. They are difficult to make, difficult to 'think', difficult to transact. They fascinate, compel, and entrap as well as delight the spectator. Their peculiarity, intransigence, and oddness is a key factor in their efficacy as social instruments. Moreover, in the vicinity of art objects, struggles for control are played out in which 'patients' intervene in the enchainment of intention, instrument, and result, as 'passive agents', that is, intermediaries between ultimate agents and ultimate patients. Agent/patient relations form nested hierarchies…[166]

The strangeness of the protome cauldron's form is critical; the extent to which it is differentiated from its nearest relatives—the extent to which it is able to provoke fascination—grants it power over the viewer. Similarly, the viewer is invited to recognize its "difficulty:" it is an object made of a precious metal, and one that uses, through the attachments, much more of that metal than is needed for the basic vessel shape; it is an example of crafting virtuosity. And it is difficult to "think." Its parts are discordant—it is a vessel that is not a vessel, a monster that is not a monster.

When used as protomes, griffins always face outwards from the cauldron, never inwards. They are fearsome and the iconography forefronts their aggression: their beaks are open, warning and threatening anyone around them, and those with inserted eyes would have had piercing gazes (Pl. 12).[167] Notably, the figural attachments on a protome cauldron do not engage or interact with one another. Instead, the griffins are entirely focused externally—the composition's priority is the interaction between object and viewer and the viewer's experience of the object.[168] The protomes, moreover, are

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[164] The total height is difficult to estimate because of the poor state of preservation of the stands. C1 (OM B 4224) measures 67 cm from the base to the top of the protome without its stand. The protomes are hammered and the cauldron features a combination of lions and griffins, suggesting that it is on the earlier side. The griffin protomes measure 29.5 cm in height. Conversely, the heads alone of some later griffins measure 15-20 cm.
[165] Papalexandrou (2010, 36-7) discusses the possibility of rationing of visual culture and how that might influence visuality; (2016, 43-45) addresses the viewer's response to the unusual or unexpected and relates the experience of viewing of protome cauldrons to the experience of viewing early motion pictures.
[166] Gell 1998, 23.
[167] Papalexandrou (2016, 144) notes this.
[168] The lion protomes do face inwards, but still do not interact with each other or the griffins—there is no sense of "scene" as there is for, e.g., the horse and rider attachments on the Geometric tripods.

positioned all around the cauldron's circumference. Typically in Archaic sculpture, the figure's gaze is directed straight ahead: for example, the Corfu Medusa's face is completely frontal, and her eyes are directed straight ahead (Pl. 14).[169] Positioned high in the temple's pediment, her gaze can neither meet that of the viewer nor follow one as one circles the temple. Arranging the griffins around the perimeter of the cauldron achieves a completely different effect. Wherever the viewer moves, he or she is subject to the griffins' gaze. In order to escape it, he or she must leave the area entirely. Through their protomes, the cauldrons explore the tension between viewer and viewed: in Gell's terms, the patient and agent. The viewer is not the sole bearer of the gaze, but is subject to the vessels' gaze in turn.

The fact that the griffins always return the viewer's gaze has a bearing on the cauldrons' relationship to the space they occupy. Susanne Langer describes a sculpture as made up of two parts: the physical space which the sculpture occupies and the negative space which surrounds it.[170] The addition of the protomes changes the cauldron's relationship to this "negative space." Most obviously, they extend the physical space that the object inhabits. Further, the griffins' aggressive posture extends the space over which they have dominion: they stretch their necks outwards, threatening and reaching towards the viewer from the cauldron's rim. Their gaze and open beaks extend this effect, dominating the spatial envelope surrounding them. Because of the positioning of the griffins around the circumference of the vessel, the spatial envelope reaches out 360° from the cauldron; wherever a viewer can catch sight of it, the griffin can watch the viewer.

The unusual heads of the Eleusis amphora's Gorgons offer an intriguing parallel here (Pl. 15). The heads are rendered as vessel-like, similar to a cauldron in shape, with a "rim" above their eyes. The snakes echo the shape and attachment point of the griffins' sinuous necks; indeed, like griffins, Gorgons are hybrid monsters. This is an early example of pictorial metonymy: cauldrons are substituted for the heads of the Gorgons, which clearly indicates an equivalence between the two in the mind of the painter. Nor is the Eleusis amphora the sole link between Gorgons and griffins. *Prometheus Bound* positions them close to one another in Prometheus' warning:

> πέλας δ᾽ ἀδελφαὶ τῶνδε τρεῖς κατάπτεροι,
> δρακοντόμαλλοι Γοργόνες βροτοστυγεῖς,
> ἃς θνητὸς οὐδεὶς εἰσιδὼν ἕξει πνοάς.   800
> τοιοῦτο μέν σοι τοῦτο φρούριον λέγω:
> ἄλλην δ᾽ ἄκουσον δυσχερῆ θεωρίαν:
> ὀξυστόμους γὰρ Ζηνὸς ἀκραγεῖς κύνας
> γρῦπας φύλαξαι…

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[169] While this is particularly clear in the case of pedimental sculpture, sculpture in the round operates similarly. The gazes of kouroi and korai are similarly focused directly ahead.

[170] Langer 1953, 88.

> And nearby them are the three winged sisters,
> the snake haired Gorgons, hateful to humankind,
> no mortal looking upon them will still breathe.
> Such is the danger I tell you to beware.
> But now hear another vexatious sight:
> The sharp beaked unbarking dogs of Zeus—griffins--
> Beware them…[171]

Both are described in terms of the viewer's experience of them. The griffins are a δυσχερὴς θεωρία, a spectacle difficult to manage. Conversely, the greatest threat the Gorgons pose is to the viewer. As Prometheus warns, no mortal gazes upon them and lives. In other words, the power of the Gorgon lies in her impact on the spectator; she must be seen in order to have an effect. This is the agent-patient relationship amplified to the greatest possible extent; the viewer, turned to stone, may be forever subject to the agency of what he or she has viewed. On the Eleusis amphora, this power (and risk to the viewer) is attributed to cauldrons—and as with the griffin protomes, the Eleusis amphora Gorgons look out in multiple directions, allowing their gaze to follow the viewer as he or she circles the vessel. Unlike the protomes, the Gorgons do not encircle the vessel completely; rather, they are depicted in motion, pursuing Perseus, their prey. Their gaze follows the viewer for a partial circumnavigation of the vessel with the implication that the Gorgons themselves will complete the journey.

In conjunction with the choice to depict the heads as cauldrons, the use of three-dimensionality to project the Gorgons' gaze suggests that the painter was aware of the griffin protomes' outward stare; the metonymic citation of the cauldron for the Gorgons' head was purposeful. Conversely, it also suggests intentionality on the part of the cauldron makers—that the viewer's experience of being surveilled by the griffins is created deliberately and is Gorgon-like. In turn, this suggests an exploration of the risks of seeing and being seen. The Gorgons express the danger to the viewer of seeing the wrong thing, of looking upon a monster and returning its stare. The griffins, conversely, articulate the danger of being seen by the wrong creature; once caught in the raptor's sight, its gaze and consequent assault is not easy to escape.

Langer further writes: "The purpose of all plastic art is to articulate visual form, and to present that form—so immediately expressive of human feeling that it seems to be charged with feeling—as the sole, or at least paramount, object of perception. This means that for the beholder the work of art must be not only a shape in space, but a shaping of space--of all the space he is given."[172] The protome cauldrons do exactly this in demanding the viewer's attention. The griffins' heads jut out, eye to eye with the viewer. The projecting protomes claim the space beyond the rim of the cauldron; the

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[171] Aesch., *Pr.* 798-807.
[172] Langer 1953, 71.

outreaching necks convey vertical and horizontal expansion. The finials jutting from the center of their heads—proportionally quite large, though visually harmonious—provide a visual anchor up above the cauldron; the effect is particularly pronounced when we consider that a cauldron rim would have been ringed by them. The finials halt the glance as it travels upwards and redirect it back down towards the externally oriented birds' necks. They reference other objects at the sanctuary and one another—their shape echoes that of the earlier tripods, and their iconography parallels that of other Orientalizing depictions—they do not depend on other objects to be legible. Taken as a single entity, a singular composition, the protome cauldron is cognizant of the landscape that surrounds it but, through controlling space and redirecting the gaze, strives to fixate the viewer as (or as if it is) the viewer's paramount object of attention.

In broader relational terms, as a dedicated object the cauldron allows the dedicator what Gell terms "distributed personhood:"[173] it acts as a channel for the dedicator's agency. This suggests a more expansive interpretation of the competitive dedication process: not only do large-scale votive offerings allow elite dedicators to compete directly with one another, but the offerings also allow them to extend their power over sanctuary space in their absence, and potentially to enact control directly over their dedications' viewers in their absence.

In understanding the votive function and impact of the protome cauldron, one might contrast that of martial dedications: while one could have significance, more often, it is the collective display that impresses the viewer, the numbers that communicate the scale and value of the victory and thus the dedication.[174] The cauldrons, in contrast, are smaller in number and convey their importance differently: though the setting of the protome cauldron is critical to a full understanding of it, each one acts as the singular subject of the viewer's gaze, independent of other dedications. It is notable, too, that not only does each of Olympia's protome cauldrons appear to have been created individually, but also each of the protomes, too. Among the Olympia protomes alone, there is great variation in size, shape, the coldworking of the patterns on the necks, and the treatment of the finials, horns, ears, and even the eyes: some are punched out while others are not. While the form of the cauldron might be somewhat fixed and the basic shape of the griffin very much so, the overall execution of the object certainly was not. Even the few griffins that may have come from the same cauldron are not identical: Mattusch's analysis of three griffins long believed to be from the same

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[173] Gell 1998, 21; 96.

[174] The Miltiades helmet is one exception that may prove the rule: its uniqueness contrasts to the standard displays of multiple pieces of armor dedicated by the victors.

mold shows convincingly that each was cast individually from separate waxes, then coldworked with the same tools.[175]

HYBRID BEASTS, HYBRID VESSELS

As discussed, distribution patterns suggest that the protome cauldron appealed primarily to the Greek-speaking market—their use in the Near East was very limited— and their chief purpose was dedication at major sanctuary contexts. This may relate in part to the fact that their construction makes a series of puns that work well in Greek. The protomes attach at the base of their necks to the necks of the cauldrons. The body of the cauldron completes the animals' bodies, and the legs of the stands take the place of those of the beasts. The handle attachments work similarly: sirens too are hybrids, and their necks and bodies likewise align with the neck and body of the cauldron. In addition, the bird-bodied sirens echo the bird-headed griffins. The stands' feet are frequently lions' feet and—while this is common in furniture—there is greater significance here as both griffins and lions (of course) have lions' paws (Pl. 16). [176] This is additionally notable since the cauldron's distinctive feature is that it is removable from its base; lions' feet can help mark the griffin as a mythical beast rather than a bird, yet this potential marker is detachable. This points to an inherent contradiction of the griffin: it is not fully marked as a hybrid—it is a bird's head without a lion's body—but is nonetheless legible even when separated from its vessels because of its open, screaming beak and curving neck, which do not belong to the iconography of an ordinary animal.[177] The composition of the intact protome cauldron with stand emphasizes amalgamation—both between species (bird and lion; griffin and siren) and between natural, monstrous and manmade (the beasts and the manufactured bronze). Like any hybrid monster, the cauldron and stand are simultaneously an integrated whole and yet clearly segmented, mixed but not truly blended.

The importance of marking hybridity gives one possible explanation for some of the griffins' stranger features: the spherical attachments on their heads and their large, pointed ears (Pl. 12). Both of these become more pronounced later in the griffin protome tradition. The features on their heads may once have been horns or plumes, but by the mid seventh century are architectural in appearance and resemble handles. They appear functional—as though they might have supported garlands or fillets—though no hint remains of what that function might have been. They are notably more ornamental than the arms of herms, perhaps the best comparison for a sculptural feature intended to bear garlands. Tripod cauldrons with protomes are rarely depicted in vase painting, but when they are, they are not garlanded; a krateriskos in the Samos museum dated to the

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[175] Mattusch 1990, 552. These may, however, have come from three very similar cauldrons produced in the same workshop, if (as discussed above) a single protome was kept from each cauldron when the vessel was deconsecrated.
[176] Herrmann 1979, 193.
[177] Winkler-Horaček 2015, 187-189.

early 7th century offers one such example.[178] Tripods without protomes are shown much more frequently, but are likewise not shown garlanded.[179] The bobbles on their heads should instead be understood as features parallel to the griffins' ears: they are differentiators. They identify the creatures as monsters rather than birds, even in the absence of a feline body.

IMAGINING SPACE: THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE CAULDRON

The significance of the tripod to Greek sanctuaries in general and Olympia in particular is well established. Tripods are the first monumental dedications at Olympia and the tripod becomes a metonymy for Delphi itself in the visual tradition. The Pythia is depicted as seated on a tripod to prophesize, and the fight between Herakles and Apollo over the Delphic tripod has been widely understood to represent the competition between Zeus' sons over controlling both the oracle and the sanctuary. The scene is depicted on the legs of several of the Olympia tripods;[180] the choice to display the scene at Olympia, where tripods were such prominent dedications, underlines the generalized association of tripod-as-sanctuary. The protome cauldron should be understood similarly: as argued above, the tripod and cauldron are depicted in literature as objects of similar significance, with approximately equal value as prizes. As the protome cauldron enters the sanctuary of Olympia, the tripod exits: it is apparent that for dedicators the cauldron conveyed enough of the valences of the tripod that they were not given as votives contemporaneously over an extended period. While the two vessels are not and should not be considered to be interchangeable, they nonetheless take on a similar role in the sanctuary and carry similar significance.

This is not the only way in which the protome cauldron stands in for sanctuary space. As discussed above, dedicatory vessels are often described as "unburnt" and advertise through their forms that they were created specifically for the sanctuary context. Considered in this light, the boundary of the cauldron rim marks the edge of a sacrosanct space: it is not for producing food, heating water or any other conventional purpose. The *temenos* is a conceptually parallel boundary: the term conveys the importance of a physical division between the sanctuary and its surroundings. The interior of the sanctuary is not for agriculture or habitation but rather is "cut off" from the countryside that surrounds it. Like the bowl of an unburnt tripod, sanctuary space is sequestered for a limited range of uses—excluding the daily tasks that support *polis* life. If we understand the interior of the cauldron to be a metaphorical representation of the

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[178] Benson 1995, 165, pl. 37a; Leventopoulou 1997, 609.

[179] Vase paintings that show tripods are most commonly depictions of shield devices and the struggle between Herakles and Apollo over the Delphic tripod, in which case we would not of course expect to see them depicted as garlanded, even if they were in antiquity. A late fifth century choos (London E528) depicts a tripod and Eros with a wreath approaching it.

[180] Olympia B1730, for instance.

interior of the *temenos*, the griffins around the rim underscore the boundary between sacred and secular space.

In this context, the griffins' menace can be understood to convey a warning against violating the *temenos*. Specifically, the choice of griffins evokes the importance of the rule of μὴ ἐκφέρειν—not removing sanctuary treasures from the region defined by its boundaries.[181] While undoubtedly objects *were* removed from sanctuaries throughout antiquity, to do so was to engage in outrageous and inappropriate behavior. Sources claim that Philomelos did exactly this in order to pay mercenaries to fight on behalf of the Phokians during the Third Sacred War.[182] His behavior is depicted as highly disrespectful to both the god and the dedicators, and to underline his excess, some make particular mention made of his giving a crown to a dancing girl.[183] Objects dedicated in the sanctuary could be removed from immediate display, but were supposed to be left on site; at Olympia, of course, many were destroyed and then disposed of in the wells, buried in the banks of the stadium or otherwise kept within the *temenos* space.[184] According to Herodotos, the griffins keep away the Arimasps, who try to carry off treasure;[185] similarly, the griffins at the edge of the cauldron rim offer a visual depiction of the taboo against removing the sanctuary's riches.

Understood in this way, the protome griffins occupy a role concordant with their portrayal in literature. In the written record, griffins are consistently characterized as creatures that defend treasure along boundary regions, in particular the far reaches of the world. Ctesias references griffins fighting over gold and locates them in the east.[186] Crediting Aristeas, Pausanias explains that the griffins guard gold and that the Arimaspians fight them for it, and Pliny gives a similar account, crediting Herodotus.[187] Herodotus himself credits Aristeas as the source for his knowledge and describes griffins as "χρυσοφύλακες," gold guarding creatures who live in the far north, near the

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[181] Lupu 2005, 31; *LASM* 74, from the 3rd century BCE, specifically prohibits the carrying out of dedications. It reads in part: Ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ/μὴ ἐκφέρειν/τῶν ἀν [α] θ [ημά] των… "From the sanctuary, do not remove the dedications…"

[182] Theopomp.Hist., 115; Plu., *Tim.*30.7; Paus., 10.2.4, 33.2.

[183] Ath., 13.83 discuss the crown, allegedly given by the Lampsacenes; the dancing girl is later torn to pieces for wearing it. The specific mention of the dedicating polis emphasizes that the harm is done not just to the god and sanctuary but to the dedicator as well. Diod.16.31.4 specifically references divine retribution as a factor in Philomelos' death.

[184] Bocher (2008) explores this issue in the case of 350 bronze sheets found in the *schwarze Schicht*: more than half of the examples were carefully folded at least once and as many as 11 times; she interprets the folding as not an act of the original dedicator but secondary, prior to disposal.

[185] Hdt., 3.116

[186] Ctes., 45.

[187] Pau., 1.24.6; Plin., *HN* 7.2.

Hyperboreans.[188] Earlier, he explains that griffins fight the Arimaspians, one-eyed men who try to steal the gold from them.[189] How the gold is produced (or why griffins would be particularly interested in it) is a mystery Herodotus says he cannot explain; griffins are simply intrinsically χρυσοφύλακες—that is, they defend precious materials already in their possession. Even in *Prometheus Bound*, where griffins are not explicitly characterized as guardians, the only two "guarding" words in the passage appear near the mention of griffins; both words, too, are more typically associated with the defending of a space rather than the avoidance of a threat.

The literary record is inconsistent on where griffins live—understandably, since they do not actually live anywhere—but they are regularly depicted as inhabiting the far reaches of the known universe. Though Herodotus variously portrays griffins as associated with the Arimaspians or the Hyperboreans, he comments upon their environment as follows "αἱ δὲ ὦν ἐσχατιαὶ οἴκασι, περικληίουσαι τὴν ἄλλην χώρην καὶ ἐντὸς ἀπέργουσαι, τὰ κάλλιστα δοκέοντα ἡμῖν εἶναι καὶ σπανιώτατα ἔχειν αὗται" "The extremities of the world, encircling the rest and enclosing it within, are likely to have the things that seem most beautiful and rare to us" (3.116). Though Herodotus is skeptical as to whether there might really be one eyed men, he does not comment similarly on the griffins' presence or the likelihood of these ongoing battles; rather, the regions farthest from civilization are places that can and should have the most unusual people, creatures and treasures. Griffins are simply part of the landscape, naturally inhabiting the far reaches of the world—they live at its edges, that encircle and enclose everything else. This suggests another view of the cauldron: that the rim of the cauldron with griffins along its edge may also denote the edge of the world. Within the composition of the protome cauldron, the griffins do exactly what Herodotus describes—they guard the boundary that encircles the remaining space within it.[190]

The cauldron's use as a cooking vessel further marks its interior space as civilized. Consuming food raw—particularly meat—signifies savagery, while cooking food denotes civilization.[191] The distinction is both behavioral and geographic. The theme is explored explicitly in multiple episodes in the *Odyssey*, and particularly clearly through Polyphemus the Cyclops, a monster likened to a mountain lion, who inhabits

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[188] Hdt., 4.13.
[189] Hdt., 3.116.

[190] This is far from the only way in which edges are metaphorized as geographic boundaries in Greek visual culture. Franks (2014) discusses mosaics in fourth century androries bordered by wave motifs suggesting the encircling Ocean; these mosaics frequently include griffins. Similarly, 6th century *dinoi*—e.g. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 90.154 or Getty Villa, Malibu, 92.AE.88—are sometimes embellished with boats on the interior of their rims.
[191] Lévi-Strauss (1969) is the classic structuralist study of this topic.

an island far from civilization and consumes Odysseus' men without cooking them.[192] Segal writes that, in accounts describing the edges of the *oikoumene*, "the geographical boundary between civilization and savagery expressed by location at the edges of the inhabited world is coterminous with the invisible ethical boundary between civilized and savage behavior."[193] The cauldrons and their protomes express this geography in bronze. The interior is where meat is cooked, where the customs of civilization are practiced, and the rim marks the boundary. The protomes attach just on the other side of this border: beyond the cauldron's edge lies the territory of the beasts that eat their meat uncooked.

Herodotus offers an additional reason to see the rim of a cauldron — particularly one featuring griffin protomes — in this manner. He gives the following description of a krater dedicated by the Samians (4.152):

> οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι τὴν δεκάτην τῶν ἐπικερδίων ἐξελόντες ἓξ τάλαντα ἐποιήσαντο χαλκήιον κρητῆρος Ἀργολικοῦ τρόπον· πέριξ δὲ αὐτοῦ γρυπῶν κεφαλαὶ πρόκροσσοί εἰσι. καὶ ἀνέθηκαν ἐς τὸ Ἥραιον, ὑποστήσαντες αὐτῷ τρεῖς χαλκέους κολοσσοὺς ἑπταπήχεας τοῖσι γούνασι ἐρηρεισμένους.

> The Samians took a tenth of their profit, six talents, and had a type of bronze Argive krater made: the heads of griffins project outwards around it. They dedicated it at the Heraion, having set three colossal bronze figures, seven cubits high, on their knees supporting it.

Herodotus calls the vessel a "κρατήρ," but what he describes is clearly a protome cauldron: the material is specified as bronze, the shape is similar, and the stand it is placed on is tripartite. Griffins are set around the rim "πρόκροσσοι," a rare word signifying that they are set up in rows or ranks like ships on the shore, and thereby emphasizing their liminality.[194] The imagery of the colossi holding up the bowl evokes Atlas holding up the sky, first mentioned in Hesiod, or, perhaps, the Pillars of Herakles.[195] Pindar describes the Pillars springing up out of the earth:

> δὴ τέσσαρες ὀρθαί
> πρέμνων ἀπώρουσαν χθονίων,
> ἂν δ᾽ ἐπικράνοις σχέθον
> πέτραν ἀδαμαντοπέδιλοι
> κίονες.

> …then did four upright columns
> with bases of adamant rise

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[192] Hom.*Od.*9.324-30.
[193] Segal 1974, 291.
[194] LSJ⁹, s.v. πρόκροσσοι.
[195] Hes.Th., 515-519.

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from their foundations in the earth
and on their capitals support
the rock.[196]

In this case, the Pillars support Delos, the birthplace of Apollo and Artemis. The island and the cauldron echo one another: the cauldron's interior, like an island, is a smaller space divided away from the broader geography it inhabits. The interior of the cauldron comprises the space known to humankind, while its exterior surfaces are enclosed by boundary markers: the griffins at one side and the colossi at the other.

At face value, the association of the griffins and the Sirens with one another, or with cauldrons, is a curious one: griffins and sirens do not overlap in literature and are generally only depicted together in animal friezes, where they do not interact.[197] Neither has any mythological association with tripods or other vessels. Yet if the rim of the tripod is construed as the rim of the world, the connection becomes clearer.[198] The Sirens' characterization parallels that of griffins in several evocative ways. Though Hesiod briefly mentions their parentage, the fullest early description comes, of course, in the *Odyssey*.[199] Warning Odysseus, Circe describes them as follows:

ἀλλά τε Σειρῆνες λιγυρῇ θέλγουσιν ἀοιδῇ
ἥμεναι ἐν λειμῶνι, πολὺς δ᾽ ἀμφ᾽ ὀστεόφιν θὶς
ἀνδρῶν πυθομένων, περὶ δὲ ῥινοὶ μινύθουσι.

The Sirens beguile with limpid song
sitting in the meadow, and around them is a great heap of bones
of rotting men, around them the skin shrivels.

Circe's description is extremely vivid: the Sirens' seductive song and meadow transforms quickly into a realm of horror and death. They are one marker of many that Odysseus has travelled far beyond the reaches of civilization and cultivation: the only thing growing in the sirens' meadow is the heap of bones and rotting flesh. They do not just lead sailors into destruction, but keep them permanently, physically, even after death and as their bodies rot; they are a dark reincarnation of Calypso, beings that may possess one forever not through their own desire but through one's desire for them. While other monsters consume their prey, dash men against the rocks, or drown them, the Sirens' victims never leave their island; their bodies remain and rot around them. Like griffins and Gorgons, they control and immobilize—in the Sirens' case, the

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[196] Pi.*Fr.*, 33d (=Str. 10.5.2). Loeb translation.

[197] BAPD 6834, 3727, 5174.

[198] This interpretation of Sirens and griffins has interesting implications for animal friezes and filler ornaments on ceramics, where both appear frequently in the Orientalizing period. The monsters mark divisions between one scene and another and divide the world depicted on one side of a vessel from that on the other.

[199] Hes. Fr. 47.

movement of human beings rather than that of treasure—and their victims' desire is what draws them to their doom.

Further literary evidence supports understanding the cauldron as a metaphor for the world. Though by the 5th century philosophers had begun to consider the earth a globe, it is difficult to say how widespread this belief was; most cartographers imagined shades of civilization and barbarism radiating out from Greece. Herodotus explains:

> γελῶ δὲ ὁρέων γῆς περιόδους γράψαντας πολλοὺς ἤδη καὶ οὐδένα νοονεχόντως ἐξηγησάμενον· οἳ Ὠκεανόν τε ῥέοντα γράφουσι πέριξ τὴν γῆν ἐοῦσαν κυκλοτερέα ὡς ἀπὸ τόρνου, καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ποιεύντων ἴσην.

> I laugh seeing the many men who have drawn maps of the world before, none proceeding rationally: they depict the world as circular, as if drawn with a compass, the ocean flowing around it, and Asia equal in size to Europe. [200]

This likely refers to Hecataeus and Anixamander;[201] Herodotus describes them as imagining geography as regular concentric circles, encircled last by the sea. The *Odyssey* is thought to imagine geography similarly, with zones of decreasing civilization radiating out from the central point of Greece. Herodotus attempts to refine the geographic picture, but does so only to a limited extent: the primary contrast remains between the most known and most civilized world and the more distant, less civilized, and more dangerous regions. Considered from this perspective, the krater dedicated by the Samians encloses a known space in a roughly circular fashion. Radiating out from it are elements that indicate the furthest edges of the universe: griffins, the colossi, similar to Hesiod's titans, and the actual sky above the cauldron. Similarly, conical bases from Olympia are encircled by embossed winged demons—or perhaps gorgons. The lions, few though there may be, offer a similar punctuation mark at the edges of known space; threatening but less fantastical than griffins, they face inwards, hungry for meat, ready to prey on the civilized world.

Conclusion

Protome cauldrons all but invite the contemporary viewer to break them into parts; their state of preservation allows minimal reconstruction, and their constituent elements—griffins and cauldron bowls, sirens and lions' feet—appear to bear minimal relationship to each other, either in concept or myth. The vessel itself is a kind of monstrous hybrid of beast and bronze, alien in appearance, with even the griffins' plumes transformed into geometric finials. Yet, taken as a whole, fully embedded in its environment, a richer picture emerges. The apparent embellishment is hardly that at all, at least in the sense that the term "embellishment" signifies a feature extraneous to

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[200] Hdt., 4.36. Herodotus' criticism of Ionic maps lasts through chapter 45.
[201] Asheri et al. (2007, 608) summarize the various depictions of the *oikoumene* as relate to Hdt. 4.36-45, including those of Hecataeus and Anaximander.

function in some important way. Rather, the protome cauldron's attachments and vestigial handles mark it as purely dedicatory, an object designed and produced for the *temenos* alone. They render it an object that is not utilitarian, but highly functional nonetheless—one that did not simply exist in space, but commented upon it. Embedded fully in its context, the protome cauldron is an object metonymically rich and engaged in an evocative dialogue with its surroundings—the viewer, the sanctuary, the imagined *oikoumene*.

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THE SMALLEST GIFTS

Miniatures and Miniaturism in the Early Sanctuary

Thousands of miniature votives were dedicated during the early centuries of cult activity at Olympia. Some are bronze tripods, tiny versions of the most prestigious sanctuary gifts. Many more are zoomorphic or anthropomorphic figurines, produced both in terracotta and bronze. Although they reference the elite world—tripods and horses bear clear connection to horse racing and aristocratic culture, and oxen are the most extravagant sacrificial victims—miniature votives operate very differently from other dedications. Much of the scholarship on Panhellenic dedicatory practice has focused on these more impressive specimens, particularly apropos the phenomenon of competitive dedication between poleis or elites;[202] such approaches, however, are limited in their ability to address the dynamics of miniature dedication. Even today, displayed in groups of tens or hundreds rather than thousands, the miniatures' effect is one of homogeneity and equality, not competition: in a landscape of thousands, a single figurine would stand out only with difficulty (Pl. 17). This is not to say, however, that miniatures were not important votive offerings. Miniature dedications represent a broad pattern of sanctuary activity, and their sheer numbers suggests that they were not just acceptable but favored dedications at Olympia.

This chapter explores the role and meanings of miniature dedications in the sanctuary context. I focus in particular on the miniature tripods, which are significantly more numerous at Olympia than at other sites. These will be addressed within the broader miniature votive tradition, including the dedication of terracotta figurines and pottery at Olympia and elsewhere in Greece. Ancient attitudes towards miniatures are difficult to access in general, all the more so in the pre-Classical periods; they are only rarely mentioned in literature, and references to miniature objects in sanctuary inventory lists are uncertain.[203] I employ theoretical models drawn from anthropology, sociology, and art history to explore miniatures in the sanctuary landscape; ways of

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[202] Morris 1987; 1991; 1993; Neer 2001; 2004.
[203] Prêtre 1997.

looking specific to miniatures; and the dynamics specific to the practice of giving miniature votives.[204] I consider the relationship between the miniature and the human body, focusing on the importance of touch and manipulation, as well as the intimacy associated with objects small enough to be held or secreted. Through Susan Stewart's theory of miniaturism (1997) and Douglass Bailey's writings on Neolithic figurines (2005), I consider characteristics specific to miniature objects and how these operate before, during, and after the process of dedication. I explore reduction of scale and the concomitant loss of detail, and the interplay of small objects and the *temenos* space, and I argue for an understanding of miniaturization as not a process of loss, but one of distillation.

MINIATURES AND MINIATURISM

Scholarly discussion of miniatures has struggled with finding a clear definition for the term, and classical archaeology is no exception. Calling something miniature implies a scale external to what is described. The English word does not simply mean very small—by many standards, a miniature horse, for instance, is not very small—but rather something much smaller than "normal," a "smaller or reduced version of an original."[205] Jack L. Benson (1984) observes that frequently in archaeological analysis of miniature ceramics, "…the true criterion for the class of vessels which it represents is logically not so much a precise conception of quantitative limits as whether or not the vase was produced for practical use: in other words, whether as a content-holding vase or merely as a representation in reduced format."[206] Thus "miniature" partially denotes an object's size relative to an external referent, but fitness for "practical use" is its more salient characteristic. Yet this is complicated by the fact that not all miniatures are reduced versions of objects with (so-called) practical uses. Moreover, practical use is a particularly problematic standard by which to judge sanctuary dedications. If the primary function of an object is to act as a votive, small size in no way inhibits that function. In addition, some undoubtedly miniature objects have no full-sized counterparts at all. The miniature Dipylon shields inventoried by Voyatzis are one example of this: most believe that these had no full-size counterparts at all at the time they were produced, but instead copy images surviving from the Mycenaean period.[207] Likewise, there is no evidence yet for contemporaneous full sized sculpture corresponding to the figurines dedicated at early Olympia.

Perhaps the most important measure of the miniature is its relationship to the human-sized world it occupies. Susan Stewart writes in her essay "At the Threshold of the Visible," she writes, "Although we cannot miniaturize what has not had material

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[204] Stewart (1997) uses the term "miniaturism;" she was one of the first to explore miniaturization from a theoretical perspective.

[205] *OED* s.v. miniature.

[206] Stillwell and Benson 1984, 309.

[207] Voyatzis 1985, 198-200.

being in the first place, there are no miniatures in nature."[208] Miniaturism, whether in animals, plants, or objects, is anthropogenic. She continues, "The miniature assumes an anthropocentric context from the outset."[209] In this, she refers to both the creation of the miniature (that human intervention is implied by its very existence) and the perception of the miniature (that the miniature, as created object, assumes it is viewed through the human gaze). In his work on prehistoric figurines, Douglass Bailey expands this approach to address objects that, while small, may not have full-sized counterparts. He argues that the miniature should be understood in relation to the human body, the human viewer rather than in relation to an "original," its full-sized or fully-functional counterpart.[210] Therefore, according to Bailey the primary relationship is between the viewer and the miniature object; he argues that the primary relevance of scale is "life sized," "over life sized," and "under life sized."[211] Similarly, Stewart writes, "What is this scale? It is the scale of the first-person subject: the scale of single-point perspective, a human body fixed at a precise location in time and space."[212] Through their size, miniatures engage the viewer's subjective judgment, through inviting comparison between themselves and the viewer's world and body.

Centering the human experience of viewing and handling the miniature removes the need to define the objects by functionality or relative size. An anthropocentric understanding of miniatures also centers on their production—the enjoyment of a miniature often involves marveling at the craftsman's success. This approach is particularly useful when addressing the miniatures found at Olympia, some of which are carefully embellished. Similarly, the Olympia miniatures are conspicuously manmade. Even the fact that they are so numerous forefronts their production. In many respects, they are the inverse of what they portray: they substitute the manufactured for the organic, the schematic for the ornate, the inconspicuous for the ostentatious, and the comparatively cheap for the expensive. Furthermore, in the early period there is no evidence of large-scale counterparts to the figurines, limiting the utility of analysis focused on scale-reduction; they are evidently not reduced from a referent like miniature pottery, but rather from the craftsman's or viewer's lifeworld. Similarly, accuracy in reduction or precise representation at small scale was not a priority for either the craftsmen or the dedicators. Small size took precedence, implying that the

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[208] Stewart 1997, 74.
[209] Stewart 1997, 74.
[210] Bailey (2005) distinguishes between two types of small objects: miniatures and models. Models are precisely scaled down representations of original objects—architects' models, for instance. Miniatures, on the other hand either do not attempt to precisely reproduce an original object or are not reproductions of larger scale objects at all.
[211] Bailey 2005, 28-29.
[212] Stewart 1997, 74.

human experience of the undersized object was of greater importance than the object's relationship to or reproduction of a putative full-scale counterpart.

MINIATURE VOTIVES AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF EARLY OLYMPIA

Miniature votives appear alongside the earliest evidence for ritual practice at Olympia. Thousands of figurines and hundreds of miniature tripods were uncovered beginning with the nineteenth century excavations of the *schwarze Schicht*, the thick ash stratum thought to represent the first phases of cult activity at the site (Pl. 1.2).[213] The reexamination of this layer in recent years has offered greater clarity regarding the chronology of Olympia's miniatures, but establishing a date for them continues to be highly problematic.

Although the Iron Age ceramic figurines are somewhat reminiscent of the Mycenaean ones, there is no evidence of continuity of practice at Olympia. As discussed above, there is evidence of Early Helladic activity at the site, and Brigitte Eder's recent work has identified some Mycenaean pottery, but her results suggest that Mycenaean habitation continued only into the early the 12th century BCE.[214] In addition, Eder stresses that there is no evidence for continuous settlement during this later Mycenaean period.[215] Further, there is no clear evidence of Mycenaean cult activity;[216] rather, use of the site as a cult center is believed to have begun in the 11th century BCE at earliest.[217] The tumulus above which the Classical Pelopion was later built is believed to have been the focus of this activity.[218]

As the vast majority of the miniatures is associated with the black layer, analysis of this stratum and corresponding early cult activity offers the most reliable information regarding their dedication. The black layer is thought to represent the accumulated debris from ritual practice, but determining when that accumulation ceased is difficult. The latest known ceramic material from it—Corinthian alabastra and aryballoi—dates to the late seventh or early sixth century, but is limited in quantity and heavily damaged. [219] If the sample from the post-1986 excavation is representative, the percentage of pottery dating to the seventh to sixth centuries is small compared to that

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[213] Furtwängler 1890, 10-34.

[214] Dörpfeld (1935, 73-96) discusses the prehistoric settlement. See Eder (2001, 2006) for a summary of the pottery. See above (pages 12-13) for a broader summary of early use of the site.

[215] Eder 2001, 203.

[216] Eder 2001, 203.

[217] Kyrieleis 2002; 2006, 39.

[218] Eder 2001, 203; Kyrieleis 2006, 39.

[219] Kyrieleis 2006 47. As is so often the case, the earliest excavations did not preserve ceramics.

of earlier periods.[220] As a significant portion of the black layer was used to level the ground before renovations to the Pelopion, this later ceramic material may have been introduced then.[221] We are therefore left with the question of whether the ash altar was in use up until the building of the Pelopion or if it had fallen out of use some time before. If the latter is indeed the case, it is possible that these seventh to early sixth century ceramics may be contemporary with the leveling and dumping, but not the end of the use of the altar. Likewise, it is impossible to establish whether the votive material was buried primarily as a means of disposal or as a foundation deposit; the methodical manner in which the objects were broken before burial may suggest the latter, but either is possible.[222] In addition, the absence of Archaic figurines suggests that the practice of depositing figurines in the ash altar ended before the last ceramics were deposited.[223]

PRODUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

There are two distinct traditions seen in the miniatures dedicated at Olympia that correlate almost exactly with the two media of terracotta and bronze. There is no clear stylistic relationship between them, even in the cases of figurines representing human beings or the same species of animal;[224] the styles evidently developed independently from one another. The proportion of species likewise differs between the two groups. Of 1,038 clay figurines published and catalogued by Heilmeyer, 399 are human (including chariot groups) and 639 are animals. In contrast, Heilmeyer's survey of the bronzes indicates that the vast majority are animals.[225] The presence of miniature tripods only among the bronzes also distinguishes the two groups.[226]

Moreover, *freestanding* anthropomorphic bronze miniatures are far rarer than their terracotta counterparts, and perhaps rarer than past scholarship would suggest.[227] Papalexandrou argues that a number of human figurines generally understood as

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[220] Kyrieleis 2006, 47-8.

[221] Eder 2001, 204.

[222] Kyrieleis 2006, 44; 95-97.

[223] Kyrieleis 2006, 47.

[224] Heilmeyer 1972, 60.

[225] Heilmeyer 1979. Heilmeyer puts this at 99%, but confirmation of this number is difficult. A large number of the figurines are unpublished; even Kyrieleis' 2003 publication omitted the more degraded or poorly crafted examples. Thorough cataloguing of the Olympia miniatures has proven challenging and no scholar since Heilmeyer has claimed to have performed a complete inventory of the miniatures. Further complicating the situation, many objects have no accession numbers. My observations and Kyrieleis' published remarks suggest that Heilmeyer's reports are fairly accurate, but have not been independently verified.

[226] Miniature tripods are not included in Heilmeyer's statistics.

[227] Kunze 1946; 1961, 140 argues that the anthropomorphic bronze miniatures were freestanding and likely antecedents of late Archaic and Classical votive sculpture.

independent figures are instead tripod attachments.[228] The feet of many of the well-preserved ones are drilled through—this was noted even in the initial publication—indicating their actual function in antiquity;[229] it is only later scholarship that has attempted to identify them as freestanding images of Zeus. Clearly, after the tripods themselves were broken apart, their figural attachments were deposited in the black layer right alongside the freestanding miniatures, so that at first sight they appeared to have been freestanding also. In addition, Papalexandrou argues that an absence of holes or rivets on the bases of figurines does not preclude their use as tripod attachments; he believes that, because of their small size and light weight, they could have been soldered onto the rim of a tripod.[230] This is unlikely to be true of absolutely all of the anthropomorphic bronze figurines, and Papalexandrou bases his argument on individual male examples. The bases of figurine groups like the dancers and the man and centaur (purportedly from Olympia, but purchased on the art market) are certainly ill suited for such a purpose (Pls. 18, 19). Such groups are the exceptions rather than the rule, however, and the great majority of the anthropomorphic figurines cannot be classed as freestanding with confidence.

Establishing a sequence for either the terracotta or bronze miniatures has proven to be difficult. Heilmeyer attempted to create a stylistic chronology when he initially published the terracottas. Of 2,217 figurines inventoried, he assigned a relative chronology to 1,037.[231] The vast majority he assigned to the eighth century, with some in the tenth and ninth. This chronology has been disputed as it rests nearly entirely on internal stylistic evolution of the terracotta figurines and, to a limited extent, comparative study of vase painting.[232] In particular, some have argued that his earliest date of the tenth century BCE is high, with Nicholls criticizing Heilmeyer's use of vase painting and further observing that the ceramic sequence on which Heilmeyer relies is more Attic than West Greek.[233] The most recent analyses have done more to confirm Heilmeyer's chronology than discredit it, however.[234] Eder's recent analysis of black layer ceramics indicates that some pottery may date as early as the 11th century, implying that Heilmeyer's tenth century date for the earliest figurines may even be conservative.[235] In addition, several examples of Protogeometric animals similar to the

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[228] Papalexandrou 2005, 75-77. Papalexandrou particularly highlights frontal figures with arms upraised or extended, though there are figures of other types that may have been attachments as well.

[229] Though these have often been regarded as representations of Zeus, Papalexandrou argues convincingly that, recontextualized as attachments, they are better understood as human beings than gods.

[230] Papalexandrou 2005, 77.

[231] Heilmeyer 1972; 1979.

[232] Heilmeyer 1972 10-12, 20, 89-90

[233] Nicholls 1975; Hermann 1982; Mallwitz 1988

[234] Kyrieleis 2006, 84.

[235] Eder 2001, 204.

Olympia votives are now known from datable tomb contexts, and these support an early date for the terracottas.[236]

Further analysis of the terracotta figurines helps trace practice at Iron Age Olympia. The vast majority of the terracottas were handmade using Elean clay, confirming that Olympia was a regional center in the earliest period, primarily visited by local populations from Elis and Arcadia.[237] The figurines are characteristic of and specific to Olympia: Kyrieleis observes that they are part of a coherent stylistic and crafting tradition, one with few relatives elsewhere in Greece.[238] Averett likewise comments on their uniformity and high quality as evidence for a well-developed coroplastic tradition local to the area.[239] Features are indicated with incision (for eyes and navels) and plastic additions (for genitalia and hair). Minimal paint is used until late in Heilmeyer's sequence, approximately the seventh century, when figurine dedication swiftly declined.[240] The types of figurines likewise vary significantly depending on the time period: chariot and cart groups are over half of the dedications from the Middle Geometric period, but only a quarter of the Late Geometric terracottas; horses go from a little under 17% in the Middle Geometric period to over a third in the Late Geometric period.

Unlike the terracottas, there is little evidence of a bronze figurine tradition specific to Olympia, though the question of where they were actually produced remains unanswered. Some of the craftsmanship techniques, particularly those used for the more elaborate tripods, were likely drawn from jewelry production, which suggests that a specialized production may not have been necessary even for the most intricate objects.[241] Heilmeyer identifies approximately one third of the animal figurines with a distinct regional style, e.g. Argive- or Lakonian-Olympian.[242] Likewise, Kilian-Dirlmeier offers a number of examples of imitative style in figurines.[243] She further cites Heilmeyer's claim that two thirds of the Olympia figurines are of a type not identifiable with any one region, but similar to those found at other sanctuaries. Heilmeyer argues that *in situ* production began early on in the sanctuary's history and that the figurines found at Olympia were primarily produced there.[244] As evidence for this, he offers a figurine still in its mold and a number of otherwise miscast and faulty examples (Pl.

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[236] A horse from a PG tomb in Tiryns, a horse with wheels from a late PG child's grave in Athens, and a horse from Grave 51 of the Lefkandi necropolis.

[237] Heilmeyer 1972; Averett 2007; Barfoed (2015a, 84-5) discusses clay composition.

[238] Kyrieleis 2006, 86.

[239] Averett 2007, 91.

[240] Heilmeyer 1972, 2.

[241] Maass 1978, 117-118.

[242] Heilmeyer 1979, esp. Chapters 5 and 8.

[243] Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979 37-8.

[244] Heilmeyer 1969; 1979 52-53.

20).[245] Indeed, he suggests that even fairly elaborate figurines may have been cast at Olympia, noting that a miscast group of dancing figures was found on site.[246]

Heilmeyer entertains the possibility of visiting craftsmen, and Morgan likewise argues for itinerant production. She theorizes that the figurines at Olympia were made by the same group as those found at Isthmia and she follows Burford's suggestion that mobile metalworking would not be prohibitively challenging.[247] If this is the case, it would support the claim that the bronze figurines date somewhat later than the terracottas, since established patterns of cultic use at regular intervals would be necessary to entice itinerant smiths. Indeed, the miniatures avoid two important challenges of itinerant metalworking: they require only a minimal amount of raw materials and can be manufactured from recycled bronze. Many of the figurines' shapes—sturdy, with stocky limbs—could accommodate repeatedly recast metals with low tensile strength (Pls. 20, 21). Overall, their design facilitates quick and simple manufacture. The vast majority of the figurines are highly simplified in form and few are coldworked or chased (Pl. 21). The simple, schematic designs and lack of detail added after casting allow for speedy mass production. Indeed, speed of casting appears to be the priority in many cases. The workmanship is often rough: many of the figurines have flash marks, casting bubbles and other imperfections.[248] Though some of the figurines are finely crafted, in general production prioritized numbers, and to great effect—more than four thousand miniature bronzes have been found at Olympia to date.[249]

Miscast votives do not indicate production as definitively as has generally been assumed, however. Like his predecessors, Kyrieleis observes that the miscast bronzes were found in the same area as those that are well-crafted; he suggests, however, that there are multiple potential explanations for this find pattern, and that there are some problems with the theory that miscast objects may have been trash from nearby foundries.[250] For that explanation to be accurate, we would have to imagine that the miscast figurines were either left to the side—potentially for decades or centuries— before being reincorporated into the black layer when it was dumped in the seventh century, or that they fell near the rest of the figurines and went unnoticed. Nor is it easily explained why miscast figurines would be thrown away rather than melted and

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[245] Heilmeyer 1969; 1979; Born and Moustaka 1982.

[246] Heilmeyer 1969, 4, fig. 4-6.

[247] Burford 1972, 78; Morgan (2007, 36-9) proposes the theory that a group of craftsmen traveled from one sanctuary to another, following those who participated regularly in the games. She argues that metalworking debris at the sanctuaries are quite similar and that Olympia, Delphi, and Isthmia may have been informally regarded as a circuit in the Iron Age.

[248] Heilmeyer 1969.

[249] Nemea, for instance, has a number of well-made Archaic miniature kotylai.

[250] Kyrieleis 2006, 98-99.

recast. Four objects characterized as miniature "Votivdreifüße" (votive tripods) in the excavation diary on reexamination have been shown instead to be casting funnels (Pl. 22.2; for comparison to tripods, Pl. 22.1, 3);[251] there is minimal other evidence of foundry detritus in the black layer. The simpler explanation of the miscast objects' presence, however strange as it may seem, is the more likely one: the defective bronzes were given as votive dedications just as the well-crafted ones were. This does not necessarily mean that there was no production at Olympia. Indeed, the explanations may be mixed, with some of the miniatures—those not properly removed from their molds, for instance—truly being detritus, and the rest poorly made votives. This is not to say that metalsmithing did not occur at the sanctuary. There remains evidence for casting on-site, including the mold from the Echo Stoa, and possibly the small funnels found in the black layer. The evidence strongly suggests, however, that even faulty objects could be acceptable dedications.

CIRCUMSTANCES OF DEPOSITION: EVIDENCE FOR EARLY PRACTICE

While miniatures are found throughout the black layer, they were most heavily concentrated in the northern and northwestern area of the Pelopion. As with the relationship between the tumulus and Pelopion, there is evidence that prehistoric structures became the focal point of Iron Age cult activity specifically in the north-northwest quadrant. Early excavations describe fieldstones and a possible altar in the northwest.[252] Dörpfeld subsequently identified the remnants of a prehistoric pithos burial but doubted that the fieldstones were ever part of a building.[253] The fieldstones now are believed to be part of a Middle Helladic apsidal house later converted to a rectangular structure, particularly given the context of nearby apsidal houses at the same elevation.[254] Kyrieleis theorizes that while the burial and architecture were probably covered by the end of the Bronze Age, they may have been revealed by a rainstorm or other natural event, as Mallwitz had initially suggested.[255] The pithos and fieldstone structure, if they were visible in the very early Iron Age, could certainly have been an impetus for focusing early cultic activity on that locale.

Analysis of the *schwarze Schicht*'s contents offers some information about practice in this early period. The stratum is comprised of ash and charcoal mixed with significant amounts of sand and dirt, suggesting accumulation over a long period of time. From comparative analysis of other sites, this likely results from the repeated igniting and extinguishing of fires.[256] In combination with the ceramic evidence and large numbers of animal bones, the ash is believed to be debris from sacrificial meals,

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[251] Kyrieleis 2006, 99.

[252] Kyrieleis 2006, 37.

[253] Dörpfeld 1935, 73-74; 96.

[254] Kyrieleis 2006, 37.

[255] Mallwitz 1972, 87; Kyrieleis 2006 , 37.

[256] Kyrieleis 2006, 42.

burnt offerings, or both.[257] Unsurprisingly, most finds are heavily damaged: the ceramics, subject to centuries of heavy foot traffic, are highly fragmentary and worn, with few full profiles at all.[258] Furthermore, much of the material was deliberately broken before disposal. The damage inflicted on the miniature bronzes could only be done with significant effort, and Kyrieleis notes tool marks on many such figurines, suggesting that they were ritually "killed."[259] Osteological analysis likewise suggests that bones were purposefully broken before being buried.[260] In these findings, Olympia is similar to a number of Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age sites where bone was broken or crushed and mixed with ash before being deposited near an altar.[261]

Votive debris is mixed indiscriminately with the ash, bone, and dirt. Kyrieleis theorizes that this corresponds to ritual practice: the figurines may have been deposited along with the animal remains after sacrifice.[262] Comparative studies of other sites do offer support for the intermingling of clay or metal votives and burnt sacrificial remains, as well as evidence of votives thrown among sacrificial ash.[263] The species that the miniatures represent also support this theory to some extent—approximately 53% of the bronze animal figures are bovids.[264] This leaves the 45% of the zoomorphic figurines which are horses, however, with another 0.25% of the zoomorphic figurines being animals related to the hunt.[265] Although some zoomorphic figurines may correspond to animal sacrifices, there is little reason to believe that each miniature bears a simple relationship to a sacrificial animal; the fact that the Olympia figurines do not as a rule show signs of burning likewise suggests that they were not deposited in the fire along with burnt offerings. Still, their disposal with the ash and bone does demonstrate an intimate connection to the practices that produced the black layer. The dedication of ceramic miniatures dwindled approximately contemporaneously with the end of the black layer's accumulation and there is no evidence for a continued tradition of dedicating terracotta miniatures at Olympia after the Geometric period.

Evidence indicates a significantly different pattern of practice with regard to the bronze miniatures. Unlike their clay counterparts, which are found nearly exclusively in the black layer, the bronze figurines are found in multiple areas throughout the site,

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[257] Kyrieleis 2006, 42.

[258] Eder 2001, 204.

[259] Philipp and Born 2004, 27f.; Kyrieleis (2006, 96) discusses the practice at Olympia specifically.

[260] Kyrieleis 2006, 44, 95-6.

[261] Kyrieleis 2006, 44. Examples include the Alpine site Pillerhöhe in Tirol, which was in use from the Middle Bronze Age through late antiquity.

[262] Kyrieleis 2006, 45.

[263] Kyrieleis 2006, 45.

[264] Hermann 1982, 196.

[265] Hermann 1982, 196.

including fills as late as the fourth century BCE.[266] Heilmeyer offers two possible explanations: that after the practice of dedicating terracottas was abandoned, that of dedicating bronzes continued or that bronze miniatures were kept on display longer than ceramics.[267] The miniature tripods would tend to suggest the former explanation and a later date for the beginning of the dedication of miniature bronzes: Maass notes similarities between a number of examples and their full sized counterparts.[268] Most notably, some miniature tripods have the flat, embellished legs seen in full-scale Geometric versions and tiny attachments echoing their embellished handles (Pl. 23).

There is little evidence of who might have dedicated miniatures at Olympia—either individuals or broad demographic patterns—and sanctuary inventories offer limited insight either for Olympia or elsewhere. There are several mentions of miniature arms and weapons dedicated at the Athenian Acropolis, one by a woman named Phylarche: "χρυσοῦν ἀσπίδιον ὅ Φυλάρχη ἀνέθηκεν," "a little gold shield, dedicated by Phylarche."[269] Of nine inscriptions that seem to reference miniatures, three use only the diminutive, while the rest use both the diminutive and the adjective "μικρός."[270] "πρὸς τῇ φάντῃ ἀσπίδες ἀργυραῖ μικραὶ" ("Against the cupboard, little silver shields") is typical of the latter format.[271] Likewise, other sanctuary inventories, generally dating to the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, mention objects with the diminutive suffixes -ιον, -ίδιον, and –ισκος. Yet, as Clarisse Prêtre has shown, these objects may or may not have actually been miniatures: -ιον in particular may indicate either reduced size or resemblance.[272] –ίδιον, and –ισκος are less ambiguous, but still may not exclusively indicate miniature objects in our contemporary sense.[273]

MINIATURES AT OLYMPIA AND ELSEWHERE IN GREECE

Miniature objects are common throughout the Greek world beginning in the prehistoric period;[274] by the Iron Age, they are seen in cultic, funerary, and domestic

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[266] Heilmeyer 1979, 20.

[267] Heilmeyer 1979, 20.

[268] Maass 1978, 117-18.

[269] Harris 1995, 206-8. *IG* II² 1456.6-7.

[270] Harris 1995, 206-8. *IG* II² 1489.25-6; 1489.26-8; 1487.32-3; 1489.29-31; 1489.28-9; 1421.123-5 all include some form of the word μικρός. The following use only diminutives: 1424a.357-8; 1489.38-9; 1456.6-7.

[271] Harris 1995, 206-8. *IG* II² 1489.26-8.

[272] Prêtre 1997, 673-677.

[273] Prêtre 1997, 678-679.

[274] In addition to Mycenaean figurines and figurine-vehicle groups, small scale furniture is known from a number of Late Bronze Age sites, including Mycenae itself.

contexts.[275] The assemblage of miniatures at Olympia is unusual in several ways, however. First, in keeping with the proportions of full-scale finds, there are many more bronzes than there are terracottas. The fact that at least some of the bronzes were kept on display (or that the practice of dedicating them continued) after the terracottas were buried underlines the prominence and prestige of the medium. Second, Olympia has hundreds of miniature bronze tripods.[276] Though examples of miniature tripods are known from other cult centers, they are nowhere near as numerous elsewhere.[277] Finally, although Olympia has a large number of clay figurines, the number of miniature ceramic vessels found there is very low.[278]

Over 900 miniature pots were found at the Argive Heraion, where the earliest published one dates to the late sixth century.[279] In her study on miniature pots at Olympia, Barfoed identified 14 published and 25 unpublished examples, all dating to the late sixth century or after.[280] Many of these come from the southeast area of the sanctuary where an altar to Artemis has been identified.[281] The dearth of miniature pots cannot fully be explained by the fact that Olympia is a sanctuary to Zeus; approximately one third of the pots from Zeus Ombrios cult on Mt. Hymettos are miniature.[282] Rather, the pattern at Olympia is in keeping with those displayed at the other major Panhellenic sanctuaries: Nemea, too, has proportionally few miniature vessels, with 78 published so far.[283] At Panhellenic sanctuaries, the use of miniature pottery appears to be restricted to sub-cults and female deities—for Olympia, the Artemis altar and the somewhat nearby Artemis Limnatis sanctuary at Kombotherka.[284] This does not imply that miniature pots were unworthy of Zeus, as they certainly were in other contexts. Rather, it allows us to distinguish between various types of practice and behavior regarding miniatures, and demonstrates that the dedication of miniature tripods and figurines was a practice distinct from the dedication of miniature pottery.

THE ἐμπορικὸς GIFT

The question of whether a miniature is a sufficient dedication relates to one of the central issues of gift giving in general and votive practice in particular: to what

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[275] Pottery: Dunbabin, 1962; Hammond, 1998; Edlund-Berry, 2001, Ekroth, 2003; Hammond 2005; furniture: Andrianou, 2007; weapons: Martelli Cristofani, 2003; Farley 2011.

[276] Maass 1978, 117-25, 212-25, nos. 323-426, pls. 56-63.

[277] Maass 1978, 117 n. 1. Pilz 2011, 21 n. 43.

[278] Barfoed 2015a, 171-2.

[279] Caskey and Amandry 1952; Kyrieleis 2006; Morgan 2007; Barfoed 2015a, 171.

[280] Barfoed 2015a, 172-3.

[281] Barfoed 2015a, 172-5.

[282] Langdon 1976, 7, 70, 326, 328.

[283] Bravo 2018, 202-4.

[284] Barfoed 2015a.

extent do economics undergird the behavior? In the *Euthyphro*, Sokrates addresses mercantilism and the practice of giving gifts to the gods:

> ΣΩ. Ἐμπορικὴ ἄρα τις ἂν εἴη, ὦ Εὐθύφρων, τέχνη ἡ ὁσιότης θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις παρ' ἀλλήλων.
>
> ΕΥΘ. Ἐμπορική, εἰ οὕτως ἥδιόν σοι ὀνομάζειν.
>
> ΣΩ. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἥδιον ἔμοιγε, εἰ μὴ τυγχάνει ἀληθὲς ὄν. φράσον δέ μοι, τίς ἡ ὠφελία τοῖς θεοῖς τυγχάνει οὖσα ἀπὸ τῶν δώρων ὧν παρ' ἡμῶν λαμβάνουσιν; ἃ μὲν γὰρ διδόασι παντὶ δῆλον· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐστιν ἀγαθὸν ὅτι ἂν μὴ ἐκεῖνοι δῶσιν. ἃ δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν λαμβάνουσιν, τί ὠφελοῦνται; ἢ τοσοῦτον αὐτῶν πλεονεκτοῦμεν κατὰ τὴν ἐμπορίαν, ὥστε πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ παρ' αὐτῶν λαμβάνομεν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν οὐδέν;
>
> S. Then holiness would be a sort of skill of mutual trading, Euthyphro, between gods and men.
>
> E. Trading, if you prefer to call it that.
>
> S. Well nothing is preferable to me, unless it's actually true. But tell me, what benefit do the gods actually get from the gifts they receive from us? For what they give is clear to everyone, for nothing is good for us that they themselves do not give. But in what way do they benefit from what they receive from us? Or do we gain so great an advantage over them in our dealings that we get all good things from them, but they get nothing from us?[285]

The exchange occurs near the end of the dialogue, when Euthyphro attempts his final definition of piety: he suggests that it is the act of sacrifice and prayer. Sokrates warns him that this definition casts piety as commercial exchange and describes the dedicatory process as ἐμπορικός, mercantile. The word is somewhat uncommon and generally associated with overseas commerce or money used in trade.[286] It is chosen to stress the imperfections in Euthyphro's definition of ὁσιότης, piety, but it also demonstrates the problem inherent in defining ὁσιότης primarily by the act of dedication. Trading, as Sokrates indicates, is not an appropriate definition of piety, but it is not an inaccurate representation of dedication. He is only mildly hyperbolic in describing "prayer and sacrifice" as mercantile: although Sokrates certainly chooses the term to emphasize Euthyphro's misstep, the act of dedication does itself edge into trade.

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[285] Pl. Euthphr. 14e-15a. Loeb translation.
[286] LSJ⁹, s.v. ἐμπορικός.

Though gift economies have often been made to seem entirely different from trade economies, the diametrical opposition is largely artificial.[287] As Sokrates indicates, it is primarily custom and politeness that protect gift giving and commerce from looking too much alike. The sanctuary further codifies the distinction through prohibitions on removing votives: once a gift is given, it must remain in the *temenos* in perpetuity, which (at least in theory) permanently removes it from the marketplace. Mauss suggests that the giving of a gift begins a chain of reciprocity and social obligations:[288] the recipient has a set of duties pursuant to the gift.[289] Malinowski argues for the more cynical view that gift-giving by nature involves mutual valuation and reciprocity, and that one gives in order to receive.[290] The outcome is similar, however, that the offering and acceptance of a gift begins the chain of reciprocity (if uncertain reciprocity in the case of the gods). In the case of a votive, the act of dedication attempts to trigger that chained relationship with a god, and ideally, the god will feel obliged to return the favor.

A statuette found in Thebes and dated to the early 7th century (Pl. 24) bears an inscription that states this principle explicitly:

> Μάντικλός μ᾽ἀνέθεκε ϝεκαβόλοι ἀργυροτόξσοι
> τᾶς {δ}δεͺκάτας· τὺ δε, Φοῖβε, δίδοι χαρίϝετταν ἀμοιβ[άν].

> Mantiklos dedicated me as a tithe to the Far Shooter, the bearer of the Silver Bow. You, Phoebus, give something pleasing in return.[291]

This epigraphical request for recompense, as Joseph Day (1994) notes, is not unique: Mantiklos's inscription is only one example of an identifiable type.[292] It permanently incorporated the appeal for reciprocity into Mantiklos's votive, and, as it was read aloud, visitors would perform and re-perform his request. The statuette is larger than the miniatures found at Olympia, but not vastly different: in terms of its detail and

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[287] Appadurai (1986) offers a summary of scholarship on the topic. Contemporary experimental gift economies pride themselves in this opposition, but the reality is often more complicated: see, e.g. Kozinets (2002) and Limbach (2014) on the intersection between capitalism and Burning Man's gift economy, a central feature of the event. Because of the *do ut des* model so often used to describe prayer and dedicatory practice, the similarity between gift and trade is fairly apparent in Greek archaeology.
[288] Mauss 2016, 121-7.
[289] Goffman (1973) introduces politeness theory and explores loss of face, a risk in either presenting an unworthy gift or refusing a worthy one.
[290] Malinowski (1984) and Parry (1986) both address reciprocity as motivation for gift-giving. More recently, Marcoux (2009) examines the pressures of social obligation involved in taking part in a gift economy.
[291] *CEG* 326. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston translation.
[292] Day (1994, 56) cites also *CEG* 358-60 and *CEG* 426.

modeling, it is somewhat comparable to some of the finer horse figurines (Pls. 25, 26). In this regard, the inscription's use of the word χαρίϝετταν is suggestive. Apollo is asked to give χαρίϝετταν ἀμοιβ[άν], which ascribes χάρις to the original gift itself. Day observes that, "only certain things exhibit χάρις in poetry—metal objects, cattle, textiles, what Homer calls κειμήλια or ἀγάλματα, the latter, of course, *the* word for dedication in epigrams."[293] χάρις is attached specifically to high ranking objects: objects given as gifts among aristocrats, as grave goods, or as dedications to the gods. Mantiklos' inscription affirms that his figurine shares this quality; the semiotic power of bronze defines the gift as worthy and exhibiting χάρις.

Day argues that the act of dedication was itself a performance, and that reading an inscription aloud was mimetic of that initial performance.[294] Focusing specifically on dedication and reciprocity, the performance Day describes has much in common with a speech act: certain requirements must be met for it to "work."[295] The gift given must be appropriate (made of bronze, or otherwise worthy) and the act must be performed in the right location (in the sanctuary).[296] Indeed, this is the question that Euthyphro and Sokrates return to as they question what the gods actually want with all the various dedications left in their sanctuaries—what makes an act of dedication successful and what makes a gift sufficient? Ultimately, Euthyphro offers that what they really receive from human beings is γέρας καὶ χάρις, a gift of honor that provokes favor and delight.[297] Implicit throughout the passage is the sense that the gods do not need or use the objects given to them; the process is more important than the precise gifts. Prayer and sacrifice honor the gods and cultivate their gratitude: these practices, if performed appropriately, allow a mortal to maintain a relationship with a god. The speech act itself is critical; the gift need only exhibit the qualities necessary for the speech act to be performed correctly.

In this sense, dedication functioned because it was not just a transaction between a god and an individual, but a practice shared by an individual and a community. The dedicator offered the gift never knowing (and having no way of assessing) whether the god would consider it worth what he or she hoped to get in exchange—would a tiny bronze horse (or a massive tripod) be enough to secure a change for the better in one's health or business? Rather, agreement on an object's worthiness to be exchanged as a

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[293] Day 1994, 57.

[294] Day 1994, 41.

[295] Austin et al. (1975) deals with the necessity of situational propriety for the efficacy of speech acts, a theoretical model that parallels the dynamics of gift exchange.

[296] Indeed, one of the few things that Goffman (1973), Malinowski (1984), Parry (1986), and Mauss (2016) agree on regarding gifts is that they need to be situationally appropriate to be effective—i.e., to be received well and provoke reciporocity.

[297] Day (1994, 55-63) argues for a broad, inclusive understanding of the word χάρις in the context of Archaic period votive inscriptions; while some translators render it as "agreeable" or "kind," he demonstrates that its valences are far more nuanced.

votive occurred between an individual and his or her peers: as with any other speech act, performer and community must agree on what terms constitute success. Homogeneity among votives, far from being problematic for the dedication's value, facilitated the process: if fifteen hundred bronze horses have already been dedicated, one more was surely not inappropriate.

Reduction, Fracture, and Deformity

Though there has been some change in recent years, miniature sanctuary dedications have been discussed relatively rarely in Classical scholarship and are often dismissed as inexpensive substitutes for the "real thing" (whether that "real thing" is imagined as a full-sized tripod or a sacrificial animal). In fact, many of the Olympia miniature tripods are very finely crafted, and other sites have yielded examples crafted from precious metals.[298] It is true, however, that a significant number of miniatures are fairly rudimentary in their shape and exhibit flaws related to their casting; in some cases, the figurines are quite deformed (Pl. 20, esp. 20.4).[299] This need not simplistically reflect a lack of means on the part of the dedicator, or mean that small dedications are particularly "lowly:" rather, it demonstrates that the acceptable range of objects for dedication is larger than might have been imagined, and that a votive miniature had features more salient to its role than the fineness of its crafting. Quite apparently it was more important to many sanctuary visitors to leave some kind of bronze dedication than to leave one that was elegantly finished. Dedications did not have to be perfect: that either wear or deliberate breakage could enhance the value of certain dedications is well supported by the evidence.[300] Some scholars suggest that miniature, fragmentary, and incomplete objects share an inherent paradox: all are material objects defined by immateriality or absence.[301] The miniature is defined by its implied full-scale counterpart just as the fragmentary or broken object is defined by its missing pieces.

Indeed, it is absence that, in part, make miniatures potent votive objects. Reduction in size involves a loss of detail, and this absence is significant. Bailey argues that the purpose of miniatures is not to represent their referent with precision. Instead, they capture the essence of their larger counterparts, whichever features are deemed most critical. They represent the basic, essential form of the gift, with only the most pertinent characteristics preserved:

Miniature manipulation of reality works from two processes: abstraction and

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[298] See Lamb (1935, 159, pl. 32) for a miniature silver tripod found in the sacntuary of Apollo at Kato Phana on Chios; Sakellarakis (1988, 174-7) discusses a miniature gold tripod from the Idaean Cave on Crete.
[299] Kyrieleis 2006, 99. According to the excavation journal, the figurine was found along with 200 others directly before the altar.
[300] Chapman 2000; Hughes 2018.
[301] Bailey 2018, 174; Martin and Langin-Hooper 2018, 17-18.

compression. Miniaturism's reduction of size is more than a mere diminution of physical dimensions: miniaturizing reduces detail. The resulting, intentional understatement provides much of the power of a miniature because miniaturism demands selection… that some elements are not included in the miniature critically warps the relationship between the observer and the representation and, unavoidably, radically, alters the observer's understanding and comprehension of the object.[302]

Miniature dedications, then, abridge their larger counterparts. They exhibit the features the craftsman or purchaser considered the most important to the object's purpose or the act of dedication—the features that cannot be dispensed with, even as many other elements are omitted or represented only schematically.

Olympia's miniature tripods demonstrate this phenomenon quite clearly. As they have life-size and giant parallels, they offer a direct comparison of priority in crafting and representation. Although there is great variety in their workmanship, many miniature tripods exhibit a number of consistent characteristics. As with full-sized versions, some are squatter with wider bowls and shorter legs, while others have longer legs and a more slender form that parallel the late Geometric versions.[303] Miniatures virtually always include handles of the flat, circular type favored in Geometric tripods (Pl. 23).[304] Some include zoomorphic figurative attachments at the tops of the handles (Pl. 29). When coldworked embellishment is used, it generally corresponds with locations and motifs familiar from larger-scale tripods. Legs are sometimes ribbed, much like larger examples, and zigzag, herringbone, and spiral motifs are also used (Pl. 30.1-2). Some have a zigzag pattern along the rim (Pl. 30.3-4). The miniatures' proportions generally parallel those of the larger examples. The smallest examples break this rule, generally having legs that are somewhat stocky compared to their overall proportions (Pl. 28).[305] Most are large enough to avoid this issue, however, which suggests that maintaining proportion was an important consideration.

Although the development of miniature tripods lags behind that of their larger counterparts, their semiotic significance is similar nonetheless.[306] First and foremost, of

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[302] Bailey 2005, 32.

[303] Maass (1978, 118) comments in particular that the legs on T1, OM Br 1719, which he believed could not be narrowed further, are thick and stocky compared to its overall composition

[304] See also: T1, Br 1719

[305] Maass 1978, 120.

[306] Luce 2011, 59. Miniature vessels appear in the Submycenaean period in tombs, but increase in number in the 7th-6th centuries; full size and giant tripods gain prominence after the end of the 9th century.

the hundreds found at Olympia, all are bronze but one;[307] in contrast, miniature terracotta tripods are known from other sites, including the Argive Heraion.[308] Almost all at Olympia—including the very smallest of them—include handles, and most are unadorned and have simple shapes that do not directly correspond to any particular style of full-sized tripod.[309] When they incorporate embellishment, it is in areas and styles known from full-scale tripods, with a handful of notable exceptions; a number include bulls' heads more familiar from the later Archaic protome cauldrons. Their proportions vary; some have long, spindly legs while others' legs are stockier and wider (Pl. 31). More, however, stay close in proportion to their life-size relatives. Many include embellishment familiar from larger tripods, including geometric patterning on the legs, equine attachments, and struts extending from the legs to support the cauldron (Pls. 29.1, 30.3, 31.4).

Luce (2011) has argued that miniature and giant votive offerings should be understood together as the products of a process of defunctionalisation in sanctuary dedications. In both cases, size clearly indicates that the objects are not available for mundane use. Within this context, the features excerpted by miniature tripods gain coherence: the Olympia miniatures selectively include the types of traits that mark a full-scale tripod as a dedication. Above all, the miniature tripods prioritize fabric: bronze, evocative of expense and power, is the primary (and nearly only) acceptable choice. Full-sized and giant dedicatory tripods became increasingly formally differentiated during the Archaic period, achieved largely via embellishment, but also form. Handles became oversized and more intricate, legs more heavily embellished, and figurative attachments more frequent. These are the features most regularly included in miniature tripods as well: handles are nearly always included, though some are barely larger than eyelets; likewise, those with particularly long legs reference full-sized tripods whose form, similarly exaggerated, demonstrates their votive status. Embellishment on legs and handles is included frequently on miniatures as well. Struts connecting the cauldron bowl to the legs are often added. In miniature tripods, these do not generally contribute to stability. They appear with some frequency, for instance, on objects that are cast rather than hammered. Their function is instead communicative: they represent the structural supports needed for a much larger object. Miniature tripods make deliberate use of the semiotics of luxury dedication despite not being luxury dedications themselves. They demonstrate their purpose several times over: they are marked as votive through their fabric, size, and embellishment.

The process of disposing of miniatures similarly demonstrates the importance of form. There is evidence that it was acceptable practice to melt and recast metal objects, so long as the material was reused for something within the sanctuary.[310] The bronze

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[307] Maass 1978, 117. The exception is iron.
[308] Caskey and Amandry 1952, nos. 243-244.
[309] Maass 1978, 117.
[310] Lupu 2005, 32-3.

miniatures were not disposed of by melting and reuse, however, but rather by burial, after being purposefully broken—not an easy task for small, solid-cast objects. This may be because of the tensile integrity of the bronze itself, at least in part; if the miniatures themselves were made out of bronze at the end of its life cycle, reusing the material may not have been possible. Still, the practice of "killing" votives before disposal, or grave gifts before burial, is well known throughout the Greek world.[311] In the case of the miniatures, partial destruction separates the object from its initial role of votive; it alters the form—the votive's single most important characteristic—but allows the shape to remain recognizable, especially within the sanctuary context, with many other miniatures still intact.

ANTHROPOCENTRISM AND TOUCH

Elite competition has been a central focus of scholarship on sanctuary dedication for some time, and with good reason: as Neer and others have demonstrated, competition and peer-polity interaction powerfully influenced behavior at many sanctuaries.[312] There are limits, however, to the uses of this framework, especially regarding the smallest votive gifts.[313] It is difficult to argue for rivalry among the bronze figurines' dedicators; especially in a late Archaic landscape replete with architecture and large-scale sculpture, the primary function of the miniatures is unlikely to be competitive. To be sure, the types of miniatures dedicated at the Altis relate to elite competition and culture—bovids, equids, tripods—but they are not part of competitive displays themselves. Rather, while the Olympia miniatures draw on the same vocabulary as their large-scale counterparts, their function differs. Their size constructs a distinctive relationship between object and dedicator, one which places the dedicator in a position of mastery and control.

A broader consideration of the votive corpus offers additional clarity. In his discussion of miniature tripods, Ekroth observes the following: "It is remarkable that

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[311] For one of the better known funerary examples of this—a sword being bent prior to burial—see Blegen (1952); Grinsell (1961) offers a crosscultural survey of the practice; Hamilakis (1998) discusses the practice in the Bronze Age; Chapman (2000, esp. 25) addresses killing ritual objects in the broader context of fragmentation studies in archaeology.

[312] Snodgrass 1986; Morris 1987; 1997; Neer 2001; 2004.

[313] Barfoed (2015a, 182-184), for instance, attempts to use elite competition to explain the absence of pottery at Olympia, but there are other potential reasons for this (and plenty of material that *is* found at the site that does not lend itself to competitive display). Eder (2001, 204-5) observes that open vessels used for eating and drinking are present among the site's early Iron Age assemblage, their numbers waned as bronze dedications gained prominence. There is little evidence to suggest that eating or drinking rituals were relevant to practice at the site after the early Iron Age, which could explain why pottery was not dedicated.

there is nothing in between the full-scale cauldrons that had to be carried by one or even several men and the pottery miniatures that easily fit into the hand of the dedicant."[314] This is not true of all object types at all sites — at Nemea, for instance, kotylai were found at the shrine of Opheltes in a wide array of sizes, from miniature to quite large — but the statement does accurately represent the state of much of the material from Olympia, and certainly the tripods.[315] There are miniature, life-sized, and giant tripods, but no evidence of any of middling size; in the case of weapons and shields similarly there are either life-sized objects or miniatures. This undermines the easy dismissal that miniature dedications are simply offerings for the budget-conscious; if buyers were attempting to dedicate the largest and most impressive objects they could, certainly some might have chosen tripods half life-size. This suggests that miniatures, rather than purely being financial compromises, served a purpose distinct from that of larger dedications.

The miniatures at Olympia are reduced with a clear consciousness of anthropocentric scale: they are reduced be held in the human hand. This particular scale of reduction is frequently seen in miniatures.[316] Howley observes this phenomenon in shabtis, Egyptian funerary figurines: "The miniaturism of shabtis is therefore linked to a very particular scale that encourages their handling, reflecting the general rule of miniatures that they are scaled according to the human body that interacts with them."[317] Howley further comments on the smoothness of shabtis and their pleasing weight in the hand, characteristics that many dedicatory miniatures share: bronze in particular produces a smooth texture and slight weightiness. As Stewart writes, "the hand is the measure of the miniature."[318] Miniatures provide a sensory experience that larger objects cannot, and interaction with them is both visual and tactile. It the latter that is largely unique to miniatures. Many objects can be touched, but only small ones can be easily manipulated or enclosed in the hand: a tripod reduced to half its ordinary size cannot be handled in the same way as a miniature one at all. While a larger dedication may have been more visually commanding, increasing size drastically changes the objects' relationship with the human body, and this is the relationship prioritized in miniatures.

The primacy of a tactile relationship may illuminate the dedication of faulty casts or other irregular objects. Many zoomorphic miniatures are highly schematic. In broad terms, they are recognizable as bovids or equids, but in some cases, the species is indiscernible and the shape hardly identifiable (Pl. 20.1, 20.4). Imperfections like this

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[314] Ekroth 2003, 36.
[315] Bravo (2018, 3-78, but especially 29-33) discusses kotylai as foundation deposits. Bravo (2018, 41-4) presents the proportions of shapes both among full sized and miniature vessels.
[316] Stewart 1993, 56; Mack 2007, 53.
[317] Howley 2019, 5.
[318] Stewart 1993, 46.

evidently did not disrupt the votive function; in context with the rest of the miniature dedications, the animal is legible to us as a votive figurine, and surely it would have been likewise recognizable in antiquity. The casting funnels, identified in the course of recent museum study, may have worked similarly (Pl. 28.2). Kyrieleis wonders whether they were left by craftspeople, or whether simply leaving a quantity of bronze material was sufficient in itself.[319] Yet all the miniatures attempt some kind of figurative shape: they are not simply ingots. The funnels may have been either dedications or just trash; if the former, the fact that they broadly resemble the shape of a tripod may have sufficed for dedication. It may have been enough that they were the appropriate medium and of the right size and shape to fit in with the rest of the objects surrounding them. Moreover, a lack of fine craftsmanship would not disrupt the tactile relationship between dedicator and votive miniature. A simple zoomorphic miniature feels much the same in the hand as one that is finely embellished, and a dedicator could hold a faulty cast (or casting funnel) in much the same way he or she would any other miniature.

In one of the few literary passages discussing miniatures, Pausanias notes the dedication of small tripods during the war between the Spartans and the Messenians. An oracle claims that whoever first set up one hundred tripods around the altar of Zeus of Ithome would win the conflict. Central to the story is the relationship between the tripods' size and the human body:

> καὶ οἱ μὲν ξυλίνους κατασκευάσεσθαι τρίποδας ἔμελλον, οὐ γάρ σφισι περιῆν χρήματα ὡς χαλκοῦς ποιήσασθαι· τῶν δέ τις Δελφῶν τὸν χρησμὸν ἐξήγγειλεν ἐς Σπάρτην. πυθομένοις δὲ ἐν κοινῷ μὲν οὐδέν σφισιν ἐξεγένετο ἀνευρεῖν σοφόν, Οἴβαλος δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, γνώμην δὲ ὡς ἐδήλωσεν ἀγαθός, ποιησάμενος ὡς ἔτυχε πηλοῦ τρίποδας ἑκατόν, τούτους τε ἀποκεκρυμμένους ἐν πήρᾳ καὶ δίκτυα ἅμα αὐτοῖς ἔφερεν ὡς ἀνὴρ θηρευτής.

> [The Messenians] set about making tripods of wood, as they had not money enough to make them of bronze. But one of the Delphians reported the oracle to Sparta. When they heard it, no plan occurred to them in public, but Oebalus, a man of no repute in general, but evidently shrewd, made a hundred tripods, as best he might, of clay, and hiding them in a bag, carried nets with them like a hunter.[320]

Pausanias references cost influencing dedicatory choices—but it governs the Messenians' choice of material, not size of the Spartans' tripods. Size and medium are relevant primarily because they allow the Spartans to produce the tripods quickly and dedicate them ahead of their competitors. Because the Messenians control the sanctuary, they expect that they will easily fulfill the oracle first. By making miniature tripods, the Spartans are able to smuggle the dedications into the sanctuary without the

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[319] Kyrieleis 2006, 99-100.
[320] Paus 4.12.9-10. Loeb translation.

Messenians noticing. The strategy is successful: the Spartans fulfill the prophecy and ultimately win the war. The miniature tripods are as effective as full-size tripods would have been—nor does Pausanias articulate any doubt about the relative worth of the miniatures.[321] In fact, the size of the Lakedaimonian tripods is not explicitly addressed—not even the diminutive *tripodion* is used. Instead, the tripods' size is demonstrated by their relationship to the human body hiding and manipulating them. Further, the tripods are carried into the sanctuary in nets, as a hunter might carry an animal. The small size of the tripods allows them to be trapped and controlled in a manner obviously impossible for the full-size versions.

This ability to capture and control a miniature is particularly potent when one considers the types of miniatures popular in the Archaic period. As described, bronze miniatures continue to be dedicated after terracottas fall out of use. Zoomorphic figurines, the vast majority of the bronze miniatures dedicated, are generally bovids or equids. Understood in conjunction with the tripods, this trio represents sanctuary life in miniature. Bronze itself, of course, communicates prestige and power. Bovids, of course, were the most costly animal sacrifices, and horses, the central feature of the most prestigious of the games. Tripods bridge the gap between the two: they are both the vessels used to cook sacrificial meat and evoke associations with prizes in Homeric games.[322] Indeed, Papalexandrou has demonstrated the direct connection between these objects and elite culture and power.[323]

The miniatures make use of this well-established semiotic system of medium and form and render both physically and visually accessible to an individual. Stephanie Langin-Hooper writes that some miniatures "endearingly conform in size to the human hand's ability to grasp easily— provoking intrigued awe, as well as comforting familiarity, at the notion that a small-scale world could exist literally at one's fingertips."[324] In contrast, monumental and full scale tripods, dedicated contemporaneously with some of the miniatures, draw on the same semiotic valences but produce a very different effect.[325] The size of such dedications demonstrates the viewer's inability to control the object—many were too big to easily be moved by a

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[321] Pausanias's description draws attention to another assumption in contemporary discussion of miniature dedications: implicit in the argument that financial restrictions force the dedication of small objects is the presumption that one miniature equals one dedicator. Instead, a single person or group of people could dedicate miniatures in the manner that Pausanias describes—in large numbers, and, depending on medium, at significant expense and potentially with significant prestige.

[322] Ekroth (2008) describes cooking procedures in detail. For prizes, see, e.g., Hom.*Il.*23.259; horses, too are, included among the prizes.

[323] Papalexandrou (2005, 9-53) offers a thorough discussion of the significance of the tripod in the Iron Age and Archaic period.

[324] Langin-Hooper 2015, 62.

[325] Heilmeyer et al. 1987, 6-8, 10-16; Morgan 2007, 57

single person—and they force the viewer to draw back to take in the object in its entirety; similarly, the monsters that surround protome cauldrons warn the viewer not to draw too close. Such objects push the viewer to keep his or her distance. Miniatures, however, allow the viewer to have physical control over the most direct symbols of power in the sanctuary. That miniatures so often evoke a nostalgia for childhood and recollect toys exaggerates this effect.[326] Notably, the most frequent zoomorphic miniatures represent animals that in life are quite large. A feeling of power and capture is evoked in Pausanias's description of the Lakedaimonian tripods: they are carried in nets, as if they might have the power to escape; the person carrying them is transformed into a hunter. Their scale allows them to be controllable by humans, but the implication that the dynamic might change remains; they are still powerful objects.

THE EXPERIENCE OF LOOKING: WONDER, SPACE, TIME

Wonderment, too, is central to the impact of tiny objects. Such an experience is described in Poseidippos's early Hellenistic epigram on Theodoros of Samos's self-portrait:

+14   ]..[..]. ἄντυγος ἐ<γ>γύθεν ἄθρει
        τῆϲ Θεοδωρείηϲ χειρὸϲ ὅϲοϲ κάματοϲ ·
ὄψει γὰρ ζυγόδεϲμα καὶ ἡνία καὶ τροχὸν ἵππων
        ἄξονά <θ>᾽ [{ε} ἡνιό]χου τ᾽ ὄμμα καὶ ἄκρα χερῶν ·
ὄψει δ᾽ εὖ [±12   ]...εοϲ, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῶιδε
        ἑζομέν[ην   ±15   ] μυῖαν ἴδοιϲ.

 [… … …]of the chariot, observe up close
        how much effort went into Theodorus' work—
you'll see the bands securing the yoke, the reins, the bridle ring
        and the axle and the driver's eyes and fingertips;
and there, plain to see, [the pole, thin as a hair,] and on it
        you might see a fly al[ight the size of the chariot].[327]

This is far from the only example: admiration and wonder at a craftsman's technical ability comes up repeatedly in ancient discussion of small works.[328] The more technically elaborate figurines may have evoked marveling at the craftsman's abilities—the fine modeling and detailed embellishment of a miniature horse, for instance (Pls. 25, 26). It is likely that many such figurines were also enhanced with precious metals and stone. X-radiograph imaging detected hollows to accommodate inlay in the eyes of the

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[326] Bachelard 1969, 155; Stewart 1993, 44.
[327] Posidippus *AB* 67, trans. Nisetich in Gutzwiller 2005.
[328] See also Plin.*HN*.34.83, *AB* 15 and discussions in Sens 2005, 222-4 and Stewart 2005, 184.

centaur now in New York (Pl. 19), and X-ray fluorescence demonstrated that some of that inlay remains in situ.[329] Chemical analysis revealed a higher concentration of iron, which is believed to have originally filled the eye cavity.[330] The man's eyes were inlaid with silver, creating a striking contrast between the two figures.[331] Other figurines with hollow eyes were probably finished similarly (Pl. 25). While incision was the primary method of embellishment for figurines, craftsmen used multiple techniques to add visually arresting details to the miniatures.

Marvel at the craftsman's abilities is not the only way miniatures evoke wonder, however. Gell writes, "Through these accommodations to a user's body, figurines inspire a kind of 'enchantment' with the idea that a small-scale world could be so easily accessible."[332] This is near exactly what the collected group of dedicated miniatures do, particularly those that are very small. Taken as a group, they compress the temporal and geographic spread of the sanctuary into a kind of shorthand, a synoptic representation of the *temenos*: the games (equids), the sacrifice (bovids), and the tripod, which is linked to both. They render each of these elements available to the viewer simultaneously—indeed, a single viewer could hold all together at once. At the same time, miniature dedications play with the relationship between human, god, and votive gift. The gods were regularly imagined to be much larger than human beings; the relationship between mortal and miniature mimics that of god to life-sized dedication.

Even as the miniature puts a viewer in a position of power, the small scale of a miniature asks the viewer to restrict their gaze; proximity is necessary to properly see something tiny. As the viewer's gaze is restricted, his/her consciousness of the environment is heightened. The miniature emphasizes the space it does not take up, and therefore the size of the area that surrounds it; the *temenos* is contrasted to the object. "The miniature has the capacity to make its context remarkable; its fantastic qualities are related to what lies outside it in such a way as to transform the total context."[333] The sanctuary space, redefined in the context of the miniature, becomes vast, and the architecture, gargantuan. Miniatures provoke spatial contemplation: absence—"the life sized space [they do] not occupy"—shapes the viewer's understanding of the miniature object.[334] A viewer impressed by the small size of one object is invited to consider just how much smaller the miniature is than its life-sized counterpart.

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[329] Hemingway and Abramitis 2017, 117-18.

[330] Hemingway and Abramitis (2017, 117) do not believe that the iron was simply a bonding material, but rather used as inlay itself.

[331] Hemingway and Abramitis 2017, 117.

[332] Gell 1992, 5.

[333] Stewart 1993, 46.

[334] Martin and Langin-Hooper 2018, 17.

Parallel to this, miniatures influence the viewer's perception of his or her environment. Stewart notes that viewers of miniatures experience temporal compression—that is, viewers overestimate the passage of time when looking upon them;[335] similarly, she observes that miniatures tend towards spatial boundaries, that they are, by definition, spatially contained.[336] Even as a viewer may experience time slowing, the miniatures themselves represent the extended passage of time, the many generations of visitors and dedicators: miniatures accumulated at the sanctuary over time. As an ensemble, their numbers demonstrated both the iterative practice of dedication and the passage of time. Just as miniatures represent practices performed at different locations in the sanctuary within a smaller spatial boundary, they also indicate the large number of visitors the sanctuary has seen, and by implication, the broader geography whence the visitors come.

Furthermore, the experience of examining something very small must unfold both through space and time. Aristotle explains this as critical barrier preventing a miniature from being truly beautiful:

> ἔτι δ᾽ ἐπεὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ ζῷον καὶ ἅπαν πρᾶγμα ὃ συνέστηκεν ἐκ τινῶν οὐ μόνον ταῦτα τεταγμένα δεῖ ἔχειν ἀλλὰ καὶ μέγεθος ὑπάρχειν μὴ τὸ τυχόν· τὸ γὰρ καλὸν ἐν μεγέθει καὶ τάξει ἐστίν, διὸ οὔτε πάμμικρον ἄν τι γένοιτο καλὸν ζῷον (συγχεῖται γὰρ ἡ θεωρία ἐγγὺς τοῦ ἀναισθήτου χρόνου γινομένη) οὔτε παμμέγεθες (οὐ γὰρ ἅμα ἡ θεωρία γίνεται ἀλλ᾽ οἴχεται τοῖς θεωροῦσι τὸ ἓν καὶ τὸ ὅλον ἐκ τῆς θεωρίας), οἷον εἰ μυρίων σταδίων εἴη ζῷον·

> Besides, a beautiful object, whether an animal or anything else with a structure of parts, should have not only its parts ordered but also an appropriate magnitude: beauty consists in magnitude and order, which is why there could not be a beautiful animal which was either minuscule (as contemplation of it, occurring in an almost imperceptible moment, has no distinctness) or gigantic (as contemplation of it has no cohesion, but those who contemplate it lose a sense of unity and wholeness), say an animal a thousand miles long.[337]

Aristotle claims that the miniature presents difficulties for the viewer's gaze because too much must be seen at once; something tiny is apt to be looked upon too quickly.[338] There is risk that the miniature's features will not be properly understood and that they

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[335] Stewart 1993, 66-7; Bailey (2005, 37) discusses studies with similar results.

[336] Stewart 1993, 66-8.

[337] Arist. *Po.*1450b-51a**.** Loeb translation.

[338] Tkatsch (1928) suggests χρόνῳ, taking the passage to indicate simply that as objects become smaller, they are harder to see. Lucas (1972, 113) preserves χρόνου, arguing that the time required to look at an object is at issue. He further writes, however, "Once it is too small for its parts to be distinguishable, so that their relations cannot be seen, it cannot be beautiful."

will not provoke proper contemplation. Implicit here is the claim that, as with something very large, a miniature too can only be properly understood over time. The process of looking at small objects is one of concealing and revealing: the three-dimensional miniature's whole can never be seen simultaneously. Their details and features are difficult to perceive but and only available as they are turned and rotated before the viewer's eyes.

INTIMACY AND CONTROL

While large-scale dedications require the viewer to keep their distance to take in the whole, miniatures invite the opposite. They must be held and turned, manipulated in the hand. Bailey writes, "A reduction in size demands close scrutiny in a truly physical sense; you have to be close to see the small thing properly."[339] The result, he continues, is that the viewer must bring the object into their own personal, physical space to fully engage with it. The embellishments on a miniature are only available to those who handle the object intimately: one must pick it up, examine it, rotate it in one's hands. When the miniature is put down and seen at a distance of over a few feet, the details become obscured. Both tripods and figurines have the kind of coldworked embellishment that require such close examination: many of the horses, for instance, have manes indicated by coldworking and spirals or other patterning indicated on their bodies (Pls. 25, 26, 27.3), or space for inlaid eyes (Pls. 25, 27.2)—detailing difficult to perceive from a distance.

Edward Hall's work on proxemics demonstrates the extreme intimacy of the physical relationship between miniature and viewer. According to his definition, personal distance is one and a half to four feet from the individual, a level of closeness associated with family and close friends. Intimate distance, that of whispering, touching, or hugging, is six to eighteen inches.[340] For a miniature, then, to look is to bring it into that most intimate space, to enclose it in the hand. Looking at a miniature in this way is as much a tactile experience as a viewing experience: one both sees and feels the features of the object—the limbs of the animal or vessel, but also the texture of incised embellishment—in the process of examination. And as Pausanias describes in the passage about the Lakedaimonians and Messenians, miniatures can be secreted from others: they can be held close, unobserved, and they can infiltrate others' space unseen. While small objects are available to and can be controlled by a viewer, this control is not unidirectional. Instead, there is a tension, a push and pull: they are subject to the human viewer yet entice him or her to draw closer. The viewer can handle the object, but in doing so, allows the object into his or her own space.

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[339] Bailey 2005, 38; Langin-Hooper (2015, 46) also notes that miniatures draw the viewer towards intimacy and handling, whether real or imagined.
[340] Hall et al. 1968, 91-3.

Form further emphasizes the intimate nature of the miniatures. The most common miniature type, the bovid, represents an animal that is typically shared among a community; the consumption of a butchered cow requires a large group.[341] Similarly, the tripod was the vessel intended for cooking collective meals after sacrifice, and horses performed and competed under the gaze of the crowd. Miniaturism inverts these communal properties. Ilser-Kerényi describes this in small ceramics, which were generally intended for an individual—vessels for unguents, for instance, are both small and highly personal in their use; she contrasts these to kraters or monumental amphorae, which are addressed to the passer-by.[342] Handling and examining a miniature is private and isolating; the viewing experience cannot be shared. The vast majority of dedicatory miniatures, however, were reduced from objects and creatures typically available to the broader community. The choice of what was miniaturized, then, was neither neutral nor random: emblems of shared practices were reduced to render those practices individualized. In certain cases, building connection and intimacy among the broader community was superseded by the intimacy between dedicator and dedication.

Bailey argues that small objects, carried on one's person, become linked to the bearer's identity, and are especially likely to be used to signify identity; he offers jewelry as an example.[343] The object, handled, perhaps carried close, becomes part of the self, and only then is left behind. Unlike a monumental dedication, it is delivered by the dedicator's own hands: it is chosen by the person who will give it and then delivered by that person. Like other small dedications—jewelry, for instance—it is kept close to the dedicator's physical being before being given. This parallels Gell's concept of "distributed personhood," in which objects left behind can act as channels for the agency of the person who left them.[344] Miniatures are able to perform a function that is more personal than physically large dedications, by allowing a dedicator to leave a part of him or herself at the sanctuary. To be sure, miniatures do not allow a dedicator to exert power over the space they occupy, as larger dedications may; they do not function—or do not function well—as competitive dedications or as displays of power. Instead, the connection between the self and the dedicated object may heighten the significance of the votive gift.

The importance of a close physical relationship between gift and giver appears frequently in discussion of martial dedications;[345] damage to a shield, the physical evidence of that relationship, enhances the gift's value. Similarly, writing on gift exchange practices emphasizes the connection between the giver and the gift. Mauss explains, "If one gives things and reciprocates them, it is because one gives *oneself* and

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[341] For sacrificial cooking and consumption, see Ekroth 2007; 2008.
[342] Isler-Kerényi 2007, 17.
[343] Bailey 2005, 39.
[344] Gell 1998 21; 96f.
[345] Hughes 2018, 49-51.

returns to *oneself* 'respects' — we still say 'courtesies.' But it is also that in giving one gives *oneself*…"[346] A votive miniature, however, may have only been briefly in the possession of its dedicator, especially if it was purchased on site and dedicated within the course of the festival. The feelings of control over and intimacy with a small object could offset this, even if only temporarily. Hughes writes, "At the very least, however, we might suppose that the real or imagined touching of the votives intensified the relationship between object and owner (as well object and creator)."[347] The intimacy implied in the miniature is part of what makes the gift worthy. With the Olympia miniatures, there is an additional valence to the relationship between gift and giver: a rebalancing of power within the sanctuary. In choosing a miniature, the dedicator would have (however briefly) an individually-sized representation of the sanctuary in his or her possession — a representation over which the viewer was master. In dedicating the votive, the dedicator gives up that control and commits it irrevocably to the god.

CONCLUSION

Miniatures construct a very different relationship between viewer, dedicator, and dedication than do life-size dedications. Although miniatures were produced exclusively to be gifts for the gods, as objects, they are fundamentally anthropocentric, with their primary referent being the viewer's size and perception of his or her world. Even in a space sacred to the gods, "…the relationship between the human maker and the thing reduced… forces us into 'an anthropocentric world where the scale of the human dictates all spatial relationships.'"[348] Viewing or handling a miniature focuses the viewer on the object's size and, in comparison, his or her own; as gods are oversized compared to human beings and life-sized dedications, human beings are oversized compared to miniatures.[349] Certainly, miniatures invite the viewer to experience his or her own power over them through handling, examining, and possessing. Control and ownership are possible for a miniature in a way that it is not for a large-scale object.

Miniature dedications lie in an area of tension and contradiction. They are (or soon will be) possessions of a deity, yet they are objects over which mortals may feel power. They are emblems of shared sanctuary practice, but scaled down to be held by just one person. While they invite intimacy and solitary viewing, once dedicated, they

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[346] Mauss 2016, 144.

[347] Hughes 2018, 65.

[348] Bailey 2005, 29.

[349] Some research suggests that feeling large relative to one's surroundings produces feelings of contentment, confidence, and power. Bailey (2005, 35-6) discusses this phenomenon. He indicates that Disneyland uses this in their Main Street installation, which is approximately three-quarters life sized — reduced, but not noticeably so. Visitors are guided through Main Street when they enter and leave the park, and it boosts their mood as they pass through it.

disappear into the sanctuary's broader collection. The dedicator yields his or her ownership at the time of dedication, but not necessarily the feeling of power over the object; the sensations evoked by the miniature remain regardless of its status as a votive.

— 4 —

Managing Fear, Viewing Violence

Representations of Myth on Dedicated Shield Bands

ἀσπίδι μὲν Σαΐων τις ἀγάλλεται, ἣν παρὰ θάμνῳ
ἔντος ἀμώμητον κάλλιπον οὐκ ἐθέλων·
αὐτὸν δ᾽ ἔκ μ᾽ ἐσάωσα· τί μοι μέλει ἀσπὶς ἐκεινη;
ἐρρέτω· ἐξαῦτις κτήσομαι οὐ κακίω.

Some Saian exults in my shield which I left—a
faultless weapon—beside a bush against my will.
But I saved myself. What do I care about that shield?
To hell with it! I'll get one that's just as good another time. [350]

Archilochus

By the late Archaic period, the hoplite shield—the *aspis*—was central to Greek warfare. The double grip allowed soldiers to support a larger shield, an innovation that influenced developments in battlefield tactics, and, at least according to Aristotle, the growth of a more egalitarian politics.[351] There is debate as to whether the word hoplite derives directly from *hoplon* meaning "shield" specifically, but hoplites were certainly defined by their equipment—the spear and the shield above all.[352] Further, as Archilochus makes clear, a soldier's shield became an emblem of appropriate (or inappropriate, in Archilochus's case) behavior in battle. Victory depended on each man showing courage, maintaining the line, and keeping hold of his *aspis*; a single hoplite

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[350] Archil.*PLG* 6 [51]. Loeb translation.
[351] Arist.*Pol*.4.1297b. For a comprehensive discussion on the arguments surrounding the hoplite shield, the phalanx and politics, see Kagan and Viggiano 2015.
[352] Schwartz (2009, 25-27) summarizes this debate.

dropping his shield would break the phalanx formation and could potentially cause the battle to be lost. Unsurprisingly, enemies' shields were key features of *tropaia*, monuments comprised of looted armor erected by the victor at a sanctuary or the turning point of a battle.[353] The popularity of such offerings at sanctuaries in general and Olympia in particular peaked in the Archaic period, gradually being replaced by other types of victory monuments thereafter—but before the 5th century, tens (if not hundreds) of thousands of pieces of armor were dedicated at the Altis.[354] Archilochus, perhaps proleptically, uses the term "ἀμώμητον" to describe his shield, a term otherwise used for offerings to the gods.[355]

This chapter examines the iconography of Olympia's Archaic period shields in the context of their primary use, looting, and dedication. In many cases, both of the shield's surfaces were embellished: shield devices were applied to the exterior, shield bands to the interior. The former, of course, was visible to the enemy, while the latter—hammered strips extending above and below the *porpax*, the arm loop on the interior—were visible to the soldier himself. The bands are divided into roughly square registers, with each square featuring an image. Most of the scenes are mythological, but their content varies significantly: Herakles' labors are depicted frequently, as are scenes of the Atreidai and the Trojan cycle.[356] Little in the way of explanation has been proposed for the choice of scenes; those featuring the murders of defenseless civilians and the desecration of altars have been described as strange for the martial context.[357] Here, I argue that the transgressions depicted in such scenes are in fact part of their function; such images can act as a means of exploring the fears surrounding the most brutal parts of warfare, and the anxieties regarding the soldier's own fate and homecoming.

I do not propose a single, comprehensive reading of the images on the shield bands. While some images echo others, or touch on similar ideas and themes, there is no evidence that they ought to be understood as unified programs. Instead, I examine those scenes that depict heroes committing acts of violence broadly condemned in the mythological tradition and those dealing with the apprehension associated with both returning home and dying on the battlefield. Drawing on film theories of gaze and voyeurism, I propose a nuanced understanding of identification between scene and viewer, wherein a viewer may identify at certain times with the aggressor in the images, but at other times with the victims. I consider too the special relationship between

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[353] Burkert (1985, 69-70) discusses the prominence of shields among first fruit offerings of war booty.

[354] Jackson 1991, 244; Nielsen 2007, 75. An estimated 100,000 helmets alone were dedicated at Olympia in the Archaic period. No other site received such a quantity of arms and armor.

[355] See e.g., Pi.*P*.2.73; LSJ s.v. ἀμώμητος.

[356] See Appendix D for a full index of the scenes.

[357] Davidson (2007, 349) wonders why any soldier might want to look at images such as the murder of Troilos.

soldier and images: when wielded as intended, the bands extend outwards from the soldier's arm and some of the bands' images just below eye level. As described above, maintaining the phalanx requires maintaining the position of the shield, and therefore the relationship between the soldier and images. For the shields to become *tropaia*, this relationship must be broken, whether through the abandonment of the shield or its owner's death. Through looting, both shield device and band become available to the enemy, collapsing the boundary between exterior and interior, public and private. The tropaion's construction rebuilds this distinction, with the shield's interior hidden and the exterior facing public scrutiny once more.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

The majority of Olympia's shield bands were uncovered during Emil Kunze's 1937-1939 excavations of the stadium.[358] Both the start and end of the project were governed by 20th century history. Political rather than scholarly interest provided the impetus: the excavation of the stadium was intended to buoy public support of the 1936 Olympic games, and the beginning of World War II swiftly ended the project.[359] Archaeologists were apparently skeptical at first of the scientific value of excavating the stadium—a massive area that they believed unlikely to contain much archaeological material—but it yielded an extraordinary array of bronze finds, particularly martial dedications.[360] Later research confirmed that the edges of the stadium were indeed the preferred location for displaying *tropaia*.[361] The importance of such dedications to the sanctuary is evident through their quantity: Olympia received significantly more armor than the other major sanctuaries.[362] *Tropaia* dedicated by Argos, Sicyon, Tanagra,

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[358] Kunze 1950; called the early classical or archaic stadium in Kunze 1940. For a broad overview of German excavation at Olympia, see Kyrieleis 2003.

[359] Junker 1997 70-71; Kyrieleis 2003 46-47. Financial support came through the Führer's discretionary funds, not the Ministry of Education (as would have been typical for an archaeological excavation). Not coincidentally, the lighting of the torch at Olympia occurred for the first time ahead of the 1936 games.

[360] That is, stadium I/II.

[361] Drees 1968 89. The Hera temple, in contrast, was preferred for plaques, stelai, and statues.

[362] Kunze 1950; Jackson 1992, 141-4; Sinn 1994, 160-1; Baitinger 2001; Philipp and Born 2004; Barringer 2009, 240-1. The regular purposeful burial of dedications along with the Alpheus' alluvial deposits may have resulted in disproportionate preservation compared to other sites. Still, Jackson (1992) and Barringer (2009) indicate that Olympia received at least 1,000 helmets to Isthmia's 200. Barringer argues that the numbers may have originally been closer at Delphi, but accidents of preservation still cannot fully explain the discrepancy.

Messenia, Psophis, Thebes, Tarentum, Syracuse, and Athens have all been identified at Olympia.[363]

Dedication of *tropaia* at Olympia is believed to have accelerated in the mid-late seventh century.[364] This corresponds with a major transformation at the site, when numerous early dedications were purposefully broken and buried, and construction began on the first monumental buildings.[365] Establishing precise dates for any particular group of *tropaia* is challenging, and the shield bands are no exception.[366] Recent research suggests that the shields were likely displayed between the mid-late seventh and mid sixth centuries. Previously, the only firm guideline was their association with the pre-classical stadia, with the relocation and construction of the early classical stadium providing a *terminus ante quem*. Stylistic analysis offers minimal additional information: a comparable shield band from a grave in Noicattaro was dated to the early-mid 6th century based on accompanying ceramic finds, though the possibility of the piece being an heirloom leaves a wide margin of error.[367] A similar array from the Acropolis has been dated to the late 6th-early 5th centuries, but this is based largely on Kunze's chronology.[368] Shield bands from other sites face similar issues.[369]

The changes to the stadium during the 7th and 6th centuries offer evidence regarding the display of the tropaia. The tracks of Stadia I and II followed roughly the same course. Mallwitz argues for Stadium I being used until the late 6th century. When the Eleans retook control of the sanctuary, they made a series of improvements including building up the southern embankment wall; this is believed to have occurred in the second quarter of the 6th century, apparently to balance the effect of the Hill of Kronos on the stadium's north.[370] Stadium II was built in the late 6th century directly above Stadium I, with its track dug somewhat lower than its predecessor's.[371] In the

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[363] Drees 1968, 89-90.

[364] Kunze 1950; Schilbach 1992, 33-8; Baitinger 1999, 125.

[365] Scott (2010, 148-54) gives an overview of this transformation.

[366] The fact that the shield bands are almost completely anepigraphic (unlike other tropaia) makes prevents our associating them with a specific conflict that might provide clues.

[367] Gervasio 1921, 109-129, see esp. 119-121; Pl. 15-18. Discussed in Kunze 1950 231-232.

[368] Touloupa 1991, 257-269, esp. 268. The *terminus ante quem* for these bands is the destruction of the Acropolis in 480 BCE.

[369] In addition, because so many shield bands were found at Olympia, Kunze's sequence is typically relied on. See, e.g., Kunze 1950, 243 for the dating of a strip from Delphi.

[370] Mallwitz 1966; 1967; 1988

[371] Though there has been significant disagreement regarding the stadium sequence, most now follow Mallwitz. Previously, Drees had argued for Stadium II to postdate the Persian Wars, approximately contemporaneous with the construction of the temple of Zeus. Mallwitz instead places the construction of Stadium III at this time. Most also

Classical period, the stadium was relocated approximately 74 m to the east. Mallwitz speculates that this relocation was associated with the rebuilding of the Zeus temple; certainly, Stadium II must have been out of use by the construction of the Echo Stoa, by which it was partially covered.[372]

The shields considered here are primarily associated with Stadium I.[373] The large majority were found on what Kunze described as the surface of the south archaic embankment—that is, the earliest embankment surface—while fragments were found on the second and third embankments.[374] Postholes were noted during excavation, indicating wooden supports driven into the southern embankment.[375] The spacing between these—2.55m—led Kunze to conclude that the posts supported tropaia, not wooden seating.[376] Shields were also found buried in the western embankment, suggesting that *tropaia* may have been erected along that side of the stadium as well.[377] While other objects were disposed of in wells or buried elsewhere, the shields were instead laid flat close to where they were originally displayed, with some piled on top of one another.[378] In some cases, charred wood is preserved and the surrounding soil shows signs of burning, perhaps in accordance with the custom of destroying a dedication before disposing of it.[379] It is unclear what significance may be attributed to the choice of burying the shields at the stadium rather than disposing of them

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speculate that there was an earlier stadium (the "urstadion") predating the stadium conventionally known as Stadium I; no evidence of such a stadium has yet emerged. Here, I follow Mallwitz with Stadium I in use from the mid seventh to the last quarter of the sixth century.

[372] Mallwitz 1967, 59f.

[373] That is, the corpus of archaic period shields likely of Argive manufacture. Military monument dedication clearly continued well past the archaic period. For contrast, see Baitinger (1999, 126-30) for the dedication of Persian weapons; Barringer (2009) for various military monuments at Olympia.

[374] Kunze and Schleif 1938, 72. Baitinger 2001, 81. Kunze assigned a date of 550 BCE to this surface. One complete shield and some large fragments of another were found in the *bothros* on the north.

[375] Kunze and Schleif 1938, 10-12. The best evidence for display pertains to the south and west embankments. As these embankments are the two closer to the sanctuary, they would be the intuitive choice for displaying dedications.

[376] Kunze and Schleif 1938, 12.

[377] Kunze and Schleif 1938, 10.

[378] Kunze and Schleif 1938, 70-7; Kimmey 2017 offers a detailed discussion of wells at Panhellenic sanctuaries with a focus on Nemea.

[379] Kunze and Schleif 1938, 10.

elsewhere; given their diameter of just under a meter, it may have simply been more convenient to bury them than attempt to fit them down a well.[380]

Adding complexity to the issue of dating, a number of the shield bands have images of Achilles and Telamonian Ajax playing dice (Pl. 32.1).[381] Some have argued that Exekias invented the scene; certainly, his amphora (Pl. 32.2) popularized it.[382] If it was his invention, the shields must date to the late 6th century at the absolute earliest. However, there is evidence for the scene type predating the Vatican amphora. Kossatz-Deissmann and Mommsen have argued that there are earlier representations of the heroes playing a game.[383] If they are correct in these identifications, there is no reason to believe that the shield bands cannot predate the Vatican amphora as well. Indeed, their archaeological context and stylistic conventions would strongly suggest that they do predate Exekias' masterpiece, or are roughly contemporaneous with it at the latest.

PRODUCTION AND ORIGIN

The Olympia shields are concave, circular in shape and measure 90cm-100cm in diameter.[384] The interiors had two parallel bronze grips: the *porpax*, the large armband in the center of the shield, and the *antilabe*, the smaller handle closer to the right edge of the shield (Pl. 33). The user would put his left arm through the *porpax* up to the elbow and grip the *antilabe* with his left hand. The shield would thus protect the center of the soldier's body and the right side of the man on his left; his right side and the entire right of the phalanx were left relatively vulnerable.[385] Rieth estimates that the Olympia shields originally weighed seven to eight kilograms.[386] While the double grip made it possible to carry such a shield, the task would have nonetheless been burdensome. If the phalanx broke, the shield could quickly become a liability: weight and size rendered

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[380] It is difficult to say why exactly the *tropaia* were dismantled and disposed of rather than re-erected. Certainly, weather damage to the wooden cores of the shields could have been an issue. In addition, there is significant evidence for sanctuaries becoming overcrowded with dedications and there is evidence for standardized procedures for disposing of votives in such a situation. See Lupu (2005, 30-32) for some of these policies. Perhaps most importantly, Elis was unlikely to take particular care to redisplay military dedications from other *poleis.*

[381] The scene has also been identified on B 926, B 968, B 1559, and B 4810.

[382] Boardman 1978, 18; Woodford 1982, 173-4.

[383] Boardman 1978; Kossatz-Deissmann 1981; Woodford 1982, n. 7, 173-4; Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 102 (following Mommsen 1980) cites a cup (Kossatz-Deissmann 398) dated to 540 BCE.

[384] Kunze and Schleif 1938

[385] Lazenby (1991, 91-2) discusses the Spartans' attempt to take advantage of this at Nemea.

[386] Rieth 1964, 101; Hanson 1989, 68 discusses just how burdensome carrying the hoplite shield must have been.

it too unwieldy for individual combat.[387] The results of a series of experiments done on the panoply strongly confirmed the difficulty of carrying the shield, particularly while running.[388]

Indeed, much of the shields' construction is geared towards maximizing durability and minimizing weight, at least to what extent was possible. The shields' exterior surfaces are thin pounded bronze sheet metal and fold in at the edges around what was originally a wooden core: traces of decomposing wood were found in most of the shields surrounding the stadium.[389] The *porpax* and *antilabe* were attached on the interior with the bands extending from either side of the *porpax* (Pl. 33). The *porpakes* were the critical support of the shield and are therefore cast; the bands are hammered, and in vase paintings that include such detail, *antilabeis* are braided cord (Pls. 33, 34). A series of small nail heads (0.1-0.15cm diameter) are preserved on either side of the many of the bands, while larger nail heads (0.8cm) are preserved along the edges of some of the *porpakes*.

The bands were not critical to the function of the completed shield: they were added for embellishment, not structural stability. They are made from very thin sheets of bronze, no more than 0.1-0.2 cm in thickness. These sheets were hammered on bronze molds with the scenes engraved into them intaglio-fashion, using the technique of embossing or τορευτική.[390] The bands were then finished by hand, with smaller details engraved on the obverse. Hundreds of fragments believed to be associated with the bands survive, many of which are heavily corroded. Though there was some debate in the early 20th century regarding the purpose of similar items found in funerary contexts, many of those found at Olympia were recovered in a complete enough state—either

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[387] Hanson 1989, 66-68.

[388] Donlan and Thompson (1976; 1979) describe a series of experiments in the Human Performance Laboratory at the University of Pennsylvania in which they determine the energy expenditure required to perform the charge at Marathon as described by Herodotus. They conclude that the charge could not have occurred in exactly the manner that Herodotus describes, as maintaining a running speed over eight stades while weighed down by the panoply would require a great deal of physical exertion. Indeed, only one subject completed the run at all. They note that "formation disintegrated after 300 yards" in one experiment and after 250 yards in another. A subsequent experiment placing subjects on treadmills was only slightly more favorable for Herodotus' claims.

[389] Kunze and Schleif 1938, 73. Similar shields in Basel and Bomarzo were analyzed and found to contain willow and poplar, respectively; Pliny *NH* 16.209 describes these as the most suitable woods for shields. See also Schwartz 2009, 28.

[390] For more on bronzeworking and metalsmithing techniques, see Bol 1985, 56-7, fig. 33; Rolley 1986; Touloupa (1991) on bronze sheets. For embossing (τορευτική/toreutics), see Higgins 1980; Stewart 1980; Williams and Ogden 1994; Treister 2001.

with shield or shield device fragments, with entire bands intact, or both—to dispel any lingering doubts regarding their purpose.[391]

Better preserved examples have sequences of images arranged vertically (Pl. 35). These images are separated from one another horizontally by borders with each of the resulting scenes being approximately square in shape. According to Kunze, who sorted the bands into types, the order of the images on any given band type does not vary;[392] the state of preservation and the large number of fragments, however, make it difficult to confirm this. Multiple whole or partial copies exist of many of the bands' scenes, suggesting production on a moderate scale (Table 3).[393] Band widths vary by up to several centimeters. The length of the bands and the number of images on each also differ, but the full range of possibilities is difficult to determine given the state of preservation. Preserved ends of the bands always have palmettes (Pl. 36.1). In most cases, guilloche is used for the vertical border, sometimes with an additional line dot motif either on the interior or exterior (Pl. 36.2, 3). Running spirals or dentils are generally used to divide the images horizontally from one another (Pl. 36.4, 5). Although the shield bands vary in size, the width of the border motifs is generally consistent; on wider shield bands, the vertical borders are doubled. On occasion, the final scene of a band is partially cut off by a horizontal border, presumably due to mismeasurement during production (Pl. 37). The consistency among the various border motifs may suggest that the number of workshops producing the shields was small. The assortment of styles and sizes could indicate either individual preferences or varying price points; it is difficult, of course, to say with any certainty.

Inscriptions are rare on the shield bands, but those that do occur give significant insight into the shields' region of manufacture. Kunze had speculated that they were Argive-Corinthian in origin on the basis of style and the Argive lettering of inscriptions.[394] Most of the latter identify known mythological figures pictured on the bands.[395] Several are inscribed with the name "Aristodamos," believed to be an unknown mythological character until a bronze strap fragment at the Getty explained his identity. An inscription reading "ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΑΜΟΣ ᾽ΕΠΟΙϜΕΣΕ ΗΑΡΓΕΙ̣ΟΣ," "Aristodamos the Argive made it," runs in retrograde along the top edge of the lowest preserved panel (Pl. 38).[396] The Getty Villa acquired the band from the art market in the mid 1980s and its provenance is unknown. Beyond the inscribed name, it bears a significant resemblance to the Olympia shield bands. The width, 8 cm, corresponds with the typical width of the better preserved Olympia finds. The technique is also

[391] Kunze 1950, 1-3.

[392] Kunze 1950, 1. The shield bands are considerably more eroded than when Kunze excavated them.

[393] Kunze 1950, 1.

[394] Kunze 1950, 1, 212-3.

[395] Kunze 1950, 212.

[396] Walsh 1985, 166-7.

similar: the figures' hair and the patterns of their garments are picked out in comparable manner. The borders—the guilloche motif appearing vertically and the running spiral horizontally—are likewise consistent with those on the Olympia shield bands, and their measurements are within millimeters of examples found at Olympia.

THE SHIELD AND THE BODY

A.H. Jackson (1991) writes the following on the appearance of ancient panoply: "Greek armour was of course designed to be at once efficient and impressive, as it seems to us in the tranquil environment of our museums. But to its owners and their enemies it was intended also to look as grim and menacing as modern weaponry and combat gear do today."[397] His observation underlines the synergistic relationship between the form and function of the panoply: ideally, the visual effect of the panoply weakens the enemy's resolve before any clash occurs. Armor protects the body in close combat, but also may provoke fear in those who view it. Jackson references elements such as the additional height added by the crest of a helmet or images of monsters and scavenger animals on shields.[398] This analysis addresses only the minority of the shields' images, however: the vast majority of the embellishment was never meant for the enemy's eyes at all.

The positioning of the embellishment makes use of this basic dichotomy; the shield's concavity works to reveal images selectively and hide others. The role and circumstance of the viewer dictate the view available: the public, exterior of the shield contrasts with its interior, with its mythologically embellished bands. Hoplite shields were very concave—often described as "hollow"—with the rim at nearly a 90° angle from the periphery of the concave part.[399] When wielded by the soldier, the shield's bands would be easily visible only to him; the hollowed interior would make it difficult for even the soldier on the bearer's immediate left to see the images.[400] The images' small size—most approximately 5 cm by 5 cm—means that they were best understood

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[397] Jackson 1991, 233-5.

[398] Chase 190 275-6, 84-5; Spier 1990, 113-4; Jackson 1991, 235.

[399] Hanson (1989, 68) points out that in addition to deflecting blows, the concavity of the shield allowed its weight to sit on the shoulder occasionally; smaller and lighter shields, he notes, are not as concave.

[400] The round shield afforded protection to the one bearing it and to the man on his left. For this reason, the formation tended to drift to the right. Thuc.5.71.1: "διὰ τὸ φοβουμένους προσστέλλειν τὰ γυμνὰ ἕκαστον ὡς μάλιστα τῇ τοῦ ἐν δεξιᾷ παρατεταγμένου ἀσπίδι καὶ νομίζειν τὴν πυκνότητα τῆς ξυγκλήσεως εὐσκεπαστότατον εἶνα," " because fear makes each man do his best to shelter his unarmed side with the shield of the man next him on the right, thinking that the closer the shields are locked together the better will he be protected." Loeb translation. To avoid it, the most experienced soldiers were often placed on the right. See also discussion in Lazenby 1991, 91-2.

in fairly close quarters; many are quite detailed, and this detail is best perceived up close. As Susan Stewart observes in the case of other miniatures, the shield bands emphasize "a particular configuration of subjectivity: first-person experience; single-point perspective; spatial extension from the individual perceiving viewer…"[401] The concavity of the shield emphasizes this, creating a self-contained, highly private visual field, while the shield itself protects both the wearer and the images on its interior, safeguarding them from the gaze and physical intrusion of outsiders.

As with other armor, the shield operates as an extension of and enhancement to the body. François Lissarrague has shown persuasively that armor is regularly depicted as an echo of the human form;[402] the bronze is a means of expressing the body's beauty, and of glorifying it.[403] The shield operates in parallel. The gesture of raising an arm to protect oneself is intuitive and near-involuntary; the shield joins with the wearer's body to extend and enhance its capabilities. The bands and their images are at the joint between body and object. Though not structural, the bands extend up and down from the *porpax*; visually, they are integrated into the strap used to attach the shield to the wearer's arm. The bands' images quite literally reach outwards from the soldier's arm and parallel his torso (Pls. 33, 39); the disc of the shield is centered at the soldier's core, both protecting and extending his being. Unlike other pieces of armor, the shield has two points of contact with the soldier: touch and vision. When held in a protective position, the shield is not only worn on and supported by the body, but could occupy part of the soldier's visual field. Most depictions of hoplites—such as the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury—show that the upper register of images on shield bands would fall just below the gaze of the shield's bearer (Pl. 39). A glance downwards would allow him to see them, but to do so would be a conscious choice. The most likely time to look at them would be during preparations for battle; during the mêlée or charge, of course, one's attention would be elsewhere. Depending on the images selected, they could be a source of motivation or provocation before marching into the heat of battle, a warning, or a reminder of the uncertainty of fate. The shape of the shield and the positioning relative to the bearer's gaze gave the soldier doubled control over the scenes within: no one else could see the interior of the shield without his permission, and he himself could choose whether to look or not.

FASCINATION, VOYEURISM, AND THE FIRST PERSON VIEWER

To look into the concave interior of the shield is to gaze into a self-contained visual field. Each band depicts multiple myths: with the images arrayed above and below the *porpax*, the disc of each shield contains worlds within it. Single objects depicting so many myths are, moreover, unusual in this early period: strikingly, the

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[401] Stewart 1997, 79-80.
[402] Lissarrague 2014.
[403] Lissarrague 2014.

François Vase is the closest parallel (Pl. 40).[404] The composition of the François Vase's handles, in particular, is similar to that of the shield bands, but the sheer variety of scenes has its closest relative in the many registers of the vase's body. Each image on a shield band is distinct from the others: repetitions of characters are rare. Scenes are not repeated on a single band, but are occasionally repeated on either side of the *porpax* (Bn 9). The final image at the top and bottom of the shield bands is generally a beast or monster. Gorgons, sphinxes, and lions predominate—creatures frequently used as filler ornaments in Archaic vase painting (Pl. 41).[405] As discussed in Chapter 2, such monsters mark boundaries and inhabit the edges of the world. The bands' numerous scenes from the human realm—mythological, but human nonetheless—are enclosed by creatures that mark geographic boundaries (Pl. 42). Pushed towards the top and bottom of the round shield, they evoke topography: man and civilization on the interior, monsters at the edges; they draw their composition from the same vocabulary used by the protome cauldrons and vase painting. There is an element also of voyeurism in viewing the multiple worlds in a miniaturized, accessible manner. Susan Stewart writes, "The 'of many worlds in this world' dimension of microscopic, tiny, and miniature objects suggests hiding and uncovering at once, a voyeurism where one might be recognized or caught out or even, perhaps in punishment for the pleasure of seeing what cannot or should not be seen, blinded."[406] All this is amplified when one considers the images' content.

Most shield band images involve some kind of violence (see Appendix D); indeed, scenes of violent heroism are what one would expect to find on an object intended be seen in the last moments of preparation before a soldier marches into battle. The most common scene (apart from the rampant lions that frequently appear as the topmost and/or bottommost scene) is Herakles and the Nemean Lion (Table 3); the next most common mythological scene is the murder of Troilos. Indeed, the Trojan Cycle is the most frequent source for the shield bands (Table 1). Several of these scenes— depicting the sack of Troy—stand out for the manner in which their violence is contextualized as outrage: while violent scenes could, as discussed above, motivate and provoke the viewer, the outrage inherent to these scenes suggests a more complex dynamic. Michael Anderson argues that the Trojan sack is often represented through a series of family tragedies: both literary and visual depictions focus on the fates of individuals, exploring the ends of the Priamides one by one.[407] Troilos' death, although

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[404] The François vase has eight distinct mythological scenes in its primary registers, one animal frieze, and Ajax carrying Achilles' body on the handles. Each handle also has a depiction of a gorgon facing the inside of the pot and Potnia Theron on the exterior.

[405] Kunze (1950) remarked on this, noting that it is one of the only real patterns in the arrangement of shield band images—though even this is not completely consistent: see Table 2

[406] Stewart 1997, 83.

[407] Anderson 1997, 27-48.

earlier in the narrative, constitutes an "early chapter" in the family's destruction.[408] The scenes explore the darkest aspects of conquest and the threat of excessive violence—both the risk of committing atrocities as victor and that of one's home and family becoming subject to such violation. Here, I address scenes of the sack in general and one pair of images in detail—Ajax and Kassandra and Achilles and Troilos.

Watching Violence: Achilles, Ajax, Troilos and Kassandra

The literary record of the Achilles-Troilos myth is fragmentary and offers multiple incompatible versions of the story, but we can deduce a reasonably consistent narrative in conjunction with the visual tradition.[409] Late archaic vase painting frequently shows Achilles either hiding in ambush or in pursuit of Troilos, with the murder depicted more rarely.[410] Achilles evidently waits for Troilos to leave the city alone. Troilos often has one or two horses and is frequently shown near a fountain with Polyxena, as on the François vase—Sophocles' *Troilos* F 621 likewise describes the boy approaching a spring. According to literary sources, a chase ensues that ends at an altar of Apollo;[411] in the visual tradition, the altar is often included when depicting the murder.[412] Troilos' death is brutal: Sophocles F 623 describes mutilation by *maschalismos* while a black figure neck amphora shows Achilles apparently taunting Hektor with Troilos' head while his decapitated corpse lies on the ground between them.[413]

There are two forms of the Achilles-Troilos scene on the Olympia bands (Pl. 43.1, 2). Both include an altar and one depicts a tree as well, presumably a laurel. Both, moreover, foreground the brutality of Troilos' death, the composition emphasizing the extreme mismatch between the man and the boy. In Bn9 (Pl. 43.2), Achilles towers over Troilos even though he stands on the altar. Troilos crouches and looks back and, presumably, begs for his life, with one arm around the tree—he is cornered in the small frame by the advancing warrior. In Bn8 (Pl. 43.1), Troilos is again the smaller figure, though he is fully turned to face his attacker. He is elevated above the altar with his

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[408] Anderson 1997, 27.

[409] The literary tradition has two distinct threads: either Troilos dies at Achilles' hands in battle, as lamented by Priam in the *Iliad* (24.257) or Achilles stalks and murders Troilos when the boy leaves the city walls. The shield bands unmistakably show the latter version.

[410] Kossatz-Deissmann 1981. In addition to the shield bands the murder is potentially shown on two Cretan terracotta reliefs: Agios Nikolaos 2364 and Virginia 71.32.4.

[411] Sophocles ap. schol. T to *Iliad* 24.247; schol. Ibycus *SLG* S224 = *GL* 282B (v); [Apoll.] Epit. 3.32; schol. Lycophron *Alex.* 307; Eustathius on *Iliad* 24.251.

[412] Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 94-5.

[413] Vermeule (1981, 49) explains *maschalismos* as a means rendering a ghost helpless; Sommerstein 2006, 203. Troilos' decapitation is described in Lycophron's *Alexandra* 313; Munich 1426 shows Achilles and Hektor fighting over Troilos' body, which is partially obscured by an altar.

arms and legs in a pinwheel position. Achilles grasps his right arm, preventing him from fleeing. In both versions, Achilles is dressed for battle—both his crested helmet and a cuirass are visible. His brutality is evident as he brandishes a sword against his unarmed victim. Troilos, in contrast, is a long haired youth, famed for his beauty.[414] Though according to some sources Troy could not be taken as long as he was alive, he is rarely portrayed as a soldier; rather, he is an ephebe cut down before behind his youth.[415]

The version of the scene on Bn8 and Bn12 makes explicit the erotic undertones of Achilles' pursuit of Troilos (Pl. 43.1, 44). Here, a cockerel sits on the altar between the two.[416] Whether it ought to be considered a gift brought by Achilles or a filler ornament suggesting lust, it indicates that a sexual element of Achilles' motive was present in the mythological tradition in the 7th-6th centuries BCE.[417] Scaife observes that Achilles' sword points directly at Troilos' genitals;[418] lest the subtext still be missed, Achilles' sword extends from just above hip height. Later literary evidence, including Servius' scholia on Virgil, describes the relationship between Achilles and Troilos as somewhat conventionally pederastic, with Achilles offering Troilos doves.[419] While the cockerel may indicate some such attempt at a pederastic relationship, the exact relevance of Servius' version to the archaic myth is unclear;[420] whatever Achilles' initial intentions, the shield band depictions with Troilos held at sword point leave little room for anything but a deliberate murder.

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[414] Ibycus I *To Polycrates* 41-8 compares Polycrates' beauty to Troilos'.

[415] For Troilos dying in battle: Hom.*Il.* 24.257; Virg. *Aen.*, 1.476-7; Q.S., 4.155, 4.418-435; Dares 33 (*PTebt* 268 and *POxy* 2539); Dictys 4.9 = *FGrH* 49 F 7a, though Sommerstein (2007, 197-8) argues that the *Iliad*'s account implies an awareness of the other version. Troilos as youth murdered by Achilles: *Cypr.* arg. § 11; Ibycus, *SLG* 121, 224=*GL* 282B; Lyc. *Alex.*, 307-13 and scholia; [Apoll.] *Epit.*, 3.32; Dio Chrys., 11.77-8; *Mythog. Vat.*, 1.210; Eustathius on *Il.* 24.257. Sophocles' *Troilos* appears to have depicted the murder, not death in battle. While both versions of the myth reference Troilos' beauty and youth, these qualities are given more prominence in those that describe his death as murder. On Troilos as ephebe, see Knittlmayer 1997, 84-99.

[416] The erotic implication was noted on initial publication by Kunze (1950, 141-2); Gantz (1993, 598) writes that it is difficult to dismiss the sexual implications of the cock, but almost as difficult to accept them.

[417] Kunze 1950, 210; Davidson 2007, 349.

[418] Scaife 1995, 190.

[419] Lyc. *Alex.*, 307-13 According to Servius I.474, Troilos "captus ab Achille in eius amplexibus periit," generally taken to mean that Troilos' death was accidental.

[420] Gantz 1993, 602; Sommerstein 2007, 200-1. Sommerstein (2007, 200 n. 21) and d'Agostino (1987) suggest the story could date back to the archaic period based on *LIMC* Achle 13**,** an Etruscan amphora picturing doves flying towards Troilos.

Such scenes show Achilles at his most extreme: in a single act, he violates Apollo's sanctuary and gives himself over to uncontrollable ferocity and lust.[421] Many literary sources agree that Troilos' death was necessary in order for the Greeks to win the war and take Troy.[422] The killing of Troilos can be taken as a metonymy for a Greek victory, allowing a craftsman to portray the city's fall in the small space of the shield band.[423] Still, any simple understanding of the shield band scene is confounded by undertones of sexual violence, overkill, and desecration: there is no easy explanation for the viciousness Achilles displays towards the boy.[424] Further, the act of killing Troilos on Apollo's altar directly leads to Achilles death—it is Apollo, of course, who guides Paris' arrow. The scene is a metaphor for victory, but one that comes at extraordinary cost to the conqueror.

The Ajax-Kassandra scenes are similar in both content and composition (Pl. 43.3, 4). A common band type features both scenes of Ajax and Kassandra and Achilles and Troilos.[425] Numerous examples of the image survive, though as with other scenes, it is unclear whether this is an accident of preservation or because of the scene's popularity. The arrangement of the figures is analogous to that of Achilles and Troilos: Athena takes the place of the laurel tree on the right of the scene, but the two figures are otherwise posed similarly. Ajax grasps Kassandra's left hand in his right and brandishes a sword while Kassandra links her left arm around the statue and turns her head backwards in supplication. Ajax' helmet and body armor are clearly discernable and, like Achilles, he is physically massive in comparison to his victim. His power is exaggerated by his forward-leaning pose and sword, raised as if about to strike. Athena's shield tilts forward as if to protect Kassandra and the tip of her spear points directly at Ajax' head. There is no statue base, and some have argued that as in similarly composed vase paintings the figure can be read either as the goddess herself or doubly as both the goddess and her icon; [426] these are possible, but the figures' poses can be understood just as easily as proleptic. The hero and goddess are of approximately equal

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[421] Ferrari (2003, 41-3) addresses Achilles' extreme brutality and its relationship to his depiction in vase painting: Archaic and Classical vase painting on occasion depicts Achilles with Troilos' decapitated head, marking him as Scythian, or wearing some Thracian garments.

[422] Likely the earliest this appears is in Ibykos I *To Polykrates*, as argued by Robertson (1973). Troilos' death is one of three preconditions that must be met for the sack of Troy. For how this relates to art in particular, see discussion in (Hedreen 2001, 120-5).

[423] Scaife 1995, 189.

[424] Sommerstein 2006, 196-8.

[425] Table 3: OM B988, B 1642, B 1801, B 1802, B 4962

[426] Davreux 1942, 140-141, 157; Connelly (1993, 107, 119) argues that such images show two different moments in time: Kassandra's abduction and Ajax' punishment.

size, with Athena's crest extending just millimeters above that of Ajax. The conflict portrayed here is between man and goddess, not Ajax and Kassandra.[427]

According to Proklos's summary, Ajax topples a statue of Athena in his attempt to abduct Kassandra in the *Iliou Persis*.[428] The Achaians attempt to stone Ajax for this, but he too seeks sanctuary at Athena's altar.[429] Like Troilos, Kassandra is shown nude on the shield bands.[430] Although there is significant dispute (both ancient and modern) regarding Ajax's precise actions, as in the case of Troilos, sexual violence looms as a possibility.[431] Certainly, there is no disagreement over the impropriety of Ajax's behavior. He violates Athena's sanctuary in a manner outrageous even within the context of the sack—the Achaians themselves decide that he must be punished.[432] The consequences are severe: Ajax' actions and the Achaians' failure to remedy them sufficiently cause many to die in the course of their *nostoi*.[433]

Scopophilia and Voyeurism

Holding a shield, placing it on one's arm, grants access to these images of violation and lustful violence; the shield's bearer does not have to look upon them, but once the shield is in position, he may. As the position of the wearer's body changes, the scenes are displayed or hidden from view. Both the content and positioning of the scenes—on the back of the concave shield, impossible to see for all but the shield's bearer—evoke voyeurism, and the images' placement invites the soldier to take on the position of the powerful viewer. Mulvey defines scopophilia, particularly in the form of voyeurism, as "the surreptitious observation of an unknowing and unwilling victim."[434] She further describes how the isolation of the spectator—through darkness, for one

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[427] Connelly (1993, 104) discusses this in the context of vase painting.

[428] Il.Pers. §1.

[429] *SLG* 262; Il.Pers. §1.

[430] Bonfante (1989, 560-1) observes that mythological women are frequently shown partially nude in moments of danger, and connects Kassandra's nudity in red figure to the black figure tradition of depicting her as disproportionately small; she does not understand Kassandra's nudity as necessarily sexual. Jackson 1996, 57-65 offers a very thorough review of the scholarship on the connection (or potentially lack of connection) between nudity and rape in this particular scene type.

[431] The earliest reference is in the Alcaeus Cologne fragment, though Kassandra is not named; line 20 describes Ajax seizing the girl with both hands, but the following text is damaged. Apollod. *Ep.* 5.22 describes Athena's statue averting its eyes from the rape, while in Eur. *Tro.* 453 Kassandra says she is a virgin. The uncertainty on the topic suggests that Ajax's sacrilege was more at issue than anything else.

[432] Paus.1.15.2; Proclus *Nostoi* arg.12-13.

[433] *SLG* 262; Il.Pers. §1. For a broader survey of sources on the sack of Troy, see Gantz 1993, 651-5.

[434] Mulvey 1989, 17.

viewing a film, or through form and physical position, for the shield and the one who wields it—furthers the "illusion of voyeuristic separation."[435] The spectator's feelings of isolation, of privacy, nurture his sense of voyeuristic power. He can look, if he so chooses, and he alone has the power of that choice. Within Mulvey's theoretical framework, Troilos and Kassandra are victims twice over—of the heroes, and of the viewer's surreptitious observation.

Aiding in this, the shield's wielder, as a man and as a soldier, is invited to identify with Ajax and Achilles, themselves dressed in armor; as in film, both action and desire are focalized through the male heroes.[436] Kassandra is accessible to the gaze of the viewer just as she is available to Ajax' gaze. Her nudity emphasizes this; it marks her vulnerability and emphasizes, to use Mulvey's terminology, the woman as spectacle. While Mulvey primarily discusses the female body as the target of the gaze, Troilos, a beautiful ephebe, may occupy this role as well. He is clearly depicted as an object of Achilles' desire, as the inclusion of the cock confirms. In addition, the Achilles-Troilos myth parallels the tradition of a nymph or young girl snatched while fetching water: the broader visual and literary traditions often detail that Achilles ambushes the boy at a spring.[437] Troilos is assimilated to the maiden, emphasizing both his powerlessness against Achilles and the parallels between him and Kassandra. Isler-Kerényi observes that Achilles, "when he attacked Troilus and Polyxena at the fountain, behaved like a violent satyr committing an act of arrogance that offends the rules of civilized life."[438] In the Achilles-Troilos scene, the bearer of the erotic look is male, but gender alone is not sufficient; Achilles has power and control, and Troilos' youth and beauty render him the object of the gaze.

Even as the viewer shares Ajax and Achilles' power over their victims, the heroes themselves are exposed, made accessible to the viewer, in their moments of feral violence. While Ajax and Achilles may be the bearers of the look with the young boy/woman as its target, the heroes are not avatars for the shield's bearer in precisely the manner that that Mulvey describes for cinema. Unlike the protagonists in most film, Achilles and Ajax's fates are known to their observers. The presence of the altars and icons, and the pose of Athena, underline the gap in knowledge and indicate the divine retribution to come. The viewer's full understanding of the heroes' outrage and its consequences makes simplistic identification with them challenging: both their

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[435] Mulvey 1989, 17.

[436] Mulvey (1989, 19-21) discusses the dichotomy between passive/active, woman as image, man as bearer of the look.

[437] On the Francois vase, for instance, Polyxena and Troilos flee from a spring. Upending the expected erotic pursuit, Troilos, not Polyxena, is the object of Achilles' desire.

[438] Isler-Kerényi 2004, 25.

triumphs and their transgressions extend far beyond those of ordinary men and cannot be understood as simply aspirational.

IMAGINING THE SACK: FEAR IN THE PHALANX

Although a soldier holding a shield might see himself in Achilles, Ajax, or Neoptolemos, such images are complicated by their context: these are not scenes of glory in war, but rather the outrage inflicted on the defeated city. Nor, obviously, was this a kind of horror relegated to fiction. Thucydides vividly describes the brutality of the sack of Mycalessus:

> ἐσπεσόντες δὲ οἱ Θρᾷκες ἐς τὴν Μυκαλησσὸν τάς τε οἰκίας καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπόρθουν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐφόνευον φειδόμενοι οὔτε πρεσβυτέρας οὔτε νεωτέρας ἡλικίας, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἑξῆς, ὅτῳ ἐντύχοιεν, καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας κτείνοντες, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔμψυχα ἴδοιεν· τὸ γὰρ γένος τὸ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν ὁμοῖα τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἂν θαρσήσῃ, φονικώτατόν ἐστιν. καὶ τότε ἄλλη τε ταραχὴ οὐκ ὀλίγη καὶ ἰδέα πᾶσα καθειστήκει ὀλέθρου, καὶ ἐπιπεσόντες διδασκαλείῳ παίδων, ὅπερ μέγιστον ἦν αὐτόθι καὶ ἄρτι ἔτυχον οἱ παῖδες ἐσεληλυθότες, κατέκοψαν πάντας· καὶ ξυμφορὰ τῇ πόλει πάσῃ οὐδεμιᾶς ἥσσων μᾶλλον ἑτέρας ἀδόκητός τε ἐπέπεσεν αὕτη καὶ δεινή.

> The Thracians bursting into Mycalessus sacked the houses and temples, and butchered the inhabitants, sparing neither youth nor age, but killing all they fell in with, one after the other, children and women, and even beasts of burden, and whatever other living creatures they saw; the Thracian race, like the bloodiest of the barbarians, being ever most so when it has nothing to fear. Everywhere confusion reigned and death in all its shapes; and in particular they attacked a boys' school, the largest that there was in the place, into which the children had just gone, and massacred them all. In short, the disaster falling upon the whole town was unsurpassed in magnitude, and unapproached by any in suddenness and in horror.[439]

Thucydides lingers over the images of slaughter. He describes the Thracians as extreme in their violence, illustrating his point through the mass killing of Mycalessian children in their school. This sack, as Thucydides depicts it, is unmatched in brutality and terror. As at Troy, not even temples or children are safe, and the aggressors, in Thucydides' words, are "ὁμοῖα τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ," as brutal as barbarians.[440] While such behavior might befit the Thracians, the acts themselves are excessive. The story, moreover, underlines the simple fact that the destruction of a one's home city looms in

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[439] Th.7.29.4-5. Loeb translation.
[440] Ferrari (2003, 42) argues that Achilles is often depicted with barbarian attributes when he pursues Troilos, and notes that on Berlin F 3309 Achilles has a Thracian mantle and boots in addition to an Achaean tunic and corselet, and a Scythian cap. On Greeks depicted as ethically comparable to non-Greeks, see Hall 1989, 201-223.

the background of any war. A soldier faced a doubled terror: the threat of entering battle to his person, and the consequences of defeat to his home.

Filtered through a mythological sack of an Eastern city, the shield bands' Trojan war scenes display the highest possible price of defeat: the sack of one's own home. Even distanced by place and time, the stories do not occlude the Trojans' suffering; the Greeks' victims are not anonymized. Instead, Troy's fall is told through the deaths of the Priamides—most clearly visible through vase paintings showing Astyanax, the heir, used as a bludgeon to kill the patriarch Priam.[441] The centrality of kinship in the sack strengthens connections to the soldier's fears for his own kin. An individual image might evoke both an experience of fear for one's city and family and the power associated with the role of hero, and one need not necessarily exclude the other. The ransoming of Hektor's body (depicted alongside the murder of Troilos on one band type) frankly explores the mix of pity and aggression felt towards an enemy:[442] in the *Iliad*, Achilles recognizes his own father in Priam, weeps for him, and takes Priam's hand.[443] Several lines later, he warns Priam to leave before he murders the old man despite Priam's status as suppliant.[444] While mercy wins out for a time, Priam's fate is brutal nonetheless, and his murder at Neoptolemos' hands is shown on the shield bands as well.[445] The selection of such scenes to adorn armor suggests an awareness of and interest in such ambivalence: one may pity an enemy's father and nonetheless sack his city with few regrets.

Further, the scenes are depicted on the implement standing between a soldier and defeat. Medea, when she says "ὡς τρὶς ἂν παρ᾽ ἀσπίδα/στῆναι θέλοιμ᾽ ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ τεκεῖν ἅπαξ" "I would rather stand three times with a shield [in battle] than give birth once"[446] does not explicitly mention battle, though most translations supply it: without the shield, there is no battle anyway.[447] The *aspis* is the critical piece of protective equipment, the panoply equivalent of the city wall; the shield, adorned with images of a city being sacked, stands between the enemy, the soldier, and the sack of the soldier's home.

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[441] *LIMC* Priam F.

[442] Published by Kunze as "Type IV."

[443] Hom.*Il.*24.485-552; 509. Sommerstein (2006, 197-8) argues that Priam's language in this scene directly recalls the murder of Troilos.

[444] Hom.*Il.*24.568-72.

[445] Kunze Type X.

[446] E.*Med.*250-1. Trans. Loeb (Kovacs)

[447] Loeb translation, brackets added. In Medea's phrasing, she additionally emphasizes that men have equipment that protect them from the danger they face, while women have no such protection in childbirth.

Fear, of course, is intimately entwined with the dangers described above. Phobos and Deimos—Fear and Dread—attend Ares' chariot in the *Iliad*.[448] Thucydides addresses it as a critical force shaping behavior and decision making and on occasion, he addresses terror among the ranks.[449] He explicitly attributes the phalanx' tendency to drift towards the right to soldiers' attempts to huddle behind one another's shields.[450] Taboos and admonishments regarding dropping one's shield—as well as Archilochus' poem about abandoning his—nod to the powerful temptation to do exactly that: fear was a formidable and unavoidable adversary for any phalanx, one that required vigilance to manage. The shield bands address such fears indirectly, representing them at safe remove from the soldiers themselves.

The *Iliad* depicts the consequences of fear and the connection between the warrior's recognition of the danger at hand and his experience of terror. Hektor's fear on facing Achilles is described as follows:

Ἕκτορα δ᾽, ὡς ἐνόησεν, ἕλε τρόμος· οὐδ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἔτ᾽ ἔτλη
αὖθι μένειν, ὀπίσω δὲ πύλας λίπε, βῆ δὲ φοβηθείς·

But trembling seized Hektor when he recognized him: nor did he dare
to remain any longer, but left the gates behind and ran, frightened.[451]

Hektor is seized by τρόμος, the highly corporeal sensation of trembling elsewhere used to describe a response to love or cold.[452] The same sensation grips Paris when faced with Menelaos, again specifically when he recognizes (ἐνόησεν) him—not just when Paris sees him, but when he recognizes him and grasps the danger he is in.[453] There is danger in understanding, in mentally grappling with risk experienced in battle too directly—the moment of knowledge is swiftly followed by terror. Aristophanes, as is his wont, addresses fear quite directly, and depicts it as inseparable from battle. He calls war "ὁ κατὰ τοῖν σκελοῖν," "the one on the legs," which the scholiast helpfully glosses as "ἀπὸ τῶν διὰ δειλίαν ἀποτιλώντων," "emptying the bowels because of cowardice."[454] Similarly, the Sausage Seller in the *Knights*, thinking practically, observes, "ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἂν

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[448] Hom.*Il*.4.440-1; 13.299-300; see also Hes.*Th*.933-4, which specifies that Phobos and Deimos are the children of Ares and Aphrodite.

[449] Desmond (2006) addresses fear as part of Thucydides' political philosophy.

[450] Thuc.5.71.1

[451] Hom.*Il*.22.136-7. Translation is my own.

[452] *LSJ* s.v. τρόμος; perhaps most famously in Sappho 2.

[453] Hom.*Il*.3.30-4.

[454] Ar.*Pax*.241. Henderson (1991, 189) gives other examples of fear provoking incontinence; Olson 1998, n 241 likewise interprets "ὁ κατὰ τοῖν σκελοῖν" as an "involuntary emptying of the bowels when battle begins.

μαχέσαιτο: χέσαιτο γάρ, εἰ μαχέσαιτο," "But he wouldn't fight: he would empty his bowels if he should fought!"[455]

It is unsurprising, then, that many of the images a soldier might view before or during battle address fear. As discussed above, the shield bands' images can evoke the dread of a city's sack; they may also evoke the apprehension associated with the deeds one commits when one is the sacker. In addition, they depict the experience of terror and of begging for one's life, a sensation familiar to or feared by a soldier. This terror, however, is not shown through warriors and soldiers, for whom the expression of such emotion would be disastrous, but their victims—characters in whom fear is a sign of safety, not danger.

The phenomenon of a male viewer exploring sensations of fear through identification with a disempowered, typically female victim has been well described by Carol Clover in her writing on horror films. She outlines the complex and shifting identification experienced by viewers of such films; horror films likewise echo a viewer's desire to look upon something that simultaneously provokes horror and fascination. Clover addresses this in her analysis of horror films.[456] In such films, the killer, typically male, kills off victims until the sole survivor, typically female—the "Final Girl," in Clover's terms—either escapes or takes revenge. The audience for such movies is predominantly male, yet the films at certain times invite identification with the killer, and at other times with his victims. Indeed, in Clover's opinion, the audience's shifting identification from killer to victim, from male to female, is an important part of the appeal of such films: the corporeal experience of horror is depicted through a feminine protagonist for the benefit of a male audience, as "abject fear is gendered feminine."[457] The female victim's screams and terror are consistent with her gender in a way that a male victim's would not be; the male viewer can explore his own fear without disrupting his gendered identity.[458]

Elena Walter-Karydi (2017) has written on the dignity of the Amazons at the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, noting that the empathy and respect with which they are characterized is a departure from earlier representations. She notes that, although the

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[455] Ar.*Eq*.1057."
[456] The trope is particularly notable in slasher films from the 1970s-1990s, including *Texas Chainsaw Massacre* (1974), *Friday the 13th* (1980), *A Nightmare on Elm Street* (1984), and *Scream* (1994).
[457] Clover 1987, 218.
[458] An interesting contrast to this is the film *Get Out* (2017), in which the power structures typically associated with gender in horror films are replaced with the power structures surrounding race. A black man takes on the role of the Final Girl while the role of killer-terrorizer is given to a white suburban family. While in 1970s-80s horror, male deaths are usually swift and shot at a distance, in *Get Out*, the camera lingers in close up on the protagonist Chris' screams.

Amazons' depiction is an innovation in the high Classical period, scenes from the sack of Troy offer a much earlier exception to this rule:

> Demütigende Feindbilder hat es ohnehin nie gegeben, doch in den Vasenszenen der *Iliou Persis* wurde sogar transgressive Gewalt seitens der siegreichen Griechen thematisiert, und zwar bereits im zweiten Viertel des 6. Jahrhunderts… in den Szenen des Angriffes von Aias auf Kassandra und des Mordes von Priamos durch Neoptolemos; nicht selten wurden diese Szenen nebeneinandergesetzt wie auf einer Amphora des Lydos, dm 560 v. Chr… die Bilderfindung, diese zeitlich und örtlich getrennten Untaten zusammenzuführen, schafft eine weitere Steigerung des Grauens.[459]

> In any case, the various scenes of the *Iliou Persis* even dealt with transgressive violence on the part of the victorious Greeks, already in the second quarter of the 6th century… in the scenes showing Ajax' attack on Kassandra and Priam's murder at the hands of Neoptolemos; these scenes were juxtaposed not infrequently, as on an amphora of Lydos, c. 560 BC… Seeing these images, these temporally and geographically separated outrages together, creates a further increase in horror.

The shield bands make use of the exact phenomenon she describes—horror elicited by empathy felt for one's enemy, and the effect of seeing such scenes in conjunction with one another. Taken in conjunction with the literary record, there is little doubt that scenes like these were meant to be disturbing—and therefore, that the viewer identified to a significant degree with the victims, not the perpetrators.

On the shield bands, the horror of losing a battle is explored through the eyes of everyone but the warrior himself: young boys, old men, and women. The shield bands align abject terror with physical powerlessness, regardless of gender. Both Homer and Aristophanes indicate loss of bodily control as accompanying corporeal sensations of fear, and a loss of bodily control, of course, means likely death for a soldier. In the images of Troilos and Kassandra, that loss of bodily control is depicted literally: they are lifted up, grasped, and physically manipulated by their attackers. The choice of images comfortably distances the experience of fear to those absent from the phalanx, those who remain when the phalanx has fallen. As the horror film allows its audience to safely experience terror through the Final Girl, images of the sack allow soldiers to explore their own fear.

Similarly, anxieties regarding violation of protected space—of sanctuaries and of the home—and those spaces transforming suddenly into 'places of danger' are central both to horror movies and the shield band image program. "The house or tunnel may at first seem a safe haven, but the same walls that promise to keep the killer out quickly

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[459] Walter-Karydi 2017, 183. Translation is my own.

become, once the killer penetrates them, the walls that hold the victim in."[460] Troilos flees for the safety of Apollo's altar and reaches it, only to find that Achilles does not respect even that. In vase painting, the voyeuristic element of horror is emphasized through Priam's positioning on the city walls as audience of the pursuit.[461] The shield band puts the viewer in Priam's position, showing only Achilles and Troilos—a metaphor extended when one considers the shield avatar of the city wall. Kassandra and Priam too reach altars, spaces that should be sacrosanct, yet the moment the shield bands depict is the moment of recognition that they are not.

ANXIETIES OF FATE: FEAR OF (NOT) RETURNING

To enter battle is to confront the possibility of one's own death, and to accept the unknown nature of fate. Perhaps the clearest representation of this is the scene of Achilles and Telamonian Ajax playing a game of dice (Pl. 32). The scene shows the two warriors armored for battle, but engaged in a game rather than combat; the stakes of the game are contrasted to those of warfare. They engage in a competition of luck with unknown outcome, and with neither fully knowing his own destiny—even Achilles, the luckiest of mortals, knows only that in exchange for his *kleos*, he will not return from Troy. Yet, as Hedreen indicates, the outcome is knowable, at least to some extent: it is Achilles, not Ajax who is the best of the Achaeans, and at least on Exekias' amphora, Ajax is tense, losing the game.[462] Unlike Achilles' shadowy knowledge of his future, the viewer knows both heroes' fates. Several more scenes from Ajax's life are likewise depicted: his suicide and his retrieval of Achilles' corpse.[463] Hedreen argues for a narrative connection made by vase painters between the suicide and game scenes, as well as scenes depicting the vote and Ajax retrieving Achilles' body: through depicting Ajax as Achilles' closest rival, vase painters signal that he, too, must die in order for the Greeks to take Troy.[464] The two heroes are near matched in some respects, but not all. Achilles knows, chooses, and accepts his fate; Ajax, conversely, is driven mad by his.

The other great fear of war is returning to find one's home irreparably changed. Agamemnon's *nostos*, of course, explicitly addresses this fear. The story appears several times in the *Odyssey* in contrast to Odysseus' own homecoming.[465] Agamemnon is

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[460] Clover 1987, 198.

[461] The François vase, for instance, positions Priam as a spectator of the scene.

[462] Hedreen 2001, 97.

[463] Kunze 1950, 151-4; Hedreen 2001, 112.

[464] Hedreen 2001, 91-119, but see esp. 115-117. Troy must fall by trickery—Odysseus' specialty—not brute force. As in vase painting, the game/voting block is visible between the heroes on the shield band. Gantz 1993, 234-5 also suggests a direct connection as well: that armor was at stake in the game Achilles and Ajax play.

[465] Olson 1990; Hernández (2002) addresses Agamemnon in the *Odyssey*. Many have commented on how Agamemnon's story emphasizes the uncertainty in Odysseus' own

trapped through the false safety of his *oikos*: in the *Odyssey*, he warns Odysseus to be more careful than he was.[466] The shield bands depict Agamemnon cornered by Klytemnestra and Aigisthos (Pl. 45.1). Aigisthos appears to wrestle Agamemnon while Klytemnestra holds a knife to Agamemnon's back. There is no scenery save a spear propped behind Aigisthos. Not all versions of the myth have Klytemnestra commit the murder herself.[467] Rather, the shield bands choose to show Klytemnestra's violence and culpability; Aigisthos is merely assisting. It is the wife, her inscrutability and potential inconstancy, that presents the greatest risk. Even in the *Odyssey*, the bulk of Agamemnon's anger and blame are saved for her, though it is Aigisthos who actually murders him.[468]

Images depicting Menelaos reclaiming Helen address a parallel uncertainty. In these, Menelaos grasps Helen by the wrist: he has decided to reclaim his wife and restore his *oikos*, though the presence of the sword indicates that this outcome was not assured (Pl. 45.2). Helen, however, is the ambiguously trustworthy-untrustworthy wife *par excellence*, and her alliegiance can never quite be known.[469] When Menelaos grants her mercy, it is because of her beauty, not any certainty regarding her character.[470] Nor is the doubt surrounding her resolved with her restoration to Sparta. Helene Foley (1984) comments on the mixed nature of the supposedly reconciled couple's portrayal during Telemachus' visit in the *Odyssey*, when both give accounts of incidents at Troy:[471] "Similarly, the obliquely uncomplimentary tales of Helen and Menelaos, and the presence of drugs at their court subtly express uneasy relations in the domestic realm at Sparta."[472] Ann Bergen (2008) further explores deeply ambiguous nature of the stories Helen and Menelaos tell and Helen's use of the *pharmakon*, drug, to soothe painful memories; she argues that Helen's speech has an undercurrent of sexual infidelity.[473] Conversely, Menelaos' story describes Helen's untrustworthiness directly:

> τρὶς δὲ περίστειξας κοῖλον λόχον ἀμφαφόωσα,
> ἐκ δ᾽ ὀνομακλήδην Δαναῶν ὀνόμαζες ἀρίστους,
> πάντων Ἀργείων φωνὴν ἴσκουσ᾽ ἀλόχοισιν.

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oikos. Hernández (2002 319, n.2) summarizes some of the extensive scholarship on the topic.

[466] Hom.*Od*.11.409-412

[467] In the *Odyssey*, Aigisthos invites Agamemnon to a feast and murders him there, while in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* and Pindar *Pythian* 11, Klytemnestra murders him in the bath. The shield bands obviously do not match any of these precisely.

[468] Hom.*Od*.424-430

[469] Olson (1989) addresses this through the stories told during Telemachus' visit to Sparta in *Odyssey* 4.

[470] Ar.*Lys* 155 and scholia.

[471] Hom.*Od*.IV.1-305.

[472] Foley 1984, 70.

[473] Bergen 2008, 118-22.

Three times you circled the hollow ambush, touching it,
you called by name the best of the Danaans,
making your voice like the wives of all the Argives. [474]

Helen's motivations are not explored; Menelaos goes on to say only that Odysseus saw through the ruse, held the others back, and prevented disaster. The story, in which quite literally mimetically represents every Greek's wife, demonstrates the unknowable nature of Helen's character. Not only are her intentions opaque, but here, she can take on the identity that suits her; certainty is simply impossible.

DIACHRONIC, SYNCHRONIC

Questions of fate arise in the scenes of Aigisthos, Achilles, and Lokrian Ajax as well. Unlike rolling the dice and discovering one's lot, here, each hero is performing the act that shapes and confirms his fate. The images on the shield bands show the pivotal moment in each story: the moment before Achilles murders the boy, before Ajax topples Athena's icon, and before Aigisthos murders Agamemnon, continuing the tragedy of the Atreidai.

Synchronically speaking, each of these images show the moment of decision—the last moment in which each hero's fate might be changed, where he might avert the wrath of the gods. According to the framework Luca Giuliani proposes, these are monochronic images—that is, images whose creators have attempted to show only one moment in the story with other elements of scenery hinting at the rest.[475] Different scenes deal with this issue differently: Menelaos has decided to spare Helen, but others—particularly those in which the hero's actions will lead him into disaster—do not in themselves choose an outcome for their narratives. Achilles and Ajax still can preserve their own lives and those of their victims (at least in theory), even though the viewer knows that they will not. This is not to say that the images do not gesture towards the warriors' fates: Guy Hedreen argues that the sanctuary setting so frequently portrayed in the visual tradition of Achilles and Troilos functions as a subtle prolepsis.[476] It reminds the viewer both that Apollo will have his revenge through Achilles' death and that Achilles' fate was well earned. His argument works similarly for the scene of Ajax and Kassandra, in which Athena's spear points directly at Ajax' face.

The situation of the soldier armed for battle intersects with these moments of yet-undecided fate, especially at the moment of entering the *othismos*, the "push" or

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[474] Hom.*Od*.277-9. My own translation.
[475] Giuliani 2013.
[476] Hedreen 2001, 162-3.

physical confrontation between two hoplite armies.[477] At this moment, the soldier's life would have met that of the characters' in a moment of synchronic similarity but diachronic divergence: the viewer and the image are suspended in the same moment of unconfirmed fate, but while the full story of each image is known, the story of the bearer—so long as he is carrying the shield—remains unknown.[478] Minus the shield, this moment of multiple possibilities ends and the bearer's fate is reduced to two possibilities only: survival through flight, or death.

One shield band type, in fact, exclusively has images that relate to various transition points in a man's life:[479] scenes show Achilles and Troilos, a beardless man with a spear grasping the hand of an older man with a beard, an arming scene, and finally, Menelaos confronting Helen (Pl. 45.3). The interplay between the scenes is complex, touching on themes of maturity, death, fate, and gender. Within this context, Knittlemeyer's arguments on Achilles and Troilos are particularly relevant.[480] She contends that Troilos is the prototypical aristocratic ephebe—a boy on the brink of becoming an adult—and notes that Achilles, when pictured with Troilos, is typed as a hoplite—which is to say a man in the stage of life just past that of the ephebe. They inhabit opposite sides of Vidal-Naquet's youth-warrior dichotomy;[481] he terms the youth or ephebe the "anti-hoplite," even as the youth will soon take on the role of hoplite himself.[482] Understood through this lens, Achilles-as-hoplite is ending the life of a young man who occupies the role he held only recently, an act that echoes the hoplite ending his ephebic status as he first arms for war. Scene two could depict either a young hoplite leaving for war or an ephebe leaving for the hunt—Vidal-Naquet's "black hunter." That he grasps the hand of an older man rather than a woman may suggest the latter, but the pairing emphasizes, too, the turning points of a man's life. In conjunction, the scene of arming for war both presents a point of transition and underlines the uncertainty of fate—reaching the maturity of the older man is always uncertain.

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[477] The word *othismos* is defined as "pushing" or "thrusting" and used almost exclusively for mêlée (LSJ s.v. ὠθισμός). What exactly hoplite othismos entailed is heavily debated, however. One view holds that the front ranks would push shield against shield, akin to the scrum in rugby. Various modifications to this view have been proposed and some take the term as figurative, with most combat occurring at a distance. Both Krentz (1985) and Matthew (2009) offer summaries of the scholarship on this complicated question and nuanced views of what the *othismos* may have entailed.
[478] Ferrari (2003) somewhat complicates the division between mythic and non-mythic images. Though she focuses on those images traditionally considered "reality," if we consider the reverse possibility of slippage between the two categories (i.e. that a single character can represent both Achilles and an anonymous warrior), this effect is further exaggerated.
[479] Published in Kunze (1950) as "Type XI."
[480] Knittlmayer 1997.
[481] Vidal-Naquet 1998, 106-28, but esp. 113.
[482] Vidal-Naquet 1998, 120.

Menelaos' confrontation with Helen can act as shorthand for the end of the war, the warrior's return home, and restoration of his *oikos*—and the restoration of Menelaos' power over his wife.

FAILURE, LOOTING, AND GLORY: RECONSTRUCTING THE ENEMY AT THE SANCTUARY

The shield protects both the wearer and the images on its interior. The inside of the shield is guarded from the gaze of outsiders, but accessible to the soldier bearing it if he so chooses. By dropping his left arm—lowering (if not abandoning) the shield and breaking the phalanx formation—the images themselves escape the soldier's control, and both shield and soldier become vulnerable to the enemy. The solidity of the connection between man and myth, man and image, is one and the same as the stability of the phalanx. The erected *tropaia* demonstrate the severing of this link: whether the soldier lost his shield in life or death, the connection between them is broken.

The *tropaia* were set up at the sanctuary with cognizance of their impact on the viewer. Arms and armor were deposited in multiple locations, including treasure houses, but the area surrounding the stadium was the preferred location—appropriate for the eristic setting;[483] such a location allowed a dedicator to directly link athletic competition with his own victory in war. The choice of Olympia's stadium as a location to display spoils was important enough to outweigh a number of other potential considerations for the dedicator—in particular, that dedications at Olympia were regularly discarded.[484] In addition, displaying armor outdoors would have shortened its lifespan—especially the shields, given their composition of bronze and perishable materials. Leaving the offering sheltered in a treasury might prevent some of these problems, but for obvious reasons was literally a less attractive proposition. As a result, many dedicators preferred the stadium embankments.

Further, wear on a shield was not at all a bad thing, and some accounts make clear that particularly visible wear was preferred.[485] Meleager specifically criticizes the lack of wear on martial dedications:

> τίς τάδε μοι θνητῶν τὰ περὶ θριγκοῖσιν ἀνῆψε
> σκῦλα, παναισχίστην τέρψιν Ἐνυαλίου ;
> οὔτε γὰρ αἰγανέαι περιαγέες, οὔτε τι πήληξ
> ἄλλοφος, οὔτε φόνῳ χρανθὲν ἄρηρε σάκος·
> ἀλλ' αὔτως γανόωντα καὶ ἀστυφέλικτα σιδάρῳ
> οἷά περ οὐκ ἐνοπᾶς, ἀλλὰ χορῶν ἔναρα·

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[483] Kunze and Schleif (1938, 12) observed the parallel between the eristic nature of war and athletic competition early on in publishing their findings.

[484] For weapons, see Sinn 2000 15-22; Baitinger 2001 80-92, Kyrieleis 2003 49-50. Helmets: Kunze 1958, 1961; Rausch 1998 126-8. Wells: Kunze 1967 4-6, Gauer 1975, Mallwitz 1977 23.

[485] Hughes (2018) discusses the dynamics of worn objects as votives.

οἷς θάλαμον κοσμεῖτε γαμήλιον ὅπλα δὲ λύθρῳ
λειβόμενα βροτέῳ σηκὸς Ἄρηος ἔχοι.

What mortal hung here on the wall these spoils
in which it were disgraceful for Ares to take delight?
Here are set no jagged spears, no plumeless helmet,
no shield stained with blood;
but all are so polished, so undinted by the steel,
as if they were spoils of the dance and not of the battle.
With these adorn a bridal chamber, but
let the precinct of Ares contain arms dripping with the blood of men.[486]

In this sense, the shields invert the quality so highly valued in the tripods, that they be ἄπυρος— unburnt, unused, or shining. While tripods accrue prestige through announcing dedication as their primary purpose, arms and armor do the opposite. Jessica Hughes (2018) observes that broken and fragmentary dedications are conceptualized as emblematic of the bodies of their dedicators, most often when the object given is one that has been owned by the dedicator for a long time.[487] *Tropaia* use a similar grammar: a broken martial offering suggests the defeat and destruction of the enemy's body, but the wholeness of the dedicator, and the fitness of his body in addition to his glory.

Placing the *tropaia* around the stadium, of course, directly contrasts military and athletic triumph; indeed, lining the south and west embankments with *tropaia* literally surrounded the stadium from the viewpoint of any spectator approaching it from inside the sanctuary. In addition, erecting *tropaia* there allowed dedicators to create a very different tableau from what was possible in a treasury. The view specific to members of the opposing phalanx was recreated through the positioning of the *tropaia*: they were arranged on the same plane, but far apart as two meters, evoking a thinned phalanx.[488] There is an echo, too, of the protome cauldrons: in addition to shields, vast numbers of helmets were dedicated at the Altis. Erected as elements of *tropaia* (and by definition, at about eye level) the helmets kept watch over passersby, challenging visitors to escape their stare. The emptiness of the helmets' eyes—in contrast to the griffins' inlaid eyes— emphasizes the enemy's absence because of his defeat. In this sense, although the viewer's gaze is, by necessity, aligned with that of the victor, not the vanquished, the *tropaion* takes on two roles at once: that of victim, and that of the victor's extended person, commanding the adjacent space and intimidating onlookers in his absence. The armor itself, of course, retains the menacing characteristics described by Jackson and discussed above, but it is recontextualized as a testament to the victor's bravery and

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[486] *AP* 6.163. Trans. W. R. Paton.
[487] Hughes 2018, 50.
[488] Kunze and Schleif 1938, 12.

consequent triumph.[489] While shield devices were typically chosen to be menacing—gorgons, for instance—certain types would have taken on particularly grim new connotations when set up as part of *tropaia*. Those displaying scavengers (birds and dogs, for instance) were transformed from threats to the enemy into grim possibilities as to what may have befallen the shield's original owner, whose fate—was his body recovered, or left to the scavengers?—remains unknown.

The act of looting and that of setting up a *tropaion* are obviously linked, as one must do the former to be able to construct the latter. The two practices are the inverse of each other. Critical to the process of looting armor on the battlefield is the conflation of public and private. The enemy, once only able to access the device on the shield's exterior, now sees its interior. The fallen soldier's body, once hidden and protected by armor, is rendered visible and vulnerable; the armor's imitation of the human form only exaggerates this phenomenon: the body's carapace is stripped away. The process of erecting a *tropaion*, putting armor on display, works to rebuild the distinction between interior and exterior. The surfaces designed to be available to a viewer outside the phalanx are restored as such—the shield is turned with its convex exterior facing outwards and the armor is rebuilt around a now-absent body, replaced by a wooden post that does little to imitate its form. Even this act of rebuilding demonstrates power, both of conquerer and conquered: the threatening appearance of the enemy's panoply is preserved—his armor, mimicking the shape of his body, maintained its menacing visual characteristics—but the *tropaion* itself is the demonstration that he no longer poses any threat, that he is under the power of the *tropaion*'s dedicator. This manner of display recalls another characteristic of the protome cauldrons: the fundamental form of each is that of something functional for one purpose (cooking, defense), transformed into something functional only as a dedication.

The Greek Anthology contains a number of epigrams on the dedication of arms and one attributed to Nossis is particularly relevant to the power of looted armor:

> ἔντεα Βρέττιοι ἄνδρες ἀπ᾽ αἰνομόρων βάλον ὤμων,
> θεινόμενοι Λοκρῶν χερσὶν ὕπ᾽ ὠκυμάχων,
> ὧν ἀρετὰν ὑμνεῦντα θεῶν ὑπ᾽ ἀνάκτορα κεῖνται,
> οὐδὲ ποθεῦντι κακῶν πάχεας, οὓς ἔλιπον.

> These their shields the Bruttians threw from their doomed shoulders,
> smitten by the swiftly-charging Locrians.
> Hymning their *aretē* as they hang in the temple of the gods,
> and not longing for the clasp of the cowards they left.[490]

Though the epigram dates significantly later than the shields at Olympia, the impact of recontextualization remains the same: what could have been a mark of the enemy's

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[489] Jackson 1991, 233-5.
[490] *AP* 6.132. Trans. W. R. Paton.

triumph instead instantiates his failure. Moreover, focalization and agency shift through the few lines of the epigram. The Bruttians throw off their ἔντεα (arms, but likely shields, since they are dropped in retreat) in the first line, but by the last, it is the shields who have left their owners; the intervening line on the Locrians both describes their defeat and effects a change of subject from the men to their shields. That the Bruttians may have been routed but not entirely slaughtered does not matter. Vanquished, they are given no space in the poem to regret their actions—they are simply doomed (αἰνομόρων) and cowards (κακῶν); their only choice as described is dropping their arms. These arms, on the other hand, *are* able to reflect and feel regret—though they choose to feel none, and instead praise their conquerors the Locrians. Power and agency, but not responsibility, are interwoven with the armor itself more than the human beings who wear it—and this power remains even as the armor is separated from its owner and dedicated. As in Archilochus, the shield itself is ἀμώμητον— blameless.

CONCLUSION

The most pressing danger to the hoplite phalanx was not death but fear; terror and flight could swiftly decide the outcome of a battle. Tyrtaeus writes:

> καὶ θαμὰ φευγόντων τε διωκόντων τε γέγευσθε,
> ὦ νέοι, ἀμφοτέρων δ᾽ ἐς κόρον ἠλάσατε…
> τρεσσάντων δ᾽ ἀνδρῶν πᾶσ᾽ ἀπόλωλ᾽ ἀρετή:
>
> You have often tasted flight and pursuit, boys,
> and you've had a surfeit of both…
> But the *aretē* of those who flee in fear is destroyed utterly.[491]

The passage suggests that the young men have been on both sides of a rout even as it warns of grave consequences to one's ἀρετή of flight; the experience of fear is as inevitable as it is destructive. The images chosen for the shield bands engage in a parallel dialogue. On the surface, many are straightforward representations of heroism. Some, like those representing the Atreidai, address the anxieties of returning home, a theme well established in the literary record. Others, however, explore the feeling of abject terror—though never through the warrior himself. The experience is instead displaced onto those figures ineligible for the phalanx: women and men either too young or too old to fight.

Martial dedications came into the Altis with very different biographies from other Archaic votives. Dedications of looted armor were common, but such objects were not originally intended to be votives at all; even as a *tropaion* was a testament to one soldier's success, it was a reminder of another's failure. Still, *tropaia* dedications suggest a similar consciousness of and interest in interaction with space and viewers. Erecting a

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[491] *Stob. Fl. 50.7* 9-14. Translation is my own.

tropaion placed the viewer in the role of the victor or his ally and asked passersby to witness and re-witness the enemy's defeat.

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CONCLUSION

The Votive Landscape

Gifts for the gods shaped the visual landscape of Olympia. In recent decades, scholarly discourse has moved towards a richer understanding of Greek sanctuaries and the dynamics among visitors, poleis, and dedications; likewise, scholars have pushed for an ever more nuanced understanding of the visual arts within the sanctuary context. Work on early sanctuaries has demonstrated that they were loci of complex interaction, evidenced in part through their material and visual culture. Nonetheless, most votives have been left in the background, rarely addressed directly as objects with agendas of their own, in favor of monumental dedications or architecture. Far from being "lesser," however, such votive gifts come much closer to representing the greater part of dedicatory practice. This project has reframed some of these dedications and explored their important role in the visual culture of the *temenos.* Considered in the context of their environments, even the smallest dedications engaged in commentary on and conversation with their milieu: their dedicators, viewers, and the temenos itself.

The votives surveyed for this project are very different from one another in production and biography, but they evidence nonetheless significant points of contact. Although similar votive gifts are found at other sanctuaries, as a group they embody traits specific to Olympia: no other site received either such a quantity of bronze over all other materials, or nearly as many martial dedications. All three categories emerged during the Archaic period, with both protome cauldrons and bronze miniatures replacing their predecessors after the Altis' reorganization, and martial dedications proliferating thereafter; in this sense, they are the result of Olympia's emergence as a major sanctuary. While in the Iron Age, personal items such as jewelry were left at the site, as it expanded, custom-made votives became more popular. The three groups discussed here mark their own defunctionalization (to use Luce's terms) through their composition and/or display.[492] Protome cauldrons and miniatures, of course, have no role in everyday life, and the arrangement of *tropaia* to mimic the form of the soldier

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[492] Luce 2011, 55-8. Discussed in depth in Chapter 3.

explicitly contrasts the armor-as-monument to its use on the battlefield: in the sanctuary it is rendered inert and unthreatening.

The scale and frame of reference of each dedicatory group was decidedly anthropocentric—they were produced and displayed with a cognizance of their interaction with their mortal viewers. This is most obvious, of course, in the case of the *tropaia*, armor erected to evoke the figure of the vanquished. Miniatures, as explored in Chapter 3, used the human body as their central point of reference and scale. They are reduced to fit in the human hand—a scale very different from the divine—and invited their viewer to judge their size in relation to him or herself. Conversely, protome cauldrons—with their open-beaked griffins forbidding the viewer's approach— manipulated the power of looking and being looked upon. With heads facing outwards in all directions, they relentlessly fixated the viewer with their gaze; their focus forever targeted the sanctuary's visitors. All such dedications existed at the crux of a fundamental contradiction: although they were gifts for the gods, they engaged directly (and primarily) with their human viewers.

The dedications explored in this study also interacted with and commented upon the *temenos* space. The fact that sanctuary architecture and large-scale dedications attempted to control the adjacent space is well established—indeed, historians have argued that this motivated some of the phases of renovation at Olympia.[493] Similarly, this study has argued that individuals' dedications can also be understood as exhibiting Gell's distributed personhood.[494] To leave it at that, however, would greatly oversimplify the relationship between votive and context. *Tropaia* erected at the edges of the stadium made explicit the parallel between martial and athletic competition. They reconstructed the space to reproduce the perspective of the victor; they brought the battlefield into the "peaceful" space of the sanctuary. Figurines, conversely, brought the sanctuary into the palm of the dedicator. They reduced its emblems into objects that could be manipulated by an individual and reduced the rich visual landscape of the sanctuary—the games, sacrifices, and votives—into objects subject to human control. Gathered together, they compressed both space and time. The protome cauldrons operated similarly, as metaphors for the sanctuary and *oikumene*—the tripod itself being a prime visual metaphor for the sanctuary to begin with. Their attachments evoked the boundaries of the known world, and the vessels' rims separated what was civilized— "cooked"—from what was not.

Dedication was at once a religious, social, and visual practice. Display and interaction (whether through sight or touch) were of paramount importance: votives were gifts for the gods, but crafted and given by mortal hands, to be seen by mortal eyes.

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[493] Scott 2010
[494] Gell 1998

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— APPENDIX A—

Selected Catalogue of Cauldron Attachments

This catalogue includes objects referenced in the text of this study, along with additional entries selected to provide a representative overview of the material. Each entry is identified with a type-specific letter code followed by a number. The second line provides the museum number and measurements. Some general observations follow. The final line provides a bibliography for each item. If the object is illustrated, plate numbers are listed at right. For a comprehensive catalogue of cauldrons, tripods, and attachments, see Herrmann (1966, 1979); and Mallwitz and Herrmann (1980). All measurements are in centimeters unless otherwise stated.

C1   Cauldron with intact attachments   **Plates 7.2, 8, 9**
       OM B 4224 H. 48.0; Diam. of rim 65.0 cm

       A large cauldron with several intact attachments, including
       three hammered protome necks and two siren handle
       attachments. Dented and battered on the sides and base.
       Herrmann 1966, 11-17; Mallwitz and Herrmann 1980, 58

G1   Hammered griffin protome   **Plate 3.1**
       OM B 2656 H. 26.4; W. of neck 8.5 cm

       Damaged and corroded. Crown and back of head, tip of
       beak, and part of base missing. Both ears preserved. Central
       horn, small and pointed, reconstructed in conservation. Eyes
       bulge, protrude on both sides. Feathers modeled on neck
       (mostly obscured by corrosion), stopping ~ 4 cm above base.
       Base largely intact.
       Herrmann 1979, 23

G2   Cast griffin protome   **Plates 3.2, 16.1**
       OM B 4278 H. 21 cm; Diam. of base 8.1 cm

       Well preserved cast protome including conical knobbed
       finial. Point of left ear, right ear, eyeballs missing. Upper
       and lower lids defined. Feathers incised on head and neck,
       stopping at tear ducts and ~2 cm above base.
       Herrmann 1979, 41

G3   Hammered and cast griffin protome   **Plate 3.3**
           OM B 4311 H. 16.5; W. of neck 9.4 cm

           Head is cast. Finial capped with small sphere. Pointed ears.
           Small horns between eyes; eyeballs missing. Upper and
           lower lids defined. Neck is hammered, long, and sinuous.
           Feather texturing on head and neck, more deeply incised on
           latter.
           Herrmann 1979, 48

G4   Cast griffin protome   **Plate 4.1**
           NM 6160 H. 36.0; Diam. of base ~10.0 cm

           Well preserved protome with incised spirals along either
           side of neck and knobbed finial. Right ear broken at base.
           Eyeballs missing, replaced by modern fill. Feathers incised
           on neck, stopping ~2 cm above base and 0.5 cm past the tear
           ducts.
           Hermann 1979, 38

G5   Fragmentary cast griffin protome   **Plate 4.2**
           OM B 1771 H. 12.8 cm

           Small griffin protome. Ears missing, finial broken off near
           base. Eyes bulge, cast as one with head and neck. Feather
           pattern carefully coldworked, stops ~2 cm above base.
           Herrmann 1979, 42

G6   Cast griffin protome fragment, neck   **Plates 5.1, 11.3**
           OM B 6103 Diam. of lower neck 5.0, of base 8.2 cm

           Neck and base of griffin attachment, head missing. Heavily
           and carefully coldworked with feathers and curls/plumes.
           Coldwork stops ~2 cm above base.
           Herrmann 1979, 40

G7   Cast griffin protome, fragmentary   **Plate 5.2**
           OM Br 2575 H. 16.6; Diam. (base) 6.2 cm

           Neck and head of griffin protome. Ears and finial broken
           away just above bases. Eyelids sharply defined and
           textured. Eyes cast as one with head. Lips around beak
           textured. Feathers coldworked throughout. Base damaged at
           right and partly missing.

Herrmann 1979, 36

G8   Hammered griffin protome   **Plate 6.3**
           OM B 2655 H. 21.0; W. 6.3; D 11.0 cm

           Heavily corroded griffin protome. Significantly damaged on
           right with large sections missing. Ears intact, left ear bent.
           Three horns with center horn larger and further down beak.
           Finial intact. Raised curls on neck; central ridge down its
           back.
           Herrmann 1979, 27

G9   Head from cast griffin protome   **Plate 11.2**
           OM B 5650 H. 14.2; W. 7.2; D 11.2 cm

           Cast griffin head. Finial flares out into three lotus-like petals.
           No horns. Feathers coldworked; dotted texturing where ears
           attach. Elaborate curls from finial down the back of the
           head.
           Hermann 1979, 37

G10   Cast griffin protome   **Plate 12.1**
           OM B 6878 H. 22.8; W. of face 6.4; W. of neck 5.7 cm

           Griffin protome broken across just below chin; modern
           repair. Ears intact, long. Conical finial intact. Eyeballs
           missing. Base fully intact. Delicately incised feather pattern
           runs from beak down neck, stops ~1 cm above base
           (obscured by damage).
           Hermann 1979, 41

G11   Cast griffin protome   **Plate 12.2**
           OM B 4890 H. 17.5; W. 9.3

           Head and neck of griffin protome. Spherical finial. Three
           horns between eyes; central horn larger than side horns.
           Upper and lower eyelids defined. Eyeballs missing. Feather
           pattern coldworked on neck and face. Edges of beak defined
           and textured.
           Herrmann 1979, 129, 186, 199

G12   Hammered griffin protome   **Plate 13.2**
           OM B 2749 H. 22.0; W. 8.2; D. 14.5 cm

Griffin head and neck reconstructed from multiple pieces.
Front preserved almost to base. Lower back right of neck
particularly damaged. Heavily corroded. Ears intact. Low
cylindrical finial. Two horns between eyes. Vertical raised
curls running down sides of neck stop in spirals ~2 cm
above base.
Herrmann 1979, 27

G13   Cast head of a griffin protome   **Plate 13.3**
OM B 1900 H. 19.8, W. 12.5; D. 16.4 cm

Large griffin head with pointed ears and rounded finial.
Three small horns between eyes. Eyelids, brows, and orbital
portion of lower eyelid carefully defined; eyeballs missing.
Bifurcated ridge curls back from each eyebrow, terminating
in a volute behind outer corner of eye. Feathers coldworked.
Very similar to G16—perhaps from the same vessel
Herrmann 1979, 45

G14   Large hammered griffin protome
OM B 6114 H. 29.8; W. 17.5 cm

Very large, very corroded hammered griffin protome.
Crushed in profile; right side better preserved than left. Ears
missing. Small finial partly preserved. Brows are defined.
Three small horns discernable between brows. Plumes begin
to right of finial, run diagonally across neck on right side.
Remainder of spiral visible on lower left of right side.
Corrosion obscures most coldwork; feather pattern
preserved in places.
Hermann 1979, 28

G15   Hammered griffin protome
OM Br 11550 H. 12.8; Diam. of base 8.9 cm

Hammered griffin head and neck. Small finial intact. Ear
partially preserved on right side. Brow ridge between eyes.
Bulging eyes with differentiated upper and lower lids. Dot
texture pattern on face; feather pattern on neck. Three
plumes/curls run down back and sides of neck; outer pair
terminate with volutes, central one ends at base. One nail
head preserved at center of back, diam. 0.3 cm.
Hermann 1979, 21

G16   Cast head from a griffin protome
OM B 3404 H. 19.8; W. 12.4; D. 16.4 cm

Griffin head with pointed ears and rounded finial. Three small horns between eyes. Eyelids, brows, and orbital portion of lower eyelid carefully defined. Bifurcated ridge curls back from each eyebrow, terminating in a volute behind outer corner of eye. Feathers coldworked. Insert for neck partially preserved on left and right sides. Very similar to G13 — perhaps from the same vessel.
Herrmann 1979, 45

G17   Small griffin protome
OM B 2356 H. 12.6; W. of face 3.4; W. of neck 4.4 cm

Small griffin head and neck, cast as one and coldworked. Ears broken at tips. Ovular finial intact. Brows defined and textured at very edge. Left eye partially intact. Lips textured. No palate definition. Feathers coldworked from below eye to 1.5 cm above bottom of neck. No plumes or curls. Base of neck flares out to attach to cauldron. 3 nail heads visible below neck, diam. 3 mm.
Herrmann 1979, 42

G18   Cast head of a griffin protome
OM B 1770 H. 14.9; D 10.2; W. 9.3 cm

Cast griffin head with right ear intact. Spherical finial. Three small horns on forehead between eyes. Four ridges defined above eyes; orbital portion of lower eyelid defined. Coldworked feathers throughout. Damage to left rear of head; some portions missing. Very narrow incised edges along beak. Join to neck partly preserved with 3 nails intact, diam. 3 mm. Three nails close together on central back of neck, diam. ~1.5 mm.
Herrmann 1979, 49

G19   Cast head of a griffin protome
OM B 145 + B 4315 H. 27.8 cm

Head of a griffin protome restored from two pieces. Ears and head attachment intact. Conical finial capped by small sphere. Feathers incised all over face. Edges of beak raised.

Likely produced in the same workshop as New York MMA
1972.118.54 and NM 7582.
Herrmann 1979, 49; Mattusch 1990

L1   Hammered lion protome   **Plate 6.2**
OM B 200 H. 24; Diam. of neck ~8.0 cm

Corroded head and neck of a lion protome with the lowest
section of neck missing. Eyes cast as one with head.
Whiskers and nose defined. Upper and lower fangs, upper
front teeth preserved. Mane articulated with net pattern.
Neck divided into thirds by raised ridges.
Herrmann 1979, 35

L2   Hammered lion protome
B 8550 H. 15.5; Diam. of neck ~9.6 cm

Lion protome, hammered, somewhat squashed in profile.
Face mostly preserved, including teeth/fangs. Locks of
mane well defined. Forehead stippled. Mouth/nose
snarling. Upper and lower lips defined.
Herrmann 1979, 34

L3   Cast lion's foot   **Plate 16.2**
Br 12095 H. 3.7; W. 9; D 10 cm

Foot from tripod base. Incised divisions between toes.
Textured at tip of toe above claw, otherwise smooth.
Heilmeyer 2002, 384

L4   Cast lion's foot
OM B 6121 H. 8.2; D heel to toe, without claw 4.6; W. of
scroll 8.7; W. of foot 5.1 cm
Cast tripod foot, small. Triangular tab attachment, no nail
holes or nail heads. Four toes with tendons defined;
separated by incision. Claws protrude. Leg flares
immediately above ankle. Scroll top.
Gauer 1991, 246

S1   Siren attachment   **Plate 7.1**
OM B 6099 H. 8.8; D. 3.5; Wingspan 14.5 cm

Cast siren handle attachment. Blocky hair cap and facial features. Skull cross-hatched; wings smooth. Fingers defined. Bands around both wrists.
DAI/Arachne ID 1195035

S2   Fragmentary siren attachment   **Plate 7.3**
OM B 1138+B 4298 H. 7.7; Wingspan 11 cm

Siren handle attachment reconstructed from two pieces. Hair texture lightly incised, more precisely on front than back. Nose slightly battered. Wings mostly broken away. Sketchy triangular stripe pattern on shoulders, followed by one row of scalloping and then triangular pattern. Cross-hatch pattern begins on front of shoulder and continues onto the back on the upper shoulders, where rendering is lighter and less precise.
Herrmann 1966, 31

S3   Wing from siren attachment
OM B 751 H. 8.2; L. from tip of wing to elbow 15.4; D of arm 1.5 cm
Right wing from tripod attachment, cast and coldworked; right hand preserved, with 6 mm diam. attachment hole directly to right. Lower edge of wing scalloped. Feathers delicately and precisely defined. Underside smooth. Slightly convex (front to back).
Herrmann 1966, 33

S4   Tail feathers from siren attachment
OM Br 3977 H. 4.5, W. 6, D 0.5 cm
Tail feathers from tripod attachment. Nail head preserved 2.15 cm above central feather, Diam. 5 mm. Cast, with feathers and transition to base of tail sketchily coldworked. Underside smooth.
Herrmann 1966, 33

– APPENDIX B –

Catalogue of Selected Figurines and Miniature Tripods

This catalogue is organized by object type. Each entry is identified with a type-specific letter code (T for tripods; F for figurines) followed by a number. The second line provides the museum number and measurements. Some general observations follow. The final line provides a bibliography for each item. If the object is illustrated, plate numbers are listed at right. For a fuller inventory of figurines found at Olympia, see Heilmeyer (1979) and Kunze (2003, 2006). For miniature tripods, see Maass (1979). All measurements are in centimeters unless otherwise stated.

T1   Miniature tripod cauldron   **Plate 28.1**
           OM Br 1719 H. 4.5; minus handles, 3.5; Diam. 2.5 cm

           Miniature cast tripod cauldron with intact handles and legs.
           Both handles and legs are thick and stocky in proportion to
           the tripod's height; handles bent inwards.
           Maass 1978, 214

T2   Miniature tripod cauldron   **Plate 28.3**
           OM Br. 8868 H. 4.0; minus handles, 3.5; W. 4.8 cm

           Miniature hammered tripod cauldron with intact handle
           and legs. Undersized flat ring handles and large, flat legs.
           Maass 1978, 215-16

T3   Miniature tripod cauldron   **Plate 28.3**
           OM M 893 H. 2.2; Diam. 3 cm

           Tiny hammered tripod cauldron with intact handles and
           legs. Handles undersized. Legs and bowl hammered from
           one sheet of bronze.
           Maass 1978, 215

T4   Miniature tripod cauldron   **Plate 28.3**
           OM Br 298 H. 0.8; Diam. 2.2 cm

           Tiny hammered tripod cauldron. No handles. Bowl nearly
           flat. Legs and bowl hammered from one sheet of bronze.
           Maass 1978, 216

| **T5** | Small cauldron | **Plate 23** |

OM B 4828; H. of bowl, 5.1; Diam. of bowl, 13.5; Diam. of handle, 5 cm

Small hammered cauldron with one flat ring handle preserved, secured by 2 rivets. Shallow bowl. Leg attachment rivets intact.
Maass 1978, 222

| **T6** | Miniature tripod cauldron with handle attachments | **Plate 29.1** |

NM 6133 H. 13.3; minus handles ~9.2; Diam. 7 cm

Miniature cast tripod cauldron with legs intact, ring handles, and equid handle attachments. Equids face inwards towards bowl. Struts from upper legs to bowl.
Maass 1978, 221

| **T7** | Miniature tripod cauldron with handle attachments | **Plate 29.2** |

OM Br 8580 H. 10.8; minus handles 7.9; Diam. 7.2 cm

Miniature cast tripod cauldron with legs intact, ring handles, and bull attachments. Bulls face inwards towards bowl. Legs ribbed.
Maass 1978, 220

| **T8** | Miniature tripod cauldron | **Plate 30.2** |

OM B 2177 H. 13.5; minus handles: 10.5; Diam. Of bowl ~8.2; of handle 4.4 cm

Heavily restored miniature cast tripod cauldron with one handle ring preserved, bent inwards. Heavily eroded. Struts from upper legs to bowl. Running spiral on exterior of legs.
Maass 1978, 220

| **T9** | Miniature tripod cauldron | **Plate 30.3** |

OM Br 9001 H. 4.5; minus handles 4.2; Diam. 4.5 cm

Miniature cast tripod cauldron with small ring handles and legs intact. Rim incised with zigzag motif.
Maass 1978, 214 inv 346

| **T10** | Miniature tripod cauldron | **Plate 30.4** |

OM Br 9790 H. 7.2; minus handles, 6.2; Diam. 6.8 cm

Miniature cast tripod cauldron with small ring handles and legs intact. Rim incised with zigzag motif.
Maass 1978, 214

T11   Miniature tripod cauldron with long leg   **Plate 31.1**
OM BR 7542a H. ~13.5; Diam. of handle, 2.4 cm

Miniature hammered tripod with one intact handle and leg. Small bowl. Leg much exaggerated in length.
Maass 1978, 219

T12   Miniature tripod cauldron   **Plate 31.2**
OM B 4696 H. 10.3; minus handles, 8.8; Diam. of bowl, 6.5 cm

Miniature cast tripod cauldron with ring handles. Handles applied after casting. Legs slightly bent, somewhat long in relation to the size of the bowl. Corroded throughout.
Mass 1978, 214

T13   Miniature tripod cauldron   **Plate 31.3**
OM Br 4853 H. 4.5; minus handles, 4.0; Diam. ~7 cm

Miniature hammered tripod cauldron with ring handles and wide, flat legs. Bowl shallow, handles bent outwards.
Maass 1978, 215

T14   Miniature tripod cauldron   **Plate 31.4**
OM K 913 H. 7.8; minus handles, 5.5 cm.

Short legged, cast miniature tripod cauldron with large ring handles. Bowl large and shallow. Small struts on legs.
Maass 1978, 213

F1   Miscast bovid   **Plate 20.1**
OM Br 2117 H. 4.1; L. 6.1 cm

Miscast figurine, likely bull. Body long and cylindrical. Legs bent and spindly; left rear leg bent parallel to torso.
Heilmeyer 1979, 200

F2   Miscast bovid   **Plate 20.1**
OM Br 3188 H. 3.9; L. 8.4 cm

Miscast bovid, possible bull. Muzzle long and wide, nearly the same circumference as torso. Legs truncated. Tail thick and curved.
Heilmeyer 1979, 200

F3   Miscast quadruped   **Plate 20.1**
OM Br 12392 H. ~2.0; L. 5.9 cm

Miscast animal figurine. Possibly a bovid. Small, pointed ears or horns. Muzzle and legs truncated.
Heilmeyer 1979, 200

F4   Miscast quadruped   **Plate 20.1**
Unnumbered. L. ~5 cm

Miscast animal figurine. Head barely discernible. Back legs somewhat articulated, but truncated. Small knob on rear end may represent tail.
Heilmeyer 1979, 200

F5   Miscast horse   **Plate 20.2**
OM Br 7445 H. 3.2; L. 5.3 cm

Miscast horse figurine with lump on back from casting mold. Forepart better formed than rear.
Heilmeyer 1979, 201

F6   Miscast bull   **Plate 20.3**
OM Br 10227 H. 3.7; L. 5.3 cm

Miscast bull. Head, legs, and tail well distinguished from body. Short cylindrical lump on back from casting mold.
Heilmeyer 1979, 200

F7   Miscast quadruped   **Plate 20.4**
Unnumbered. H. including lump on back, ~4.2; L. 4.1 cm

Miscast four legged animal figurine. Head and tail roughly distinguished. Short lumps on bottom of torso: legs. Large, mushroom shaped residue on back from casting mold.
Heilmeyer 1979, 200

F8   Horse figurine   **Plate 22.1**

OM Br 2013 H. 4.0; L. 5.5 cm

Cast horse figurine, worn. Head barely distinct from neck. Slightly conical muzzle. No ears or eyes. Legs stocky. Tail short and pointed, separated slightly from back legs. Long torso.
Heilmeyer 1979, 203

F9   Horse figurine   **Plate 22.2**
Unnumbered. H. 4.0; L. 6.25 cm
Somewhat eroded cast horse figurine. Neck thick and stocky, wider than torso. Conical muzzle. Ears slightly pointed out from head. Thick, short legs. Thick, conical tail.
Heilmeyer 1979, 204

F10   Quadruped figurine   **Plate 22.3**
OM Br 6397 H. 3.5; L. 5.5 cm

Cast quadruped figurine, identified in publication as horse, but appears somewhat ovine. Head is rounded; ears round and bent forwards. Stocky legs and tail.
Heilmeyer 1979, 203

F11   Horse figurine   **Plate 22.4**
Unnumbered H. 3.9; L. 5.7 cm

Well formed, cast horse figurine. Ears distinct. Truncated conical muzzle and head defined. No eyes. Legs stocky but well distinguished from torso. Tail sticks out from torso at ~35º angle.
Heilmeyer 1979, 203

F12   Horse (?) figurine   **Plate 22.5**
Unnumbered. H. 2.6; L. 4 cm

Cast quadruped figurine, identified in publication as horse, but appears somewhat ovine. Rounded head with eyes applied as dots on either side. Small ears applied on either side of head. Left and right legs separated from one another near the very bottom (<0.5 cm) on both front and rear. Thick, stocky tail.
Heilmeyer 1979, 203

F13   Horse figurine   **Plate 22.5**

Br 7925 H. 2.7, L. 3.8 cm

Cast horse figurine with slightly pointed nose. Crown of
head is rounded. Ears and eyes applied. Legs stocky,
separated at front and back ~0.8 cm from bottom. Tail
broken away.
Heilmeyer 1979, 203

F14   Horse figurine on base   **Plate 27.1**
             OM B 1301 Heilmeyer 738 H. 11.0; L. 9.0; Base 8.4x4.3 cm

             Cast horse figurine on fretwork base. Ears project forwards.
             Eyes bulge, cast as one with body. Knees and points of
             hocks articulated. Coldworked lines below knees.
             Heilmeyer 1979, 255

F15   Horse figurine on base   **Plate 27.2**
             OM B 11700 H. 10.5; L. 10.5; Base 6.4x5.2 cm

             Cast horse figurine on fretwork base. Nose conical, eyes
             circular, ears point directly up. Fetlocks and ergots defined.
             No coldworked detailing.
             Kyrieleis 2006, 121

F16   Horse figurine   **Plate 27.3**
             OM Br 10028 H. 4.2; L. 6.9 cm

             Small cast horse figurine with coldworked zig zag motif
             throughout. Ears and mane defined. No eyes. Genitalia
             defined. Front legs slightly bent backwards, back legs
             forwards.
             Heilmeyer 1979, 206

F17   Horse figurine on base   **Plate 25**
             Berlin 31317 H. 12.0; Base: 12 x 3.8 cm

             Cast horse figurine on fretwork base. Well preserved and
             finely modeled. Mane curls up above head. Genitalia
             defined. Knees and points of hocks articulated in triangles.
             Coldworked detailing around neck and ankles.
             Heilmeyer 2007

F18   Fragmentary horse figurine   **Plate 26**
             OM B 11578 H. 7.9 cm

Finely crafted, very detailed cast horse figurine. Right ear projects slightly forwards. Left ear and tail missing. Torso thin and cylindrical, haunches bulge. Front legs broken off at knees; back legs broken off between knees and ankles. Coldworked throughout:
Kyrieleis 2003, 117-119

F19   Horse figurine
OM B 1325 H. 5.7; L. 5.85 cm

Simple cast horse figurine. Front profile along chest is bumpy from casting error. Scratches throughout. Front left leg broken below knee. Points of hocks articulated in back. Minimal definition of features: mane, face, and knees roughly indicated.
Heilmeyer 1979, 222

F20   Horse figurine
OM Br. 10748 H. 3.5; L. 5.6 cm

Cast horse figurine. Ears and head roughly modeled. Very long torso. Sway back. Legs stocky. Tail curved.
Heilmeyer 1979, 225

F21   Horse figurine
OM B 1320 H. 5.2; L 6.15 cm

Cast horse figurine. Battered and scratched throughout. Small ears project forwards. Slight sway back. Front legs angle forwards. Points of hocks articulated on back legs. Genitals defined. Legs bent. Tail intact.
Heilmeyer 1979, 222

F22   Quadruped figurine
OM B 1359 H. 3.9; L. 6.85 cm

Roughly modeled cast quadruped: a bull (Heilmeyer)? Ears or horns small, project forwards. Muzzle cylindrical and flat at the end. Neck thick. Legs stocky. Tail large and downward pointing.
Heilmeyer 1979, 228

F23   Bull figurine

OM B 2233 H. 3.9; L. 4.9 cm

Cast bull figurine with horns. Thick neck. Incised horizontal zig zag motif throughout neck. Back legs longer than front and curved inwards. Genitalia defined. Small tail.
Heilmeyer 1979, 207

F24   Bull figurine
OM Br. 8097 H. 4; L. 6.1 cm

Cast bull figurine with horns. Muzzle pointed. Thick neck. Torso cylindrical. Genitalia defined. Short, stocky legs and tail.
Heilmeyer 1979, 216

F25   Miscast quadruped figurine, possibly a cow
OM Br. 11163 L. 3.9 cm

Misshapen cast figurine with four defined legs. Neck thick. Back extremely uneven and bumpy from overfilled mold during casting. Head has approximately four protrusions of equal size: muzzle and horns? Tail broken off.
Heilmeyer 1979, 200

Selected Catalogue of Shield Bands and Fragments

This catalogue includes objects referenced in the text of this study, along with additional entries selected to provide a representative overview of the material. Each entry is identified with a type-specific letter code followed by a number. The second line provides the museum number and measurements. General observations follow. Scenes are numbered from top to bottom. The final line provides a bibliography for each item. If the object is illustrated, plate numbers are listed to the right. For a list of scenes that appear on the shield bands, see Appendix D. For a comprehensive catalogue of shield bands and fragments excavated, see Kunze (1950) and Bol (1989). All measurements are in centimeters unless otherwise stated.

Bn1   Two shield band fragments   **Plate 32.1**
OM B 1647a-b H. of a, 17.2; W. 6.7; H. of b, 5.6; W. 2.9 cm

Two shield band fragments with guilloche vertical borders
and dentil horizontal borders. B 1647a has three scenes
partially preserved. B 1647b has the left half of one scene
preserved.
B 1647a 1: Lower half of two male figures lean in towards
each other, perhaps in battle—no arms visible. 2: Ajax and
Achilles play dice. 3: Ransom of Hektor's body
B 1647b: unidentified; arm and leg of charging figure.
Kunze 1950, 33; Pl. 59

Bn2   Heavily eroded shield band with preserved *porpax*   **Plate 34.1**
OM B 1888 H. 41.8; W. of band, 6.8; of *porpax*, 10.4 cm

Shield band with *porpax* attached. Multiple frames partially
preserved. Vertical dot border on exterior, vertical guilloche
border interior, dentil horizontal border.
1: Menelaos recovers Helen. 2: Herakles attacks Geras. 3:
Running Gorgon. 4: Zeus fights Typhon. 5: Herakles fights
the Nemean lion
Kunze 1950, 20-1, Pl. 40

Bn3   Shield band, complete   **Plate 34.2**
OM B 4074 H. 73.3; W. of band, 7.4; of *porpax*, ~8.0 cm

Complete shield band, including *porpax*. Corroded, and fragments missing throughout. Palmettes partially preserved above and below. Guilloche vertical border. Horizontal borders alternate guilloche and dentils with dot lines above and below.
Above *porpax* 1. Herakles fights the Nemean lion. 2. Two lions, rampant regardant. 3. Gorgon
Below *porpax* 1. Rider. 2. Herakles fights the Nemean lion. 3. Two lions, rampant regardant. 4. Gorgon
Bol 1989, 142

Bn4   Shield band fragment   **Plate 35**
OM B 1687 H. 33.4; W. 7.3 cm

Lower portion of shield band with five scenes and partial palmette preserved. Guilloche vertical border. Running spiral horizontal border. Scenes 1, 4, and 5 heavily corroded.
1: Ajax carries Achilles' body. 2: Two lions, rampant regardant. 3: Gorgon pursues Pegasus. 4: Birth of Athena, Hera and Hephaistos look on. 5: Rider.
Kunze 1950, 18, Pl. 37

Bn5   Shield band fragment   **Plate 37**
OM B4809 H. 28 cm, W. 6.7 cm

Series of five scenes. Largely effaced; shiny from conservation. Dentil border vertical and horizontal.
1: Theseus fights the Minotaur. 2: Ajax seizes Kassandra. 3: Neoptolemos murders Priam. 4: Gorgoneion. 5: Herakles attacks Geras.
Bol 1989, 143; Pl. 52

Bn6   Signed shield band fragment   **Plate 38**
Malibu, Getty Villa 84.AC.11. H. 12.0; W. 8.0 cm

Fragment with inscriptions and two partial scenes (corner additionally preserved above, unidentifiable). Guilloche vertical border. Running spiral horizontal border.
1: Menelaos recovers Helen, with Athena. Inscription: ᾽ΑΘΑΝΑΙΙΑ (Athena).
2: Nessos abducts Deianeira. Inscriptions: ΝΗΕΣΟΣ (Nessos), ΔΑΙΑΝ[ΑΙΡΑ] (Deianeira), ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΑΜΟΣ

ΕΠΟΙϜΕΣΕ ΗΑΡΓ̣Ε̣ΙΟΣ (retrograde: "Aristodamos of Argos made [me].")
Bol 1989, 52, 70, 76, 89, 100

Bn7   Shield band fragment   **Plate 42.3**
OM B 1554 H. 16.3; W. 6.9 cm

Fragment with partial palmette and two scenes. Guilloche vertical and horizontal borders.
1: Two spinxes, opposed. 2: Gorgon running.
Kunze 1950, 25; Pl. 16

Bn8   Three shield band fragments   **Plate 43.1**
OM B 987a-c H. of a, 7.3 cm; W. 5.3; H. of b, 8.0; W. 5.2; H. of c, 12.0; W. 5.3 cm

Three fragments, each with one scene. Dentil horizontal borders partially visible on all; vertical dot border visible on (c). Palmette preserved on (c).
B 987a: Two lions, rampant regardant.
B 987b: Achilles murders Troilos; partial scene preserved below, indiscernible.
B 987c 1: Zeus fights Typhon (lower half). 2: Bridal abduction.
Kunze 1950, 19; Pl. 41

Bn9   Shield band, well preserved   **Plate 43.2**
OM B 988 H. 80.5; W. of band, 7.0 cm; of *porpax,* 11.0 cm

Shield band with *porpax* intact. Palmettes preserved above and below, but battered. Upper half has four scenes. Lower half has five and a half: the lowest scene was cut off by the beginning of the palmette during manufacture.
Above *porpax* 1: Zeus fights Typhon. 2: Ajax seizes Kassandra. 3: Herakles attacks Geras. 4: Two lions, rampant regardant.
Below *porpax* 1: Two sphinxes, opposed. 2: Achilles murders Troilos. 3: Orestes kills Aigisthos. 4: Zeus fights Typhon. 5: Ajax seizes Kassandra. 6: Herakles attacks Geras (upper half)
Kunze 1950, 7; Pl. 75

Bn10 Two shield band fragments, joined   **Plate 43.3**
OM B 975 H. 25.5; W. 7.6 cm

Two fragments joined together. Top and bottom edges have
irregular breaks.
1: Herakles carries Kekropes on shoulder pole. 2: Achilles
kills Penthesileia. 3: Ajax seizes Kassandra. 4: Perseus kills
Medusa
Kunze 1950, 29-30; Pl. 56, 57

Bn11   Shield Band Fragment   **Plate 43.4; 45.1**
OM B 1654 H. 22.0; W. of band, 8.2; of *porpax*, 14.5 cm

Intact shield band with palmettes and *porpax* preserved.
Guilloche vertical border. Dentil horizontal border.
Above *porpax* 1: Priam ransoms Hektor's body from
Achilles. 2: Herakles fights the Nemean lion. 3: Two
sphinxes, opposed.
Below *porpax* 1: Two lions, rampant regardant. 2: Ajax seizes
Kassandra. 3: Ajax's suicide. 4: Klytemnestra and Aigisthos
murder Agamemnon. 5: Theseus kills the Minotaur
Kunze 1950, 10-11, Pl. 73

Bn12   Shield band fragment   **Plate 44**
OM B 1912 H. 25.0; W. 5.3 cm
Heavily corroded band. Thin vertical dot border on sides.
Dentil horizontal borders.
1: Horse tamer. 2: Achilles murders Troilos. 3: Zeus fights
Typhon, heavily corroded. 4: Bridal abduction. 5:
indiscernible
Kunze 1950, 19, Pl. 41

Bn13   Shield band fragment   **Plate 45.2**
OM B 1883 H. 16.3; W. 6.9 cm
Three partially preserved scenes. Guilloche vertical border
with interior dot border; dentil horizontal border.
1: Lower portion preserved showing legs on right facing left.
2: Perseus kills Medusa. 3: Menelaos recovers Helen
Kunze 1950, 16, Table 35

Bn14   Shield band fragments
OM B 1973 a-c; W. of a, 7.7 cm. Conservation prevents
precise measurements of others.

Three heavily corroded fragments, of which (b) and (c) are quite small and show only the upper left of scenes.
1973a 1: Zeus fights Typhon. 2: Male legs (at left) partly preserved, facing right. Figure may hold square object at upper left. Possible head at center left, facing right.
1973b: Man without helmet holds arm behind head
1973c: Helmeted man brandishes sword behind head
Kunze 1950 40, 67

Bn15 Shield band fragments
OM B 1685 a-d H of a: ~20cm, W. 7.9cm; H of b: 3cm, W. 7.8 cm; H of c: 40.9 cm W of *porpax:* 14.6 cm, H of d: 14.8 cm W. ~7 cm

Four fragments of a shield band, one (c) with *porpax* intact. Palmettes intact on top and bottom. Guilloche vertical and horizontal border. Dentil horizontal border above lower palmette.
B 1685a: Heavily corroded, two scenes and upper palmette preserved. 1: Running Gorgon. 2: Rider.
B 1685b**:** Very fragmentary partial scene: rider?
B 1685c 1: Chimera 2: Rider. 3: Bird partially preserved in upper right corner
B 1685d: Fragmented scene with two lions, rampant regardant? Palmette largely intact.
Kunze 1950, 13-14; Pl. 24-25

Bn16 Shield band fragment
OM B 1650 a-b H. of a, 7.5; W. ~5.5; H. of b, 17.6; W. 6.9 cm

Two shield band fragments. B 1650a has palmette with broken edges on left and right. B 1650b has four scenes partially preserved. Lowest scene (4) was attached in restoration and may be unrelated. Guilloche vertical frame on all but Scene 4, which has dentil border on all sides. All scenes have dentil horizontal borders.
1: Running Gorgon, legs only visible. 2: Herakles fights the Nemean lion. Small creature barely discernable below lion. 3: Two sphinxes, opposed. 4: Upper third partially preserved, head (female?) discernable at center-left.
Kunze 1950, 29, Table 52

Bn17 Shield band fragment
OM B 1653 H. 25.6 W. 7.4 cm

Attachment for a *porpax*. One scene above, heavily effaced. Shows at least two frontal facing horses on right side of frame: tethrippon chariot?
Kunze 1950, 185 n1

Bn18   Shield band fragment
OM B 4477 H. 20.4 cm W. 6.9 cm

Shield band fragment with three preserved scenes. Guilloche vertical border with dot line interior. Dentil horizontal borders.
1: Zeus fights Typhon. 2: Chimera. 3: Top quarter alone preserved; unidentified.
Bol 1989, 153; Pl. 66

Bn 19   Shield band fragment
OM B4473 H. 7.9; W. 6cm

Shield band fragment with two scenes partially preserved. Guilloche vertical borders. Dentil horizontal borders.
1: Feet of rampant felines. 2: Achilles murders Troilos
Bol 1989, 156; Pl. 74

Bn20   Shield band fragments
OM B 5038 a-d H. of a, ~7.0; H. of b, 5.0; W. 6.4; H. of c, 7.8; W. 6.6; H. of d, ~8.3; W. 6.6 cm

Shield band fragments, heavily damaged. B 5038a has palmette. Other fragments have partially discernable scenes. Heavily corroded. Guilloche vertical borders. Dentil horizontal borders.
B 5038b: Lower half of rider?
B 5038c 1: Feline (lion or chimera). Partial tail and feet visible. 2: Running Gorgon
B 5038d 1: Perseus kills Medusa. 2: Achilles kills Penthesileia. 3: Two lions, rampant regardant.
Bol 1989, 151-2; Pl. 60

Bn21   Shield band fragment
OM B 8380 H. 12.8; W. 6.9 cm

Heavily corroded with major sections along left and right missing. Three semi preserved images. Guilloche vertical borders. Dentil horizontal borders.

1: Achilles kills Penthesileia. 2: Soldier holding sword (left) and another man (right) stand facing each other. Break across right obscures upper half of figure. Bird stands between the two. 3: Two felines, rampant. Scene is off center and lower on the right than the left—manufacturing error.
Bol 1989, 152; Pl. 63

Bn22   Shield band with *porpax*
OM B 4883 H. ~33.5; W. 6.2 cm

Shield band with *porpax* preserved. One scene above, two below. Guilloche vertical border with interior dot line. Dentil horizontal border. Scalloping between horizontal bands and *porpax*.
Above *porpax*: Two felines, rampant.
Below *porpax* 1: Menelaos recovers Helen. 2: Herakles attacks Geras
Bol 1989, 143; Pl. 52

Bn23   Shield band fragment
OM B 847 H, 30.8; W. 7.6 cm

Lower part of shield band with four scenes partially or fully preserved. Somewhat corroded. Large pieces missing in mid-low left. Guilloche vertical border. Dentil border below Scene 1; running spiral below Scenes 2 and 3; dot line borders palmette.
1: Frontal facing siren with wings extended. 2: Birth of Athena. 3: Neoptolemos kills Astyanax. 4: Apollo and Artemis (Kunze); now crushed and corroded.
Kunze 1960, 15-16; Pl. 27.

— TABLE 1 —

Scenes identified at least once on a shield band or shield band fragment.

Myth	

Trojan cycle
    Peleus wrestles Thetis
    Thetis supplicates Hephaistos
    Achilles murders Troilos
    Ajax and Achilles play dice
    Priam ransoms Hektor's body from
    Achilles
    Achilles kills Penthesileia
    Ajax carries Achilles' corpse
    Suicide of Ajax
    Ajax seizes Kassandra
    Menelaos recovers Helen
    Neoptolemos kills Priam
    Neoptolemos kills Astyanax
    Klytemnestra and Aigisthos murder
    Agamemnon
 	
Theseus
    fights the Minotaur
    abducts Helen with Perithous(?)
 	
Miscellaneous
    Satyr pursues a nymph
    Gorgon pursues Pegasus
    Gorgon with Pegasus and Chryasor
	Herakles
	    fights the Nemean lion
	    with Atlas
	    with Nereus
	    fights the Hydra
	    travels to the Underworld
	    fights Geryon
	    attacks Geras
	    carries the Kerkopes
	    struggles with Apollo over the tripod
	
	Gods, Goddesses, Titans
	    Apollo with lyre; Artemis with bow
	    Birth of Athena, Hera and Hephaistos
	    look on
	    Zeus fights Typhon
	    Gigantomachy
	    Birds attack Prometheus
	    Leto watches Apollo attack Tityos
	    Europa and Bull
	    Zeus and Hera (Kunze)?
	    Muse with Nymph (Bol)?

Monsters and Beasts	
Chimera Two lions, rampant regardant Two sphinxes, opposed Two panthers, rampant regardant	Two winged horses, opposed Running Gorgon Gorgoneion Frontal siren Running demon

Unidentified-Genre	
Arming scene: boy hands helmet and shield to arming man Man on horseback Two warriors fight Man and woman: farewell/bridal clasp?	Man with two horses Man on horse, standing man with shield and helmet, second horse between them Warrior bids farewell to bearded man Two men wrestle

— TABLE 2 —

The following tables list scenes vertically according to how they appear on the shield bands. Only bands which have at least four preserved scenes are included. The bands are ordered to highlight patterns of recurring scenes between them. Zig zagged lines represent breaks. Olympia museum numbers are listed at the top of each entry.

B 1654	B 5160	B 981	B 1897
Palmette		Palmette	
Priam ransoms Hektor's body from Achilles		Wrestlers	
Herakles fights the Nemean lion		Farwell/bridal clasp	
Two sphinxes, opposed		Two lions, rampant regardant	
<PORPAX>		<PORPAX>	<PORPAX?>
Two lions, rampant regardant	Two lions, rampant regardant	Two panthers, rampant regardant	Ajax carries Achilles' corpse
Ajax seizes Kassandra	Ajax seizes Kassandra	Running Gorgon	Two lions, rampant regardant
Suicide of Ajax	Suicide of Ajax (fragments)	Man on horseback	Gorgon pursues Pegasus
Klytemnestra and Aigisthos murder Agamemnon	Palmette (fragments: unknown whether upper or lower)	Two sphinxes, opposed	Herakles fights the Nemean lion
Theseus fights the Minotaur		Wrestlers	Birth of Athena, Hera and Hephaistos look on
Palmette		Man and woman: farwell/bridal clasp	Palmette

B 1801	B 1802	B 988	B 1642	B 4962
Palmette				
Klytemnestra and Aigisthos murder Agamemnon		Palmette	Palmette	
Zeus fights Typhon		Zeus fights Typhon	Zeus fights Typhon	
Ajax seizes Kassandra		Ajax seizes Kassandra	Ajax seizes Kassandra	
Herakles attacks Geras		Herakles attacks Geras	Herakles attacks Geras	
Two lions, rampant regardant		Two lions, rampant regardant	Two lions, rampant regardant	
<PORPAX>	<PORPAX?>	<PORPAX>	<PORPAX?>	<PORPAX>
Two sphinxes, opposed	Two sphinxes, opposed	Two sphinxes, opposed		Two sphinxes, opposed
Achilles murders Troilos	Achilles murders Troilos	Achilles murders Troilos		Achilles murders Troilos
Klytemnestra and Aigisthos murder Agamemnon	Klytemnestra and Aigisthos murder Agamemnon	Klytemnestra and Aigisthos murder Agamemnon		Klytemnestra and Aigisthos murder Agamemnon
Zeus fights Typhon	Zeus fights Typhon (part)	Zeus fights Typhon		Zeus fights Typhon
Ajax seizes Kassandra		Ajax seizes Kassandra		Ajax seizes Kassandra
Herakles attacks Geras		Herakles attacks Geras (part)		Gigantomachy
Two lions, rampant regardant		Palmette		Palmette
Palmette				

B 1010	B 112	B 519 and B 624	B 977
Palmette?			
Theseus fights the Minotaur	Palmette		Two warriors fight
Achilles kills Penthesileia	Herakles fights the Nemean lion		Two winged horses, opposed
Two sphinxes, opposed	Theseus fights the Minotaur		Zeus fights Typhon
Two lions, rampant regardant	Two sphinxes, opposed		Running gorgon
<PORPAX>	<PORPAX>		<PORPAX?>
Apollo and Herakles struggle over the tripod	Two lions, rampant regardant	Two warriors fight	
Two lions, rampant regardant	Menelaos recovers Helen	Two winged horses, opposed	
Herakles fights the Nemean lion	Achilles kills Penthesileia	Zeus fights Typhon	
Theseus fights the Minotaur	Herakles fights the Nemean lion (part)	Running gorgon	
Achilles kills Penthesileia	Palmette	Palmette	
Palmette			

B 1911	B 1687	B 982
		Achilles murders Troilos
Ajax carries Achilles' body		Bearded man and youth
Two lions, rampant regardant		Arming scene
<PORPAX>	<PORPAX?>	<PORPAX?>
Gorgon pursues Pegasus	Ajax carries Achilles' body	Bearded man and youth
Herakles fights the Nemean lion	Two lions, rampant regardant	Arming scene
Birth of Athena, Hera and Hephaistos look on	Gorgon pursues Pegasus	Menelaos recovers Helen
Man on horseback	Herakles fights the Nemean lion	Palmette
	Birth of Athena, Hera and Hephaistos look on	
	Rider	
	Palmette	

B 847	B 1890	B 417
	Palmette	Man on horseback
	Frontal siren	Running Gorgon
	Birth of Athena, Hera and Hephaistos look on	Palmette
	Achilles murders Troilos or Neoptolemos murders Astyanax	Rosette
PORPAX?	\<PORPAX\>	
Frontal siren	Frontal siren	
Birth of Athena, Hera and Hephaistos look on	Birth of Athena, Hera and Hephaistos look on	
Achilles murders Troilos or Neoptolemos murders Astyanax	Achilles murders Troilos or Neoptolemos murders Astyanax	
Apollo with lyre; Artemis with bow	Apollo with lyre; Artemis with bow	
Palmette	Palmette	

B 1975	B 975	B 1804
Palmette		
Herakles fights Geryon		
Zeus fights Typhon		
Neoptolemos murders Priam		
<PORPAX>		
Herakles fights Geryon	Herakles carries Cecropes on shoulder pole	Running Gorgon
Zeus fights Typhon	Achilles kills Penthesileia	Man on horseback
Neoptolemos murders Priam	Ajax seizes Kassandra	Chimera
Birth of Athena, Hera and Hephaistos look on	Perseus kills Medusa	Two sphinxes, opposed
Palmette		Palmette

B 4074	B 1643	B 968
Palmette	Palmette	
Herakles fights the Nemean Lion	Zeus fights Typhon	
Two lions, rampant regardant	Theseus fights the Minotaur	
Running Gorgon	Running Gorgon	
<PORPAX>	<PORPAX>	
Rider	Man on horseback	Two sphinxes, opposed
Herakles fights the Nemean Lion	Two lions, rampant regardant	Suicide of Ajax
Two lions, rampant regardant	Zeus fights Typhon	Achilles and Ajax play dice
Running Gorgon	Theseus fights the Minotaur	Priam ransoms Hector's body from Achilles
Palmette	Palmette	

B 237	B 1888	B 4809
	Palmette	
	Menelaos recovers Helen	Theseus fights the Minotaur
	Herakles attacks Geras	Ajax seizes Kassandra
	Running Gorgon	Neoptolemos murders Priam
	Zeus fights Typhon	Gorgoneion
	Herakles fights the Nemean lion	Herakles attacks Geras
<PORPAX??>	<PORPAX>	<PORPAX?>
Birth of Athena, Hera and Hephaistos look on		
Achilles kills Penthesileia		
Unidentified		
Ajax siezes Kassandra		
Herakles fights Geryon		
Palmette		

B 987	B 1912	B 1685
		Palmette
		Running Gorgon
		Chimera
		Man on horseback
<PORPAX?>	<PORPAX? >	<PORPAX>
Horse tamer	Horse tamer	Chimera
Achilles murders Troilos	Achilles murders Troilos	Man on horseback
Zeus fights Typhon	Zeus fights Typhon	[damaged: bird in upper right]
Bridal abduction	Bridal abduction	Two lions, rampant regardant
Palmette	[Unidentified — Achilles murders Troilos, repeated?]	Palmette

B1921	B 8401
Palmette	
Two lions, rampant regardant	
Gorgon with Pegasus and Chryasor	
Herakles fights the Nemean lion	
tethrippon chariot	tethrippon chariot
Man on horseback	Man on horseback
<PORPAX>	<PORPAX>
Ajax carries Achilles' corpse	Ajax carries Achilles' corpse
Two lions, rampant regardant	Two lions, rampant regardant
Gorgon with Pegasus and Chryasor	Gorgon with Pegasus and Chryasor
Herakles fights the Nemean lion	Herakles fights the Nemean lion
tethrippon chariot	
Man on horseback	
Palmette	

155

B 519 and B 624	B 977	B 4081
		Palmette
		Zeus fights Typhon
		Running demon
		Herakles fights the Nemean lion
		Two lions, rampant regardant
	\<PORPAX?\>	\<PORPAX?\>
Two warriors fight	Two warriors fight	
Two winged horses, opposed	Two winged horses, opposed	
Zeus fights Typhon	Zeus fights Typhon	
Running gorgon	Palmette	
Palmette		

B 1915	B 1651`	B 1636
	Palmette	Palmette
	Apollo and Herakles wrestle over the tripod (part)	Two lions, rampant regardant
	Gigantomachy	Suicide of Ajax
	Two warriors fight	Zeus fights Typhon
	Man on horse, standing man with shield and helmet, second horse between them	Gorgoneion
<PORPAX?>	<PORPAX?>	PORPAX
Man on horse, standing man with shield and helmet, second horse between them		
[damaged]		
Apollo and Herakles wrestle over the tripod		
Gigantomachy		
Two warriors fight		
Palmette		

– TABLE 3 –

The following chart shows the frequency of scenes as they are believed to have appeared on known shield band types, as defined by Bol (1989) and Kunze (1950). It includes scenes that have been identified at least three times.

Scene	Count
Two lions, rampant regardant	33
Herakles fights the Nemean lion	27
Running Gorgon	24
Two sphinxes, opposed	17
Achilles murders Troilos	17
Man on horseback	17
Herakles attacks Geras	11
Ajax seizes Kassandra	10
Birth of Athena	10
Zeus fights Typhon	9
Theseus fights the Minotaur	9
Menelaos recovers Helen	8
Achilles kills Penthesileia	7
Suicide of Ajax	7
Ajax carries Achilles' corpse	7
Bridal abduction	6
Priam ransoms Hektor's body	6
Rider, horse, and soldier	6
Klyt. And Aig. murder Ag.	5
Bearded man and youth	5
Arming scene	5
Achilles and Ajax play dice	4
Gorgon pursues Pegasus	4
Neop. murders Asty.	3
Apollo and Herakles--tripod	3
Neop. murders Priam	3
Frontal siren	3
Apollo and Artemis	3

PLATE 1

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2

1. Map of the sanctuary at Olympia.
2. Drawing showing the extent of the black layer.

PLATE 2
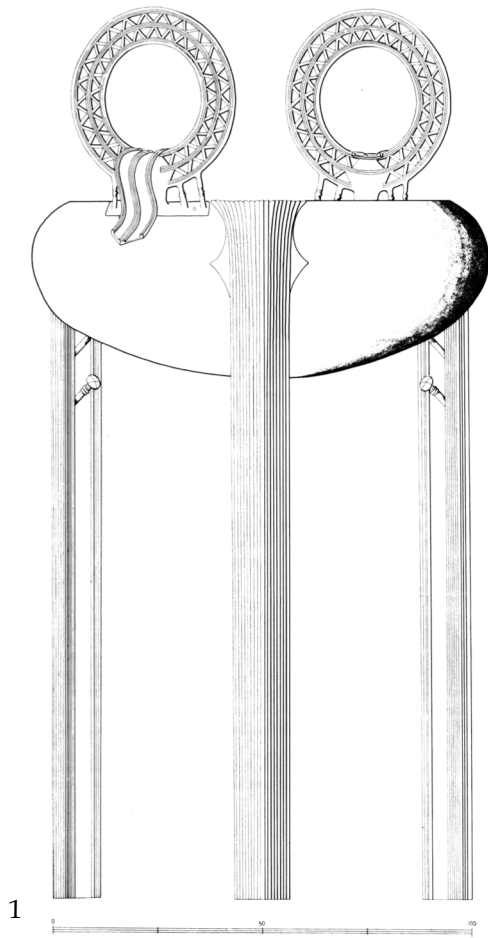
1. Geometric period tripod.
2. Artistic reconstruction of a protome cauldron.

PLATE 3

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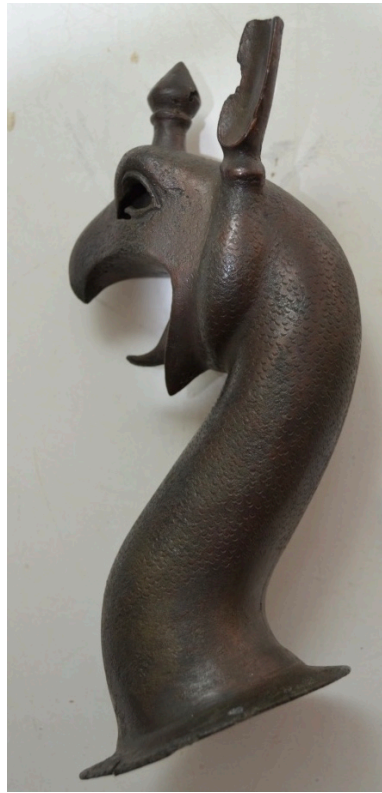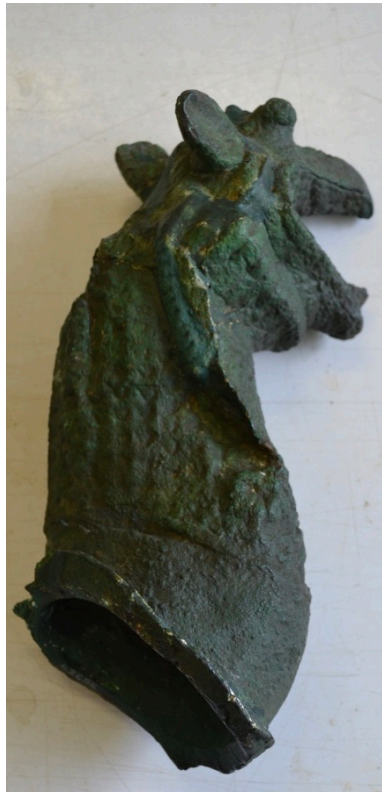
1. Hammered griffin protome. H. 26 cm G1; OM B 2656.
2. Cast griffin protome. H. 21cm G2; OM B 4278.
3. Combined techniquegriffin protome H 16.5 cm G3; OM B 4311.

PLATE 4

1

2

1. Coldworked griffin protome. H: 36 cm G4; OM Br. 2250; NM 6160.
2. Coldworked griffin protome. H: 12.8 cm G5; OM B 1771.

PLATE 5

1. Detail on cast griffin neck. Diam. of base: 8.2 cm G6; OM B 6103.
2. Detail on cast griffin eye. H: 16.6 cm G7; OM Br 2575

PLATE 6
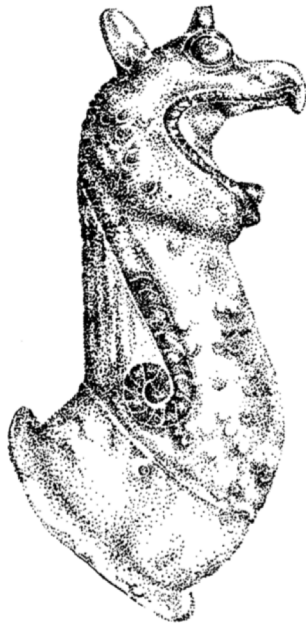
1

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3

1. Drawings comparing hammered protome to cast.
2. Hammered lion protome. H: 24 cm. L1; OM B 200.
3. Hammered griffin protome. H: 25.5 cm. G8; OM B 2655.

PLATE 7

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1. Siren handle attachment. Wingspan: 14.5 cm. S1; OM B 6099.
2. Siren handle attachment in place on cauldron. C1; OM B 4224.
3. Siren handle attachment. S2; OM B 1138+OM B 4298.

PLATE 8
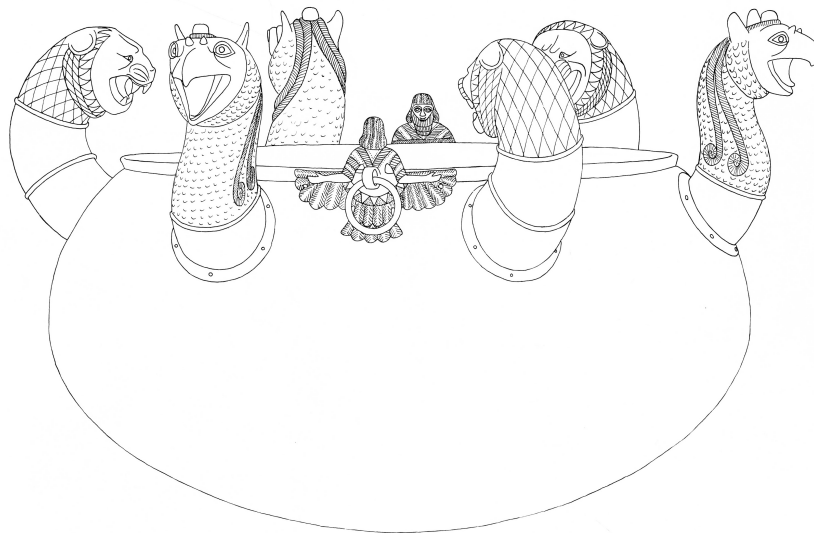
Photo and drawing of cauldron with intact alternating lion and griffin attachments.
H: 48 cm C1; OM B 4224.

PLATE 9

Protome cauldron with alternating lion and griffin attachments in the Olympia
Archaeological Museum. H: 48 cm C1; OM B 4224

PLATE 10

1

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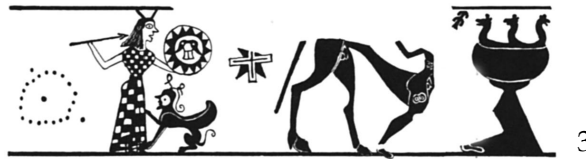
3

1. The daughters of Pelias. British Museum 1843,1103.59
2. Protocorinthian aryballos. Berlin Antikensammlung 3409. Moore and Gisler, 2009
3. Detail of a krateriskos from Samos. Unnumbered. Moore and Gisler, 2009

PLATE 11

1. Griffin from the wall of the Knossos throne room.
2. Griffin head with pointed ears and head attachment. H: 14.2 cm G9; OM B 5650
3. Griffin neck with spiral detail. Diam. of base: 8.2 cm G6; OM B 6103

PLATE 12

1   2

1. Open beaked griffin with ears and tongue intact. H. 22 cm. G10; OM B 6878
2. Front view of griffin head. H. 15.1 cm. G11; OM B 4890

PLATE 13

1. European bearded vulture.
2. Early griffin protome. H. 22 cm. G12; OM B 2749.
3. Eyebrow detail of griffin. G13; OM B 1900.

PLATE 14

Gorgon depicted on the western pediment of the temple of Artemis of Corfu. Corfu Archaeological Museum.

PLATE 15

Gorgons pursuing Perseus on the Eleusis amphora. Archaeological Museum of Eleusis 2630.

PLATE 16

1

2

1. Open mouthed griffin protome. H 21 cm. G2; OM B 4278.
2. Lion's foot attachment. 9x10 cm. L3; OM Br 12095.

PLATE 17

Geometric miniatures installation at the Olympia Archaeological Museum

PLATE 18

Miniature sculpture group, dancers. H: 4.5 cm. OM B 5401.

PLATE 19

Man and centaur group, said to be from Olympia. H: 11 cm. New York, MMA 17.190.2072.

PLATE 20
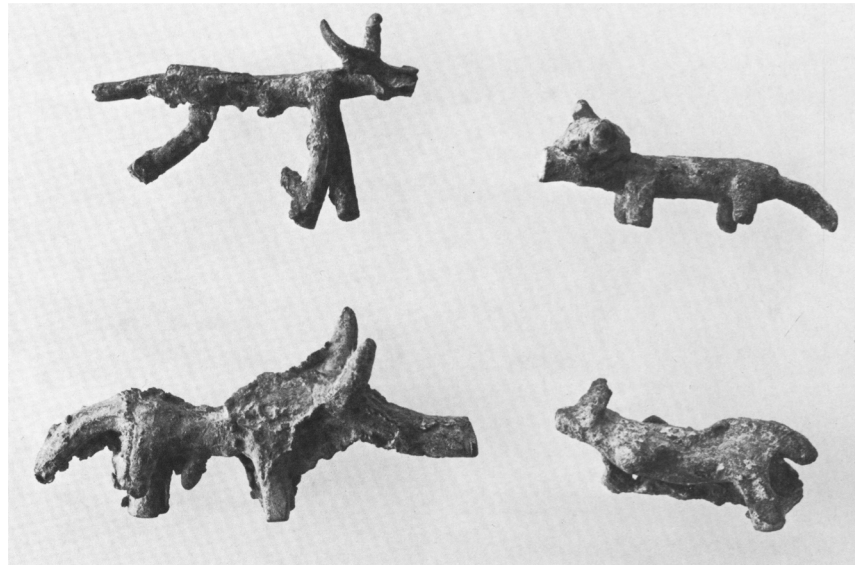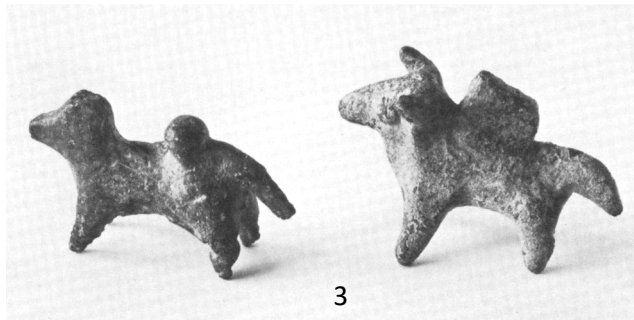
Miscast figurines
1. Left: F1; Br 2117. F2; Br 3188. R: F3; Br 12392. F4; unnumbered.
2. H: 3.2 cm. F5; Br 7445.
3. H: 3.7 cm. F6; Br 10277.
4. H: 4.2 cm. F7; unnumbered.

PLATE 21

An array of bull figurines from Olympia. Olympia Archaeological Museum.

PLATE 22

1. Horse figurine. H: 4 cm. F8; OM Br 2013
2. Horse figurine. H: 4cm. F9; Unnumbered.
3. Quadruped. H: 3.5 cm. F10; Br 6397
4. Horse figurine. H: 3.9 cm. F11; Unnumbered
5. R: Quadruped. H: 2.6 cm. F12; Unnumbered. L: Horse. H: 2.7 cm. F13; Br 7925.

PLATE 23

1. Miniature tripod with flat ring handle. Diam. 14 cm. T5; OM B 4828.

PLATE 24

Statuette dedicated by Mantiklos, said to be found near Thebes. H: 20.3 cm.
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 03.997.

PLATE 25

Geometric horse detailing on neck and legs. H. 12 cm. F17; Berlin 31317.

PLATE 26
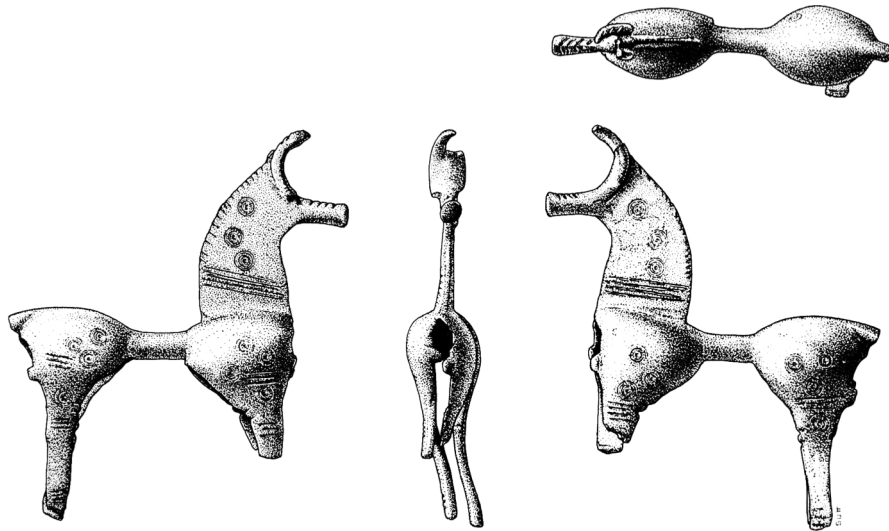
Finely crafted horse figurine. Credit Kyrieleis (2006) H: 7.9cm. F 18; OM B 11578.

PLATE 27
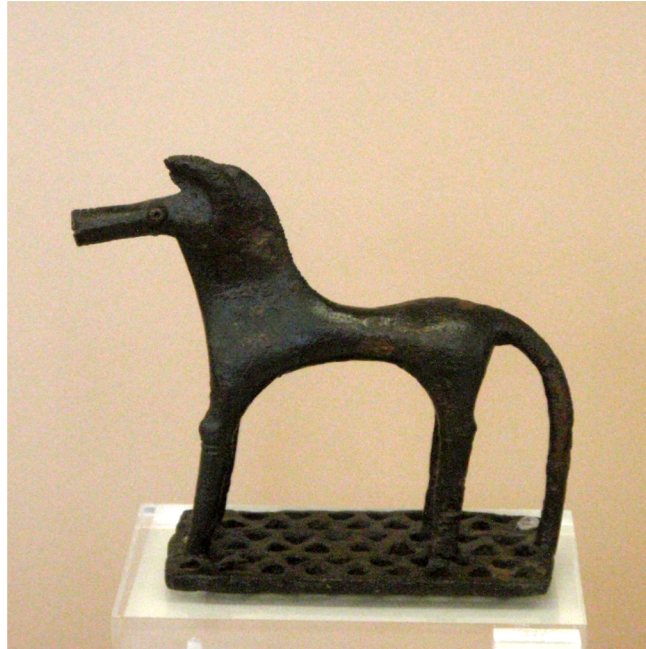
1

2

3

1. Horse figurine F14; OM B 1301.
2. Horse figurine. H: 10.5 cm L 10.5 cm F15; B 11700.
3. Horse figurine H: 4.2cm . F16; Br. 10028.

PLATE 28

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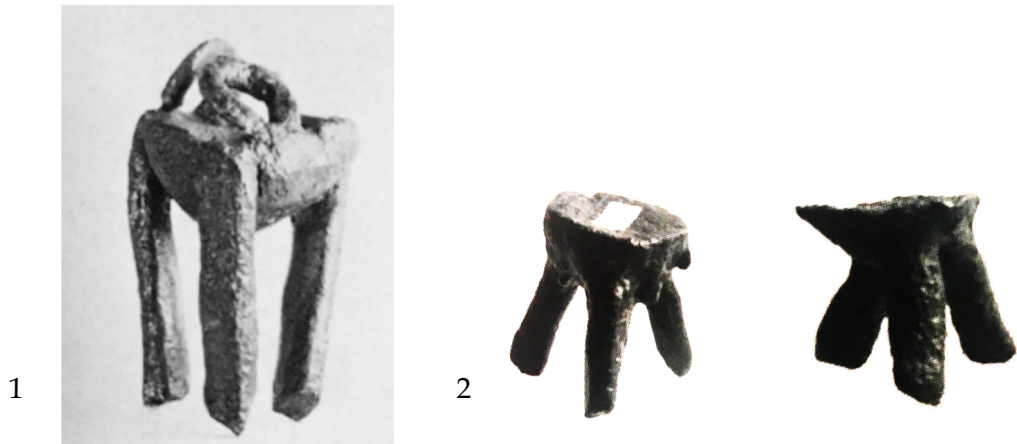
Very small tripods and casting funnels.
1. Miniature tripod H: 4.5cm, 3.5cm without handles. T1; OM Br 1719.
2. Two misidentified casting funnels. L: OM B 2369 R: OM B 6830.
3. Tripods in descending sizes: T2; OM B 8868, T3; OM M893, T4; OM Br 298.

PLATE 29

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2

1. Miniature tripod with attachments. H. 13.3 cm. T6; NM 6133.
2. Miniature tripod with ribbed legs and bull handle attachments. H: 10.8 cm. T7; OM B 8580.

PLATE 30

1. Ribbed and coldworked tripod legs. H. 13-16cm.
2. Tripod with running spiral on legs. H: 13.5 cm. T8; OM B 2177.
3. Tripod with pattern on rim. H. 4.5cm. T9; OM Br 9001.
4. Tripod with pattern on rim. H. 7.2cm. T10; OM Br 9790.

PLATE 31

1. Miniature tripods with long legs. Left: H: 13.5 cm, T11; OM BR 7542a. Right: H: 13.5cm. Unnumbered.
2. Larger miniature tripod. H: 10.3 cm. T12; B 4696.
3. Miniature tripod with flat, wide legs. H: 4.5cm T13; Br 4853.
4. Short legged miniature tripod. H: 7.8 cm. T14; K 913.

PLATE 32

1

2

1. Shield band scene showing Achilles and Ajax playing dice. Width: 6.7cm. Scene height: 5.2 cm. Bn1; B 1647.
2. The Vatican Amphora. Signed by Exekias. Vatican 344; BAPD 310395.

PLATE 33

1. Vase painting showing the interior of a round shield. Louvre G115; BAPD 205119.
2. Shield during excavation. Photo: Kunze (1950). OM B 1643.

PLATE 34

1. Shield band with porpax. L. 41.8 cm W. 10.4 cm at *porpax*. Bn2; OM B 1888.
2. Shield band with porpax. Length: 73.3cm. Bn3; OM B 4074.

PLATE 35

Shield band fragment: scenes arranged vertically with vertical and horizontal borders. Bn4; OM B 1687.

PLATE 36

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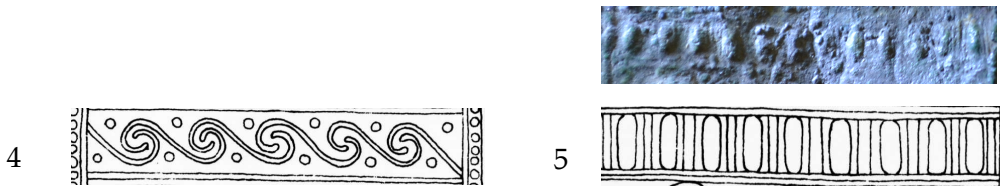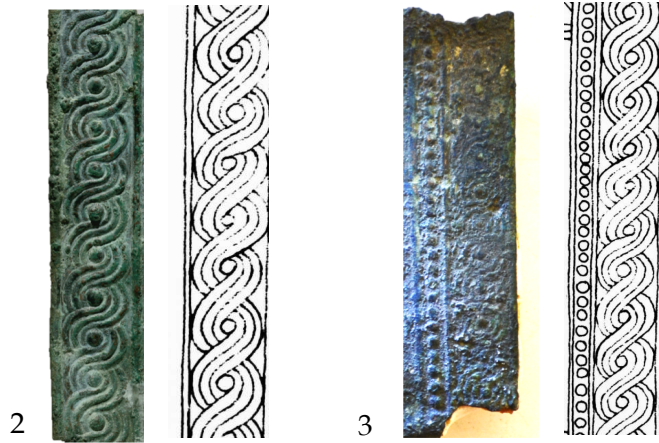
Shield band palmette and border motifs
1. Palmette.
2. Guilloche.
3. Guilloche with dot line.
3. Running spiral.
4. Dentils.

PLATE 37
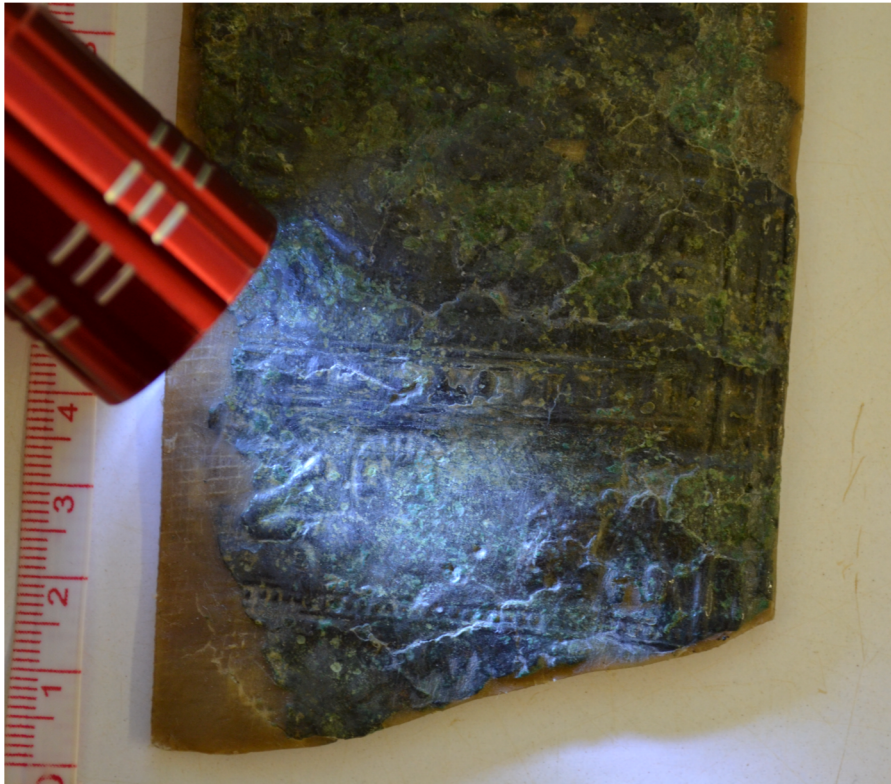
Detail: Shield band scene bisected by dot line border. Bn5; OM B 4809.

PLATE 38

Shield band fragment. Bn6; Getty Villa Malibu 84.AC.11.

PLATE 39

North frieze of the Siphnian Treasury. Delphi Archaeological Museum.

PLATE 40

The François vase. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4209; BAPD 300000.

PLATE 41

Monsters on the edges of the François vase: a sphinx, a Gorgon, and a griffin.

PLATE 42

1. Sphinx on the François vase.
2. Gorgon on the François vase.
3. Shield band fragment showing antithetical sphinxes above and gorgon below. W. 6.5 cm Bn 7; OM B1554.
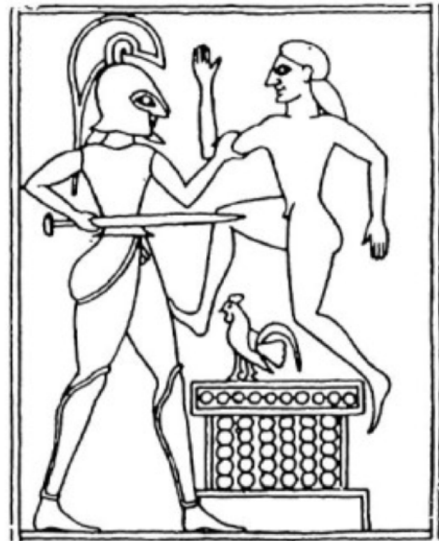
PLATE 43
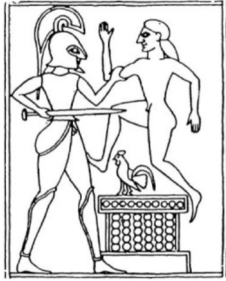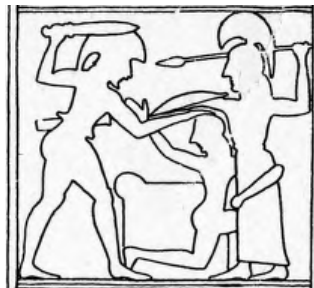
1. Shield band scene: Achilles murders Troilos. W. 5.2 cm. Bn8; OM B 987
2. Shield band scene: Achilles murders Troilos W. 5.2 cm. Bn9; OM B 988
3. Shield band scene: Ajax seizes Kassandra. W. 7.6 cm. Bn10; OM B 975
4. Shield band scene: Ajax seizes Kassandra. W. 7.2 cm. Bn11; OM B 1654

PLATE 44

Shield band scene: Achilles murders Troilos. Bn12; OM B 1912.
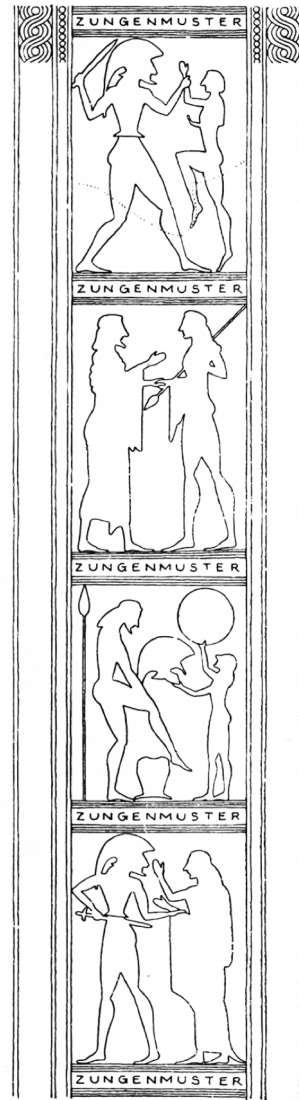
PLATE 45

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1. Shield band scene: Aigisthos and Klytemnestra murder Agamemnon. W. 7.2 cm. Bn11; OM B 1654.
2. Shield band scene: Menelaos recovers Helen. W. 6.9 cm. Bn13; OM B 1883.
3. Drawing of shield band sequence.